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URBANIZATION AND URBAN GROWTH AND THEIR IMPLICATIONS

FOR NATIONAL DEVELOPMENT IN

JAMAICA AND TRINIDAD AND TOBAGO

By

Walton O. Boxhill

A thesis submitted to the Norman Paterson School of
International Affairs in partial fulfillment of the
requirements for the Master of Arts Degree.

September, 1978.

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The undersigned hereby recommend to the Faculty of
Graduate Studies and Research acceptance of this thesis, submitted
by Walton Orrin Boxhill, in partial fulfilment of the requirements
for the degree of Master of Arts.

John H. Sigler, Director,
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ABSTRACT

This thesis has its origins in a graduate seminar in the Norman Paterson School of International Affairs. While researching urbanization and urban problems in the developing world, the author could find little published material on urbanization in the Commonwealth Caribbean. Most other developing regions had been covered in some detail in the literature, but urban studies in the Caribbean were still way behind. In an attempt to contribute towards filling a glaring gap, this study analyses much of the research findings on urbanisation in Jamaica and Trinidad and Tobago.

Though this thesis is focused on the Caribbean, it has drawn on evidence and information derived elsewhere in the developing world, particularly as this pertains to an adequate theoretical base, involving a variety of disciplinary inputs. After the discussion of an appropriate theoretical framework, the thesis analyses the current urban situation, tracing its origins and development over some five centuries, and concludes with a policy-oriented discourse on potential settlement patterns.

The paths to be followed for rectifying the current situation of spatial imbalance in settlement structures appear to be extremely similar in both countries, a not surprising feature in view of the very similar historical forces which were at work in the region. Spatial planning is new in both Jamaica and Trinidad and Tobago and urban problems continue to grow in number and intensity as these countries become more urbanised. But while planners are gearing their efforts towards this new dimension in socio-economic change, there are still considerable difficulties in altering the existing spatial structure. Many of the problems revolve around the demographic and economic inertia of the capital cities, and their centrifugal and centripetal growth forces. One finds that attempts to change the current settlement situation may have considerable implications for national development goals, particularly if such efforts are geared towards counter primacy, and improvement of presently poor housing conditions.

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TABLE OF CONTENTS

	PAGE
CHAPTER 1. INTRODUCTION	1
CHAPTER 2. RESEARCH METHODOLOGY AND THEORETICAL BASES	
2:1 The Method of Analysis	13
2:2 Some General Perspectives on Urban Studies	19
2:3 The Definitional Problem	31
2:4 The Factors Behind Urban Growth and Increasing Urbanisation	45
CHAPTER 3. THE NATIONAL SETTLEMENT SITUATION	
3:1 The Spatio-Demographic Characteristics of Jamaica and Trinidad and Tobago	59
3:2 Internal Migration Patterns in the Study Area	90
CHAPTER 4. SOCIETAL AND URBAN CHANGE IN THE CARIBBEAN: AN HISTORICAL PERSPECTIVE	
4:1 Introduction	108
4:2 The Poverty of Spanish Colonisation	111
4:3 British Colonialism: The Growth of the Plantation/ Slave Regime	125
4:4 The Post Emancipation Period	152
4:5 The Twentieth Century Colonial Period	163
4:6 The Post Colonial Period	178
CHAPTER 5. URBANISATION AND URBAN GROWTH AND THEIR IMPLICATIONS FOR NATIONAL DEVELOPMENT	186
CHAPTER 6. SUMMARY	250
GLOSSARY	254
APPENDIX	255
BIBLIOGRAPHY	268

LIST OF DIAGRAMS

FIGURE		PAGE
1.	Trends and Patterns in World Urbanisation and Urban Growth	2
2.	Some of the Major Elements in Development	44
3.	The Differences Between Urbanisation and Urban Growth	49
4.	A General Illustration of Core-Periphery and Urban-Rural Relationships	53
5.	The Dependent and Independent Variables in Urbanisation	58
6.	Population Densities for Trinidad and Tobago and Jamaica	61
7.	Trends in Population Totals for Trinidad and Tobago and Jamaica	62
8.	Jamaica: Changes in the Population of Parishes and Parish Capitals (1960-70)	74
9.	Jamaica: Population by Parish and Urban/Rural Proportions for Various Census Years	75
10.	Some Demographic Characteristics of Jamaica by Parish, for Various Census Years	76
11.	Age-Sex Population Pyramid for Jamaica (1970 and 1976)	77
12.	Age-Sex Population Pyramid for Trinidad and Tobago (1911 and 1970)	78
13.	Component Changes in the Population of Jamaica (1969-76)	79
14.	The Spatial Distribution and Changes in the Population of Jamaica	83
15.	Topographic Conditions in Jamaica	84
16.	Growth Map of Kingston (Jamaica) - 1692 to 1970	85
17.	The Population Distribution of Trinidad and Tobago showing a Classification of Settlements	86
18.	Trinidad and Tobago: Land Use Patterns	88
19.	Trinidad and Tobago: Economic Regions	89
20.	Trinidad and Tobago: Administrative Areas and Centres	105

FIGURE		PAGE
21.	Trinidad and Tobago: Public and Social Facilities	106
22.	Trinidad and Tobago: Basic Infrastructure Aggregated	107
23.	Urban Development in Jamaica and Trinidad and Tobago during the Spanish Colonial Period	124
24.	Town Slaves in Jamaica in 1832	147
25.	Trinidad and Tobago: Urban Development During the Plantation/Slave Regime	150
26.	Jamaica: Urban Development During the Plantation/Slave Regime . .	151
27.	Trinidad and Tobago: Urban Development During the Post-Emancipation Period	161
28.	Jamaica: Urban Development During the Post-Emancipation Period . .	162
29.	Some of the Industrial Developments Under Incentive Legislation in Jamaica	168
30.	Jamaica - Some Spatial Aspects of the Tourist Industry and the Sources of Visitors	170
31.	Selected Features of the Social Overhead in Jamaica	171
32.	Trinidad and Tobago: Urban Development During the Twentieth Century Colonial Period	176
33.	Jamaica: Urban Development During the Twentieth Century Colonial Period	177
34.	Trinidad and Tobago: Urban Development since Independence	184
35.	Jamaica: Urban Development since Independence	185
36.	A Summary of the General Goals in National Development for Trinidad and Tobago	190
37.	Selected Features of Educational Facilities in Jamaica	202
38.	The Incidence of the Secondary Job Opportunities in Trinidad and Tobago	204
39.	The Incidence of Tertiary Job Opportunities in Trinidad and Tobago	205

FIGURE

PAGE

40.	Selected Aspects of Manufacturing Activity in Jamaica	206
41.	The Hierarchy of Urban Settlements in Jamaica	207
42.	The Hierarchy of Settlements and Spheres of Influence - Trinidad and Tobago	208
43.	The State of Government Revenues in Trinidad and Tobago in Recent Years	233
44.	Trinidad and Tobago: Development Zones	234
45.	Trinidad and Tobago: Development Strategy I	235
46.	Trinidad and Tobago: Development Strategy II	236
47.	Trinidad and Tobago: Development Strategy III	237
48.	Trinidad and Tobago: Planning Regions	238
49.	Urban Areas in the Various Planning Regions in Trinidad and Tobago	239
50.	The Proposed Urban Structure for Jamaica	249
51.	Important Market centres in Jamaica	253

LIST OF TABLES

TABLE	PAGE
1. Jamaica: Changes in the Population of Parishes and Parish Capitals (1960-70)	74
2. Jamaica: Population by Parish and Urban/Rural Proportions for Various Census Years	75
3. Some Demographic Characteristics of Jamaica by Parish for Various Census Years	76
4. Jamaica - Internal Migration by Sex and Parish (1960-70)	93
5. Minimum Estimates of Out-Migration, In-Migration, and Net Migration Balance by Sex, for Counties, Wards, and Main Towns (1931-46) - Trinidad and Tobago	99
6. Minimum Estimates of Net Gains or Losses Experienced by City, Ward or County as a Result of Internal Migration (1931-46) - Trinidad and Tobago	99
7. Minimum Estimates of Internal Migration (1931-46) Trinidad and Tobago	100
8. Minimum Estimates of Internal Migration (1946-60) Trinidad and Tobago	101
9. Minimum Estimates of Out-Migration, In-Migration, and Net Migration Balance by Sex, for Counties, Wards and Main Towns (Trinidad and Tobago), 1946-60.	102
10. Minimum Estimates of Net Gains or Losses Experienced by City, Ward or County as a Result of Internal Migration (1946-60) - Trinidad and Tobago	102
11. Local Born Non-Institutional Population by Sex, Place of Birth and Usual Place of Residence - Trinidad and Tobago, 1970	104
12. The Urban Population of Spanish Colonial Trinidad	123
13. Migrants Introduced Into Jamaica and Trinidad	157
14. Distribution of Schools and the Ratios of Teachers to Students - Trinidad and Tobago	203
15. Estimates of the Labour Force of Trinidad and Tobago	198
16. Trinidad and Tobago: Income Differentials by Administrative Unit	222

INTRODUCTION

Large scale urbanisation is a recent phenomenon in world history.¹ Though cities first appeared some 6,000 to 8,000 years ago, their population size and occurrence were minimal when compared with the present, which witnesses increasing urbanisation as a distinct global trend, affecting both 'developed' and 'developing' countries.² In the latter group of countries, the tempo is already rapid and accelerating, albeit from a low initial base. Figure 1 gives some indication of the huge global dimensions of urbanisation and urban growth. These processes are not synonymous, though there has been a historical tendency for one to accompany the other. The differences are discussed in greater detail in section 2:4 of this thesis. While urban populations were growing in absolute size - as individual collectivities -

¹ The world 'urban revolution' and the growth of 'urbanised societies' began with the Industrial Revolution and the urbanisation of Britain in the eighteenth century. (Davis 1955:429; Johnson 1972:1 and 12; and Charles Tilly 1975:3). 'Phenomenon' is also instructive as is observed by Jacqueline Beaujeu-Garnier, in noting that there has been no reference to a rural phenomenon. Rural life has always been with us and has always been taken for granted. (Beaujeu-Garnier and Chabot 1967:2).

² A variety of terms and bases have been used to identify countries at different stages of economic development. Included in the terminology are 'developed' and 'developing', and though the criteria for differentiating them are continually being subjected to debate and revaluation, there is a fair general conception of which countries would be placed in each category. For an indication of the variety of views, see Birou and Henry (1977). In this thesis there is little to be gained from a rigorous discussion of various conceptual standpoints, so that we will operationalise these terms by using the widely accepted World Bank categories.

they were also increasing at rates faster than the swelling of non-urban populations. That is, urbanisation and urban growth were occurring simultaneously.

Figure 1: Trends and Patterns in World Urbanisation and Urban Growth

Unfortunately, much of the urban growth and increasing urbanisation associated with it have not been efficient processes. For example, in too many cases they have been accompanied by a host of all too familiar maladies ranging from agglomerations of poor and sub-standard housing through massive urban unemployment, to an inadequate provision of basic urban services, such as roads, electricity and a sanitary living environment.

By most conventional indicators, Jamaica and Trinidad and Tobago would be categorised as developing countries. Within this grouping, they may not be at the same stage of development. However, they exhibit sufficiently similar characteristics to enable their broad collective differentiation from that group of countries which is regarded as developed. If one makes use of the World Bank's convenient quadripartite classification of its member states, both Jamaica and Trinidad and Tobago fall outside the high-income grouping (per capita incomes above \$2,000)³ in which most developed countries are placed. With per capita incomes of \$1,190 and \$1,680 respectively in 1974, both fall within the upper-middle income grouping (countries with per capita GNP between \$700 and \$2,000). Relative to the industrialised countries, their economies are not very diversified; there is only a relatively small manufacturing sector, and there

3

Dollar figures quoted are based on the 1974 value of the U.S. dollar.

is a heavy dependence on a few primary export earners - petroleum and sugar in Trinidad and Tobago accounting for 95% of the value of exports, and bauxite, sugar and bananas, making up a similarly large proportion of Jamaica's export trade. Much of the external trade is marketed through metropolitan-based, vertically-integrated multinational corporations which, along with the very important public sector, have perpetuated a system of dependence through export activities in unfinished goods and primary products, and import activities in manufactured and finished goods to satisfy metropolitan-fashioned tastes and values. (Odle 1975).

Urban areas in both countries seem destined to bear the brunt of population growth and undirected internal population readjustments. Broom (1953:117) had noted this trend more than two decades ago, and pointed out that "Whether they suit our taste or not, the cities of the British West Indies are increasing in size and importance and the trends towards urbanisation appear to be irreversible." Rural/urban or urban/urban migration focusing on the capital city appear to be the norm; rural/rural migration seems small in volume; and increasing suburbanisation makes urban/rural movement for residential purposes negligible. Much of the movement to urban places could

be a response to the concentration of economic, social, and political institutions there, with a consequent enhancement of their attractive capacity vis à vis rural areas. As Aristotle observed, individuals go to the city to live and stay to live 'the good life'. Though stimuli may vary - and there is need for some caution in ascribing such 'good life' aspirations to all in-migrants - the desire for improvements in standards of living is undoubtedly a prime motive force in the generation of cityward migration in both Jamaica and Trinidad and Tobago.⁴

Despite the unquestioned importance of internal migration, it is neither the only factor nor the clearly predominating one behind urban growth and urbanisation in the Caribbean. Though crude birth rates are in the medium range and declining (Jamaica 31 and Trinidad and Tobago 26 per thousand in 1976) they are still high enough - or at least were in the relatively recent past - to be significant constituents of the urbanisation process and urban changes. This is particularly true, since it is mainly late teenagers and young adults who migrate, form conjugal unions, and give birth to their offspring in urban areas. For many of those

4

Both 'push' and 'pull' factors are believed to be operational in the migration process, though a lack of comprehensive data usually means that some arbitrariness in the determination of motives is usually present in many, if not most, migration studies. For some discussion of the problems in migration analysis, see DuToit and Safa (1975), IDRC (1977), J.A. Jackson (1969), and Kosinski and Prothero (1975).

individuals born in and growing up in urban places, there is usually little or no desire to move away from what is perceived to be a 'good life' in the city. Movement from one urban area, when such occurs, usually has the capital city or capital region as destination, and may eventually culminate in external migration.

For a growing number of urban dwellers, however, enjoyment of the 'good life' is close to impossible. Many of the opportunities perceived prove to be illusionary and life is a constant struggle - for jobs, for medical care, for basic urban facilities such as piped water, and so on. An almost pervasive desire to achieve improvements in personal welfare may be continuously frustrated. While individual aspirations continue to be fuelled by the apparent attractiveness of urban places and their lifestyles, rapid urbanisation and rural poverty continue to presage the direction of urban and national development and the solution of urban and national problems. But though many urban problems are certainly intractable and their solutions lengthy and arduous tasks, it may still be somewhat extreme to state, as has been attributed to Natalie Becker of Columbia University, "I have never seen a solution to an urban problem." (Quoted in Wilsher and Righter 1975:63). In a somewhat more realistic vein, but also as an indication of some of the obstacles faced,

Charles Tilly (1974:2) notes that, "Any vision of a better life implies a reordering of human communities.... But it takes confidence - perhaps even arrogance and brutality - to smash what exists and then rebuild to shape the lives of other people." Nonetheless, it has become obvious to many researchers that some of the proposed solutions to urban problems in developing countries are mere palliative measures. As a consequence, there is a great need for more comprehensive solutions,⁵ made all the more difficult by the fact that they may require structural changes in national socio-economic systems and major adjustments in the international socio-economic order.

Since the Second World War, much progress has been made in elucidating the reasons behind urban growth and urbanisation, and in particular the patterns now visible the world over. This has been due, in large measure, to a problem-oriented, analytical approach to urban studies. It is in this context, that Abu-Lughod and Hay (1977:3) point out the importance of acknowledging "that the field of urban studies has always received an added impetus to attention whenever cities have been defined as 'posing' a danger." However, it should also be noted that prescrip-

5

For more detailed discussions of these positions, see Wilsher and Righter (1975) and McGee (1971). Laurence Tilly (1974) reaches similar conclusions from an ecological standpoint. The complexity of the issues involved has perhaps been one of the main reasons for the lack of multi-dimensional solutions.

tion of comprehensive or holistic solutions (with economic, environmental, intellectual, technological, behavioural, political, and organisational inputs) does not suggest that the measures proposed in one context will automatically be applicable in others. Thus what has been said of and for urbanisation in Africa, Latin America, Southeast Asia and other developing regions may indeed be relevant to their constituent societies only. (Berry 1973:xii).⁶ Still, the truth is that no one can be certain of this in the absence of comparative research, preferably utilising similar analytical models and conceptual frameworks.

Since urbanisation and population re-allocation in the Caribbean have not been studied intensively, especially in a comparative context, the present study will, where relevant, make some cross-reference to urban studies and results derived elsewhere in the developing world. Such a procedure can only be instructive and informative, and aid in our general objective of understanding Caribbean settlement patterns and the potentials for change therein.

In attempting to carry out what is probably the first semi-detailed urban study which focuses on the two

6

Nonetheless, it is possible to draw on some of the experiences of other developing countries as a basis for comparative research and policy orientation. In preliminary investigation, (Boxhill 1977c), the author detected some similarity both in the nature and intensity of urban problems, and in the unbalanced spatial pattern which typifies many developing countries.

largest Commonwealth Caribbean islands,⁷ this thesis has three modest but more specific aims. The first is the determination of the degree of similarity existing in the urbanisation process and discernible in its consequences in two small island economies which historically were under the plantation mode of socio-economic organisation, and which exemplify a heritage of unbalanced development and spatial relationships. It will be postulated that the trends and patterns of urbanisation and national development exhibited enough similarity to permit generalised conclusions. Although the urbanisation process has diverse endogenous and exogenous propellants, much of the similarity may be attributed to small physical and economic sizes, to the colonial legacy after a prolonged period of British suzerainty and tutelage, and to the general influence of metropolitan economic dictates.

Secondly, an investigation of the physical problems of urban growth is undertaken, in keeping with the general orientation of this thesis towards analysis of

⁷ See Clarke (1974) and (1975a and b) for some discussion of the nature and extent of urban studies in the region. The adjective semi-detailed in reference to this study, refers to the fact that it is not an encyclopedic presentation of data and statistics as so many urban studies have turned out to be. Demographic and socio-economic data are essential to the facilitation of thorough analysis and to the derivation of adequate social and economic policies and plans. But such data should not be allowed to detract from the several important variables and their interactions which produce the conditions leading to the actual statistics at hand. In any case, some useful and relevant data have not yet been developed and hence are not available.

spatial relationships in the development process. It will be posited that the physical problems of urban growth and rapid urbanisation in both countries, are unfolding in a similar fashion and are generated by similar mechanisms. These include over-concentration in a few areas in response to economic conveniences, and until recently, to a general lack of policy guidelines to eradicate or forestall many of the harmful effects of rapid urban growth in the primate centre.

Finally, we attempt to assess the process of spatial planning in Jamaica and Trinidad and Tobago and its implications for the achievement of the objectives of structuring future patterns of urbanisation towards espoused urban and national development goals. This will be based on analysis of the underlying factors (determined through historical investigation or judged intuitively) which assist in generating changes in the urban situation. In this assessment, it is submitted that spatial development can be properly seen only in the context of national development and of the need to modify conditions of external economic dependence and externally propelled value systems, (the exogenous variables affecting the development process), and to devise appropriate strategies to deal with the negative aspects of primacy (the state of internal spatial imbalance) in settlement structures. All three situations can be inimical to the

achievement of national development goals and will be given some attention in this study.

This thesis does not purport to be a study of 'development' per se, even though developmental goals structure some of its interpretations. This is a study of settlement; of the historical forces which produced contemporary settlement patterns; and of the implications of settlement change for societal change, and vice versa. In its historical and geographical dimensions, this is also a study of relationships - between town and country, metropole and periphery, coloniser and colonised, master and slave, state and society, planners and the public. It is premised on the fact that the human settlement situations in both Jamaica and Trinidad and Tobago require some modification and structuring towards spatial development goals. There is no suggestion that there is anything inherently right about this. Rather, the ad hoc, uncontrolled patterns of settlement evolution are generating a series of problems which could be avoided through proper spatial planning. The 1976 Habitat Conference on human settlements demonstrated some consensus that the habitation conditions in many countries required much attention and modification. It is our task in this thesis to investigate the state of settlement in two of the larger Commonwealth Caribbean countries (Jamaica and Trinidad and Tobago) which not

only exemplify the negative effects of unbalanced spatial relationships and structures, but are attempting to rectify this condition via some geographical restructuring.

CHAPTER 2

RESEARCH METHODOLOGY AND THEORETICAL BASES

2.1 The Method Of Analysis

The study of urbanisation in the Commonwealth Caribbean has essentially been an investigation of the larger settlements, and more particularly an analysis of the big cities - Kingston and Port of Spain. As C.G. Clarke (1974 : 223) has so correctly observed, "Most of the evidence which is available refers to the larger settlements; Urbanisation in the Caribbean has involved the creation of large cities in small islands." Thus, not only is the breadth of any Caribbean urban study restricted at this stage by available evidence, but concentration on the larger cities (as delimited demographically) is inevitable in view of their absolute dominance over the urban landscape and the fact that they are the habitat of a large proportion of the urban populations of these countries. A macro-methodological level of analysis focusing on the broad physical and geographical features and the functioning of these urban centres is adopted here. Much attention will therefore be directed to these larger urban places in the study area of Jamaica and Trinidad and Tobago, with some discussion of their arrangement in space, their salient characteristics, and their means of sustenance. As urban studies in the Caribbean is still a nascent

field of inquiry, it is imperative that we tackle several very important epistemological and methodological issues. This is the task of Sections 2:2 to 2:4 of this chapter.

Chapter 3 sets the stage for investigation of the urban structures and spatial planning process in both countries. It provides background information on the current spatio—demographic characteristics of both islands and also analyses the process of internal migration with its directional focus on the capital regions.

Much of Chapter 4 will be historical, with the analytic emphasis varying between the demographic, spatial-ecological, and economic aspects of urbanisation and urban growth in the study area. It is necessary that we trace the evolutionary sequence of events leading to the demographic and economic dominance of one or two urban areas. Some appreciation will thereby be gained of the key forces which shaped the present settlement pattern and left a legacy which is still being felt in urban development.

The most universal trait of Caribbean cities - and indeed of cities throughout the ages and in all cultural settings - is the concentration of people in specific locations and the ability of these loci to function as central nodes of authority and power, both economic and political. They are characterised by the ability to exercise active command over resources from a variety of surroundings - localised, regionalised, nationalised, and sometimes globalised - and in any

macro-approach to the study of urbanisation in a comparative context, this ability is a logical analytical link.⁸ Power bases and power relationships, within and external to the urban and national systems, will therefore constitute important parameters of this thesis. In analysing these, Chapter 4 places particular emphasis on core-periphery and colonial relationships which have had very significant effects on the patterns of urbanisation. Studies of the former have correctly viewed the Caribbean countries as peripheries or hinterlands of the North Atlantic industrial, economic, and political metropolises. (Beckford 1975, Girvan 1973, Jefferson 1972). I am in agreement with these positions, though there is some evidence of gradual change for both countries. Nonetheless, it is an accepted axiom that in dependent economies, the international dimension of socio-economic and socio-political change is largely beyond the confines of national action.

A further pattern, though one not stressed in the literature, is the functioning of Kingston and Port of Spain, and their respective countries, as regional metropolises for the smaller islands of the Anglophone Caribbean. (Segal and Earnhardt 1969 : 51 and 60). For example, inter-regional migration flows have at various times been stimulated by economic developments in Trinidad and Jamaica, and the

⁸ A similar approach and position has been taken by Charles Tilly (1974:4) and Friedmann and Wulff (1976:16-17).

regional headquarters and sometimes the sole regional offices of many companies may be located in either Kingston or Port of Spain.

Chapter 5 deals with the current urban structure in Jamaica and Trinidad and Tobago. Here the capital city is analysed in more detail than in Chapter 3, with particular attention being paid to the negative effects of primacy, the relationship between the largest city and the next in size. In the literature, this primacy condition is sometimes "contrasted with a regular urban hierarchy or 'system of cities' which is supposedly a characteristic of only highly advanced industrial countries." (Mehta 1969: 206). Primate cities are generally unrivalled by any other central places within the national system, and the major urban area of both countries will be cited as a typical example of a primate city.

Chapter 5 will also illustrate some of the problems associated with a rapid urbanisation process which to date seems inevitable but which has so far not been accompanied by urban development. Urban development will be identified here as the systematic movement towards a set of goals established in the material and spiritual interest of the majority of urban residents. It would include the provision or ability to obtain housing, food and clothing, and basic urban services. In the analysis

of urban problems, it is imperative that some understanding be had of the functioning of the city, and of the city's relationship with the society of which it is a part. This would facilitate the prescription of comprehensive solutions and the derivation of viable policies and plans. Urbanisation will therefore be viewed as a process 'of' society and not simply 'in' society. The latter appears to have been a fairly convenient and the prevalent view. Thus Massotti and Walton were in a position to concede:

... the urban *milieu* is merely a setting for the study of a variety of processes defined by other criteria. The city per se as an historical social form is less the object of interest than a variety of activities that happen to go on there with a greater regularity or in more intensified ways than elsewhere. Consequently 'urban' this or that is a convenient yet specious label for the 'real' this or that. It appears that the latter view predominates in comparative urban research which may be at the root of much of our theoretical confusion. [1976:3]

To keep with our conception of urbanisation as a process of society, some analysis will be made of the linkages between the historical, social, economic, political, and other aspects of the societal whole. The internal variations and morphological features of individual cities will not be dealt with in much detail in this thesis.¹⁰

⁹ See also Carter (1972:27-28).

¹⁰ However, those interested in this aspect of urbanisation may refer to Clarke (1975) for Kingston, Jamaica, and to Conway (1973) for Port of Spain.

In Chapter 5 the policy implications for spatial development objectives are also discussed and the strategies of planning for socio-economic change analysed. Such analyses inevitably lead to statements about tendencies present in a discernible pattern, and result in broad indications of what would or could occur if past and presently observable patterns and processes continued to operate in a similar fashion to that covered during the time period under historical analysis. Some of the suggestions are merely hypothetical even though plausible. Some others are clearly value-judgements, but as Gunnar Myrdal (1958:52) has suggested "[these] should be used not only as premises for our policy conclusions but also to determine the direction of positive research." Development plans (some still in the draft stage) will be used as aids in this exercise. This is not a rigorous discussion of planning models. In fairness to the planners who have allowed access to some of their unpublished documents, only broad interpretations have been made. However, I envisage no drastic changes in the direction of planning in the region; nor in the substance of proposed plans, despite the fact that flexibility should be a cornerstone of the planning process. Once again, this has to do with the institutional framework and forces at work in the region - institutional change can be agonisingly slow.

2:2 Some General Perspectives on Urban Studies

The operationalisation of any urban study is conditioned by four critical factors, all of which are concerned with the choice of approaches. These options are (1) between a static and dynamic standpoint in investigation (2) between a closed system or an open systemic view of the urbanisation process; (3) between analysing urbanisation and urban systems as dependent or independent variables; and (4) the disciplinary or interdisciplinary perspective to be adopted. These will be dealt with in turn.¹¹

First, urbanisation may be viewed as either a state of affairs (the level of urbanisation and/or the distributional pattern of urban places) or as an on-going process with both spatial and temporal variations. Since the latter dynamic approach (as opposed to the former static interpretation) is very relevant to the determination of trends and the evaluation of past and emergent patterns, it is the one emphasised in this study. It is necessary to guard against analysing urbanisation and urban problems in the developing world by a simple description of rates of growth together with a rather facile narration of familiar pathologies. This will provide few insights into a very

¹¹ The author feels that these issues are fundamental to the direction taken by any urban study. Consequently, it is important that some discussion be made at the outset, of the paths which this study will follow. Some of the points are very straightforward and have not been given much elaboration. Others are not necessarily obvious and have been given a bit more attention.

complex phenomenon.¹² While such superficial research strategies might be seen to have some value in suggesting policy options, the observations of Jack Gibbs are more useful and penetrating in indicating the direction for research and analysis. He notes that:

Urban research cannot determine policy. It can, however, help to eliminate fatuous and wasteful measures and to suggest new alternatives, for it can bring into view a greater knowledge of the realities with which policies must deal. Not only an accurate grasp of current conditions but a comprehension of the patterns of change and the factors responsible for the patterns, is necessary for the adoption of effective measures. Otherwise, the policies adopted tend to be mere reflections of anachronistic sentiments and pious wishful thinking. At their best they tend to solve one problem while creating or exacerbating several others.
[1961:1; emphasis added.]

Second, cities and towns may be analysed from the standpoint of being closed, independent, self-regulating collectivities, with a clear definition of the boundary between the urban settlement unit and the external environment. Or alternatively, they may be taken as open, space-organising systems interacting with and reflecting interactions in a larger national system and in turn with an even

¹² Friedmann and Wulff (1976:11) describe the utility of such approaches to urban studies. "Such studies offer rather meagre intellectual fare. Nothing is explained; everything remains at a descriptive level." While such research methods provide useful background material, it is debatable as to whether they alone can aid our understanding of the urbanisation process and the socio-economic and demographic changes associated with it.

larger international system.. This analyst prefers the latter approach, as the former has the tendency to be overly restrictive, to the extent that processes exogeneous to the urban sub-system, but having an influence on it, may often be ignored or simply noted en passant.¹³ This is unfortunate, particularly if an end-product is planning for urban change. It produces only inadequate piecemeal approaches to the handling of urban problems. For example, there appears to be little justification for severing the rural/urban linkage in societies which are still very much agrarian, and in which rural/urban migration is a significant component of urban growth and increasing urbanisation. Such a formal scission may be permissible in societies which are large and which have already achieved very high levels of urbanisation. However, it is too confined an approach and is not very applicable in small societies where there has recently been a continuing interaction of urban and rural sub-systems through migration, telecommunications, and high literacy rates, permitting many urban and/or rural matters to become national matters. Since Caribbean societies conform to the latter pattern, the analysis here views urban areas as open systems and seeks to illuminate the societal processes underlying urban growth and urbanisation.

¹³ For further critiques of this approach, see Abu-Lughod and Hay (1977:3) and Castells (1976).

The thrust of this study is historical-systemic;¹⁴ since urbanisation is a societal process¹⁵ then it must be explained by societal and inter-sectoral models at local, national, and international levels, and within a historical perspective. In an attempt to grasp the patterns and potentialities of the urbanisation process, prudent use must be made of a fairly broad geographic and analytic base. But this need not be restricted to individual national units, though it may certainly be a convenience. In fact, an objective should be to facilitate the investigation from the particular to the general via cross-national comparisons. In making a request for such endeavours, for legitimate comparisons of urban areas carefully selected on the basis of easily identifiable similarities, Janet Abu-Lughod (1976:21) argues "for a strategy which moves in disciplined fashion from the very specific to the somewhat more general to the even more general via the semi-controlled experiment and which attempts to illuminate the similarities and differences uncovered by this research strategy by means of a common

14 For a more detailed explication of the historical-systemic approach to and emphasis in urban studies, see Walton and Massotti (1976:11-13).

15 Urbanisation is about the city, and I concur with Friedmann and Wulff's opinion (1976:6) and description of the city as "a social microcosm and consequently a multidimensional phenomenon displaying a variety of physical, spatial, cultural, institutional, economic, demographic, and social characteristics." See also McGee (1971:18).

mechanism of process."¹⁶ The utility of a comparative approach to urban studies within a historical-systemic framework is even greater in a study area like the Caribbean, which has not to date been subjected to many rigorous investigations of its urban areas. Thus, it is suggested that the historical-systemic method of analysis will not only aid our understanding of the phenomenon of urbanisation and its institutional framework in the Caribbean, but will contribute to an appreciation of the relevance and validity of the goals and actions of planners and policy makers. For, as Beckford (1972:v) points out, "In every society the institutional environment is a legacy of historical forces [and] it is through institutions that human activity is organised."

I make no apologies to, nor am I sympathetic with those who would show a callous disregard for historical forces, and fail to appreciate the value of a historical-systemic approach. There is no 'so what?' to historical investigation which helps us to comprehend the present. And as Gordon Merrill has suggested, "In the West Indies, the modes of living of the present are deeply rooted and history has a heavy hand."¹⁷ For reasons made explicit in Chapter 4, institutional change in the study area has been slow. As a result it behoves us to be aware of the institutional roots

¹⁶ Gibbs (1961:1) has made similar requests for the direction of urban research strategies.

¹⁷ Lecture to a group of undergraduate students in a Cultural Geography course at Carleton University in 1974.

of settlement patterns and potentials, and to be cognisant of "a people's desire to collate and codify their past collective experience as well as to lay foundations for the realization of future aspirations." (Nettleford 1972:19).

Third, urbanisation may be investigated as either a dependent process influenced by a number of interacting phenomena or it may be treated as an independent variable which relates to and affects other components of the general societal whole. The principal interest of this thesis is in urbanisation as a dependent phenomenon, a consequence of several endogenous and exogenous factors (Section 2:4) affecting each other and the society which serves as a théâtre for their operations.

Finally, the fourth major factor to be noted is by no means unique to urban studies. Though by right some research topics fall within the purview of a variety of disciplines, there is an unfortunate tendency towards 'disciplinary balkanisation'. Most urban areas are invariably the loci rather than the foci of 'urban' investigation and the disciplinary perspectives and orientations of individual analysts may determine or influence the realm of interest and the structure of the urban study. Thus, an economist may be interested in the ability of cities and towns to facilitate economic production and generate linkages with various hinterlands. A sociologist may analyse the interaction of

various societal groups or classes within the urban area, and the social and/or class mobility of migrants in urban centres. The political scientist cum administrator may be interested in the bureaucratic and administrative composition of city governments and the implications which increasing sizes have for the areal fragmentation or agglomeration of organisation within metropolitan centres. The geographer or urban planner may focus attention on the city's spatial structure; and the list could be easily continued depending on the disciplinary background of the researcher. Consequently, John Walton notes, aptly perhaps, that:

... there exists no distinctive field of comparative urban research, that is, no corpus of empirical research that proceeds from a general paradigm or a limited set of competing theories. Rather the 'field' presents us with investigations of a wide variety of phenomena broached typically from a number of more or less encapsulated disciplinary orientations. [1976:301]

One result of this has been a paucity of general theories of urbanisation which go beyond narrow disciplinary confines.¹⁸

Where such ventures at a general theory of urbanisation are undertaken, they run the risk of being indicted for superficiality since an implicit aim is a fostering of the notion

¹⁸ In reference to this Mabogunje (1968:33) asserts: "No formal theory of urbanisation exists. The literature of the social sciences however, abounds in statements of a theoretical nature which seek to explain the phenomena of human agglomerations in space." Scholler (1975:37) has a similar opinion: "The study of urbanization in cross-cultural analysis lacks generalizations and adequate empirical justifications."

of unidirectional evolution of urban patterns and processes the world over. Reinforcing that, is another implicit (and perhaps valid) notion that specialists are knowledgeable only about their particular discipline. As a consequence, one finds selective theories which attempt, with varying degrees of success, to explain the processes and interactions whereby selected phenomena (migrant adaptation, politics and participation, social mobility, housing decay, and so on) operate or are observed within the urban setting, or between urban sub-systems and the larger socio-economic and socio-cultural systems of which they are a part. While such selective strategies and their resultant hypotheses have the advantages of depth and detail, they do not usually approach the overall conceptualisation of urbanisation directly.

Integration of various disciplinary interests and a continuous dialogue is still necessary, and requires that analysts venture beyond their disciplinary bounds to escape traditionally sterile and dead typologies. (Koll 1972:8; London and Flanagan 1976:57). To be sure, there is no suggestion that any single approach to urban analysis excludes all other aspects. What occurs may simply be a difference in emphasis between; for example, the economic and socio-psychological, the political and anthropological, and the spatio-demographic and the architectural domains. The pattern of emphasis would obviously vary with the research motives of the investigator,

but the tendency towards disciplinary fragmentation should be restricted. It is true that the development of satisfactory theories for such complex and amorphous phenomena as urbanisation, necessitate many empirical studies first; and it is hoped that this thesis would contribute to an understanding of Caribbean settlement patterns and the formulation of theories to explain them. Nonetheless, the objective should be to ensure that urban studies be undertaken with a broad analytical base in order to permit greater synthesis of the spectrum of interested disciplines from the outset.¹⁹ Only then can there be any certainty that policies prescribed are close to being comprehensive. It is hoped that this thesis is in line with that objective.

While there continues to be an increase in the number of explorations into urbanisation with a broader base than has been typical, there are other broad epistemological problems for cross-national studies. (London and Flanagan 1976:42). Many of the issues raised in discussions of cross-national comparisons remain polemic, and seem to be largely concerned with eventual goals - what are cross-comparative studies ultimately hoping to show? Naturally, there are no simple answers, but the over-arching desire in recent cross-national research appears to be the derivation of more broadly based partial theories of urbanisation reflecting a wider

¹⁹ Complete synthesis of the myriad of interests may be impossible under any circumstances. Several other analysts, for example, Quijano (1975: 110) feel the same way.

variety of linked cross-cultural studies. It is not, to my view, a search for the 'Holy Grail' or a single all-embracing theory to explain the patterns of urbanisation in the melange of contexts characteristic of the global setting. Indeed, such may be nothing but an impossible dream. Instead, the recent thrust in urban studies has been aimed at gaining a better understanding of the multitude of processes involved in the formation, growth, and efficient functioning of the city. There is much evidence to suggest that boldness must be a keynote in this. Thus, for example, Kingsley Davis has suggested:

The paucity of comparative urban research is of course not due to an indifference on the part of social scientists but to the absence of comparable or standardised information from one country to another and to technical problems presented by this deficiency. [quoted in Daland 1975:9]

Horace Miner supports this observation and points out that:

...it is the nature of the city rather than the dullness of its students which has so long precluded the discovery of a distinctive body of theory. [1967:4]

These statements are incontestable; however, the response of analysts should not be a retreat and recourse to undertaking unedifying academic exercises, so many of which have revealed nothing new. Rather it is up to the researcher to carefully design the research strategy in such a way as to permit meaningful generalisations and to enable progress in clarifying

puzzling urban issues. In such endeavours, the advice and recommendations of Janet Abu-Lughod are well worth heeding and have guided the structuring of this study. She suggests that:

... if a theory of urban change and process is to be developed to guide comparative urban studies, that theory will have to steer a more careful course between the Scylla of grand theory and the Charybdis of the pristine case study."

[1976:21]

The occurrence of aberrant individual cases is perhaps inevitable, so that careful evaluation must be made of the reasons for the anomalies and any peculiar circumstances and specific conditions which may be discerned. The chances of being criticised for superficiality, distortion, and oversimplification will undoubtedly always exist - though, of course, no analyst will willingly admit to being guilty of these - and the specialist on a particular urban area and any of its many aspects may find some fault with, or exception to, any generalisation posited in a broad comparative context. A seeming neglect of urban studies in the Commonwealth Caribbean (certainly a paucity of published material) means that there are few case-studies on which a comparative analysis can be based. In the absence of detailed urban investigation, recourse must be made to miscellaneous evidence which may not deal with urbanisation or urban patterns directly. This is fine; it simply means that in

exploratory cross-comparative analysis of the type to be undertaken here, the researcher must tread even more cautiously. His aim should be "towards the selection of appropriate units and levels of analysis as well as the establishment of appropriate measures of conceptual and measurement equivalence across the entities being compared."

(Abu-Lughod 1976:21). Localised studies are relevant in their own right. However, the general stance in this study is that the cross national, comparative venture supported by localised analysis may be much more revealing and rewarding than knowing everything about 'a' city and nothing or little about 'the' city. The analysis is as a result, more geared to seeking out broad aspects of the generic nature of Caribbean cities and their societal milieu, rather than dwelling on the detailed specifics and the unique and singular characteristics of individual urban places. Of course, this is only a difference in emphasis, since the two investigative thrusts are not mutually exclusive.

2:3 The Definitional Problem

Few definitions of 'urban' and 'urbanisation' have escaped criticism; and few are likely to suit everyone. Regular objections to a particular identification (and quibbling over it) have often been encountered and may be unavoidable because of the variety of interests and the many complex issues embraced by these terms. The concept of what is 'urban' has been viewed as "a balloon into which each social scientist blows his own meaning." (McGee 1971:10). A lack of rigid precision in definition - and adherence to such - or alternatively, a distinct tendency towards flexibility, is often encountered in operationalising both terms. It is certainly a valid observation that the lack of consensus about urban areas "...arises from the fact that they are social abstractions created to serve different purposes." (Goldstein and Sly 1975:7). But in permitting flexibility - a genuine concern in the field of urban studies - many definitions have also turned out to be loose, adding to the complexities and obscuring the focus of investigation. It would appear that pre-conceived notions condition the identification of the phenomena to be analysed and continually frustrate the demands of scholarship. Among such demands is the important requisite that definitions be more than just vague ideas unique to one researcher. Some attempt should be made to facilitate comparability across entities and over time. As another guiding principle, it may be suggested that

arbitrariness in conceptualisation and inconsistencies in measurement must be restricted, though it may be impossible to eradicate them totally. The definitional issue is therefore a fertile, though certainly not a virgin ground for exploration. Many analysts have ventured their opinions; but it would be wrong - perhaps even foolish - to suggest that the discussions are now in the realm of overkill. What is or is not 'urban' is a topic which is still far from being resolved. The definitional problem must therefore be tackled in some detail, despite the fact that the constraints of this thesis do not permit full presentation of the pros and cons of various definitions suggested in the literature.²⁰

Conceptually, urban studies remain in a state of flux despite achievement of some clarity in analytical methods in the last two decades. Horace Miner notes, for example:

... everyone knows what a city is except the experts. For them the city is many things among which none is clearly dominant. As various definitions suit different purposes, it is important that there should be set forth a characterisation of the city which is meaningful to the spectrum of disciplines concerned with urban studies in modernising societies.
[1967:3]

20

I have done some preliminary analysis on this subject, in Boxhill (1977a). For published material on definitions of 'urban', see Breese (1969), Beaujeu-Garnier and Chabot (1967), Carter (1972) and Jones (1975). Indeed, many texts in the field of urban studies have at least one chapter on the issue of definition.

Andrew Pearse does similarly:

"Urban" refers rather promiscuously to many different kinds of phenomena which are like one another in one respect (having to do with cities) but are difficult to group together in any sort of conceptual unity at a higher level of sociological generality. [1970:20]²¹

And in the same vein Jack Gibbs concedes:

There is every reason to believe that the conclusions one reaches in an urban study depend, at least in part, on the way cities are defined and the methods used to establish their boundaries. [1961:114]²²

Analysis of the definitions of 'urban' and 'urbanisation' in various theoretical and practical contexts reveals discussion of functional elements (administration, type of industries, number and variety of services, et cetera), size (population total), areal extent, and population density.²³ There is little doubt as to the classification of the largest and densest of settlement clusters; generally they are at least towns. Following United Nations' definitions, (UN 1969) some cities and even larger agglomerations are termed metropolitan areas and megalopolises. As population size

21 See also Friedmann and Wulff (1976:6).

22 This is particularly true for micro-level studies focusing on cities as discrete entities. It is perhaps less crucial in macro-level analysis, interested in the broad aspects of the urbanisation process and their implications for societal change.

23 I have undertaken such an analysis elsewhere. See Boxhill (1977a), and footnote 20 of this study.

increases, the number of functions performed by, and services found in a particular centre tend to increase. Thus the largest settlements are the ones which have more, and varied services, and perform the more specialised functions. Concomitantly, in most demographic definitions of the city or of urban areas, functional elements are implicitly taken into consideration, and it is not really necessary to specify any long list of functions in such an identification.

Almost certainly for convenience, and perhaps for the tacit recognition of the correlation between the statistical and functional characteristics of urban areas as well, most definitions of urban include population size as a crucial criterion. This is also true in our study area.

Robert Dickinson has argued, however:

Size and administrative status are not essential criteria of true urban character. Function and form are the essentials of the matter. The word 'urban' as opposed to 'rural' implies an activity that is divorced from the cultivation of the soil and that is carried out in close association with kindred activities at fixed places - cultural (especially religious), commercial, industrial, administrative, and residential.

[1959:11]

Notwithstanding this and any similar opinions, the significance of size cannot be down-played. The view in this thesis is that the most adequate and meaningful way of delimiting urban areas for cross-comparative analyses is to

take the simple and readily measurable index of population size, reinforced where necessary by analysis of prominent functional characteristics of the particular settlement. The high density of rural populations in Jamaica (see Figure 14) suggests that this proviso must be applied to some individual settlements in that country.²⁴

Attainment or the existence of a stipulated size can generally be determined in a variety of contexts; so can the supplementary requirement that the majority of residents in a locality be provided with a fair number of urban-type services and be engaged in economic pursuits other than those of a basic sustenance nature. This simplicity not only allows the researcher to isolate the relevant variables or those of major interest to the research quest, but it also enables their recognition cross-nationally and cross-culturally.

In the design of methods of cross-cultural research and investigation, the existence of cultural variance in social and economic reality must be taken into account. Trinidad and Jamaica appear to exhibit enough similarity to minimise this caveat, but definitional and conceptual congruence must still be taken as important considerations. One could assume that they should only be compromised if the

24. On a world scale, this consideration is also important because of cases where large settled populations are obviously not urban in any sense of the word. E.S. El Bushra (1975) notes the existence of such settlements in the Sudan, and Murphey (1974) does the same for some places in Asia. By no means are these isolated cases.

quest for an understanding of urbanisation patterns and trends and the generic and processual nature of the phenomenon is hindered. There is little evidence that utilisation of the demographic and statistical measures of urbanisation while permitting comparability, standardisation, and pragmatism, jeopardise cross-cultural analysis aimed at tracing the evolution of current patterns. In fact, there is much to be gained from the use of standard definitions and methods of identification in cross-national work. While it is problematic, as Goldstein and Sly (1975:7) observe, that "there are no standard international definitions of urban areas", this is not to say that "there should not be such a standardized definition."²⁵ Indeed as they (Goldstein and Sly 1975:12) further point out, "A single statistical definition of urban which would be applicable to all countries of the world probably cannot be worked out at the present time or in the near future." The present study acknowledges and notes these observations but takes the position that a standard definition within a limited context - two societies

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The difficulties of adopting a standardised definition in the variety of world contexts are identified by a United Nations study group; see United Nations (1969). However, Goldstein and Sly (1975:12) make the following recommendation with which I agree. "Although it will be difficult given the diverse national settings within which urbanization occurs and the importance of preserving the integrity of individual nations, it is imperative that standard procedures and criteria be developed which will facilitate the comparative study of urbanisation." See also Recommendation 6 (page 13) in the same work.

which appear to be culturally similar - permits a clear and in-depth cross-national analysis of urbanisation.

Planning authorities in both Jamaica and Trinidad and Tobago show a distinct preference for the use of functional characteristics in defining 'urban' and 'urbanisation', but population size is unavoidably a major criterion. And the 1970 census which was standardised for both countries - indeed for the entire Commonwealth Caribbean - identifies urban places as parish capitals or the major centres in each administrative division, plus places for which the pre-census estimate of population was 2,500 or more. In addition, the presence or absence of a number of facilities indicating some degree of modern living were also taken into consideration. Among these facilities were banks, electricity, schools, (though their educational level was not specified), libraries, and cinemas. Other relevant considerations included the location of markets, shops, post offices, churches, courthouses, tax-offices, police stations, health facilities, whether or not roads were paved and whether piped water supply was available. (See the Census of Jamaica: Preliminary Report 1970:xiv). Thus size remains crucial, with analysis of reinforcing functional information to determine or justify a particular classification.

Most definitions of 'urban' which are based on the obvious characteristic of physical size correlate fairly

well with the popular notion which is similarly based; conceptual clarity is thereby facilitated. In differentiating individual settlements one from the other, use is invariably made of some system of hierarchy or ranking according to perceived size. For example, that towns are generally larger than villages but smaller than cities is certainly common knowledge to layman and scholar alike. However, the determination of threshold points is an issue which reflects much difference of opinion, and in the near future, would undoubtedly remain one typified by some arbitrariness. Nonetheless, because they are easily measurable and can be readily determined in a variety of contexts, statistical indices permit some degree of universality in categorisations, and allow quantification of the phenomenon.

A further advantage of demographic definitions is that, on the whole, they avoid the direct use of qualitative considerations, so many of which not only obfuscate and falsify patterns of change but are generally ethnocentric and case-specific as well. Not only that, but "it is important to realise that nonurban as well as urban areas and populations may possess these [qualitative] attributes" - whatever they are. (Goldstein and Sly, 1975:8).²⁶ Many of these suggested indices of urbanisation are extremely subtle and intangible and have been derived from empirical studies

²⁶ See also the views of Hilde Wander in the same study (page 16).

of the experiences of the industrialised countries. (McGee 1971 : Chap. 1; Weitz 1975:17). Their experience was that urbanisation, industrialisation, and economic development occurred almost simultaneously and in their wake were assumed to have generated social forces which transformed man's way of life. (Wirth 1938). Urbanisation was interpreted as an expression of both changes in man's interactions with other men and of man with his environment. The general impression given was that within the cauldrons of the urban setting, man became an 'urban being', a cultured individual.²⁷ The transformation from 'folk' to 'urban' ways of life was supposed to occur after the pilgrimage from village to town, and with it many expected a metamorphosis from 'rags' to 'riches'. This is not the empirical reality in many developing countries. Several recent and not so recent studies have raised serious questions about both the validity and relevance of several such suppositions, propositions, and descriptions derived from western-based theories. For example, Robert Daland draws our attention

²⁷ There is some pertinence to this if one goes way back into antiquity and takes into account the walled nature of many early 'cities'. In the urban setting, individuals were presumed to change from being 'drunken rural idiots'; some became 'noble savages'. However, it does not seem possible to easily compartmentalise contemporary society into discrete urban and rural units, and make accurate pronouncements on distinct behavioural characteristics and values of one as opposed to the other.

to the fact that:

There are two definitions of 'urban'. One ... which is defined by density and size of population. The other, usually referred to as 'urbanism', reflects behaviors or style of life. However valid the assumption may have been during certain periods of history or in certain countries, it is certainly not a universal pattern. When we broaden the context of urban studies in the world we find many exceptions. [1969:22]

Brian Berry goes even further:

I perceived that the intellectual basis for much urban policy was derived from social theories written about nineteenth century urbanisation. I thus came to appreciate that many of the difficulties being experienced stemmed from a simple fact: the conventional wisdom was no longer valid. [1975:xii]²⁸

It is no surprise then that Horace Miner notes:

Academic theories of urbanisation have been developed in too small a sphere too long ago. [1969:5]²⁹

And Janet Abu-Lughod and Richard Hay do likewise:

Studies were too often restricted in time and space. In general the field focused almost exclusively upon a limited number of twentieth century American cities and attempted to formulate generalizations about

28 See also Chapter 3 of the same work, as well as Abu-Lughod (1964), McGee (1971:9 and 97), and Quijano (1975).

29 Refer also to Berry (1975:xiii and xiv, and Chap. 3), Walton and Massotti (1976:Chap. 1), and Mabogunje (1968:Chap. 7). I have also analysed several of the points of divergence elsewhere; see Boxhill (1977b and c).

urban life' on the basis of too small and too narrow a sample.

[1977:3-4]

In short, there has not been nor is there likely to be any replication of the nineteenth and early twentieth century experiences of either North America or Western Europe, for which regions the early 'theories' of urbanisation were derived and then applied around the globe. When cross-cultural analyses are undertaken, serious problems are encountered in determining what are the characteristic qualitative attributes which differentiate urban from non-urban areas, and there is a tendency to make many uninvestigated assertions. If 'ways of life' in these two contexts do differ indeed, do they differ in the same way cross-culturally? This in itself is an area for much more detailed research. Though there has been a distinct refinement of the urban vocabulary by incorporation and increasing usage of such terms as 'suburb', 'peri-urban fringe', 'rurban', 'sub-town', and 'urban village', conceptual clarity has still not been achieved, and many aspects of what is indeed 'urban' remain nebulous.³⁰

In operationalising the terms 'urban' and 'urbanisation', qualitative characteristics (urbanism) have largely been excluded from this study. It is not that this researcher feels that they are irrelevant or useless; quite

³⁰ For example, should 'suburban' be taken to mean 'not quite urban' or 'urban residential'?

the contrary. They provide additional and valuable insights into the complex societal changes assumed to generate and accompany the urbanisation process. Nor do I feel that there is a need to go to the extreme of being obsessed with quantifiable indices. The approach here reflects my conclusion that a demographic definition of both terms would be more than adequate for our analytical goals, focusing as they do on spatial relationships. Not only that, but it permits standardisation for comparative purposes. In this study, 'urban areas' have been identified as those settlement nodes which contain at least 2,500 people, with the considerable majority of their work force engaged in non-agricultural monetary pursuits. As a corollary, urbanisation can be defined as the tendency of the population to agglomerate in already existing centres or to congregate in specific locations to form new urban areas. Both processes are the result of adjustments to new political, social and economic conditions, or to perceived changes in the existing ones which provide the societal framework. Other analysts have arrived at a similar conclusion. For example, Harold Carter notes that:

It is difficult to reject the argument that urbanisation as a process involves two elements: the multiplication of points of population concentration and the increase of the size of individual concentrations. But the technological, economic, and sociological correlates of the process are crucial, rather than the nomination of particular sizes.

[1972:22]

Though the definition in this thesis is a simple demographic one, it does not preclude the analysis of socio-economic, socio-political, and technological forces behind the urbanisation process. Indeed, a demographic definition enables the analyst to fuse the geographical and sociological concepts of urbanisation, for in its own right, it deals with both places and people. Thus the factors engendering changes in the nature and direction of either or both may be isolated for analytical purposes.

The title and the Introduction to this study both indicate that 'development' would be one of our broad concerns, and that urbanisation and urban growth would be interpreted in terms of their general implications for national development in the study area. It is therefore instructive that the concept be identified, even though, as pointed out on page 11, this thesis is not an investigation of development per se and does not undertake a rigorous analysis of various conceptual interpretations. National development is identified here simply as a process of change leading to the amelioration of conditions of life for the citizens of a national system. Such an achievement requires the efficient and optimum use of both physical resources (land and capital), and human resources (in their qualitative and quantitative dimensions) over time. Some of the major elements in the process of development are presented schematically in Figure 2.

Figure 2 : Some of the Major Elements in Development

This diagram is conceptual rather than spatial. Changes in any one of the dimensions portrayed here affects on the others and on the existing level of development. Whether alterations in the level of development are positive or negative (e.g. resulting in an improvement or deterioration of living conditions) will, of course, depend on the nature of the dimensional change. Broken lines define the preponderant factors. By no means have all the relevant variables been included in this diagram and the diagram should be regarded as being suggestive, rather than prescriptive. The linkages of the external to the internal system may permeate the state of dependence.

2:4 The Factors Behind Urban Growth And Increasing Urbanisation.

A multitude of factors are involved in the formation, growth, and efficient functioning of urban areas. As a result, it may be extremely difficult, if not impossible to comprehend the interaction of all the factors generating both urban growth and urbanisation, and in particular the patterns now visible in various parts of the world. Three fundamental forces may however be extricated from an apparently complex web of variables and interactions; these will be viewed as the dependent constituents. Thus urban areas grow on account of either or all of:

- (a) fertility exceeding mortality within urban boundaries, (natural increase);
- (b) People moving from rural to urban areas or from one urban place to another, (a process universally known as migration; and
- (c) structural transformation or suburban annexation leading to the re-classification of non-urban settlements as towns, and to the incorporation of suburban districts within urban legal limits.

These dependent constituents or direct agents of urban growth are in turn controlled by many independent social, political, economic, environmental, and technological variables which really are the fabric of the society. A few examples will have to suffice for it is impossible to identify all the relevant independent factors within the constraints of this study. Indeed it may be impossible to

identify them all or even come close to being exhaustive. Thus fertility has been shown to be influenced by levels of education, income, duration of marriage, religious values, birth control practices and attitudes to them, and so on. Mortality is obviously influenced by health standards and practices, death control technology, and other biological and sociological variables. And migration is conditioned by factors such as differential income levels, employment opportunities, direct governmental policies to affect it, et cetera. As a result, not only must the dependent variables be analysed, but several independent factors must be taken cognisance of and discussed as well.

There is a general tendency for increased urbanisation to occur with urban growth, but the two processes are not strictly equivalent. Both emanate from the same sources. However, while urban growth is very conspicuous and denotes changes in the absolute size of populations classified as urban, urbanisation refers to changes in the proportion of a population which is urban. In cases where rural/urban migration and structural transformation are very significant components of urban growth, they are also prominent in increased urbanisation. However, there is a final limit to the urbanisation process when in the Doxiadian sense,³¹ the world has become an 'ecumenopolis', or at a lower level,

31

Original use of the term 'ecumenopolis' to describe a completely urbanised world consisting of interacting city complexes, is attributable to Constantine Doxiadis. The term is also used in the publication 'Ekistics'.

a national system is 100 percent urban.³² This potential occurrence furnishes a technical distinction from urban growth which really has no limits if fertility exceeds mortality. Thus, once a closed system is completely urbanised, then rural/urban migration and structural transformation cease, but growth through fertility excesses over mortality may go on. Figure 3 gives a schematic illustration of the differences between urbanisation and urban growth.

In early analyses of urbanisation, there was a general trend towards emphasising the indirect and independent agents; hence the classic urbanisation cum industrialisation cum economic development arguments and their eventual transplantation into non-industrialised societies. However, more thorough analysis of the processes of social change revealed that "Urbanization, industrialization and modernization are at best unreliable expressions of each other and [therefore] should not be confused." (Smailes 1975:4). In most developing countries, the three processes simply did not parallel each other. Abu-Lughod and Hay validate these observations:

Earlier it was believed that such high rates of urbanisation were healthy since they indicated economic growth and progress. It was assumed that industrialization and urbanization went together. The fallacies of this perspective have now been duly exposed. [1977:6]

The urbanisation process was judged 'efficient' in terms of its relationship with industrialisation and economic develop-

³² Both these occurrences are extremely unlikely, but they must be cited as theoretical possibilities.

ment. (see Weitz 1975 : Chap. 2). This was fine, if the logic was applied solely to developed, industrialised, countries and if analysts did not assume that the association between the three processes dictated the path to be followed if economic development was desired. Neither of these caveats was apparently granted serious recognition in several early theories of urbanisation and their practical application.³³ As a result, such terms as 'over-urbanised', 'pseudo-urbanised', and 'hyper-urbanised' became enmeshed in the jargon of urban studies. (Sovani 1964; McGee 1971). All are obviously pejorative in their connotations and hint of excesses and standards which remain controversial in several circles and are certainly too prefabricated for modernising societies. Furthermore, they presuppose a direct causal link between urbanisation, industrialisation, and economic development which is far from being clearly demonstrated. The 'chicken and egg' nature of the relationship continues to generate much debate. Causality has not yet been firmly established, though there is no shortage of either opinions or educated guesses.³⁴

³³ For similar conclusions, refer to Abu-Lughod and Hay (1977), Friedmann and Wulff (1976) and McGee (1971).

³⁴ In his early analysis of Caribbean urbanisation, Broom (1955:116) conceded somewhat apprehensively that "an urbanized population is a labour market potentially available for recruitment to industrial plants and in this sense, the existence of urban concentrations may accelerate industrial development." [Emphasis added.]

Figure 3: The Differences Between Urbanisation and Urban Growth.

Urban growth has occurred, but urbanisation has decreased, since the increase in rural populations has been greater than that occurring in urban areas.

50% urbanisation level. Population classified as residing in urban areas equals that residing in rural areas.

A ruralised population - Rural populations larger than those in urban areas.

An Urban population as society becomes more urbanised. Levels of urbanisation greater than 50%. This is the situation in Trinidad and Tobago currently. Jamaica's population is urbanising rapidly but has not yet reached the levels in Trinidad and Tobago.

While urbanisation increased very rapidly in many developing countries, industrialisation remained slow for many decades, and this in spite of heavy industrial investments from both internal and external sources. And even where some industrial gains were made, there was little evidence that economic development was becoming a reality. Weitz (1975:17) draws our attention to the fact that "New processes of urbanisation have come to light in which economic development plays little or no part and in which particular urban relations hinder economic progress." This was especially obvious where economic growth was accompanied by gross spatial and sectoral inequities in the socio-economic systems. Evidence of a lopsided distribution of income and power, of low quality housing conditions in the midst of lavish affluence, and of the genuine inability of some segments of the society to provide for their basic needs, can be provided for several societies where urbanisation has been rapid and has already reached high levels (over 60%). Trinidad and Tobago is one example from this group.³⁵ In Jamaica, urbanisation levels are not quite as high, but the general observations of inequitable spatial and sectoral relationships hold true. Finally, one can look elsewhere, to Haute Volta, for example, (Gregory 1974) for evidence of societies which are still largely ruralised, but where urban

³⁵ For details of this typology, see Beier et al. (1975).

growth (not urbanisation) has been rapid, has been confined to the capital city, and has also been accompanied by many of the problems symptomatic of the urban malaise in other parts of the developing world. (Wilsher and Richter 1975).

In the Western countries which are presently industrialised - the developed economies of North America and Western Europe - urbanisation and economic development were generally set in motion by industrialisation. However, there are no grounds for random conclusions and predictions that this sequence of events is the obvious or necessarily the quickest path to economic development. Nor are the industrialisation - urbanisation - economic development arguments incontrovertible. As Terry McGee notes, we should be aware of:

The debatable question of the relationship between industrialisation and the growth of towns. While there may be no reason to argue with Davis and Golden's claim that the achievement of high levels of urbanisation anywhere in the world had to wait for (the relatively short periods of) the Industrial Revolution if it is applied on a world-wide level, it should be remembered that in Western Europe there already existed large cities such as Paris and London which grew rapidly at the same time as the newer industrial towns such as Manchester. [1971:101]

Charles Tilly argues likewise:

China ... has only recently begun aggressive industrialisation. Yet China through most of human history has been one of the most urban - and urbane - lands of the world; ... Japan's urban

history is not quite as long as China's, yet it antedates Japan's industrial growth by centuries. [1974:45-46]

And Richard Morse, questioning the anticipated link, refers to B. Bazzanella's observation that industrialisation is an efficient but not a sufficient cause of urbanisation. (Morse 1969:484). Perhaps even this 'efficiency' relationship may be questioned, since it is conceivable that in small socio-economic systems (all Caribbean islands are of this type) the residential and consumer market patterns associated with urbanisation can be effectively separated from the productive patterns associated with industrialisation. Industrialisation provides the city with its own internal economic foundation, but in addition (or in substitution) the city must derive sustenance from a wider hinterland, and a more diverse economic base - part agriculture, part tourism and so on. That is, the city's strength may also lie in its ability to command resources, rather than solely in its own industrial foundation.

For cities in most Third World countries, and certainly for those in the countries which constitute the geographical focus of this thesis, the problem is that this command has essentially been unidirectional, and has resulted in a flow of resources from rural hinterland to capital city; and thence to the metropole. The relationship between city and country has been skewed in favour of the former.

On the other hand, the relationship between hinterland city and industrial metropole is biased in favour of the latter. These relationships can be portrayed schematically as in Figure 4.

Figure 4 : A General Illustration of Core-Periphery and Urban-Rural Relationships.

The Caribbean city has exerted extractive command over resources from its rural periphery and through migration, trade, and monetary flows, an outward movement to the metropole was consolidated in the global pattern of relationships.

Internally, the generally inequitable relationship between city and country in the Caribbean has meant that the overall development of rural areas has suffered at the hands of urban development, or alternatively, that urban development has taken place at the expense of rural areas. As a consequence of the rapid demographic shift of population from the land to the town, levels of urbanisation increased. What then are the implications for industrialisation? A population desirous of becoming involved in the wage economy

and improving its standard of living is moving away from agricultural pursuits. Economic opportunities in other fields of endeavour must be provided for them, while at the same time contributing to overall economic welfare of the nation. An industrial base seems the logical way of both accommodating a geographic shift of population and providing more sectoral balance in the national socio-economic system.

There are also implications for the international pattern of economic relationships. The national economies of both Jamaica and Trinidad and Tobago have historically been dependent on events in the North Atlantic metropolises; (Chapter 4). This pattern can be perpetuated by heavy reliance on capital-intensive foreign investment to furnish this industrial or quasi-industrial base deemed necessary to accommodate spatial and sectoral shifts of population. Or, alternatively, more indigenous strategies of national development can be devised making full use of domestic savings and the innovative capacities of the local population, and gearing these towards reduction of external dependence and the selection of technologies appropriate to local circumstances. And there are inherent consequences for internal settlement patterns. For example, a strategy of heavy industrialisation dependent on foreign investment will largely be responsive to the dictates of metropolitan interests. Thus, it is conceivable that market character-

istics and considerations may continue to determine industrial location and lead to more concentration (or over-concentration) in areas where infrastructure is already well-developed and population densities are already high. Planning, then, cannot take place in a national vacuum. Unless policies of socio-economic closure are adopted, the intertwining of national and international events in open systems, would negate many efforts at planned socio-economic change which run counter to the established tide.

While analysis of urbanisation as a societal process makes it difficult³⁶ (if not impossible) to engage in detailed examinations of all the interactive systems involving the independent variables,³⁶ (for example, the roles of industrialisation, efficient transportation systems, literacy rates, family planning programmes, and so on), comprehension of their effects on urbanisation and urban systems is simplified, but made relatively thorough, through analysis of their impact on the direct variables (natural increase, migration, and structural transformation). Such an approach should not be viewed as being foolproof, since there are some elements of mutual causation and interdependence between urbanisation and the independent variables. Likewise, this strategy is not totally

36

One option is to be really voluminous; another is to leave detailed examinations to various specialists, and to use the abbreviated route by drawing on their results wherever possible. The latter approach is the one adopted in this thesis. As a result, extensive use has sometimes been made of the few published sources of information as an initial basis for analysis. For example, no major effort was made to undertake a detailed collation of census data for censuses prior to 1970, since these have already been investigated and researched by other analysts.

remote from the possibility of incorporating faulty assumptions. However, it does not require any clairvoyance to detect quantum conceptual jumps and any ad hoc theoretical juxtaposition of the various independent and dependent components of the urbanisation process. Most readers will agree that this should be avoided, since failure to so do can only produce suspect reasoning and highly questionable logic. For example, Richard Wagner's conclusions (1971:431) demonstrate the results of precisely such a failure to conceptualise the interaction of relevant variables. He suggests that "since farm mechanisation and movement to cities reflect increased prosperity and industrialisation, the process of development tends to reduce the birth rate." In a rather sweeping statement, Wagner has moved somewhat shakily along several theoretical planes and the reader is left puzzled in the wake. For example, is it not possible for farm mechanisation to generate surplus labour which along with industrialisation and increased prosperity, would fuel the tides of cityward migration? Similarly, there appears to be much amiss in the linkages prescribed between industrialisation, development and birth rates, and demographic changes are simplistically taken as only adaptive factors in an economic and technological relationship which is much more complicated than that. This thesis recognises that the anatomy of society is extremely complex, but at the same time the author believes

that urbanisation must be explained in terms of its being a societal process. To this end, while concentrating on the direct variables (particularly migration) the study must also investigate and explore the ways in which these direct variables are affected by a host of independent factors. Some of the observations made in this section are summarised in Figure 5.

Figure 5: The Dependent and Independent Variables in Urbanisation.

Economic Growth: Agriculture
Industrialisation Strategy;
Foreign Investment; Domestic
Savings and Capital Formation
Increased productivity, etc.

Social Change: in the realm
of ethics, morality, welfare,
philosophy and politics. Equity,
and justice; domestic determin-
ation of national destiny, etc.

CHAPTER 3

THE NATIONAL SETTLEMENT SITUATION

3:1 The Spatio-Demographic Characteristics of Jamaica and Trinidad and Tobago

The adoption of statistical definitions of urbanisation and urban growth (section 2:3) and our earlier discussions of urban/rural statistical relationships (section 2:4) bring into prominence the demographic character of urban changes, a character shaped by larger national population relationships in the study area. To provide a contextual framework for analysis, it is therefore important that attention be paid to such national population variables as size and density; the kinds and sizes of areas in which people live (for example, the numbers of people living in 'urban' as opposed to 'rural' areas); the growth characteristics of the society; and its composition and distribution. These variables are in their turn underlaid by basic demographic elements, (fertility and fertility rates, mortality and mortality rates, and migratory trends and patterns). This chapter analyses the spatio-demographic situation in Jamaica and Trinidad and Tobago, but since the thesis is adopting a systemic view of urbanisation, there is the implicit position that this chapter can tell only part of the story behind the settlement changes which can contribute to societal change. Therefore, there must be some discourse on the social,

cultural, and economic characteristics of the population and their mobilisation for development within the national unit in general, and the urban sub-systems in particular. This latter task is undertaken in Chapters 4 and 5.

With an area of 11,424 square kilometres (4,411 square miles), Jamaica is more than twice the size of the two island republic of Trinidad and Tobago. Trinidad's area is 4,828 square kilometres (1,864 square miles), and that of Tobago is 300 square kilometres (116 square miles). These apparent disparities in area do not frustrate comparability of the national systems, since both countries are small by world standards. (G.W. Roberts n.d.; Demas 1965; and Jainarain, 1976).³⁷ In addition, since they are both islands, their national boundaries are also natural, and there is an individual physical isolation worth remembering in analysis of the response to demographic pressure, and of the geographic disposition of the major urban areas. The most important of these are ports.³⁸

Jamaica is also more populous than Trinidad and Tobago - respective national population totals in 1970 were 1,861,300 and 931,070. These figures give rather high crude

³⁷ This smallness is both spatial and economic and takes into account size of the population supported by the countries. In Chapter 1, the smallness of both socio-economic states was suggested as a theme of conceptual congruence and of fundamental similarity.

³⁸ The most important of the islands' inland towns are Arima and Sangre Grande (Trinidad), and May Pen and Spanish Town (Jamaica).

densities of 163 and 182 persons per square kilometre (422 and 470 per square mile) respectively, easily placing both countries high among the densely peopled countries of the world. Population densities have increased steadily since the 1930's; Figure 6.

Figure 6 : Population Densities for Trinidad and Tobago (above) and Jamaica (below)

Figure 7: Trends in Population Totals for Trinidad and Tobago (above) and Jamaica (below).

However, one should not be tempted to reason that high population densities in small systems which are physically closed (such as many islands), would necessarily result in congregations in singular nodes.³⁹ To say the least, such logic would lead to the spurious conclusion that the simple man/land relationship is the only or essential one in the urbanisation process. This study has already indicated quite firmly that urbanisation involves many more complex inter-relationships and interactions. Nevertheless, it is necessary to take cognisance of man/land relationships, if only because urbanisation in its geographic dimension, (a major one), involves the disposition of man and his activities in space.

With fixed national areas, increasing population densities are the result of increasing population totals. Analyses of the records of Jamaica and Trinidad and Tobago reveal that population size has generally been on the increase throughout the twentieth century, with an increase of approximately 1.5 percent per annum in the post war period. Figure 7 indicates these trends in population totals.

Natural increase (the mortality/fertility relationship) has been the leading contributor to this

³⁹ Harold Carter (1972:20) succinctly notes that "It is an occidental thesis that high population density and urbanisation are necessarily related." In India, for example, there are many high density communities which are very ruralised.

twentieth century population increase and has largely compensated for the negative net migration balance which the islands experienced since the late nineteenth century. Crude birth rates have generally exhibited a declining trend - a response in part to the emigration of females in the reproductive ages (age 15 - 44), and recently, to the institution of birth control programmes at the national level, with a resultant decline in the number of children per woman of child-bearing age. (Harewood 1975:6). But mortality rates for the general population, already at a low level after World War 2, have sunk even further (to below 10 per thousand) as a result of the cumulative effects of measures to improve public health, sanitation, housing and medical facilities, and to control specific important diseases such as malaria, cholera, tuberculosis, bronchitis and kidney diseases. (Harewood 1975:5-6). Rates of natural increase have therefore not shown substantial declines in the post-war decades. In fact, for much of that period, these rates were close to 20 per thousand in Trinidad and Tobago and close to 30 per thousand in Jamaica.

Increasing absolute totals and increasing densities of national populations are not blanket occurrences, even in small systems.⁴⁰ As a norm, they do not take place

⁴⁰ This is also true of the spatial spread of economic growth, barring deliberate strategies of balanced development.

uniformly in space. Age and sex ratios vary from place to place as do the initial size of an individual settlement and the nature of social and economic conditions in each locality. These and other factors, through their effect on mortality and fertility, influence not only the rate but also the character of any increases in population size and density. Thus, while there are several simple biological and socio-economic factors behind natural increase, there are also many complex ones, which not only vary according to location within the national system, but are further complicated by differences in the quality and quantity of social facilities and amenities in specific areas. For example, there is a tendency towards concentration of good schools, hospitals, and other institutions in the capital cities and second-ranked urban places, where they are assumed to be of greater and more 'efficient' service to more people, i.e. to larger agglomerations. This has undoubtedly contributed to the generation of a spiral of intra-national migration, exacerbating the growth patterns of urban areas and compounding the problems which may be associated with large population increases but presently inadequate absorptive capacity.⁴¹

In the same vein, since both countries have not yet achieved the overall standards of living exhibited by

41

This is reflected in high urban unemployment, overcrowding, poor housing conditions, and other urban ills discussed in Chapter 5.

the developed economies with which they have traditionally been in close contact,⁴² they have continually fuelled the international migratory streams. Swelling populations with limited domestic outlets for their collective personal betterment set their aspirations on the acquisition of at least some of the basic facilities and amenities of the developed economies. A seemingly irreversible pattern of rising expectations founded on a 'demonstration effect' became a firm reality. (Demas 1975:69; Segal and Earnhardt 1969:6 and 51). The urban port areas, and particularly the capital cities - functioning as they did as contact points with the outside world - continued to serve as reception centres for those desiring improved living conditions. An apparent result, judged largely on impressionistic evidence at this time, is that for many in-migrants, towns served only as stepping stones for eventual emigration. To some degree, though again not quantified at this time, it would appear that the reverse process of 'step-wise' immigration from smaller Caribbean territories, terminates at Port of Spain, (Snaggs 1977:3), and Kingston.⁴³

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Contact with the United Kingdom, United States and Canada has at least been maintained through trade, migration, tourism, and foreign ownership, control, and influence over many institutions.

43

In recent years, the volume of this inward flow from other Caribbean territories has generally been small. But a little more than a decade and a half ago, inter-regional migration questions were prominent in the negotiations toward a viable West Indies Federation.

Historically, both Jamaica and Trinidad and Tobago have been immigrant societies, populated by organised migration in the form of European colonisation, slavery transfers, and indentured immigration. By the end of the Second World War, however, net migration for both countries had generally been negative, (outward), with periodic positive fluctuations in response to improved domestic economic conditions.⁴⁴ Increasing opportunities for employment in regions nearby - for example, the construction of the Panama Canal and the harvesting of Central America sugar and bananas - attracted thousands of British West Indian workers, of whom Jamaicans were very numerous. Many stayed on as settlers in Panama, the Canal Zone and other Central American states. But by far the major destinations for emigrants came to be the United Kingdom, the United States, and Canada, especially during the late nineteen fifties and nineteen sixties when there were less stringent restrictions on entry than there are at the present time. For a while, emigration was a useful safety valve for the deflation of population pressure on small physical and economic resources, and for the infusion of foreign monetary resources into the local economies. Many of these outlets have, however, been

⁴⁴ For example, the post-war development of Trinidad's petroleum industry, attracted workers from Jamaica, as well as Barbados, Grenada, and several of the smaller West Indian islands. (Segal and Earnhardt 1969:60).

effectively sealed, and tightening of the doors to immigration in many parts of the world has meant that population pressures and readjustments to changing socio-economic circumstances must be accommodated in the islands themselves. As already intimated, one response - a major one -⁴⁵ has been burgeoning urban and suburban areas, a consequence in part, of increasing intra-national migration with limited international outlets to absorb the spill over.⁴⁶

The settlement pattern of both Jamaica and Trinidad and Tobago exhibits a simple five-tiered hierarchy on the basis of the size of individual population clusters. Thus, in each there are (1) a capital region encompassing a capital city which has merged imperceptibly with adjacent urban and suburban areas, some of which were formerly discrete entities; (2) smaller towns of considerable regional influence and some national import, such as San Fernando, and Sangre Grande (Trinidad), and Montego Bay and Spanish Town (Jamaica). These are discontinuous from the respective capital regions and are growing on account of their own economic dynamism or their ability to perform regional administrative functions and provide employment in government

⁴⁵ Another is population control as a matter of national policy. Family planning associations, under some government supervision are operational in both countries, though preliminary analyses reveal that their impact is more widely felt in urban areas.

⁴⁶ Guyana and Belize have sometimes been suggested as regional outlets for the population overspill from the islands. However, as yet there has been little in the way of massive population transfers to these mainland Commonwealth countries.

offices, banks, insurance companies, and so on; (3) other towns - so classified because of their population size and concentration and their functional distinction from surrounding areas. Their influence and importance is almost solely regional and they are much smaller than the other classes of urban areas; (4) nucleated villages and rural settlements which are scattered throughout the islands; and (5) dispersed rural dwellings and isolated homesteads, located in economically less-productive areas. In this thesis, our major concern will be with the first three categories directly, but with the latter two inferentially as well, for one component of urban growth has been movement from rural areas. Not only that, but in our discussion of the evolutionary development of settlement nodes which may be currently designated 'urban', (Chapter 4), we will learn of some of the factors which prevented the concentration of population and the economic growth of other areas.

While the use of criteria other than population size and functions may result in a categorisation of settlement different from the one described above, one feature of settlement distribution remains patently clear: this is the dominance of the capital city in both the urban and national scheme of things. For example, though Port of Spain, San Fernando and Arima in Trinidad, are incorporated settlements having their own municipal governments and equal administra-

tive status, neither of the latter two settlements (the number two and three towns respectively according to size) has yet been able to institute an effective challenge to the importance of Port of Spain and the capital region as the economic, social, and demographic hub of the island.⁴⁷ To residents of all parts of Trinidad, including San Fernando, Port of Spain is still "the city".⁴⁸ And this remains true despite the leverage exerted on San Fernando by the presence nearby of petroleum resources which are the backbone of the economy of the republic. Virtually all government functions and operations - and many non-governmental ones as well - are headquartered in Port of Spain with some subsidiary regional headquarters in San Fernando and Scarborough (Tobago).

The urban structure of Jamaica is veritably similar. Montego Bay and May Pen remain economically and demographically dwarfed by Kingston, with the relationship being somewhat more extreme than in Trinidad. Some mathe-

47 See Town and Country Planning Department, Trinidad and Tobago, 'Planning for Development: The Capital Region (1975:13). For the use of criteria other than size for Jamaica, see Town Planning Division (1977:12-13). This document makes use of the presence or absence of market centres, but even here, there is implicit recognition of the size element, for markets are generally located in fairly sizeable settlements.

48 My experiences through travelling in taxis in Trinidad and through questioning some Trinidadians, was that Port of Spain was the city to all residents of the country, while San Fernando was a town to even the residents of 'South', (Southern Trinidad). Port of Spain was where the national business was carried on.

matical comparisons substantiate this.⁴⁹ Thus, calculation of a simple primacy index (the statistical relationship between the largest city and the next two urban areas in population size) produces a coefficient of 1.8 for Trinidad and Tobago and 6 for Jamaica. On this simple basis then, primacy is three times more pronounced in the latter country. But use of data for the city proper may be a weak statistical crutch, providing misleading impressions. For example, a more realistic comparison in Trinidad is obtained if we take that part of the Eastern corridor of the Capital Region, in which settlement is continuous and dense for the fifteen miles from down-town Port of Spain to Arouca-D'Abodie. For all intents and purposes, this band of settlement is the effective urban area, and it appears that much of its salaried population is involved in economic activities in Port of Spain proper and in its immediate environs. If the Port of Spain - Arouca/D'Abodie urban area is used as our basis for calculation of primacy then a

⁴⁹ Here, the simple primacy value is obtained from the following formula:

$$\text{Primacy Value} = \frac{\text{Population of Largest Urban Area}}{\text{Total population of next two urban areas}}$$

1970 population totals for these three towns in Trinidad are: Port of Spain (136,650); San Fernando (51,300); and Arima (25,590). These figures are obtained from the 1970 Census. The population size of the Port of Spain - Arouca/D'Abodie belt is 283,250; figures obtained from Town and Country Planning Division, Planning for Development: The National Framework 1975, Sheet no. 3. For Jamaica, the figures are: Kingston Metropolitan Area (506,200), Montego Bay (42,800), and Spanish Town (41,600); data has been provided by the National Planning Agency, Jamaica.

coefficient of 3.6 is obtained, so that while there are still differences in values for Trinidad and Tobago and Jamaica, they are not quite as pronounced as if the figure for the city proper were the numerator in the proportion.

In Jamaica, despite the development of the bauxite industry in the central parishes, and the expansion of the North Coast tourist industry, of which Montego Bay was envisaged as a pivotal centre, absolute growth of the island's smaller urban areas has not matched that of the urbanised zone around the capital, i.e. Kingston and urban St. Andrew. However, rates of increase of the urban population in some rural parishes have been extremely high, as in St. Catherine (117.3%) and St. James (85.3%). Table 1 substantiates that the greatest growth in absolute terms is occurring in the urban parishes of Kingston/St. Andrew, even though higher rates are being experienced in smaller urban areas. The changing proportions of urban-rural populations are indicated in Table 2 of Figure 9.

It is clear that the absolute pull of the chief-city and its environs far outweighs the economic vibrance of the capital-intensive bauxite operations, (in which the capital is largely foreign-owned and there are only limited requirements for unskilled labour; Girvan 1967 and 1972)⁵⁰

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For example, the bauxite-alumina industry employed only some 6500 workers on a regular basis in the early 1970's... And this figure included those engaged in the industrial production of alumina as well as those involved in the actual mining operations. (Kaplan et al. 1976:29)...

and the enclave type tourist operations which still involve only a minor local labour input in a role which fulfills individual social aspirations.⁵¹ Still, rates of growth in Montego Bay (85%), May Pen (85%), Mandeville (71%), and Spanish Town (177%) are very impressive, even though their initial (1960) bases are very much lower than that of Kingston/St. Andrew.

One final demographic characteristic is in order to complete our discussion of the current spatio-demographic features of the study area. Figures 11 and 12 represent population silhouettes for Jamaica and Trinidad and Tobago in recent years. The wide base is reflective of a young population, and potentially harbours much future growth for both countries. It will be observed that a significant percentage of total females are in the reproductive ages, and as Figure 13 illustrates for Jamaica, the numbers of live births are high for the total population, and are greatly in excess of the numbers of deaths. Thus there is a high current rate of natural increase, as well as a high built-in potential for further increases.

51. The implication here is that participation in that sector of the tourist industry which utilises unskilled labour, has economic benefits, but is viewed as perpetuating the institution of servility. I owe this suggestion to some friends and acquaintances in Kingston. These individuals are in the young-adult age groups and it is difficult to extrapolate their views to encompass the wider population. Still, tourism makes a 'relatively important' contribution to the Jamaican economy, (6.5% of national income in 1969), and is prominent in foreign exchange earnings (16.5% of the total retained in 1969), and employment creation. (Jefferson 1972:Chapter 7).

Figure 8 and Table 1: *Jamaica - Changes in the Population of Parishes and Port of Call (1960-70)*

	1968			1975			
	Popu- lation	Absolute Increase (1968 - 1975)	% Change	Popu- lation	Absolute Increase (1975 - 1968)	% Change	
Kingston and St. Andrew Corp.	580,600	169,400	29.17	750,000	230,000	30.66	980,000
Small Towns	185,100	54,900	29.66	240,000	80,000	33.33	320,000
Rural Areas	1,146,400	53,600	4.67	1,200,000	60,000	5.00	1,260,000
TOTAL	1,912,200	277,900	14.53	2,190,000	370,000	16.89	2,560,000

Parish	Population		Parish Capital	Population		Percentage Ch.	
	1960	1970		1960	1970	Parish	Parish Capital
Kingston/ St. Andrew	419,416	525,200	Kingston	376,518	475,548	+ 25%	+ 26%
St. Thomas	68,725	70,200	Morant Bay	5,054	7,465	+ 2%	+ 40%
Portland	64,510	67,900	Port Antonio	7,830	10,538	+ 5%	+ 35%
St. Mary	94,233	99,500	Port Maria	3,998	5,259	+ 6%	+ 32%
St. Ann	114,560	120,500	St. Ann's Bay	5,037	7,247	+ 5%	+ 42%
Trelawny	56,080	61,200	Falmouth	3,727	3,937	+ 9%	+ 6%
St. James	83,003	102,300	Montego Bay	23,610	43,754	+ 23%	+ 80%
Hanover	53,902	58,600	Lucea	2,803	3,035	+ 8%	+ 10%
Westmoreland	100,600	113,200	Savannah-la-Mar	9,780	11,750	+ 3%	+ 20%
St. Elizabeth	110,700	125,900	Black River	3,077	2,091	+ 5%	+ 30%
Manchester	111,708	123,000	Mandeville	8,416	14,421	+ 10%	+ 71%
St. Catherine	100,450	170,000	May Pen	14,000	20,000	+ 7%	+ 43%
St. Catherine	163,535	182,900	Spanish Town	14,700	40,731	+ 19%	+ 177%

Source: Dept. of Statistics (1977:24) and Town Planning Dept

Figure 9 : Jamaica: Population by Parish and Urban/Rural Proportions for Various Census Years.

Table 2

Parish	1943	A	1960	B	1970	1960		1970		Δ (1960-70)	
						Urban	Rural	Urban	Rural	Urban	Rural
Kingston/St. Andrew	238,229	+ 3.4%	419,416	+ 2.7%	547,700	89.7	10.3	91.4	8.6	+ 28.6	+ 15.8
St. Thomas	60,603	+ 0.7%	68,725	+ 0.2%	70,200	13.6	86.4	21.7	78.3	+ 62.0	- 8.6
Portland	60,712	+ 0.3%	64,510	+ 0.5%	67,900	16.5	83.5	20.5	79.5	+ 29.8	- 0.3
St. Mary	90,902	+ 0.1%	94,233	+ 0.6%	99,500	12.9	87.1	18.2	81.8	+ 46.7	- 1.9
St. Ann	96,193	+ 1.0%	114,360	+ 0.6%	120,500	13.1	86.9	19.2	80.8	+ 53.8	- 2.4
Trelawny	47,535	+ 0.9%	56,080	+ 0.9%	61,200	9.4	90.6	12.7	87.3	+ 45.2	+ 4.0
St. James	63,542	+ 1.6%	83,003	+ 2.1%	102,300	28.4	71.6	43.5	56.5	+ 85.3	- 4.4
Hanover	51,684	+ 0.2%	53,902	+ 0.8%	58,600	5.2	94.8	6.2	93.8	+ 29.7	+ 7.0
Westmorland	90,109	+ 1.2%	109,606	+ 0.3%	113,200	8.9	91.1	14.7	85.3	+ 69.4	- 3.6
St. Elizabeth	100,182	+ 0.9%	116,706	+ 0.8%	125,900	4.9	95.1	6.2	94.8	+ 14.9	+ 7.0
Manchester	92,745	+ 1.1%	111,788	+ 0.9%	123,000	13.9	86.1	21.1	78.9	+ 64.9	- 0.5
Clarendon	123,505	+ 1.6%	163,450	+ 0.7%	175,500	15.4	84.6	22.5	77.5	+ 54.5	- 2.8
St. Catherine	121,032	+ 1.4%	153,535	+ 1.7%	182,900	18.8	81.2	34.8	65.2	+ 117.3	- 5.6
JAMAICA	1,237,063	+ 1.6%	1,609,314	+ 1.4%	1,848,500	33.6	66.4	41.4	58.6	+ 38.9	- 0.6

Average annual
 rate of popula-
 tion change
 (1943-60) - A
 and
 (1960-70) - B

Figure 10 and Table 3: Some Demographic Characteristics of Jamaica by Parish, in Various Census Years.

Parish	1921	%	1943	%	1960	%	1970	%	C.B.R.	CDR	C.R.N.I.
Kingston	63,700	7.42	110,100	8.90	123,400	7.67	109,800	5.94	40.9	7.6	33.3
St. Andrew	54,600	6.36	128,100	10.36	296,000	18.39	421,700	22.81	31.4	9.1	22.3
St. Thomas	42,500	4.95	60,700	4.91	68,700	4.27	71,200	3.85	29.3	8.3	21.0
Portland	49,000	5.71	60,700	4.91	64,500	4.01	69,300	3.75	28.9	8.1	20.8
St. Mary	71,400	8.32	90,900	7.55	94,200	5.85	100,400	5.43	30.7	7.6	23.1
St. Ann	70,900	8.27	96,200	7.77	114,400	7.10	122,700	6.63	30.6	7.4	23.2
Trelawny	34,600	4.03	47,500	3.84	56,100	3.48	61,900	3.35	35.1	7.3	27.8
St. James	41,900	4.89	63,500	5.14	83,000	5.16	103,100	5.56	33.2	8.2	25.0
Hanover	38,200	4.46	51,700	4.18	53,900	3.35	59,400	3.15	29.8	7.6	22.2
Westmoreland	68,900	8.02	90,100	7.28	109,600	6.81	115,800	6.26	30.8	8.0	22.8
St. Elizabeth	79,300	9.24	100,200	8.10	116,700	7.25	127,800	6.91	37.6	9.2	28.6
Manchester	63,900	7.45	92,700	7.50	111,800	6.94	122,900	6.65	28.7	6.0	22.7
Clarendon	83,000	9.62	123,500	9.98	164,000	10.18	178,300	9.75	33.5	7.4	26.1
St. Catherine	96,600	11.26	121,000	9.78	153,500	9.54	184,200	9.96	34.4	7.7	26.7
JAMAICA	858,500		1,237,000		1,609,800		1,848,500				

Figure 11 : Age-Sex Population Pyramid for Jamaica (1970 and 1976).

Figure 12: Age-Sex Population Pyramid for Trinidad and Tobago (1911 and 1970)

Source: Central Statistical Office (1975)

Figure 13 : Component Changes in the Population of Jamaica (1969-76).

Figure 14 presents the spatial distribution of population in Jamaica as obtained from the 1960 census; the distribution in 1970 does not differ markedly from this. Three things are obvious from this diagram: (1) the dominance of the Kingston area; (2) the high dispersion of rural settlement; and (3) the absence of settlement in high relief areas such as the Blue Mountains, and difficult terrain such as the Cockpit country. Physical conditions are presented in Figure 15. (See pages 83 and 84 for Figures 14 and 15).

Table 3 had presented the distribution of population numerically and proportionally by administrative parish. The parish is still a very convenient compilation unit and the one generally used in censuses and data collection exercises since 1867. This standardisation by parish permits the degree of monitoring demographic change depicted in Tables 1, 2, and 3, despite the limitation of not being a direct reflection of changes which are occurring to and in urban and peri-urban areas within the respective administrative boundaries. Nonetheless, this census compilation is the best statistical measure currently available. In fact, most modern research into various aspects of the urban situation invariably utilise census data. There seems to be no question that trends and tendencies and generalisations can be discerned and derived without the pinpoint accuracy of detailed statistics. Data reference points are necessary

and the researcher must base his data selection on practical needs and pragmatism, the purpose of the investigation, and, of course, data availability. Though investigators are sometimes able to accumulate data on their own, (through sample surveys, extensive travel throughout the study area, personal familiarity and knowledge of the region, and so on) there is still a definite need for data which are collected in comparable form from specialised sources. As suggested on the previous page, sometimes even census definitions and data from specialised bodies may be limited, since these tabulations may be constrained by administrative boundaries and would not accurately reflect the geographic extent of urbanised territory. Consequently, cities are typically under-bounded or over-bounded - with the gazetted boundaries not being coincident with the spatial extent of the settlement. The under-bounded city is the typical case, especially among capitals in the Caribbean. This phenomenon is primarily a product of centrifugal growth and suburbanisation, resulting in increased spatial spread without a corresponding adjustment of corporate boundaries. And, an additional complication is the fact that, as noted for Kingston, "the city is differently delimited and named by various authorities that administer or collect information about the city." (National Planning Agency, Jamaica, 1976:3). There is thus an obvious need for standardised definitions of urban areas in order to

provide a foundation for a variety of comparative inputs into the study of the region's urban areas. C.G. Clarke (1972) has illustrated the spatial spread of Kingston, since 1692 and this forms a useful basis for monitoring boundary changes. While this is not a major interest in this thesis, it is still useful information in visually presenting the physical spread of urbanised territory from the capital-city proper. This diagram has been reproduced as Figure 16 (page 85).

The spatial distribution of population in Trinidad and Tobago is illustrated in Figure 17. Immediately the heavy concentration in the western section of Trinidad is noticeable. The Capital Region and the San Fernando Region - the areas surrounding the three major urban centres of Port of Spain, Arima, and San Fernando - are the most densely settled and together account for over 56 percent of the nation's population. This concentration in the areas closest to the Gulf of Paria is due in part to their importance as producers of sugar, and to the twentieth century development of the petroleum industry in the south-western sections of the island. By contrast, its eastern half and the island of Tobago, account for only 16 percent of the nation's population. These are areas which are predominantly rural. As in Jamaica, capital region dominance is readily visible. This zone which includes Port of Spain and the conurbation stretching from that city along the Eastern Main Roads to Arima, is home to some 443,100 people, more than three times as many as San Fernando region.

Figure 14: The Spatial Distribution and Changes in the Population of Jamaica.

Figure 15: Topographic Conditions in Jamaica.

Figure 16: Growth Map of Kingston (Jamaica) - 1692 to 1970.

Sources: Clarke (1975a: 168) and Kingston Metropolitan Atlas (1977).

2

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Figure 17: The Population Distribution in Trinidad and Tobago Showing a Classification of Settlements

The distribution of population for Trinidad and Tobago should also be compared with the country's land use pattern and its classification into economic regions. (Figures 18 and 19). It will be observed that built-up areas predominate in the Capital and San Fernando regions, which areas also contain the bulk of the country's industrial development. In 1970, 81% of all manufacturing establishments were found in St. George County and 78% of the value of manufacturing output (excluding petroleum) originated in the Capital Region. (Town and Country Planning Division (1977:40). In the Capital Region, many of these industries are along the Eastern Main Roads. One may also observe that the spread of built-up areas is infringing on agricultural land space (under sugar cultivation), and on their southern extremities, both Port of Spain and San Fernando are extending towards swamp areas (the Caroni Swamp for the former, and the Oropuche Lagoon for the latter). Much of the western half of the country is under forest.

Figure 18 : Trinidad and Tobago - Land Use Patterns

Figure 19 : Trinidad and Tobago - Economic Regions

3:2 Internal Migration Patterns in the Study Area

Detailed analyses of urban populations and of internal migration prior to the 1943 census of Jamaica and the 1946 census of Trinidad and Tobago, are difficult and largely grounded in conjecture. Statistical material is generally not available in a refined or comprehensive form, for collection of data on the urban segment of West Indian societies was not a prime concern of census takers. It was only after the Second World War that urbanisation became an important facet of social change. Then, an improving climate for social opportunity stimulated large geographical shifts of population between country and town - that is, internal migration of a concentrated rural/urban pattern. Internal migration is identified here as a redistribution of populations across pre-determined administrative boundaries to result in a change in the normal locus of residence.

Prior to the War, internal migration patterns were largely reflective of a re-allocation among rural populations, rather than from rural to urban areas. However, a distinct townward stream could still be detected through analysis of aggregate data on demographic change. This stream was focused on Kingston and Port of Spain and their proximate areas. Later, the capital zone was to remain the focus of movement, even though the city proper was losing residents to the rapidly growing, contiguous, suburban areas.

Much of the discussion here on urban growth and the shift of populations before the 1970 census is based on the work of Linda Hewitt (1974) for Jamaica, and Joy Simpson (1973) for Trinidad and Tobago. Hewitt has attempted a four-phase division of the pattern of internal migration in Jamaica, with each demarcation covering a census period (1911-21, 1921-43, 1943-60, and 1960-70) and relating to movement across parish boundaries.

Not much is known about the first phase, during which internal migration occupied a secondary position to external movement in population readjustment. Hewitt notes, however, (page 29) that "there was the dominance of the Kingston and St. Andrew areas, which exercised such a forceful pull that migrants came from almost every parish in the country."

In the second period identified by Hewitt, the Kingston and St. Andrew areas "not only continued to be of supreme attraction to migrants but also stimulated an interesting pattern of movement between parishes which eventually terminated at the urban centre." Hewitt (1974:29). But other patterns of internal movement were being initiated by economic diversification. Tourism development on the island's North coast was generating growth in the parish of St. James, and particularly in Montego Bay, its chief town. And the banana industry in the parishes of Portland and St. Mary, was not only providing opportunities for domestic employment, but

was also serving as a stepping stone for external migration:

The third phase of internal migration in Jamaica (1943-60), witnessed an accentuation of patterns which had developed in earlier periods. Kingston and St. Andrew remained the major destinations of migrants, but by now the suburban attractiveness of St. Andrew was beginning to predominate in the determination of final destination. Table 3 (page 76) indicated the increasing demographic prominence of St. Andrew. During the 1943-60 period as well, tourism and the job opportunities attendant on a booming hotel industry (Jefferson 1970: Chapter 7) had further stimulated a movement from nearby parishes to St. James. And a new direction of movement was provided with the establishment of the bauxite mining industry in the parishes of Manchester and Clarendon.

In the final phase, which Hewitt has designated as 1960-70, but which may logically be extended to the present, there is a further increase in the numbers of persons involved in internal movement. However, the direction and patterns of movement do not show any significant differences from those established previously. Thus at no time have the parishes of Kingston and St. Andrew ceased to be prominent destinations for internal migrants.

Over the 1960-70 decade, there has apparently been much movement to urban areas within all parishes, as is reflected in the increasing proportions of urban populations for each administrative division. (Table 2, page 75). But the

urban and suburban Capital Region continued to show the largest net migration gains. Indeed, as Table 4 indicates, only the urban parishes of Kingston/St. Andrew, St. Catherine and St. James have shown a positive migration balance. In 1970, migrants made up 34, 21 and 21 percent respectively, of the population of these parishes.

Table 4: *Jamaica - Internal Migration by Sex and Parish (1960-70).*

PARISH	Male		Female		Total		Migration Balance
	Into	Out of	Into	Out of	Into	Out of	
Kingston/St. Andrew	77,203	18,563	110,595	19,332	187,798	37,895	+149,903
St. Thomas	6,903	7,056	6,285	8,588	13,188	15,644	- 2,456
Portland	5,518	8,793	5,525	10,950	11,043	19,743	- 8,700
St. Mary	8,427	16,629	8,936	19,697	17,363	36,326	- 18,963
St. Ann	5,316	16,618	5,808	20,423	11,124	37,041	- 25,917
Trelawny	4,967	7,786	4,714	10,184	9,681	17,970	- 8,289
St. James	10,183	8,818	11,012	10,541	21,195	19,359	+ 1,836
Hanover	2,864	7,868	2,991	9,879	5,855	17,747	- 11,892
Westmorland	5,086	14,450	5,591	17,218	10,678	31,668	- 20,990
St. Elizabeth	4,696	17,935	4,454	23,494	9,150	41,429	- 32,279
Manchester	8,188	15,718	9,770	18,987	17,958	34,705	- 16,747
Clarendon	13,539	14,253	13,102	19,523	26,641	33,776	- 7,135
St. Catherine	18,203	15,773	20,011	19,424	38,214	35,197	+ 3,017

Source: Dept of Statistics (Jamaica)

Reference to Tables 1 - 3 and Figures 8 and 9 will illustrate or suggest that: (a) The populations of the parish capitals have generally increased at faster rates than those of the parishes themselves; (b) the population of the suburban residential parish of St. Andrew has shown a substantial increase between 1943 and 1970; (c) the population of the

parish of Kingston has shown an absolute decrease over the 1960 - 70 period; (d) the parishes with the highest degree of urbanisation (Kingston/St. Andrew, St. Catherine, and St. James) also show higher rates of urban population increase than the other parishes; (e) the tourist industry and the location of Montego Bay have contributed to an increase in the population of St. James. Further, while only the parish of Kingston has shown a population decrease over the 1921-70 period, the proportional shifts in parish population indicate that parishes contiguous with Kingston/St. Andrew have generally shown the greatest proportional decline in their contribution to the national population total over the 1960 - 70 intercensal period. Volume V of the 1970 Census of the Caribbean presents data from which most of the foregoing tables have been derived. (See also Table 11 and Appendix A).

The factors behind internal migration and the reasons for the predominance of the Kingston/St. Andrew areas are still the subjects of on-going discussions, and it is difficult to avoid the view that they are largely based on speculation. Even more unfortunate is the likelihood that these issues may remain polemic and unresolved in the absence of detailed census questionnaires (a costly endeavour) and more comprehensive sample surveys (again a costly enterprise). However, the need for these cannot be downplayed.

In discussing the motivation for internal migration, Colin Clarke, for example, claims that 'rural push' is the dominating force in the Commonwealth Caribbean in general, and in Jamaica in particular.

Cityward migration in Jamaica results more from a push from the overcrowded, overworked land of the rural parishes than from a strong pull to the towns. [Clarke 1975b: 20]

On the other hand, Linda Hewitt suggests that:

The factors contributing to the differential pattern of internal migration were largely economic and demographic. The pull of the Kingston and St. Andrew area can be explained by the fact that their reputation as rapidly growing urban areas of economic and political importance greatly attracted migrants from rural areas who came in search of better opportunities than were afforded by their local place of residence.
[Hewitt 1974:30; emphasis mine]

Elsewhere,⁵² evidence suggests that migratory motives do vary among individuals and groups of migrants, and there must be some caution (with lack of detailed collection and collation of data) in determining whether 'push' or 'pull' factors were responsible for the stimulus to movement.⁵³ Indeed, as Simpson (1973:2) points out, "...the decision to migrate is never completely rational", and analysts are not really in a position to guarantee their conclusions on the basis of circumstantial evidence.

⁵² For example, see New Internationalist, Vol. 64, June 1978, and Kosinski and Prothero (1975).

⁵³

My contention is that the simple census questionnaire, Appendix B1 does not provide sufficient data on which to judge the motivation to migrate. Therefore analysts cannot use such census data as a firm basis for identifying the stimuli to migration.

For Trinidad and Tobago, internal migration was measured according to movement across the country's major administrative and political divisions - counties, wards, and major municipalities. The intensity and nature of movement was obtained by comparing place of birth with place of residence at particular census dates. Internal migrants (movers) were then, those individuals residing outside of the administrative division in which they were born, a similar procedure and designation as that for Jamaica.

Simpson (1973:8), draws our attention to the fact that "Data on internal migration within Trinidad and Tobago before 1931 are not available", but analysts may be able to draw some conclusions' (albeit limited and tentative) on the basis of "historical data and figures for total population." Much of the internal movement prior to 1931 resulted in a redistribution among rural populations, with a pronounced stream being "the drift of ex-slaves from the sugar plantations after emancipation." Simpson (1973:8) With the depression of the sugar industry in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, there was a further movement from rural areas in economic decline. This was reinforced by "the pull factor of existing large areas of Crown lands in the South and East of the island which were open to the settler." Simpson (1973:9). But a trend towards migration of a rural/urban pattern was also evident "since as early as 1901 the three major towns Port of Spain, San

Fernando and Arima together with minor towns and villages, showed signs of population increase." Simpson (1973:9).

During the intercensal period 1931-46, the rural/urban trend of internal migration was entrenched, and a major suburban dimension was added. The major destinations became the town of San Fernando, the suburban areas of Diego Martin and St. Ann's, the Borough of Arima, and the County of St. Patrick, with a significant amount of this movement being from contiguous areas. Tables 5, 6, and 7 indicate this pattern. However, as suggested for Jamaica, one cannot determine conclusively, the motivation behind this movement, though Simpson attempts to do this on the basis of inductive reasoning. As a result, she suggests (page 9), "While all the other areas of the region were centres of out-migration currents, the considerable losses experienced by the ward of Tobago and the Counties of Caroni and Victoria, seem conclusive evidence of the push factors in effecting population re-distribution." ⁵⁴ But suburban areas adjacent to Port of Spain were also growing rapidly, even though the city proper and the Borough of Arima were both losing population. As it is, one is safer accepting Simpson's concession (page 11), that "comparisons are cautiously made since it is unsafe to attempt to establish any exact comparisons based on the estimates under consideration"; that is, judgments are largely educated guesses, rather than conclusive findings. Indeed, for the out-migration

⁵⁴ Simpson (1973:9). The emphasis is mine.

from Tobago, one can suggest alternatively that it was the metropolitan pull of Trinidad rather than anything inherent in the rurality of Tobago, which was the major stimulus to movement between the islands.⁵⁵

During the 1946-60 intercensal period, the number of internal migrants increased substantially - from 58,500 over 1931-46 to 146,900; that is, there was almost a tripling in the number of movers. Tables 8 and 9 indicate this increase which was accompanied by a significant shift in pattern. The major streams were now distinctly focused on suburban areas contiguous with Port of Spain - namely Diego Martin, St. Ann's, and Tacarigua. (Table 10). Nonetheless, the overall rural/urban drift continued to be very noticeable. One reason suggested for the exodus from the city proper, and for the growth of suburban areas associated with it, has been the increase in commercial and industrial activity within the legal limits of the city. As a result, former residences have either been converted to non-residential uses or have become mixed-use buildings. In some cases, units in a poor state of repair have been demolished to make room for industrial or commercial establishments, while urban residential development was taking place beyond the confines of the gazetted city.

55

The suggestion here is that the movement between Tobago and Trinidad may also be viewed legitimately within the framework of core-periphery relationships. The greater opportunities for a better life in the core (Trinidad) can be taken as the initial stimulus to movement from the periphery (Tobago).

Table 5 : Minimum Estimates of Out-Migration, In-Migration, and Net Migration Balance By Sex, for Counties, Wards, and Main Towns (1931-46) - Trinidad and Tobago.

AREA	BOTH SEXES			MALE			Rate per '000	FEMALE			Rate per '000
	Out	In	Net	Out	In	Net		Out	In	Net	
Port of Spain	8,805	7,798	-1,007	4,252	3,266	-986	-26.6	4,553	4,532	-21	-0.5
San Fernando	5,103	5,430	+2,267	1,904	2,413	+909	+88.4	1,659	3,017	+1,358	+120.0
Arima	2,419	1,134	-1,285	1,157	514	-643	-205.4	1,262	620	-642	-186.3
Diego Martin	1,493	2,744	+1,251	643	1,374	+731	+58.3	850	1,370	+520	+45.0
St. Ann's	1,892	11,086	+9,194	842	5,241	+4,399	+227.8	1,050	5,845	+4,795	+253.3
Tacarigua	5,651	4,304	-1,349	2,502	1,834	-668	-34.7	3,151	2,470	-681	-35.5
Arima	144	660	+536	68	331	+263	+106.2	76	329	+253	+121.8
Blanchisseuse	230	256	+26	10	145	+135	+40.4	140	111	-29	-33.1
San Rafael	143	353	+210	340	170	-170	-102.9	403	175	-228	-164.7
Caroni	6,367	4,316	-2,051	3,619	1,786	-1,833	-69.2	4,568	2,528	-2,040	-75.2
Nariva/Mayaro	1,576	2,737	+1,161	717	1,471	+754	+91.3	859	1,266	+407	+56.8
St. Andrew/St. David	4,928	3,223	-1,705	2,278	1,578	-700	-46.4	2,650	1,645	-1,005	-70.8
Victoria	9,502	4,990	-4,512	4,559	2,152	-2,407	-54.8	5,223	2,846	-2,377	-62.3
St. Patrick	3,861	8,965	+5,104	1,624	4,475	+2,851	+94.3	2,237	4,490	+2,253	+81.1
Tobago	5,593	453	-5,140	2,780	223	-2,557	-200.6	2,813	230	-2,583	-190.8
Trinidad & Tobago	54,477	58,477	0	26,933	26,983	0		31,494	31,494	0	

Source: Simpson (1973:31-32)

Table 6 : Minimum Estimates of Net Gains or Losses Experienced By City, Ward, or County as a Result of Internal Migration (1931-46) - Trinidad and Tobago.

CITY, WARD, COUNTY	MALES					FEMALES				
	NET GAIN (+) from or LOSS (-) to					NET GAIN (+) from or LOSS (-) to				
	Contiguous Areas	Port of Spain	San Fernando	Others	All Areas	Contiguous Areas	Port of Spain	San Fernando	Others	All Areas
Port of Spain	-2,218		-24	+723	-1,519	-2,221		-24	+1,486	-759
San Fernando	+689	+24		+80	+793	+930	+24		+249	+1,203
Arima	+3	-145	-35	-430	-607	+2	-234	-44	-390	-666
Diego Martin	+368		+11	+212	+591	+259		+19	+121	+399
St. Ann's	12,719		+130	+971	+13,820	+2,656		+171	+1,126	+4,133
Tacarigua	-362	-51	-22	-310	-745	-342	-174	-51	-145	-761
Arima	+161	+19	+11	+35	+226	+250	+16	+5	+43	+264
Blanchisseuse	+57	-8	-3	-4	+42	+17	-27	-2	-16	-22
San Rafael	-68	-21	-8	-65	-162	-7	-58	-5	-97	-230
Caroni	-935	-230	-146	-765	-2,036	-924	-363	-237	-578	-2,102
Nariva/Mayaro	+772	-29	-49	-37	+657	+587	-75	-50	-109	+353
St. Andrew/ St. David	-197	-338	+54	-343	-922	-133	-476	-83	-537	-1,229
Victoria	-2,024	-136		-238	-2,398	-2,017	-212		-291	-2,520
St. Patrick	+1,023	+206	+85	+1,056	+2,370	+877	+117	+37	+865	+1,826
TOTAL	+8	-699	-104	+795	0	+8	-1,462	-273	+1,727	0

Note: Diego Martin, St. Ann's, Tacarigua and Arima# are included under Contiguous Areas. These estimates are derived from Tables 4(a) and 4(b).

Source: Simpson (1973:38)

Table 7 : Minimum Estimates of Internal Migration (1931-46) - Trinidad and Tobago.

		PLACE OF BIRTH															
<i>Males</i>		Port-of-Spain	San Fernando	Arima	Diego Martin	St. Ann's	Tacarigua	Arima	Blanchisseuse	San Rafael	Caroni	Nariva/Mayaro	St. Andrew/ St. David	Victoria	St. Patrick	Tobago	
Residence	TOTAL																
Port of Spain	3,266	-	332	203	184	197	338	2	16	28	383	66	434	303	169	570	
San Fernando	2,413	356	-	50	15	37	95	-	3	10	268	66	91	973	321	128	
Arima	514	63	15	-	6	14	108	3	17	35	43	7	115	23	36	77	
Diego Martin	1,374	654	26	31	-	73	118	-	8	6	117	25	56	62	50	140	
St. Ann's	5,241	1,945	167	143	175	-	527	12	14	39	571	110	492	240	209	597	
Tacarigua	1,834	287	73	95	33	129	-	10	9	30	566	37	254	130	95	66	
Arima	331	21	11	-	11	6	98	-	8	29	51	4	39	19	17	17	
Blanchisseuse	145	8	-	25	2	5	78	-	-	2	3	1	12	1	3	5	
San Rafael	170	7	2	32	4	3	31	5	1	-	37	2	40	4	8	1	
Caroni	1,788	153	122	70	33	109	373	6	2	35	-	54	102	506	140	63	
Nariva/Mayaro	1,471	57	17	50	25	26	90	1	2	17	227	-	278	513	56	112	
St. Andrew/ St. David	1,578	106	37	281	42	70	269	23	7	71	190	71	-	91	46	214	
Victoria	2,152	167	284	45	17	52	135	2	1	9	566	136	66	-	460	192	
St. Patrick	4,475	371	406	124	88	103	233	4	10	27	779	101	227	1,483	-	516	
Tobago	223	57	12	3	8	18	9	-	-	2	18	15	52	11	18	-	
TOTAL	26,983	4,252	1,504	1,157	643	842	2,502	68	98	340	3,819	717	2,278	4,359	1,624	2,780	
Migration Balance		986	909	643	731	4,339	668	263	47	162	2,031	754	700	2,207	2,851	2,921	
<i>Females</i>																	
Port of Spain	4,532	-	365	298	254	253	574	6	31	65	515	124	604	404	230	609	
San Fernando	3,017	389	-	57	21	26	144	3	3	8	388	71	117	1,240	387	163	
Arima	620	64	13	-	13	21	150	2	22	59	45	13	143	21	28	26	
Diego Martin	1,370	669	31	35	-	84	99	-	7	7	118	23	58	58	46	135	
St. Ann's	5,845	2,059	197	168	240	-	675	10	26	39	628	132	548	286	213	624	
Tacarigua	2,470	400	93	137	82	235	-	11	6	38	752	58	285	185	103	65	
Arima	349	22	8	-	11	16	110	-	17	26	39	10	56	21	4	9	
Blanchisseuse	111	4	1	14	4	1	59	-	-	2	1	-	14	1	3	7	
San Rafael	175	7	3	28	2	7	34	1	3	-	43	6	31	5	3	2	
Caroni	2,528	152	151	65	43	159	551	12	2	42	-	71	159	763	285	73	
Nariva/Mayaro	1,266	49	21	54	17	20	79	3	-	7	210	-	247	440	57	62	
St. Andrew/ St. David	1,645	128	34	263	61	60	304	24	12	76	162	103	-	85	43	290	
Victoria	2,846	192	310	43	22	47	157	3	3	11	850	137	91	-	822	158	
St. Patrick	4,490	347	424	98	75	99	210	1	4	23	806	103	231	1,699	-	370	
Tobago	230	71	8	2	5	22	5	-	4	-	11	8	66	15	13	-	
TOTAL	31,494	4,553	1,659	1,262	850	1,050	3,151	76	140	403	4,568	859	2,650	5,223	2,237	2,813	
Migration Balance		21	1,358	642	520	4,795	681	273	29	228	2,040	407	1,005	2,377	2,253	2,563	
Notes: These estimates are derived from Table 4, Vol. III, Part A of the 1960 Census Report. The rows indicate minimum estimates of the number of in-migrants into the Counties, Wards and Main Towns, while the columns indicate minimum estimates of the number of out-migrants from the Counties, Wards and Main Towns.																	

Source: Simpson (1973: 34 and 35).

Table 8: Minimum Estimates of Internal Migration (1946-60) - Trinidad and Tobago.

Place of Residence	MALE	PLACE OF BIRTH														
		Port-of-Spain	San Fernando	Arima	Diego Martin	St. Ann's	Tacarigua	Arima	Blanchisseuse	San Rafael	Caroni	Nariva/Mayaro	St. Andrew/St. David	Victoria	St. Patrick	Tobago
Port of Spain	4,788	-	471	235	338	705	432	-	29	27	427	143	474	370	491	643
San Fernando	3,048	516	-	71	35	99	167	-	9	7	347	164	141	1,456	692	134
Arima	1,043	211	43	-	34	76	203	1	34	36	50	29	246	40	53	32
Diego Martin	6,026	4,575	345	155	-	706	379	2	9	16	364	83	350	273	312	537
St. Ann's	17,846	7,529	775	431	718	-	1,514	14	86	84	1,402	416	1,352	799	935	1,791
Tacarigua	6,779	1,552	424	309	213	968	-	15	34	57	1,231	176	667	437	391	291
Arima	1,561	163	45	3	29	129	442	-	43	67	143	42	278	63	57	37
Blanchisseuse	249	21	1	66	3	24	97	-	-	3	14	1	42	8	1	10
San Rafael	416	28	7	49	10	17	61	11	-	-	79	16	90	15	27	6
Caroni	4,208	487	326	126	106	299	836	14	7	43	-	176	289	892	412	133
Nariva/Mayaro	2,610	168	106	81	42	105	150	4	11	24	452	-	401	785	354	121
St. Andrew/ St. David	2,732	270	81	347	65	198	432	23	35	84	372	198	-	167	164	168
Victoria	7,429	671	1,396	175	64	232	306	3	9	16	1,204	432	287	-	1,693	339
St. Patrick	6,806	862	855	215	137	309	346	4	12	33	744	295	435	2,062	-	435
Tobago	1,065	392	81	22	53	136	80	-	2	1	72	19	59	73	93	-
TOTAL	-69,838	17,673	5,565	2,267	1,649	4,003	5,445	91	320	518	6,841	2,190	5,095	7,460	5,752	4,749
Migration Balance	-	12,865	1,627	1,194	6,177	13,843	1,334	1,490	21	102	2,633	620	2,363	31	1,056	3,664
FEMALE																
Port-of-Spain	5,608	-	525	275	365	753	564	5	33	45	544	165	626	434	446	558
San Fernando	4,708	583	-	98	38	127	172	1	9	8	410	205	177	1,039	891	140
Arima	1,217	229	58	-	27	95	232	3	44	62	70	25	237	34	69	76
Diego Martin	6,678	4,809	341	167	-	772	430	6	16	36	346	108	371	321	316	249
St. Ann's	19,531	7,787	920	506	742	-	1,813	23	72	114	1,654	468	1,542	941	930	1,354
Tacarigua	7,204	1,478	357	376	223	1,100	-	19	33	74	1,456	184	765	451	474	254
Arima	1,701	157	40	4	39	135	494	-	41	76	164	49	311	60	10	57
Blanchisseuse	125	18	4	25	5	15	71	-	-	5	2	4	33	4	3	6
San Rafael	377	24	3	36	13	15	48	14	1	-	74	18	85	16	24	6
Caroni	5,341	532	383	164	132	443	959	12	8	62	-	249	307	1,252	700	143
Nariva/Mayaro	2,658	144	115	53	37	84	134	6	13	29	406	-	418	772	361	11
St. Andrew/ St. David	2,838	407	102	319	90	224	503	26	43	105	374	210	-	171	154	14
Victoria	8,540	658	1,362	177	59	231	346	-	15	14	1,514	561	330	-	2,509	14
St. Patrick	7,409	771	935	218	110	281	320	2	21	31	870	369	416	2,593	-	470
Tobago	1,013	354	63	16	55	140	72	1	2	-	52	20	60	74	100	-
TOTAL	-77,078	17,955	5,808	2,434	1,955	4,415	6,158	118	331	661	7,936	2,635	5,640	6,972	7,403	5,311
Migration Balance	-	12,347	1,100	1,217	6,723	15,116	1,026	1,563	156	284	2,595	23	2,742	432	411	3,114
Notes: These estimates are derived from Table 4, Vol. III, Part A of the 1960 Census Report. The rows indicate minimum estimates of the number of in-migrants into the Counties, Wards and Main Towns, while the columns indicate minimum estimates of the number of out-migrants from the Counties, Wards and Main Towns.																

Note: These estimates are derived from Table 4, Vol. III, Part A of the 1960 Census Report. The rows indicate minimum estimates of the number of in-migrants into the Counties, Wards and Main Towns, while the columns indicate minimum estimates of the number of out-migrants from the Counties, Wards and Main Towns.

Source: Simpson (1973:37-38)

Table 9 : Minimum Estimates of Out-Migration, In-Migration, and Net Migration Balance By Sex, for Counties, Wards, and Main Towns (Trinidad and Tobago) - 1946 - 60

AREA	BOTH SEXES			MALE			Rate per '000	FEMALE			Rate per '000
	Out	In	Net	Out	In	Net		Out	In	Net	
Port of Spain	35,628	10,396	-25,232	17,673	4,788	-12,885	-204.4	17,955	5,608	-12,347	-248.9
San Fernando	11,373	8,646	- 2,727	5,565	5,938	+ 1,627	+ 98.5	5,808	4,708	- 1,100	- 61.7
Arima	4,721	2,310	- 2,411	2,287	1,093	- 1,194	-258.9	2,434	1,217	- 1,217	+355.7
Diego Martin	3,804	16,704	+12,900	1,849	8,026	+ 6,177	+325.5	1,955	8,678	+ 6,723	-247.6
St. Ann's	8,418	37,377	+28,959	4,003	17,846	+13,843	+315.4	4,415	19,531	+15,116	+351.1
Tacarigua	11,603	13,983	+ 2,380	5,445	6,779	+ 1,334	+345.1	6,158	7,204	+ 1,046	+ 37.2
Arima	209	3,282	+ 3,073	91	1,581	+ 1,490	+ 47.1	118	1,701	+ 1,583	+388.4
Blanchisseuse	671	494	- 177	320	299	- 21	- 19.2	351	195	- 156	-184.0
San Rafael	1,179	793	- 386	518	416	- 102	- 62.7	661	377	- 284	-154.8
Caroni	14,777	9,549	- 5,228	6,841	4,208	- 2,633	- 68.0	7,936	5,341	- 2,595	- 69.4
Nariva/Mayaro	4,825	5,468	+ 643	2,190	2,810	+ 620	+ 60.0	2,635	2,658	+ 23	+ 2.5
St. Andrew/St. David	10,735	5,630	- 5,105	5,095	2,732	- 2,363	-136.9	5,640	2,898	- 2,742	-169.2
Victoria	16,432	15,969	- 463	7,460	7,429	- 31	- 0.6	8,972	8,540	- 432	- 8.0
St. Patrick	12,755	14,217	+ 1,462	5,752	6,808	+ 1,056	+ 23.3	7,003	7,409	+ 406	+ 9.4
Tobago	9,786	2,098	- 7,688	4,749	1,085	- 3,664	-246.8	5,037	1,013	- 4,024	-260.9
Trinidad & Tobago	146,916	146,916	0	69,836	69,836	0		77,079	77,079	0	

Source: Simpson (1973: 33)

Table 10 : Minimum Estimates of Net Gains or Losses Experienced By City, Ward, or County as a Result of Internal Migration (1946-60) - Trinidad and Tobago.

CITY, WARD, COUNTY	MALES					FEMALES				
	NET GAIN (+) from or LOSS (-) to					NET GAIN (+) from or LOSS (-) to				
	Contiguous Areas	Port of Spain	San Fernando	Others	All Areas	Contiguous Areas	Port of Spain	San Fernando	Others	All Areas
Port of Spain	-11,061	-	- 145	-1,930	-13,136	-11,458	-	- 58	-1,271	-12,787
San Fernando	- 542	+ 145	-	-1,281	- 1,678	- 123	+ 58	-	-1,354	- 1,272
Arima	- 2	- 24	- 23	-1,155	- 1,204	- 1	- 46	- 40	-1,140	- 1,227
Diego Martin	+ 4,225	-	+ 310	+1,158	+ 5,693	+ 4,454	-	+ 303	+1,362	+ 6,119
St. Ann's	+ 8,547	-	+ 676	+2,965	+12,188	+ 8,985	-	+ 793	+3,519	+13,297
Tacarigua	- 641	+1,120	+ 257	+ 381	+ 1,117	- 729	+ 914	+ 185	+ 494	+ 1,764
Arima #	+ 930	+ 183	+ 45	+ 295	+ 1,453	+ 1,015	+ 152	+ 39	+ 321	+ 1,527
Blanchisseuse	- 35	- 8	- 8	+ 22	- 29	- 70	- 15	- 5	- 70	- 160
San Rafael	- 42	+ 1	- 0	- 66	- 107	- 81	- 21	- 5	- 183	- 270
Caroni	- 2,251	+ 60	- 21	- 482	- 2,694	- 2,291	- 12	- 27	- 343	- 2,671
Nariva/Mayaro	+ 840	+ 25	- 58	- 295	+ 512	+ 587	- 21	- 90	- 517	- 45
St. Andrew/St. David	- 471	- 96	- 60	-1,845	- 2,472	- 463	- 219	- 35	-2,125	- 2,842
Victoria	+ 133	+ 321	-	- 731	- 297	- 52	+ 224	-	- 834	- 662
St. Patrick	+ 369	+ 368	+ 163	- 246	+ 654	+ 224	+ 275	+ 36	- 449	+ 110
TOTAL	- 1	+2,075	+1,136	-3,210	0	- 3	+1,289	+1,096	-2,382	0

Notes: Diego Martin, St. Ann's, Tacarigua and Arima # are included under Contiguous Areas. These estimates are derived from Tables 5(a) and (b).

Source: Simpson (1973: 39)

Over the 1960-70 period, there was a further increase in the number of migrants, as indicated by Table 11.

Data from the 1970 census (Volume V) also reveal that the majority of migrants in Trinidad and Tobago had made three moves before taking up residence in the administrative unit where they were enumerated in 1970. In some cases, migrants had made as many as nine moves. The directional pattern was the same as previously, with much suburban growth taking place not only around Port of Spain, but also around San Fernando. By 1978, suburban spread and new housing developments in Marabella and Battoo Lands were continuing to blossom around the economically vibrant town of San Fernando and the petroleum industry on which the country's economic boom was based. Nonetheless, there was little doubt that population increase in suburban Port of Spain and the Capital Region were continuing to be the predominating element in the island's demographic growth. Not only were the established suburban areas - Diego Martin, Tacarigua, and St. Ann's - continuing to receive new migrants, but housing development to accommodate an influx of migrants who could afford it, was taking place further and further east, along the Eastern Main Roads. That is, the County of St. George, with the best provision of basic infrastructure in the country (Figures 20 to 22), was still the major core of demographic change.

Table 17: Local Born Non-Institutional Population by Sex, Place of Birth and Usual Place of Residence - Trinidad and Tobago, 1970.

		PLACE OF BIRTH																	Number of Migrants
USUAL PLACE OF RESIDENCE	TOTAL	PORT OF SPAIN	SAN- FER- NANDU	ARIMA TOWN	DIEGO MARTIN	ST ANNS	TACA- RIGUA	ARIMA WARD	BLAN- CHESSE- USE	SAN CARLOS RAPHAEL	MARIVA MAYARD	ST DAVID ST ANDREW	VIC- TORIA	ST PAT- RICK	TOBAGO	NOT STATED			
MALES																			
PORT OF SPAIN	1,113	1,113	1,113	1,113	1,113	1,113	1,113	1,113	1,113	1,113	1,113	1,113	1,113	1,113	1,113	1,113	1,113	5,121	
SAN FERNANDO	2,554	767	1,787	24	25	56	45	41	8	8	406	414	210	1,406	1,759	176	24	5,121	
ARIMA TOWN	2,464	243	2,221	27	225	221	163	92	106	43	40	314	94	79	45	1	1	18,786	
DIEGO MARTIN	2,447	776	740	243	1,658	1,231	436	198	94	45	344	191	473	375	144	849	94	13,482	
ST. ANNS	2,475	157	1,508	454	659	1,093	1,244	405	136	117	1,392	597	1,368	774	1,476	2,785	261	22,151	
TACARIGUA	744	1,074	742	139	201	1,564	2,754	405	94	109	1,545	361	793	498	429	383	62	7,757	
ARIMA WARD	1,144	516	1,630	355	62	383	863	5,167	107	274	249	141	772	144	752	113	11	50,111	
BLANCHESSEUSE	1,055	25	1	51	12	62	100	27	654	8	15	13	59	5	10	13	1	70	
SAN RAFAEL	1,394	51	16	34	9	15	42	47	2	1,359	83	17	171	17	47	13	4	523	
CARONI	5,571	886	622	124	93	472	559	137	55	98	4,970	436	465	1,128	772	205	35	60,111	
MARIVA/MAYARD	136,251	6,274	724	72	45	88	133	75	17	35	544	4,474	504	1,062	544	148	15	5,744	
ST. DAVID/ST. ANDREW	21,248	614	242	367	97	361	436	164	34	146	447	485	1,675	323	294	322	31	4,518	
VICTORIA	7,425	1,182	2,646	125	54	134	151	140	45	838	1,433	1,215	450	6,790	7,024	453	171	11,226	
ST. PATRICK	4,474	1,153	949	122	101	104	235	166	35	43	870	666	543	2,978	4,607	657	57	8,417	
TOBAGO	14,345	909	182	34	79	97	56	37	16	11	91	46	110	63	228	1,414	21	1,971	
NOT STATED	313	43	16	4	5	29	16	6	3	4	24	13	21	21	19	26	7	416	
TRIN. AND TOBAGO	429,316	47,134	19,466	6,779	18,742	41,589	52,653	75,495	14,411	2,447	5,771	16,742	23,380	77,514	55,263	72,448	312	99,609	
FEMALES																			
PORT OF SPAIN	1,111	1,111	1,111	1,111	1,111	1,111	1,111	1,111	1,111	1,111	1,111	1,111	1,111	1,111	1,111	1,111	1,111	6,817	
SAN FERNANDO	2,984	2,984	2,984	2,984	2,984	2,984	2,984	2,984	2,984	2,984	2,984	2,984	2,984	2,984	2,984	2,984	2,984	6,816	
ARIMA TOWN	582	313	98	3,622	50	239	295	162	111	149	103	56	393	109	70	49	2	2,196	
DIEGO MARTIN	3,128	845	961	282	15,985	1,360	471	223	100	68	459	289	527	443	626	954	89	12,305	
ST. ANNS	4,063	1,016	1,807	544	970	3,508	1,851	445	200	155	1,749	705	1,708	873	1,619	2,319	221	23,246	
TACARIGUA	3,830	2,309	935	426	267	1,842	2,631	530	114	130	2,114	504	991	648	744	417	90	12,661	
ARIMA WARD	1,005	519	193	849	94	396	906	4,794	136	321	337	154	825	161	238	124	7	5,246	
BLANCHESSEUSE	870	28	3	30	9	43	82	30	543	12	7	8	51	4	10	9	1	347	
SAN RAFAEL	1,808	72	18	27	7	29	54	70	3	1,225	112	20	103	11	44	4	9	583	
CARONI	5,584	986	864	138	121	681	831	207	48	121	4,748	600	571	1,743	1,216	197	36	8,360	
MARIVA/MAYARD	130,666	252	248	71	44	91	89	73	25	26	596	9,215	486	1,172	563	98	17	3,851	
ST. DAVID/ST. ANDREW	21,041	638	249	394	101	443	526	382	60	150	508	531	1,606	313	352	318	32	4,957	
VICTORIA	7,975	1,318	3,184	157	68	147	183	183	44	48	2,263	1,695	552	6,442	4,676	429	160	15,109	
ST. PATRICK	5,423	1,151	1,127	151	97	129	235	172	57	36	1,163	826	566	3,839	4,402	613	49	10,211	
TOBAGO	19,112	946	214	48	88	105	55	42	9	12	76	46	132	57	172	1,707	30	2,654	
NOT STATED	381	86	26	6	4	27	18	7	2	4	34	14	37	45	41	14	18	412	
TRIN. AND TOBAGO	439,988	51,097	21,749	71,831	18,320	41,490	52,674	77,950	15,465	2,540	5,823	16,477	23,999	76,866	56,400	73,742	823	119,748	

1970 Census of the Commonwealth Caribbean
Vol 4 Migration p 42-43

Figure 20 : Trinidad and Tobago - Administrative Areas and Centres

Figure 21 : Trinidad and Tobago - Public and Social Facilities

Figure 22: Trinidad and Tobago - Basic Infrastructure (Aggregated).

CHAPTER 4

SOCIETAL AND URBAN CHANGE IN THE CARIBBEAN: AN HISTORICAL PERSPECTIVE

4.1 Introduction

The settlement picture presented in the foregoing chapter has been the product of several factors acting individually and collectively during the socio-economic and socio-cultural evolution of both countries. Among the chief of these factors and the ones meriting further elaboration have been (a) the natural environment and physical characteristics of the respective islands, including their small size and the spatial distribution of their resource endowment; (b) the evolutionary sequence of economic and cultural developments under various colonial and post-colonial regimes; and (c) the inability of domestic institutions to respond to changing circumstances which warranted deliberate intervention to structure urban and national development.

For orderly and chronological treatment, the discussion of these factors (as they pertain to the generation of patterns of settlement now visible) has been structured into five periods. These are respectively:

- (i) Spanish Colonialism - lasting from 1494 to 1655 in Jamaica, and from 1498 to 1797 in Trinidad and Tobago.

- (ii) The Plantation/Slave Regime - for continuity in this thesis, the period commences from the end of the Spanish colonial era and is disrupted by the emancipation of slaves in the 1830's. Many of the institutions and structures set up during this period are, however, left as a legacy for subsequent development.
- (iii) The Post Emancipation period - lasting until the early segments of the twentieth century.
- (iv) The Twentieth Century Colonial period - from the 1920's until independence in 1962.
- (v) The Post Independence period - from 1962 to the present day.

Thus, these periods have not been of equal duration, nor have they been of equivalent import in their effects on urbanisation in Jamaica and Trinidad and Tobago. For example, while the Post Independence period commenced in 1962 for both countries, the period of Spanish colonialism lasted one and a half centuries longer in Trinidad than in Jamaica. Nonetheless, this structure permits analysis of the changes which occur when one socio-economic system is modified or is replaced by another, and serves well our general aim of understanding the process of urbanisation as it affects developing societies whose histories are broadly similar though not identical. In this study, the five periods have been structured into five sections. These are interpreted by the author as corresponding with

distinct stages in the socio-economic and socio-cultural evolution of Jamaica and Trinidad and Tobago, as they affect and are affected by urbanisation. Any such discussion of the evolution of society is axiomatically a discourse of historical events, but a detailed documentation and consideration of these is beyond the scope of this thesis.⁵⁶ Though the discourse here is panoramic, it is essential to a comprehension of the foundations of Caribbean society and its urban spatial distributions. It is also relevant as an informational backdrop to analysis of the current demographic, political, social, and economic features of the study area. Even such a digest account as the one undertaken here, will also have much merit in illustrating that the historical roots are strongly similar in terms of the general evolution and organisation of both societies. For example, they were British colonies, plantation economies, and slave societies, and were sharply divided racially during various stages of their histories. Indeed, an underlying suggestion in this thesis is that cultural variability, particularly as it pertained to urbanisation, largely took the form of fine nuances and detailed particulars and timing, rather than fundamental divergences.

56

The discussion in this chapter is based largely on the following sources, to which the interested reader may refer for more detailed narrations of West Indian history and evolution of societies in what is now regarded as the Commonwealth Caribbean: Augier and Gordon (1960); Augier *et al.* (1960); Garcia (1967); Lewis (1968); Newson (1976); Parry and Sherlock (1973); Waddell (1967) and Williams (1971).

4.2 The Poverty of Spanish Colonialism

The 'discovery' of the Caribbean and the West Indian islands by Christopher Columbus is well known and certainly well documented.⁵⁷ Columbus' claim of these lands for the Spanish crown signalled the commencement of major Spanish thrusts into the region and particularly on to 'the Spanish Main', as mainland South America was soon designated.

In 1494, Columbus landed in Jamaica and the island was settled by the Spanish in the early sixteenth century. In 1498 the sequence was repeated for Trinidad. Though he probably sighted Tobago, Columbus did not voyage the twenty miles to this island and recorded history does not furnish us with an accurate impression of when the first Europeans landed there. (Woodcock 1971; Ottley 1969:5). Newson (1976:107) points out the main aims of the Spanish crown in the New World: "to christianise and civilise its native population and to exploit its resources to the benefit of the crown and to the glory of Spain and Spaniards."

But Jamaica and Trinidad were not rich in gold or silver - the metals of primary interest to the Spaniards -

57

Written records on the West Indies begin with European colonisation of the area and most exposés of West Indian history pillar Columbus' discovery as the event leading to the 'making of the West Indies'. (Augier et al. 1960; Waddell 1967:35).

nor in salt and pearls. And relative to the South American mainland, they did not furnish "large, settled, productive, native [Amerindian] populations whose labor the [Spanish] conquerors could exploit to their profit and ease, while incidentally contributing to a third motive - the winning of souls for the Christian Church." (Waddell 1967:35).⁵⁸ As a result, the Spaniards did not show much interest in them. They were unimportant economically. Nevertheless, Spain could not disregard and by-pass them completely, for they were of some strategic importance to Spanish endeavours in the Caribbean and in the Hispanic Empire. Trinidad's location some seven miles from Venezuela on the Spanish Main, and overlooking the mouth of the Orinoco River, emphasised the strategic importance of this island to the Spanish Crown and conquistadores, interested as they sometimes were in a base to facilitate the search for the fabled El-Dorado - the city of gold.

Not much is known about the one and a half centuries of Spanish colonialism in Jamaica, which was terminated in 1655 when an English expeditionary force

58

Actual figures of the Amerindian populations of Trinidad and Jamaica at the time of European discovery, should everywhere be treated with caution. Chroniclers generally had some interest in either inflating or deflating population estimates, for reasons such as enticing European settlement of the islands or of deterring exploitation and conquest by the conquistadores. For an indication of the width and variety of some estimates of the Amerindian population of Spanish Colonial Trinidad, see Newson (1976 : Chap. 5).

captured the island.⁵⁹ During this time, the inhabitants of the country were engaged in simple agricultural pursuits to furnish provisions for passing ships. As a consequence, most of the Spanish settlements were on or near the coast, but were tiny, and there is little evidence that the small coastally-oriented Amerindian population had any significant influence on the coastal location of Spanish activity and settlement. Economic activity (mainly cattle-grazing, peasant cropping, and the operation of some tanneries), and the modus vivendi during the period of Spanish occupation of Jamaica, were largely fledgling and did not depend on any substantial input from the Amerindian populace. Subsequently, the Amerindian peoples - estimated to number some 60,000 at the time of Spanish arrival⁶⁰ - were to be removed to work in the mines and pearl fisheries of Hispaniola, or the South American mainland, were to succumb to European transmitted diseases, or were to be annihilated by the conquistadores during the period of Spanish occupation. (Roberts 1957; Roberts and Lowe 1959). And there were no precious metals (or legends of such) to lure the Spanish explorers into the interior. As a result,

59

This force was originally despatched to take the Spanish stronghold of Hispaniola, but had failed miserably in the attempt. As a consolation, the lightly held island of Jamaica was captured. In 1670, Jamaica was formally ceded to Britain in the Treaty of Madrid.

60

This estimate is given by the Dept. of Statistics, Jamaica (1976a:1).

initial Spanish settlements were coastal - largely on the North coast - and since they were based on small-scale, rudimentary economic activities, they remained small." (Roberts and Lowe 1959; Dunn 1972:151-2). Only a few survived the 1655 British assault on the island, and provided any foundation on which modern day settlements have been built.

However, the present sites of some towns were formerly occupied by Spanish cattle ranches. (Town Planning Department, Jamaica, 1971:1-2).

Despite some traces of rational economic decision making in Spanish settlement location in Jamaica - the coastal orientation - the stark realities of 'environmental determinism' in an age of exploration should not be disregarded. Its influence is clearly exemplified by the location of the major Spanish colonial settlement of St. Jago de la Vega (Spanish Town), which in 1534 became the island's official seat of government. Sevilla Nueva on the North coast, had originally been established as the capital of Jamaica in 1510, but its swampy site and unhealthy environmental surroundings, as well as its poor natural harbour, played a significant part in its being replaced by Spanish Town. This latter settlement was established on the Rio Cobre, which permitted some riverain communication between the coast and the interior. A further positive feature of its location was its command of a large fertile, alluvial plain, which facilitated expansion of agricultural activity (for domestic supplies and export)

in the environs of the town . Its interior location also lent to its defence against attack from Amerindian as well as English and French marauders, and Old Harbour west of the town was used as the island's chief port. Little use was made of the great natural harbour at Point Cagway, which was later to become the site of the British town of Port Royal. Indeed, it was unoccupied, except for a careenage where ships could be repaired. (Dunn 1972:179).

For almost a century after initial European voyages to the Caribbean, the Spanish occupied a position of unrivalled supremacy in the area. However, occupation of Jamaica, and Spanish settlement efforts on that island were never as firm as in Hispaniola, or Cuba, or on the South American mainland, where legend suggested that vast quantities of riches were in existence. Other European nations were interested in such riches and in trade with the Spanish. But Spain's strength in Europe, her ability to control European and Caribbean waters, and her desire to exclude other Europeans from the islands of the 'New World' meant that little foothold could be gained by other nations for much of the sixteenth century. (Dookhan 1971: 14 and 28-29).

A concomitant of the seventeenth century demise of Spanish power in Europe was the weakening of Spain's

hold and control over the Caribbean area.⁶¹ As this took place, the region became a major focus of interest for three other European sea-faring nations - Holland, France, and England. As far as they were concerned, the Caribbean lay 'beyond the line' and thus outside the limits of European treaties. With Spanish strength weakening on the continent, it soon became obvious that Spain would be unable to exercise firm control over her far-flung empire. Attacks against weakly held islands, Spanish coastal settlements, and Spanish galleons intensified, and in 1655 Britain effected the capture of weakly-defended Jamaica, the largest island to fall into British hands.

The total Jamaican population at the time of British annexation was around 3,000, (Hearne and Nettleford 1969:8), and because of the tenuous nature of Spanish activity and the lack of Spanish interest in the island, both St. Jago de la Vega and Sevilla Nueva must have been small settlements. During their assault, the British displayed their displeasure at the poverty of Spanish Jamaica by destroying most of Spanish Town and subsequently most of the other Spanish settlements.

61

The diminution of Spanish naval power and strength actually commenced with the defeat of the Spanish Armada by the English navy in 1588. (Marsh 1974:90).

The period of Spanish colonialism in Trinidad, like that in Jamaica, was largely one of benign neglect. (Dookhan 1971:20). C.R. Ottley points out that:

The Spanish Government paid both the island and its Chief city little attention. They contained neither gold nor silver, and were therefore of very little value to the Spanish Monarch, whose sole aim in the retention of his possessions in these parts lay in exploiting their mineral wealth. [1970:15]

Eric Williams (1962: Chap. 5) is even more forceful in his assertions and devotes an entire chapter to a discussion of the 'bankruptcy of Spanish colonialism' as it affected Trinidad. He notes that in an 'age of bullionism', "Spain was not interested in Trinidad but in gold." (page 21). Nevertheless, three centuries of Spanish colonial rule was more than ample time for a firm settlement foundation to be laid. (Newson 1976: 3-4). Many present towns are located on former Indian village and mission sites, (for example, Princes Town, Arima, and Siparia) and St. Joseph (now part of the Capital Region) and Port of Spain were established as firm settlements during the Spanish occupancy of the island.

Agricultural production, chiefly of tobacco, cacao, and cotton (and later sugar) for commercial markets was undertaken as the major economic activity during the

period of Spanish colonisation. This activity was centred in the Santa Cruz and Maracas valleys of the Northern Range and on the Cañoni Plains to the south of it. Many of the products were destined for Spain, which would in return supply vital provisions and manufactured goods. Some food crops (mainly cassava, maize, plantains and beans) were cultivated for local use, but much food came to be imported from Spain, or obtained through illicit trading with the Dutch, English and French. External trade was legally confined to Spain⁶² and was small, for Spain was concentrating its manpower and naval resources only on those colonies envisioned as being economically profitable. Labour was generally in short supply once the Indians had proved unable or unavailable or unwilling to undertake forced agricultural tasks.

Only two 'towns' were in existence in Spanish Colonial Trinidad - St. Joseph and Port of Spain. Almost exactly a century after Columbus' discovery of the island, St. Joseph (San Jose de Oruna) was established (in 1592) as the first permanent Spanish settlement in Trinidad. To all intents and purposes, the Indians had now been subdued and their way of life modified through contact with a European culture. St. Joseph was envisaged "as a symbol of Spanish possession and as the centre from

62

This was one of the main features of Spain's Exclusivist policies.

which the colony could be administered by the Crown and Spanish culture disseminated." (Newson 1976:116). As in Jamaica (Spanish Town), the capital settlement was the symbolic torch of Spanish occupation and its site was chosen with an eye to the important considerations of defence. Such was natural in a region of belligerence,⁶³ but elsewhere Newson (1976:76) suggests an additional consideration: "A permanent base for expeditions attempting to find El Dorado had been established and with it an 'urban base', from which Trinidad itself could be colonised." St. Joseph, then, was a vehicle of Spanish colonisation, a medium through which the Indian population (estimated to number some 20 - 30,000 at the time of discovery) could be either enslaved for transportation to more productive colonies or Christianised to come close to the glory of God. In this context, Newson observes once more that:

. . . three institutions were instrumental in the christianisation and civilisation of the indians and the economic exploitation of the resources of the New World: the town, the encomienda and the mission. Their establishment also facilitated spatial and administrative segregation since the Spanish towns were to be inhabited by the non-indian population, whilst the indians were to be entrusted to the care of encomenderos and missionaries.

63

Many of the West Indian islands changed hands on numerous occasions in what has oft times been referred to as the 'musical chairs' evolution of the region. Much of this change of ownership occurred as a result of war.

Spanish colonisation in the New World was to be urban-based. Although spatially isolated, the cities and towns as administrative centres, the places of residence of Spanish officials and merchants, and the centres of ecclesiastical activity were to be the springboards of colonisation. The establishment of a town was followed by the allotment of lands and indians found in the vicinity of the town but the recipients of concessions remained urban dwellers and the town emerged as a centre of exploitation of the natural and human resources in the surrounding countryside. [Newson 1976:112-113]

Port of Spain (Puerto de Espana) was in existence contemporaneously with St. Joseph, but was a minor port on its present site. St. Joseph was the chief town of Trinidad throughout the seventeenth and much of the eighteenth century. Despite its performance of port functions, Port of Spain "[did] not appear to have been composed of more than ten houses plus a guard house and a church and it is doubtful if it formed more than an unorganised cluster of buildings." (Newson 1976:117).

In 1691, St. Joseph was formally assigned the status of the ciudad (town) but Port of Spain was more than half a century later in achieving this distinction. In Spanish colonial Trinidad, there was not much scope for the functioning of two towns, even though communication between the two loci was difficult. Trinidad was a neglected island. Regarded by the Spanish as an impoverished

land, its main attraction was its Indian population which could be encompassed within the encomienda system. However, by 1797 when the British annexed the island, the Indian population had declined considerably. At the same time, it had become spatially and socially isolated from the rest of the population. This latter group - the Spanish colonists and French immigrants along with their slaves - had congregated in Port of Spain or on the lands which had been granted to them under the Cedula for the Population of Trinidad, 1783.

The first major steps in the growth of Port of Spain had occurred in 1735 when the governor's residence was established there. Nonetheless, "It was by mere accident that Port of Spain became the capital of Trinidad in 1757." (see Ottley 1970:11). Once this town had become the seat of government, St. Joseph lapsed into a state of somnolence, so that only two years later, the Procurador⁶⁴ of the island was in a position to inform the King of Spain of the decadence of the former capital. As quoted in Newson (1976:119), "not even the form of a town remained, only its title." Neither economic, nor administrative, nor centralised ecclesiastical activity was sufficient to accommodate two flourishing towns in co-existence.

⁶⁴

The terms Procurador, Cedula, and Encomienda are explained in the Glossary.

With the growth of world trade commencing in the mid-eighteenth century, a maritime location became increasingly important to the situation of settlement, and soon came to outweigh considerations of defence. The inability of the Spanish convoy system to guarantee supplies for the Hispanic colony, the failure of Spain's Exclusivist policies with regard to many of her colonies, (Williams 1962: 120-136 and Robinson 1971: 6-11) and the flourishing contraband activities of other European traders, brought the Spanish colonies more into the forum of Caribbean and world trade as distinct from Spanish trade. This coincided with the growth of 'free' as opposed to 'monopolistic' trade in the world system and with increasing immigration of other European settlers and their slaves. As widened international commerce prospered and population increased through immigration, Port of Spain's growth was enhanced. Many newcomers to late-eighteenth century Trinidad remained in the coastal locale in general, and in Port of Spain in particular. Newson (1976:218) notes that "Most of the island's trade was handled by foreign merchants who had become naturalised and who formed a large proportion of the population of Port of Spain." Internal commerce for widened external markets was growing despite inadequate internal communications, and in 1791 a new wharf was constructed in Port of

Spain to cope with the expanded trade.

Though direct growth of Port of Spain was due to external immigration (as opposed to internal migration or natural increase), this was in turn an indirect response to the increasing importance of the town as an administrative and commercial centre; notwithstanding the fact that the Cabildo⁶⁵ operated from St. Joseph until 1783. By 1796, Port of Spain was unquestionably the chief town of the island. It had assumed the majority of administrative functions and was growing as the main commercial and trading centre of the island. Its demographic growth had already outstripped that of its predecessor and its population size was greater than that of the entire island some ten years previously. (Ottley 1970:18). Table 12 gives some population estimates for the island and its two towns.

Table 12: The urban Population of Spanish Colonial Trinidad

	<u>St. Joseph</u>	<u>Port of Spain</u>	<u>Trinidad</u>
1688	90-100 vecinos	10-12 vecinos	
1722	126 vecinos	56 vecinos	
1763	786 (total population)	440 (total population)	
1777	999-1053 (total pop.)	632 (total population)	3,432
1797	728 (total population)	4525 (total population)	17,718
1802	345 free men	3098 free men	

As its population increased and became more cosmopolitan through immigration, Port of Spain became as well, the major social centre of the country.

⁶⁵ As with the Spanish terms on the previous page, Cabildo and vecino are explained in the Glossary.

Figure 23 summarises the urban development in Jamaica (above) and Trinidad and Tobago (below) during the Spanish Colonial Period.

NEW SEVILLE - 1st capital; established on coast but in poor environmental location. Replaced by SPANISH TOWN, which was set up inland because of defensive concerns.

Population largely rural. Settlements were little more than coastal cattle ranches e.g. Port Cagway, Puerto de San Antonio, Port Esquivel (Old Harbour) and Oristan (Bluefields). Population composed of native Indians, Spaniards, and a few African slaves. Total depopulation of island stemmed by tough measures, which included the threat of physical mutilation.

NATURAL INCREASE

Fertility low, mortality high : among Indians, as a result of abuses at the hands of the Spaniards, and through European transmitted diseases; among Europeans, as a result of tropical diseases and environmental conditions with which they were not familiar.

MIGRATION

European population increase through immigration from Spain. Decrease through emigration to other Sp. colonies such as Peru and Mexico. Security greatest in chief town, the seat of Spanish administration and the main social centre. Only stimulus to Indian movement is to retreat from contact with Sp. Internal movement rather than migration.

STRUCTURAL TRANSFORMATION

ST. JOSEPH officially a town in 1691
PORT OF SPAIN: main port and commercial centre; became a town after St. Joseph and became capital of Trinidad in 1757.

Population essentially rural. Native Indians, Spaniards, and a few African slaves. Later, immigration of French and other European groups. Urban growth of Port of Spain took away from St. Joseph.

Fertility low among European population. Unbalanced sex ratios. Mortality high. Conditions similar to those in Jamaica

Inter-urban migration as a result of shift of seat of government. Spatial shift of Indian population on to a few larger settlements for protection from conquistadores. Growth of mission settlements. Some movement of vecinos from Port of Spain to Caroni Lowlands. Growth of commerce leads to immigrant concentration in Port of Spain.

4:3 British Colonialism : The Growth of The Plantation/
Slave Regime

By 1620, nationals of Holland, France, and England, (with or without governmental assent) had joined those of Spain in competition for territory, religious influence, and private wealth, and increasingly the ideas, values, and ways of living of four maritime European nations spread across the New World.⁶⁶ The vulnerable Caribbean zone thus became further enmeshed in the affairs of Europe, with individual European nations attempting to consolidate as best they could, their influence, hold, and control over the Caribbean territories. By the mid-eighteenth century, Britain could claim to be Spain's major rival in the region, and by the turn of the nineteenth century Britannia was ruling the waves around both island states which constitute our study area.

Permanent though rudimentary British settlement in the Caribbean dates from the 1620's. The waves of external migration responding to drought, famine, religious persecution, and other deteriorating social and economic conditions in seventeenth-century England and Ireland crested largely in North America, with somewhat more moderate numbers

66

Though other European nations were also involved in settling the region, their impact on the West Indies and Caribbean area as a whole, was minimal when compared with the 'Big Four'. Nonetheless, the Danes settled and colonised the Virgin Islands, Tobago was a principality of Courland, and St. Barthelemy was owned by Sweden. In addition, Brazil, not too far removed from the islands, was settled by the Portuguese.

of immigrants arriving in the West Indies. In the early stages of British colonisation, enterprise in the area was mainly concerned with the fostering of permanent settlement in places not under the firm control of Spain. But illicit trade with and naval ventures against Spanish and French territories never ceased to be prominent in British settlement considerations. The escapades of Raleigh, Hawkins and Drake had demonstrated that English privateering and piracy were profitable enterprises; thus they continued to flourish. (Dookhan 1971:17-18; Dunn 1972:10-11). And some English settlements (for example, Port Royal in Jamaica) served as important bases for the further weakening of Spanish control in the West Indies and for the enhancement of the wealth and strength of British operations in the area. British naval ventures in the Caribbean were geared not only to the capture of Spanish bullion, but also to the acquisition of Spanish and French territory which could serve as pawns for exchange and bargaining among the European powers. A coastal location would naturally facilitate such activity, despite the reciprocal vulnerability to attack. The former consideration outweighed the latter, however, and major towns (for example, Port Royal and Kingston) were established on a coastal location.

Many of the promoters of early British endeavours in the West Indies were mercantilist rather than political

in their inspirations and motives, though it is generally difficult to distinguish the persuasions of individuals from established national policies. Their main interests were in the securing of profits through the furnishing of provisions for European markets and markets for European products, and they received official government encouragement in these endeavours. (Dookhan 1971:17 and 45). As with attack against Spanish property, these operations too, warranted coastal bases which would undertake the export of staples and the import of manufactured goods. Colonies were envisioned as valuable assets in the imperial frame of things and much of their economic product was destined for the European metropole. Expanding the administrative realm of the English crown was initially of secondary importance. Still, early English activity in the Caribbean area established fairly firm psycho-cultural and economic ties with England, and served to increase the number of territories and peoples encompassed formally and informally within the imperial framework. In the early days of British colonisation of Jamaica, severe difficulties were experienced in the establishment of permanent settlement. Mortality rates were high as a result of low resistance to tropical diseases, particularly yellow fever. Transportation and communication between north and south coast communities were extremely difficult in a pioneering age, and small scale

agricultural enterprise did not prove to be the bonanza which many colonists had expected. Much activity came to be centred on the coast, where fertile plains contiguous to marine bays allowed agricultural production of tobacco, cotton, indigo and ginger, for export. The more favourable port locations (sheltered spots) and the ones permitting easy development of internal links and access to the hinterland were those which would subsequently grow rapidly and detract from the development of others. Thus Kingston, on the world's seventh largest natural harbour and on the very fertile Liguanea Plains was to experience massive development and growth as a result of the expansion of agricultural activity in its hinterland and as a consequence of the increase in trading activities which its coastal situation would permit. By contrast, the fortunes of Spanish Town would decline throughout the British colonial period and were only buffered by the fact that it was the political capital of the island until 1872.

From the outset, the fortunes of many West Indian territories revolved around European events and, as a spin off to developments in the West Indies, the growth of many industrial towns in Britain was fostered. For example, Bristol, Liverpool and Glasgow profited from the increased shipbuilding activity as a result of a vitalised triangular trading arrangement involving Britain, Africa and the

West Indies and Americas. And many other ports, including London-"the governmental and banking seat of the Empire", (Braithwaite 1971:112)-served as crucial distributing centres for manufactured goods destined for the New World, and as vital collecting nodes for raw materials from the West Indian and other colonies. (Williams 1966 : Chap. 3 and 1971:13; Marsh 1974:94). These British port cities had their West Indian counterparts (the port towns which served as capitals for the various territories). The relationships are captured in Philip Curtin's observations:

Just as the system as a whole centred on the Imperial trading center in London, the life of the island centered on the island trading center at Kingston. And by virtue of its economic supremacy Kingston was also the social, intellectual and cultural center of the colony. As the chief port, it was the window on the outside world-a world where most of the Jamaican ruling class would rather have found themselves. Although a subsidiary of London, the real center of the plantation economy, Kingston was at least the middleman between center and the individual estates. This position made Kingston much more "the town" than St. Jago de la Vega, or Spanish Town, the official capital of the colony.
[1955:7]

Terry McGee's conclusion on Southeast Asian urbanisation are very similar:

The city therefore was the intermediary, the middleman. These cities owed not only their origin but also their growth and development to their function as middlemen between colony and metropolis.
[1967:58]

And; "The colonial city may not have been a city heavily populated by Europeans but it was a city run for the convenience of Europeans." (McGee 1967:63). This convenience was more fundamental than leisure and social interaction and a tropical climate. It was founded on political control and the generation of 'surplus value' for the European metropole, and by the mid-eighteenth century in the British West Indies was firmly rooted on the production of sugar, a crop of high European market value.

In the mid-seventeenth century, sugar was introduced as a replacement for the main commercial crops in the British West Indies. By the mid-eighteenth century, 'sugar was king', the base of an undiversified agricultural economy and the most important product of the British colonies.

(Williams 1971 : Chap. 2). Jamaican society, and that of the British Caribbean at large, had undergone a metamorphosis from one of European peasant colonisation to one of a plantation system pillared on armies of imported African slaves. (Williams 1966 : Chap. 1; Dunn 1972:19-20). Trinidad was only captured by the British in 1797 and this means that the sequence of socio-economic changes experienced by the rest of the British Caribbean did not apply to Trinidad before this time. However, the decimation of the Amerindian population of Spanish Trinidad (Newson 1976) necessitated a replacement labour force for the cocoa and tobacco fields,

and as in the British colonies, slaves had been introduced from Africa. Thus at the time of British annexation, there was a significant slave presence in the island,⁶⁷ and sugar cultivation, though of more recent origin,⁶⁸ had grown in stature.

Through much of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, Jamaica and Trinidad and Tobago existed as agrarian societies based on the plantation system and the large-scale, labour-intensive cultivation of a few crops on the most fertile soil and most favourable relief in the islands. Sugar became the main crop in all three islands,⁶⁹ but its cultivation was supplemented by coffee production in Jamaica, and by the production of cocoa and coconuts in Trinidad and Tobago.

Sugar production is not solely an agricultural operation, for the cane must be processed immediately after it has been harvested. There was thus an industrial component and large enterprises were soon established to consolidate and to effect control over both the agricultural and industrial phases of the process. To be sure, there were

67

Newson (1976:184) observes: "By 1790 the total population of the island reached 13 247 of whom nearly 50% were slaves. For the first time Trinidad became a slave colony." By contrast, the slave population of Jamaica had grown steadily in the seventeenth century as sugar cultivation with its requirements for large gangs of workers, spread across the island.

68

The first sugar plantation in Trinidad was only established in 1787.

69

By as early as 1672, there were 70 sugar operations in Jamaica, and in 1674 cultivation had further increased with the arrival of 1200 Dutch settlers from Surinam.

some small-scale enterprises and peasant farms, but large-scale, complete production units soon became the predominant type of operation. Much of the profit from such large-scale ventures in sugar (cutlass profit, as it has been aptly termed), was channelled overseas to 'absentee landlords' who "could not persuade themselves to live in the Indies any longer than was necessary." (Dunn 1972:xv). Though these wealthy sugar barons had legal claims to being West Indian plantation owners, for many, their only 'contact' with the West Indian islands was via the capital which had been invested on their behalf. Some "retired to England to enjoy [their] wealth in more polished surroundings", (Dunn 1972:200), while others had never set foot in the West Indies.⁷⁰ An important trait of West Indian socio-economic development during this period, was therefore the flight of the socially-dominant planter class and its monetary capital returns to the European metropole. (Girvan 1973:17; Williams 1966:Chaps. 4 and 5). In this financial transfer, an important role was played by towns like Port Royal, Kingston, and Port of Spain, which functioned as bases for sugar-merchants, factors,⁷¹ and attorneys.⁷²

⁷⁰ For other references to absentee ownership, see Curtin (1955:15-16), Lewis (1968:49 and 387), and Ragatz (1931). Some of the worst aspects of absentee landlordism are pointed out by Dunn (1972:212-22), and Williams (1966:Chapter 4).

⁷¹ Wholesalers and retailers in Britain sent out supplies to 'factors' in the respective West Indian capitals. These factors (local West Indian merchants) then sold the stocks to the planters.

⁷² The attorney supervised the management of estates and lands for the absentee owner.

The orderly and systematic movement of financial resources was thereby effected, and the surplus value which would be needed, for economic transformation was consigned to the metropole. As Girvan (1973:17) has correctly concluded, the Caribbean was 'nothing more than the locus of production in a triangular system of trade and production in which the locus of initiative [was] the metropole, and the locus of control [was] the merchants.' For Port of Spain and Trinidad, Donald Wood has informed us that:

[Commercial firms and merchant houses] commercially active in every aspect of the trade, from the growth of cane in the fields and the manufacture of sugar to its freight across the Atlantic and its sale to the refiners of Britain, were gaining predominance in the economic life of Trinidad. By their access to British capital, their links with the sugar interests and lobbies of which they themselves were a part, they had an authority which the smaller resident proprietors were unable to command. They were the major and most influential sectional interest of the island and brought with them a whiff of the enterprising and forceful capitalism which was animating the economy of Britain. ...

.....
The partners of the firms were among the influential men of the colony and the confident leaders of society in Port of Spain

[1968:85-86]

But towns in the islands could prosper from the wealth which sugar brought. Thus for Kingston, Wilma Bailey has noted:

The expansion in sugar and the manner in which the trade was handled led to the increasing prosperity of the town of Kingston and brought together several groups of people, with the European merchants and administrators occupying the apex of the city's social hierarchy.

[1974:103]

Without doubt, sugar was of prime importance in eighteenth and early nineteenth century English commerce, and in world trade. Over this period, the West Indian colonies, individually and collectively, were regarded as sugar islands and as a result, their value became 'pegged' to the state of the sugar market, and to their respective inputs into overall sugar supplies. (Williams 1971:7 and 12-13). Soon after the introduction of sugar as the main crop, the West Indian colonies came to be viewed as the 'jewels in the English crown', "the glittering gems in the imperial diadem." (Williams 1971:14). As a consequence, England increased its interest in them, severely reducing whatever political and economic autonomy they had enjoyed prior to the mid-seventeenth century. (Dookhan 1971:44). Thus, although constitutions in the early British colonies had permitted some degree of self government in domestic affairs, a series of Navigation laws commencing in 1651,⁷³ attempted to restrict English West Indian commerce to English vessels, and to reserve this trade for England. And Trinidad and Tobago (annexed as they were after some one and a half centuries of British experience with self-governing constitutions in the other West Indian islands), were governed from the outset as direct Crown colonies.

73

These Navigation laws prescribed by the Navigation Ordinance of the British Parliament, restricted most trade with the English colonies to English shipping and passage through the mother country. These regulations were supposed to apply, regardless of place of origin and destination of the trade. In effect, it was similar to Spain's Exclusivist policies of a century earlier.

Despite eventual declines in the importance of sugar in the world economy, and concomitantly a downward shift in the value of the West Indies to England, close ties and dependence once established, continued throughout the histories of the colonies. Richard Dunn discusses this state of dependence during the plantation era:

They [the sugar planters] depended on English merchants to extend them credit for acquiring slaves and equipment and to take their sugar in exchange for the home commodities they needed. They depended on the royal government for military and naval protection. They depended on the Royal African company for Negroes. They depended on North American ships for food and transportation.
[1972:189].

Lloyd Best adds to these observations:

... the legislature remained in all respects subordinate to the metropolitan Parliament. West Indian laws were subject to disallowance by the Crown if found to conflict with English laws or policy. The islands were also subject to imperial legislation, even taxation, whenever an English act specifically included them.
[1971:3].

Economic development of the West Indian islands was to be a secondary consideration; the mother country came first. As the plantation period progressed, socio-economic structures and institutions were to be fashioned in such a way that they would contribute to the enrichment of the metropole, while in the process taking away from the development of its periphery. The cycle of underdevelopment and dependence on metropolitan dictates and interests had been set in motion.

As British settler colonisation spread in the West Indian-islands, firm governmental links with Britain were reinforced and entrenched in the colonial capitals. In continuing his commentary on West Indian government during the colonial period, Lloyd Best (1971:4) notes a very important characteristic: "... its freedom to develop an identity of its own [was] profoundly affected by political developments at the metropolitan centre." Many events in England and her other colonies had spillover effects on the West Indies and "the political system hung to Westminster by its navel string." Despite the possession of constitutions permitting some degree of self government, local West India assemblies patterned themselves on the English House of Commons, and centralised control through the seat of government was effectively instituted (see Hearne and Nettleford 1963:10-11, for Jamaica).

The local West India assemblies were composed largely of the plantocracy, and their lobbies in England sought to influence the direction and nature of developments across the Atlantic. For as long as they remained colonies, the West Indian islands were simultaneously appendages in an imperial system, and the overall pattern of subjugation to developments in England remained similar. England was always endearingly regarded as 'the mother country' with London, the bulwark of the Old Colonial System. (Curtin 1955:7). A

'colonial umbilical cord' held each island in closer contact with the distant metropole than with its more immediate neighbours, especially if neighbouring islands were not also English colonies. (Augier et al. 1960:296; Lewis 1968:18).

The result of this metropolitan dominated socio-economic and socio-cultural history is a common colonial legacy appreciably reflected in similar spatial structures, similar economic evolution, and similar psycho-cultural institutions.

Internal patterns of development were likewise, inevitably linked with the reign of 'King Sugar' and with the relationship of the colonies to the English metropole. These patterns followed British imperial traditions of economic dominance by specific nodes (port towns) which fulfilled the colonial role of extraction of primary products (sugar), contact with the mother country, and infusion of English values, customs, and manufactured goods. And the fortunes of these towns varied with the fortunes of their respective national economies. Thus the declining prosperity of the sugar-based Jamaican economy undoubtedly had an appreciable influence on the declining fortunes of Kingston in the 1830's, a period when the Jamaican capital was described as "an inhabited town so desolate and so decayed." (Curtin 1955:8-9). Clarke (1975a: Plate 9) echoes this observation for Kingston, noting that, circa 1850, "The formerly thriving port was in decline, the buildings dilapidated."

In terms of 'urban' development, Jamaica could have been considered a tabula rasa at the time of British colonisation. There were no significant towns to provide an urban foundation. The chief Spanish town, (St. Jago de la Vega) had been destroyed by the British in 1655 and subsequently had to be rebuilt around the Governor's mansion, the only structure left standing during the assault on the town. St. Jago had been set up inland by the Spanish in a position where its defence was a strong consideration. By contrast, Port Royal "the first town created during the British colonial period", was located on the coast and "provided the colony with its vital maritime link with the mother country." (Clarke 1975a:17).

In 1660, five years after the British acquisition of Jamaica, the island was described as having only three 'towns': Port Royal, St. Jago de la Vega (the capital), and Passage Fort (guarding the entrance to Port Royal Harbour). William Claypole has quoted the author of a 1660 report with the following description of the three towns:

St. Jago was a town of about "800 ruynous houses, 2 churches, 2 chapelles & An Abbye, all buit by the Spanyards". Port Royal was the island's chief commercial centre and contained some 200 houses in addition to "some publique houses ...where in ye Lieutenant General constantly dwells and ye houses were all ye stores for ye fleet and Army were kept." All the

sailors and merchants resided in the town making it the "most frequente in ye Indyas [and] makes houses soe deare that an ordinaire house in this Towne is worth 40 or 60 G [guineas] per annum. Passage Fort in 1660 was nothing but a town "buylt by ye English for conuiement of goint to Cagway Port Royal. It hath in it aboute 50 houses & a forte"; [Claypole 1972:97].

Of the three towns identified for seventeenth century English Jamaica, Port Royal was by far the most dynamic. In 1662 its population had been estimated to be 690 whites and 50 blacks, but continued to rise rapidly to 1,669 whites and 312 blacks in 1673, and by 1680 it had reached 2,086 whites and 845 blacks. (Dunn 1972:179). The economic base of this town was commerce, and the nefarious activities of buccaneers and privateers plundering Spanish settlements and wealth. Port Royal soon became known as 'the Sodom of the Indies', 'the wickedest city in the West', and demonstrated little of the social transformation which town life was supposed to bring. Because it was also the residence of the first governors and chief officers of the administration, Port Royal was de facto the first capital of Jamaica under the British.⁷⁴ In 1664, however, much of the administration of the island was transferred to St. Jago, (undoubtedly so that Governor Sir Thomas Modyford could be closer to his St. Catherine estates). But Port Royal

⁷⁴ See, Dept. of Statistics, Jamaica (1976a:1).

continued to flourish as the principal town and port and the military and naval base of the island. Claypole (1972:172) describes its vitality : "though Port Royal is but sand and water yet the convenience of the port makes it very great and populous." Much of the agricultural production of the island had to be shipped to England, and Port Royal fulfilled the port functions. Indeed it was "the only legal port of entry and departure for vessels arriving from and departing for overseas." (Claypole 1972:95).

Port Royal continued to grow and thrive as the advantages of its port location (identified by Dunn 1972:179, as a magnificent natural harbour shielded from storms and enemy attacks by the ten mile Palisadoes sand spit terminating at Point Cagway), and the conveniences and attractions of town life over the lonely and isolated plantation life became established. Despite the fact that St. Jago was the legitimate capital of Jamaica, Port Royal soon became "the quasi-capital of the island ... and it ranked with Santo Domingo, Havana and Panama City [among the chief towns in the Hispanic ambit] as one of the four principal towns of the Caribbean." (Clarke 1975a:18). It was the chief commercial and social centre of Jamaica, (Dunn 1972:150), and with the establishment of heavy fortifications, the best defended place on the island, indeed in all of English America. (Dunn 1972:181). Privateering and commerce were exhibiting positive ramifications.

As Port Royal prospered, a fierce rivalry developed between groups of planters anxious to see the capital located there (Port Royal or Ye Poynt) and those desirous of having it remain in St. Jago (Ye Towne). By 1670 the growth of Port Royal had taken away from Passage Fort, which soon became solely what its name implies : a fort protecting the road from Ye Poynt to Ye Towne.

For some fifteen to twenty years after the decadence of Passage Fort, only Port Royal and Spanish Town could in any way be regarded as towns. They were areas of concentrated population and even in an age of flourishing agriculture, the functions of these centres and the occupations of their residents were sufficiently heterogeneous and non-agricultural. True, many residents had agricultural connections, but as plantation owners, not as plantation workers. Claypole (1972:97) has noted that 'internal absenteeism' contributed to the vibrance of Port Royal, for the lottery derived from estate production enabled many planters "to pass at least part of the year soaking up the various gossip and interests of Port Royal", while the estate was managed by overseers. Eventually, as the effects of the series of Navigation Acts (see page 134 of this thesis) became more widely felt, the pull of London, or Liverpool, or other metropolitan centres would be much greater on the planter.

It was possible to obtain huge profits from engaging in urban commerce and "it was no mere coincidence that the island's most prominent planters were also Port Royal's most prominent merchants." (Claypole 1972:174). They were on the spot, they were already successful planters, and they were, as planters, fully aware of the needs of other planters.

Port Royal, then, performed the functions of a vibrant economic centre, particularly after the activities of Jamaica — based buccaneers had been suppressed. But in an age of poor internal communications, the need for more regional centres of commerce and administration soon led to the growth of other areas such as Lucea, Old Harbour, Port Antonio, St. Ann, Savanna-la-Mar, and Montego Bay.⁷⁵ In proclaiming the establishment of Spanish Town as second capital of the island Governor Modyford observed:

The gentlemen in all the settlements
comeing to meet me in considerable
bodies and with great alacrity, I
have to there general contentment
settled my abode at Ye Towne St. Jago
former Governor's making there resi-
dence at Ye Poynt to which no parte
of the country could apply themselves
without passing 6 miles by water which
was odious uncertayne and costly and
indeed an intollerable greviance to ye
Country. [quoted in Claypole 1972:221].

⁷⁵ Montego Bay had been a small Spanish port established to undertake the export of manteca (lard), but much of the settlement had been destroyed by the British during their annexation of the island.

The situation became even more acute with the establishment of plantations in the north and west of the island. Neither Port Royal nor Spanish Town could efficiently service these regions, and new merchant and port communities were therefore set up to satisfy the demands of planters. Thus commerce and the growth of towns became oriented to and increasingly dependent on the island's large estate agriculture.⁷⁶ Port Royal, however, continued to be the core of domestic commerce, for the more successful merchants kept their headquarters in the town, near the wharves, shipping, and warehouses, and only set up subsidiary outlets in the interior. (Claypole 1972:196).

A natural disaster (the destruction of Port Royal by earthquake in 1692) led to the founding of Kingston on the Liguanea Plains. It was established to resettle the survivors and refugees from Port Royal and for many years occupied a subordinate position to other places including Spanish Town, a reconstructed Port Royal, and even the village of Half Way Tree which the city has now grown to encompass. Within one year of the initiation of settlement at Kingston, several important government personnel had moved their offices there. And with the devastation of Port Royal by fire in 1703 Kingston's position as a principal settlement became

⁷⁶

For the growth of other port towns and inland urban places, see the UNDP and Town Planning Dept., (Jamaica) 1971:3-5; and Curtin (1955:9-10).

firmly consolidated. Its major commercial competitor had been crippled. In 1802, the town (Kingston) and the parish (Kingston) were combined to form the city of Kingston. However, Spanish Town was still the political capital of the island, and retained that status until 1872 when Kingston's economic and social vibrance far outweighed any other considerations in capital city location.

In Trinidad, Port of Spain's pattern of economic and demographic growth had already been established during the Spanish colonial period. Few major adjustments therefore occurred during the brief (40 year) period encompassed by the plantation/slave regime. Despite the almost complete destruction of Port of Spain by fire in 1803, (3,000 out of a possible total of 5,000 houses and all the public buildings without exception; Ottley 1970:24), the city was reconstructed and continued to surpass all other settlements. It remained the capital and major urban place in Trinidad.

Port of Spain has an excellent natural harbour, a superb natural location on the Gulf of Paria, and is sheltered from the prevailing Northeast Trade winds by the country's highest range of hills - the Northern range. Few other good, natural harbours exist, and practically none on the north, south, and east coasts of the island. The country's most extensive lowlands - the Caroni Plains - are to the south and east and contiguous with the capital. In a period

of external exploitation of the country's agricultural resources for export to metropolitan markets, Port of Spain's growth would continue to be stimulated.

With the economic and social revolution which accompanied the introduction of sugar into the British West Indies, and with the expansion in size of sugar estates to facilitate economies of scale in production, many dispossessed European small holders "drifted into [rather limited] urban occupations, emigrated or became fishermen and buccaneers." (Waddell 1972:54; Dookhan 1971:50).⁷⁷ Many whites who had lost their jobs on the sugar estates soon headed for the town. In Jamaica, other groups like Jewish refugees from Spain and Portugal had also become prominent in the town population and were engaged in trade. The system of slavery, however, offered little recourse for many of those individuals regarded as chattels. Their fortunes were bound to the sugar estates and everything centred on 'the crop'.

Urban development had been stymied under the sugar plantocracy and towns had remained small for much of the period classified here as the plantation/slave regime. (Curtin 1955:10). The overwhelming majority of the population (slaves) were living in compact estate or plantation villages. In agricultural societies characterised by forced confinement on sugar estates and patterns of development

⁷⁷ Among these urban occupations were inn-keepers, clerks, and a variety of skilled craftsmen.

revolving around sugar, few opportunities were provided for the large-scale movement to towns or for the generation of major urban occupations, such as were being provided by industrialisation in another part of the world. Not only were West Indian societies to remain agrarian but, as far as was possible, town life was to remain structured for the black group in society. After all, under normal circumstances, towns serve to maximise interactions and communication and may have permitted too much intercourse of 'blacks' and 'whites' in a socio-economic system based largely on colour, (Riviere n.d.:8) and in which fear by the socially-dominant class was a significant element. (Lewis 1968:50-51; Curtin 1955 : Chap. 2). Thus, why not have the blacks remain on the sugar estates and in rural areas?

There is no doubt that the planters would have preferred this, but ironically, in a society shackled to slave labour, even town life would require its complement of slaves as perquisites to accumulating wealth and power. As a result, in addition to a white ruling class and a white plantocracy which would make the town its habitat for much of the year, there was a fairly sizeable group of town slaves associated with the administrators of the island, with the seasonal migration of plantation owners, and with a group of slave-owners who contracted out their labour supply. Figure 24 illustrates that the urban slave population could

indeed be sizeable, despite the fact that slaves were originally envisioned as 'plantation labour'.

Figure 24: Town Slaves in Jamaica in 1832

Finally, by the end of the plantation/slave regime, town life was also reflective of a changing socio-cultural feature of the wider societal whole. No longer was the society polarised into the simple white/planter-black/slave relationship. There was now a growing coloured group, a product of miscegenation in societies where white females were generally in short supply, and where there were unbalanced sex ratios among the white group.

This intermediate group of 'coloureds' was essentially urban-based. As Curtin (1955:43) notes, "Most of the colored people, and all of the most prominent were townsmen ... [and] accepted a great deal of the white scale of values." As he further comments (1955:44), "Political and economic differences between town and country in Jamaica, therefore, were likely to take on racial overtones." There

is little evidence to suggest that the situation was any different for Trinidad. In fact, Curtin's observations may be taken as being valid for most West Indian societies, and not solely for Jamaica. His discussions on the coloured group testify to some of the dichotomies in opportunity between town and country life..

The concentration of the colored class in the towns also helped the educational and political advancement of the group. First of all there was more opportunity for education there than in the countryside. In addition, the man of color who wanted to advance was forced to try for a professional or mercantile position - positions which required more education than that of an apprentice planter [and which were largely urban-based]. Thus the more able colored people drifted into journalism, trade, and the law, where they were also in a position to enter politics easily [making use of the town's population] of well-to-do colored voters.
[Curtin 1955:44; inserts added.]

Many of the relationships which were to be characteristic of twentieth century West Indian society were thus laid during the plantation/slave regime. There was the dominance of white over black, metropole over its island periphery, town over country, master over slave, low status agricultural work versus perceived urban opportunity, and a general reverence for most things foreign. And the capital cities were irreversibly entrenched as the leading urban areas, as a result of increased trade and accumulated wealth through sugar production. Other small settlements also benefited from economic and demographic growth during this period, and agricultural

marketing centres, fishing villages, and local community service centres were set up to articulate the wider national whole in an era of poor internal communications. But, in general, urban development was restricted to Kingston and Port of Spain.

Figure 25: Trinidad and Tobago: Urban Development During the Plantation / Slave Regime.

NATURAL INCREASE	MIGRATION	STRUCTURAL TRANSFORMATION
<p>High death rate among European and slave population. Birth rates low. Rates of natural increase low. Various sources of disease and poor health conditions.</p>	<p>Immigration of slaves. Settlement and development concentrated on western half of island. Principal sugar estates on central lowland. Immigration of coloreds from other West Indian islands. Many of the coloreds migrated to the plantation area. (page 151).</p>	<p>Port of Spain (capital); other towns - St. Joseph and Arima. Population still very small. Native Indian population diminished to insignificant numbers. French settlers very few. In the early colonial period, even though the island was formerly Spanish and now British, many new immigrants (colored and French) settled in port of Spain.</p>

Figure 26 : Jamaica : Urban Development During the Plantation/Slave Regime.

Port Royal, Kingston, and Spring Town, Jamaica, W. I. These are regional commercial functions. Among these was a pop.

January may be considered a time of crisis for the nation still overwhelmed by war. The situation is not so soon to be placed in perspective. The nation is generally a war statesman. The nation is a war statesman. The nation is a war statesman.

NATURAL INCREASE

to cause till death among European population. Slaves not encouraged to procreate. It was 'cheaper' to obtain new stock from Africa than to have mothers away from the child. In ten years, natural increase low. Major sources of mortality - malaria, yellow fever, and dysentery.

MIGRATION

[illegible]

STRUCTURAL TRANSFORMATION

4:4 The Post Emancipation Period

In 1833, the British Parliamentary Act of Emancipation terminated the system of slavery as a 'legalised institution' in the British islands. This cessation initiated major social and spatial adjustments in the plantation system by now characteristic of West Indian society; but the economic changes accompanying emancipation were minimal. As a result Eric Williams (1971:16) has concluded that "Emancipation of the Negro was a juridical, a social and political change ... but emancipation was not an economic change." Indeed, any of the structural changes in the socio-economic system must certainly have been minor, for many of the institutions, relationships, and value systems set up during the slavery period existed well into the twentieth century; and some even exist today. (Beckford 1972, Girvan 1973, Jefferson 1970).

After a five year period under a system of compulsory apprenticeship, slaves were legally freed in 1838, and the aftermath of emancipation evinces striking similarities in the territories of Jamaica and Trinidad and Tobago. Freedom was a welcome event everywhere and many slaves opted to leave the sugar plantations. In Jamaica, land unsuitable for sugar cultivation was available to the ex-slaves, as were marginal areas which had been very productive in earlier times of boom but were no longer economic after years of

cultivation. (Curtin 1955:11-13). Much of this land was in inland areas with steep slopes and intense local relief, and where some small settlements had already been established by the Maroons.⁷⁸ This land of low agricultural capability was sold or rented out by the estate-owners to the freedmen, who then established small independent or semi-independent subsistence or cash crop holdings. In some cases where the land was owned by the Crown, the former slaves, in their move away from the estates and estate labour, chose to establish squatter communities. (Laurence 1971:7). But the flat, fertile, coastal plains and the few productive interior valleys continued to be occupied by the sugar plantations.

In Trinidad, where sugar cultivation had begun at a later date than in Jamaica, and where slaves had been in lesser supply and more expensive, the expansion of sugar production on fertile lands had not yet reached its limits. Here, potentially productive land was still available for occupation by the ex-slaves. As in Jamaica, some of this was Crown land which was not only sold to, but squatted upon by the freedmen and some newly arrived immigrants. (Laurence 1971:16-17). But by and large, the best agricultural land was reserved for plantation agriculture and the cultivation

78

The Maroons were former slaves who had obtained their freedom during the battles between the English and the Spanish which culminated in the capture of Jamaica. Their numbers were augmented by runaway slaves throughout the seventeenth and eighteenth century. From their settlements in the interior of Jamaica, the Maroons continually harassed British settlers, and launched periodic attacks against the island's sugar plantations.

of crops for export, and, as occurred in Jamaica, the peasant economy was channelled on to marginal areas of land unsuitable for intensive commercial exploitation.

Thus, in both Jamaica and Trinidad, the harsh legacy of slavery led to a repudiation of plantation life with immediate spatial effects manifested in the establishment of a black peasantry on non-active plantation land or land not owned by the plantations. Non-productive or marginally productive land was settled by the ex-slaves, particularly those who lacked skills to ply in the towns.⁷⁹ Those freed men who possessed skills (for example, blacksmiths, carpenters, coopers, masons and wheelwrights), moved to the towns where economic opportunities were much greater than in the newly established villages and among the new peasant holdings.⁷⁹

Emancipation also led to the development of a group of small retail traders, for no longer was the plantation owner or manager the major supplier of food, clothing and essential equipment, or the major middleman. Former slaves set up independent retail enterprises utilising the experience gained through participation in Sunday markets. For more than a century prior to emancipation, slaves had

79

However, it is possible that some skilled slaves were enticed by the possibility of land ownership, and thus became constituents of the new peasantry. That is, one cannot judge the pattern and direction of movement, solely on the basis of possession of skills.

been growing some of their food needs on designated portions of estate lands, with surplus produce being sold in towns or market centres. (Wilberforce 1823:38-39; and Curtin 1955:19).

Thus the base was laid for an exchange economy in which the freedmen could be active participants. Many of these market centres also provided a new settlement base and several have grown in stature to be presently recognised as towns; for example, Gordon Town and Brown's Hall.

Despite the social and spatial changes attendant on emancipation in West Indian society, "there [was], however, no genuine economic transformation, largely because of the legacy of Pure Plantation Economy." (Girvan 1973:17). The freedmen were not able to untangle themselves from the colonial web and dependence on the mother country for manufactured goods and a trading partner. They possessed only 'freedom'; neither economic nor political power was forthcoming for some time. Vested interests and established distributor groups in the West Indian islands feared competition from lower-cost producers in Europe and North America and little attempt was made to establish non-sugar infant industries. Though by the end of the nineteenth century, urban centres in the West Indian islands were still small, it is clear that they were developing without an industrial base. They were the nodes where the economic and political power of the European rulers were concentrated, and

industrialisation played little part in their evolution, despite the fact that the mother country was industrialising rapidly at that time. Eric Williams quotes the Earl of Chatham on this:

Not a nail, not a horseshoe could be manufactured, nor hats nor iron, nor refined sugar. In return for this England made one concession - the colonial products were given a monopoly of the home market. [1966:56] ⁸⁰

Settlement changes then, were occurring without major occupational shifts.

With the end of slavery there also came a labour vacuum on the sugar plantations of Jamaica and Trinidad, and this was perceived by the planter class as a threat to the profitability of sugar. As pointed out earlier, Trinidad had only become a sugar island late in the eighteenth century and had not fully reached its sugar potential in pre-emancipation days. (Augier et al. 1960 : Chap. 17). Jamaica had been the largest island to fall into British hands and Britain's sugar acreage had been expanded considerably by its acquisition, even though it was almost a century before that island assumed a position of primacy in British West Indian sugar production. (Dunn 1972:21). Here too, all potential sugar lands had not yet been fully exploited. These

80

Augier et. al. (1960:284) substantiate this for even the early twentieth century, and the Moyne Commission Report of 1945 made it a point to downplay (certainly not to highlight) the prospects of industrial development in the West Indies and British Guiana.

situations, combined with the unwillingness of former slaves to continue working within the plantation system, left many sugar estates in dire need of workers to permit any expansion in production, or even its maintenance at previous levels. Cheap labour had to be found to fill this labour vacuum. (Laurence 1971:7-15).

In Trinidad, earlier experiences with Chinese workers had not been favourable and they were not seriously considered as a suitable replacement for black agricultural labour. (Williams 1962:77; Laurence 1971:38). To ameliorate the labour situation here, and in Jamaica as well, indentured servants were imported, from India in particular, with much smaller numbers coming from Portugal and the Portuguese Azores, China, Africa, North America, Britain, Germany, France, Malta and the other West Indian islands. (Augier et al. 1960 : Chap. 17; Laurence 1971:12-15).

Roberts and Byrne (1966:127) provide estimates of both the numbers and the countries of origin for indentured immigrants who went to Jamaica and Trinidad. According to their figures, between 1834 and 1918, a total of 157,668 'migrants' were introduced into Trinidad as opposed to 53,940 in Jamaica. Of these, the majority by far came from India. (Table 13).

Table 13: *Migrants introduced into Jamaica and Trinidad*

	INDIA (1838-1918)	MADEIRA (1835-81)	AFRICA (1834-67)	CHINA (1852-84)	EUROPE (1834-45)	OTHER (1835-67)
Trinidad	143,939	897	8,854	2,645	-	1,333
Jamaica	36,412	379	11,391	1,152	4,087	519

There is some evidence that in the panic to secure a labour supply from any source, little consideration was given to whether or not prospective labourers had any experience in agricultural work. Thus many of the Portuguese immigrants to Jamaica "had been recruited in seaport towns and found agricultural labour not at all to their liking. Some soon wandered off the estates into the main towns." (Laurence 1971:10). And with the high desertion of Indian workers who had been drawn from the Madras area, efforts were made to recruit indentured labourers from the more rural northerly areas of India. (Laurence 1971:46). The planters were interested in obtaining an agrarian labour force which would settle close to the estates and would work on the plantations; not immigrants who would reside in towns and become engaged in urban occupations for which emancipation had generated a greater demand. (Best 1975:153). And this new immigration scheme was to be financed by domestic taxation measures. As Best puts it, "Old Labour had to pay taxes to introduce new labour which resulted in bidding its own wages down." It would be difficult for the freedmen to secure individual profits within such a framework. Freedom had really provided little opportunity for the mitigation of 'persistent poverty'.

Several of the newcomers to West Indian society did not last for long in rural areas and rural occupations.

In both countries, many of the Portuguese, and other European immigrants, as well as the Chinese and subsequently Syrian and Lebanese town dwellers became heavily involved in commerce.⁸¹ At present they are prominent elements on the urban commercial scene and concomitantly, in the upper echelons and middle classes of the national economic and social milieu. Their hegemony should not be surprising in societies which were typified by a rigid class structure and in which money and colour were the chief status symbols. (Harewood 1971; Phillips 1973:25; and M. G. Smith 1965). As a corollary, some observers have viewed the status of the rurally-based East Indians in Trinidad as being and remaining at "the bottom rung of the social ladder", (Black 1976:36), an observation equally applicable to the rurally-based blacks in Jamaica. (Phillips 1973:25).

Throughout the post emancipation period, few opportunities for personal upliftment of the majority of residents, existed in rural areas. Actual social mobility was minimal since a transcension of the ascribed characteristic of colour was required, and peasant agricultural enterprises were small and did not prove to be very financially rewarding. For many indigenous small farmers, the general environmental location was not favourable, and in some cases hostile, to profitable agriculture. The owner-

81

Their prominence in business enterprises, such as groceries, and department stores is very visible. See also, Bentley and Henry (1969:20-21), for some reference to the Chinese immigrants.

ship of good, fertile land was still dominated by the sugar estates and other large holdings, and this had seriously reduced the land area available to small scale cultivators. This situation still exists, though some developers have been able to purchase estate lands for the establishment of housing estates.

Figure 27 : *Trinidad and Tobago: Urban Development During the Post Emancipation Period.*

PORT OF SPAIN and ARIMA as major towns, and the major destinations of migrants seeking after urban opportunity.

The post-emancipation period saw the spatial shift of the black population from sugar-estates and witnessed a stimulated establishment of interior peasant settlements and villages. In addition, there was the movement of freedmen from plantations to towns, particularly the chief towns. To provide labour for the sugar setates, contractual immigration of East Indians Chinese, and other groups was undertaken, and a large Asiatic Indian community became established in rural areas of Trinidad. The best land was, however, reserved for plantation agriculture.

NATURAL INCREASE	MIGRATION	STRUCTURAL TRANSFORMATION
Fertility high, mortality high among freedmen. Rates of natural increase low. Infant mortality high.	Former slaves reject plantation life and there is mass movement from sugar estates. Replacement labour force settle in rural areas; but Chinese, Portuguese - in fact most groups other than the East Indians do not remain in rural areas and occupations for long. Some villages are established by the freedmen on areas not utilised by the sugar plantations. Limited socio-economic opportunities in rural areas. Beginnings of major migratory focus on the capital region.	

Figure 28: Jamaica: Urban Development During the Post-Emancipation Period.

4:5 The Twentieth Century Colonial Period

The population composition of Jamaica and Trinidad and Tobago is largely a product of successive waves of immigration from Europe, Africa, Asia, and the Middle East, a flow which lasted from the sixteenth century to the early portions of the twentieth century. (Waddell 1967:4). This period was one in which colonialism was at its heyday, and the majority of people were denied political participation in domestic affairs. It also witnessed the development of economies pivoted on agricultural production in general, and sugar cultivation in particular. During this time, the plantation developed as the predominant mode of socio-economic organisation. Colonial rule was firm and direct, and was based almost solely in the respective national capitals which provided the political liaison between the Colonial Office and the colonies, and the economic link between the metropole and the West Indian islands. Town development had been traditionally oriented to port activities and the export of agricultural products. Nonetheless, with the emancipation of slaves, some small inland towns had grown up to perform internal marketing functions. These settlements were located on lands marginal to the plantation economy. None of them possessed enough internal vibrance to rival the capital city in internal or external importance and influence.

And their spatial spread would be restricted because of their proximity to lands which were still under plantation ownership.

A series of crises - competition from foreign sugar and European beet, and other marketing and production problems - afflicted the sugar industry in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. (Augier et al. 1960:237; and Dookhan 1971:45). As a result, the sugar islands became less important to the mother country, and this precipitated a tempering of the tenacious colonial hold which Britain had previously exercised over her West Indian colonies. By the 1930's, the world-wide economic depression, a changing political climate, and the domestic activities of political activists clamouring for internal self-government, had further accentuated the movement away from the colonial stranglehold. (Girvan 1973:3; Waddell 1967:109-114). By the end of the Second World War, local political parties and trade unions had been organised in both Jamaica and Trinidad and Tobago. And the franchise had been widened to initiate more representative internal government. In these developments, a growing 'creole' middle class - many of whom were of mixed African and European descent and town-based - played a leading role. (Moskos 1967:33 and 65-69). Some of its leaders had been overseas as troops with the British West India Regiment, and though this had occurred during time of war, they could not help but notice the

overall difference in standards of living between the 'mother country' and their own. Others were island scholars who had gone to Britain and returned to the islands to participate in domestic politics and public life. Still others were teachers, civil servants and professionals (particularly lawyers and journalists) who had benefited from 'the break' which education permitted if they were not white or wealthy. (Caribbean Emancipators 1976 and Therese Mills 1973).⁸² Many in this middle class still adhered to colonial values (Moskos 1967:4) but succeeded in mobilising a worker base for combatting the colonial administrators and stimulating a movement towards internal self government of a more democratic variety; that is, a popularly-elected legislature. (Moskos 1967:62). Sporadic strife and urban agitation, and violence against the colonial establishment occurred in both Jamaica and Trinidad in the 1930's and 1940's, and political mobilisation increased in the urban areas. In fact, many social and political developments in the post war era were rooted in urban centres

⁸² Public education had been established in Trinidad in 1851, and many blacks had taken advantage of it, leading to the production of a black middle class based on education. This middle class "became increasingly politicised and joined in the campaigns against Crown Colony government." Caribbean Emancipators (1976:71). East Indians did not enter the educational mainstream until much later in the nineteenth century. Government schools were largely urban-based, while the Indians were rural. In addition, they were suspicious of schools where all the teachers and most of the pupils were creoles and Christians. (Caribbean Emancipators 1976:63).

(Stone 1975:72; Hearne and Nettleford 1963:39), and this has been interpreted for Jamaica, to be the result of "demographic changes [which] have significantly shifted the most alienated disaffected and rebellious stratum of the society from rural to urban areas." (Stone 1975:72).

Universal adult suffrage was introduced into Jamaica in 1944 and into Trinidad and Tobago in 1945. By the early 1950's both countries were well on the way to self rule, though still within the wider context of British colonialism. Like their predecessors, the new administrations produced were at once urban-oriented.⁸³ National government was almost synonymous with urban government, and in large part divorced from demographic realities in the form of a sizeable rural mass. The growth of nationalism and the quest for independence was likewise a thing of the cities, functioning as they did, as bulwarks of the intellectual elite and as bases for the politicisation of the population and the stimulation of anti-colonial sentiments.

The postwar era has also witnessed some economic changes in both countries, even though their economies continued to be "geared to selective external exploitation rather than balanced development." (Waddell 1967:2). If one may make the cliched observation, 'the

⁸³ Local governments responsive to rural needs, were not in a financial or managerial position to reduce their dependence on a strong central government in the capital cities. And much of the infrastructural development occurred in or was focused on the capitals.

economies reflected little structural change'. (Beckford 1972:3). In branching away from sugar production, both countries were fortunate in possessing mineral resources to permit the development of a semi-industrial base. A policy of 'industrialisation by invitation' (Girvan 1973 and Jefferson 1970), of industrialisation by incentive legislation, stimulated some growth of a domestic industry,⁸⁴ and even though their exploitation is capital-intensive, Jamaica's bauxite and Trinidad's petroleum resources allowed some domestic worker participation in quasi-industrial occupations. But the exploitation of minerals and the processing of agricultural commodities did not reduce the dependence on heavy importation of manufactured goods and even foodstuffs from the industrialised economies. In fact, much of the twentieth century to date has seen economic development in both Jamaica and Trinidad and Tobago more sensitive to and dependent on foreign trade, foreign credit, and foreign exchange. (Jainarain 1976). And external economic dependence was perpetuated. (Girvan 1972). Traditional patterns persisted, with a heavy emphasis on the external factors in the development complex. (Figure 2). And even where new avenues were found, the tendency towards agglomeration of economic development in specific nodes was little altered.

⁸⁴ See Figure 29 for incentive industrialisation in Jamaica.

Figure 29: Some of the Industrial Developments under Incentive Legislation in Jamaica.

Source: Clarke and Hodgkins (1974:85)

The major twentieth century economic activities of mineral extraction, tourism, manufacturing, and government services all have very important spatial parameters. Bauxite and petroleum are extracted from where they are found, with port facilities for their export being located, as it were, 'at the nearest good harbour'. Locational decisions were rationalised by the desire for quick profits derived from the sale of these mineral resources on external markets. The Report of the Trinidad and Tobago government to the 1976 Habitat Conference in Vancouver, notes the consequences of these 'policies' for South Trinidad : "Point Fortin, La Brea and Santa Flora are pathetic inheritances from the boom period of exploitation of the oil resources."⁸⁵ Thus, the 'ghost-town' phenomenon could be generated even in small countries

The tourist industry in the West Indies benefits from a favourable climate during the North American winter season, and from the presence of good beaches and scenic surroundings. The latter factors, in part, stricture tourism to specific loci such as the North coasts of Jamaica and Trinidad, and it is here that much of the tourism development has taken place, with citizens of metropolitan countries being very prominent in the industry. Figure 30 illustrates some of the spatial aspects of the tourist industry in Jamaica.

⁸⁵

See, Government of Trinidad and Tobago, *National Report to Habitat: United Nations Conference on Human Settlements*. (1976:4) Port of Spain.

Figure 30: Jāmaica - Some Spatial Aspects of the Tourist Industry,
and the Sources of Visitors

Manufacturing industry has responded to the economic dynamism of capital cities and second tier urban areas, with a resultant gravitation of activity to these urban locations. Here, a larger, more concentrated labour force possessing some skills, is readily available for employment in industrial activities. More of the population here is involved in the wage economy (and desirous of becoming participants). Hence there is a large concentrated market to which manufacturing industry stimulated primarily by the desire for profits, must respond in the absence of large external markets. Export to the small external markets available is facilitated by the existence of the best general cargo ports in the country. And basic infrastructural facilities and social services are generally better and more diversified in the capital than elsewhere, (Figures 31 and 20 to 22), though in many cases they are themselves poor.

Figure 31: Selected Features of the Social Overhead in Jamaica

Areas of mineral exploitation (such as South Trinidad and Clarendon parish in Jamaica), and regions of tourism development (St. James parish in Jamaica and the north coast of Trinidad, as well as the island of Tobago), may have led to a tempering of movement to the capital city. Nonetheless, as already illustrated in Section 3:2, the flow of internal migrants bound for Kingston and Port of Spain and their respective environs, is still the predominant pattern. The low requirements for unskilled labour in these mining activities and the paucity of direct horizontal and vertical linkages which the mining and tourism sectors provided to the economy meant that new directions of movement were only short-term measures. Unskilled and semi-skilled labour continued to flow to a capital city where, in the period leading up to political independence in 1962 and continuing after then, national governments had assumed some responsibility for wage employment. (Girvan 1973, Segal and Earnhardt 1969:9). Here too, a growing and profitable informal sector was becoming consolidated.

A dualistic structure characterises the economies of both Trinidad and Tobago and Jamaica, a consequence of centuries of a super-ordinate, capitalistic method of production interacting (and oft-times conflicting) with a variety of multi-source, traditionally-oriented lower level systems. Thus, the plantation agricultural system

with its external markets and profit orientation, interacted, but could be contrasted with the subsistence and peasant farming of the aboriginal Indians, the transported slaves and indentured servants, and subsequently the freed-men. Its legacy is still a major factor in socio-economic change (and also the lack of such) in the West Indies. Likewise, in a more modern era, the vertically integrated, technologically efficient, capital-intensive, metropolitan-based multinational corporation may be contrasted with the more traditional, labour-intensive, domestically-owned and locally conceived manufacturing enterprise or artisan operation. Alternatively, it is possible to differentiate the socio-economic structure of both Jamaica and Trinidad and Tobago into a formal and informal sector, based on the nature of productive and consumptive activities within and external to the nation. The International Labour Organisation, for example, has distinguished the formal sector in developing countries as that part of the economy characterised by:

- (a) difficult entry (b) frequent reliance on overseas resources (c) corporate ownership
- (d) large scale of operations (e) capital intensive and often imported technology (f) formally acquired skills, often expatriate, and
- (g) protected markets (through tariffs, quotas and trade licenses). The informal sector, on the other hand, exhibits (a) ease of entry
- (b) reliance on indigenous resources (c) family ownership (d) small scale of operations (e) labour intensive and adapted technology (f) skills acquired outside the formal school system, and
- (g) unregulated and competitive markets.

[I.L.O. 1972 : 6]

The distinction is not always as clear-cut as these points may suggest, and there is some interaction (sometimes very superficial) between the formal and informal sectors of the various socio-economic systems. Other complications arise in the role of government, which in both countries is a prominent factor in shaping the socio-economic structure through its effects on both the formal and informal sectors. Additionally, there is the pervasive international dimension superimposed on the internal workings of individual West Indian societies. The recent role of the International Monetary Fund in Jamaica's economic development policies and their resultant directions⁸⁶ is not quite clear just yet. However, the author's preliminary investigations do detect a further movement towards dependence on international institutions and external bodies, a concomitant of the necessity for obtaining external loans through concentration on the exogeneous variables in the development complex. This in turn increases the difficulties of national control over national development strategies and patterns.

Quantification of the nature and components of the informal sector in most countries is an extremely difficult task, and does not appear to have been pursued to any depth in the Caribbean. However, it may be suggested with validity that, for most unskilled and semi-skilled aspirants to participation in the socio-economic life of the city, the

86

See, *Toronto Globe and Mail*

informal sector permits easy entry. As a result, there are growing numbers of sidewalk vendors and beggars, 'sno-cone' and 'sky-juice' sellers, and very visible groups of the young unemployed in both Kingston and Port of Spain. Internal migration to the capital city had exacerbated the effects which capital-focused population readjustment had produced for the limited absorptive capacity of both the secondary and tertiary sectors. There were few unskilled and semi-skilled jobs under capital-intensive conditions.

Figure 32: *Trinidad and Tobago: Urban Development During the Twentieth Century Colonial Period.*

PORT OF SPAIN, SAN FERNANDO, ARIMA, and SANGRE GRANDE as major urban areas, but a series of 'oil towns are springing up in Southern Trinidad as exploitation of the country's petroleum resources progresses. Concentrated Capital region growth with much suburban spread in such areas as Diego Martin, Tacarigua, and St. Ann's. Growth along the Eastern Main Roads also becoming very significant.

Last stages of indentured immigration. New outlets for internal migrants provided through the development of the country's petroleum mining industry. However, the Capital Region remains a very prominent destination for internal migrants

NATURAL INCREASE

High Birth rates and high mortality rates in the early portions of this period. But as for Jamaica, the influence of family planning programmes would cause a decline in fertility, and the cumulative effects of public health measures would cause a decline in mortality rates.

MIGRATION

Movement from rural areas in economic decline. Much of this movement focused on the Port of Spain area. Petroleum industry providing alternative areas of economic opportunity. Internal migration showing an increase in volume over every intercensal period. Some but-migration from Port of Spain proper, but this is more than compensated for by the growth of contiguous suburban areas.

STRUCTURAL TRANSFORMATION

First attempts made at the 1960 census to define places which would be categorised as urban.

Figure 33: Jamaica: Urban Development During the Twentieth Century Colonial Period.

KINGSTON, MONTEGO BAY, MANDEVILLE, MAY PEN, and SPANISH TOWN as major urban areas but a series of smaller urban places are becoming of local and regional importance.

Last stages of indentured immigration. New outlets for internal migrants provided through the development of the bauxite industry in the central parishes, and through the development of the tourist industry on the North coast. But Kingston and its environs remain prominent destinations for internal migrants. Limited absorptive capacity of urban areas. Much urban employment. Incentive industrialisation to provide industrial jobs. But many of the new plants are located in and around the Kingston Metropolitan area.

NATURAL INCREASE

High birth rates; as high as 42.1 per thousand, but generally in the high 30's. Declines in birth rate coinciding with depression years and war years. Gradual post-war rise until it peaks at 42.1 in 1960. Increasing B.R. partly due to increase in the number of child-bearing females. Open antagonism to concept of family planning and the use of contraceptive methods. Mortality rates high (23-26 per thousand pop.). Declining death rates begin in 1920's, when cumulative effects of previously introduced public health measures begin to keep deaths down. Decline from 28.2 in 1921 to about 9 per thousand in 1962.

MIGRATION

New outlets provided for internal migrants. Some government investment in alternative towns to prevent the massive inflow to the capital city. Both push factors in rural areas and pull factors of urban attractiveness, contributing to increase in number of migrants over the previous period. Migrants also moving to Montego Bay in St. James Parish and to other areas where the boom in the tourist industry was providing both skilled and unskilled jobs. Similar opportunities were being provided by the exploitation of the country's bauxite resources.

STRUCTURAL TRANSFORMATION

Attempts made at the 1960 census to define places which would be classified as urban. This was the first attempt at doing this.

4:6 The Post Colonial Period⁸⁷

Both Jamaica and Trinidad and Tobago attained the status of independent nations in August 1962.⁸⁸ The characteristic pattern of colonial organisation during the pre-independence period was a centralised politico-economic system of plantation exploitation, and of institutions and economic structures geared to the economies of Europe and North America. And at independence, the existing state of affairs was still one of gross inequities within and among countries of the world system, a large and growing dichotomy between rich and poor, and an increasingly tenuous but apparently vital relationship between dominant and dominated. Improved communications had decreased time and contact distances, increased the perceptive environment of individuals and societies, and widened socio-economic horizons. As apperceptive dimensions expanded, rich and poor, and urban and rural peoples were brought closer into spheres of interaction, but there was little change towards a state of mutual influence in the relationships; towards a situation of interdependence. It seems reasonable to expect that independence would alter the nature of colonial ties and influence the economic

⁸⁷ This section brings us into the realm of current affairs. It is therefore proper to view it separately from the historical material preceding. Consequently, section 4:6 should be interpreted as a synopsis of main societal trends since independence. Some are elaborated upon in Chapter 5.

⁸⁸ Jamaica became independent on August 6th and Trinidad and Tobago, on August 30th 1962.

orientation and the ability of national socio-economic systems to function, if desired, with broader internal goals..

To a large extent, this has not been the case to date. Constitutional (flag) independence has produced little fundamental alteration of the economic status quo ante. The economies of both Jamaica and Trinidad and Tobago continued to be linked to the larger global economy in much the same way as in the mid-twentieth century. Both countries continued to be suppliers of raw materials and semi-manufactured goods and importers of finished products. Low wages and salaries, and general economic poverty, meant that for many people there was a pre-occupation with survival, and there was little surplus above consumption spending. And the surplus which accrued to many of the more fortunate nationals was also destined for overseas - largely through the financing of emigration⁸⁹ and the purchasing of goods to satiate imported tastes.

Industrial development increased somewhat in the post colonial period, but there were no large geographically - diversified markets awaiting West Indian production. A situation of 'dependent underdevelopment' continued to exist and the 'take - off' into sustained growth

89

This investment in emigration has borne some interest in the form of remittances to the country of origin of emigrants.

remained distant. The desire for 'economic development now' had stimulated an industrialisation strategy based on import substitution and influenced by the capitalist mode of operation. Capitalism and its forerunner, mercantilism, had dominated West Indian economics for some two and a half centuries prior to independence (Williams 1966), and the generation of profits within a capitalist framework of organisation must have been an almost natural outgrowth of West Indian history. Much of the globally oriented economic activity in colonial days had been based on agriculture, but in the post-war years, mineral extraction for export, and tourism development for an expatriate population had further accentuated the external disposition of West Indian economies. In the late fifties and the sixties, 'industrialisation by invitation' had become the new strategy to combat a foreign exchange bottleneck and to derive external resources for internal development. The easiest and quickest path to industrialisation and economic development for the West Indian islands was viewed to be through the creation of a favourable climate for foreign investment (Lewis 1964),⁹⁰ foreign investment which

90

Kaplan et al. (1975:3) point out that "A marked characteristic of all these sectors [manufacturing, construction, commerce, mining and quarrying, tourism and miscellaneous services] is the extent to which they are dependent upon foreign control or participation, a condition that has led to social and political problems."

would be geared to the generation of profits - as it turned out, for the North Atlantic industrialised economies. (Jainarain 1976).

In the emerging nations of Jamaica and Trinidad and Tobago, profits could best be generated in the locations where there already was some degree of population concentration to provide an easily accessible market, and in Marxian terminology, where there was an 'industrial reserve force', a buyers' labour market easily responsive to the dictates of industry. Urban locations then, with their concentrated populations, were the natural foci of this capitalist industrialisation seeking after profits, interest, and rapid economic growth.⁹¹ Capital accumulated in these areas as opposed to rural and virgin areas, (except for mineral extraction), and the distribution of revenues from export activities was likewise biased in favour of urban loci. Concentrated urbanisation with agglomerated economic activities persisted. Some industrial and better paying employment was generated, and the primate towns became

91

Girvan (1975:104) argues that "The objective of the manager of ... Reynolds Jamaica mines [as one example] is not 'profit maximization' per se at all; it is to produce the quantum of material ordered by the higher offices with the least possible delay and at the least possible local costs, and place it at the disposal of the parent company." While this may be true, it does not run contrary to the view that the local plant is a subsidiary of the vertically-integrated multinational corporation, whose main aim in investment is profit generation. And the main decisions relevant to this investment are made in metropolitan head offices.

more attractive to those anxious 'to make it' and partake in 'the action'. The drift to towns was also fuelled by lower productivity and rising population/land pressures in rural areas as a result of subdivision into smaller plots for larger families. This changing socio-economic situation mandated government action to compensate for high unemployment (generally 10-15 percent) and low earning power. Public works schemes were introduced (again largely in the primate city), industrial estates were established just beyond the confines of the city proper, and government assumed responsibility for some aspects of monetary welfare in the capital. (Odle 1975).

In the post colonial period then, the stimulus to primate city growth was accentuated by deliberate government activities within a capitalist framework of economic growth through concentrated investment, with a major concern being the generation of profits. Socio-economic organisation via the profit-motive as a major consideration, would militate against spatial balance in settlement structures and spread of development, for, as Singer (1975:450) notes rather paradoxically, "...capitalism does not possess mechanisms, except for state intervention, to oblige capital to focus on areas where labour force is available", and more importantly (1975:441) that "as a rule industrial capitalism originates in the cities (and particularly the formal sector)

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urbanisation in both countries.⁹³ Mark Jefferson (1939), the original discussant of primacy noted the tendency toward reinforcement and entrenchment of one major town and the inability of others to rival it. Though not specifying the conditions which lead to any particular city becoming an established one, he observed that once it did become a vibrant core, "This mere fact gives it an impetus to grow that cannot affect any other city and it draws away from all of them in character as well as in size ... it becomes the primate city." In the absence of government intervention in the cause of decentralised economic, political, or administrative activity, and in the absence of intractable diseconomies of scale, its growth then tends to be largely self-propelling and it continues to benefit from its own demographic and economic inertia. By depriving rural areas of their young and more enterprising citizens with little return flow, rural underdevelopment is perpetuated. If new migrants are unable to fit into the highly competitive urban milieu, urban underdevelopment may persist. And if this overall scenario is deemed to be an undesirable one with too many attendant problems, then efforts must be made to re-structure the developmental pattern, through the promotion of growth in smaller urban centres. Or, alternatively, some attempt must

93

For discussions of the primate city situation in other developing countries and regions, see Pelaez and Durand (1968) for Latin America; McGee (1967) and Ginsburg (1955) for Southeast Asia; and Hanna and Hanna (1971) for Africa. See also Mehta (1969) and Linsky (1969).

be made to short circuit the processes which fuel the growth of the primate city and leave rural areas in a state of deprivation. Only recently has this become a conscious and deliberate strategy in both countries.

The primate city is simultaneously the social, economic, and political capital of its respective nation. Axiomatically, each is also the seat of government, the location of several regional (Caribbean) and national institutions, and the head offices of many business and manufacturing firms. These capital cities have also been the main apertures to the outside world and the traditional transmitters of most non-agricultural innovation (and sometimes agricultural innovation as well) infused as it generally was, from external sources. And both capitals are easily accessible to the leading air and sea port on each island.

Over the years, several factors have played a role in or contributed to capital city primacy in the study area. The chief of these have been the physical compactness and small sizes of the individual islands, the recent colonial histories and experiences and their perpetuation in the post-independence decades, and the concomitant heritage of dependence on external trading relationships in primary and semi-manufactured goods.

The association of primacy - identified earlier as the demographic and socio-economic dominance of the largest

city over the next in size - with spatial smallness in islands at once has some common-sense appeal. But space is not only Euclidean or static; nor are processes of socio-economic change solely space-contingent. The historical processes which generate interactions between psychological, economic, and physical space may also be space organising and lead to the construction of particular spatial structures to satisfy special needs. For example, residential segregation and speculative investment in large tracts of land which eventually lie idle, can condition the perception of land availability and space to accommodate urban growth and housing expansion. Thus 'environmental determinism' and scale cannot be taken as the sole explanatory factors for the heavy concentration of population and economic activities leading to capital-city primacy. Attention must also be paid to the capitalistic 'economic determinism' which was so characteristic of West Indian history and which played a very important role in the settlement patterns now visible.

There is no doubt that short distances enable one major urban area to articulate the entire national economy exercising firm control over it and deriving sustenance from smaller urban and non-urban places which are not too far away.⁹⁴

94 No part of either island is more than 242 kilometres (150 miles) from the capital city, though public transportation and communications between Kingston and Port of Spain and the settled districts of their respective islands may occasionally appear to belie this. The larger of the two islands (Jamaica), has maximum dimensions of 235 kilometres (146 miles) from East to West, and from North to South, the island is 80 kilometres (50 miles).

Under such circumstances, few if any other urban nodes are able to derive a firm enough economic, political, or demographic base to rival the city which is already established as the national centre. Both Kingston and Port of Spain assumed these roles via a three-century historical process in which favourable natural harbours permitted their utilisation as nodes in the growth of trade to satisfy the metropolitan interests. These did not include industrialisation. Likewise, port areas also facilitated economic efficiency in colonial exploitation of the islands' resources. Both cities are the products of colonial capitalism which reinforced contact with the North Atlantic metropolises whose major concern was metropolitan development. (Williams 1971; Best 1972). Individual colonies were only peripheral units in an imperial system with its core in Europe. Internal generation of wealth could not be maximised under conditions which consigned to Europe much of the surplus value from domestic production. Expansion of the economic base of major West Indian cities was, as a consequence, severely hampered by the strategy of foreign commitment and of a metropolitan design of national specialisation in agricultural production for export. The commitment of metropolitan interests to extra-agricultural activities was at best tenuous and temporary.

Nevertheless, the impetus to city growth was largely provided during the closing decades of the colonial period when transportation and communications improved, thus

permitting easier movement between areas, and when agriculture generally became a disdained economic activity in the West Indian islands. (Harewood 1975). A value system conditioned by years of slavery, and quasi-slavery in the form of indentured or contract work on labour-surplus agricultural plantations, had left its legacy. Individuals were now setting their sights on city life and, for those with a modicum of education, on white collar and civil service (public service) jobs. After all, the status symbols were money - which was not forthcoming rapidly enough from agricultural work; colour - largely an ascribed characteristic which could only be tempered somewhat by inter-marriage and 'marrying fair'; and education - with more and the best schools located in the capital city, and for the more promising students (actually the most brilliant at a specified instance), there was an overseas outlet for tertiary level educational guidance. Figure 37 and Table 14 indicate the distribution of schools and the ratios of teachers to students for Jamaica and Trinidad and Tobago.⁹⁵

The capital city and proximate areas have become the major focus for persons displaced from or anxious to escape from low-productivity land and agricultural pursuits, and for those desirous of alleviating their economic and social condition. (Section 3:2). It was a logical destination. The capital city was a locus of spatial concentration

⁹⁵ To allow for continuity in the text, Figures 37 to 42 are on pages 202 to 209.

of political and economic power, and of non-agricultural and upper echelon populations. It was also the place where secondary and tertiary occupations could best be obtained. Figures 38, 39 and 40 testify to this for Port of Spain and Kingston. Despite sporadic modifications of social and economic conditions (including apathetic slum growth and urban violence, such as the civil disturbances in Port of Spain, 1970, and the disorders leading to the proclamation of a state of emergency in Jamaica in 1976), the existing settlement hierarchy was never displaced. Figures 41 and 42 present this hierarchy for Jamaica and Trinidad and Tobago. The primate city remained the operational base and normal milieu of the governmental and economic elite, with smaller numbers of the well to do being found in San Fernando and Montego Bay.

Through much of the post-war decades, the attractive capacity of the primate centre was entrenched, and the capital city became a demographic and economic magnet. Industrial and other urban activities became concentrated there in order to benefit from agglomerative economies of scale, and the locale became even more attractive. Urban wages, buttressed by the activities of powerful trade unions, continued to outstrip rural wages. Likewise, urban wages were bolstered by urban-based subsidiaries of multi-national corporations and banks, graced with the ability to provide metropolitan-level remuneration to their employees.

Additionally, the benefits of urban life were uplifted by urban-based governments attempting to retain and entice a skilled urban labour force as a counterbalance to an increasingly specialised 'brain-drain'.

With all this, there remained an absence of many basic social services (adequate medical care, housing and the ability to provide) in rural areas. As a result, the negative aspects of rural life became more evident, and the twentieth century pull and 'bright lights' effect of the city became even more powerful. Reinforced by low agricultural productivity - perhaps necessitating low wage rates - and low rewards to small scale agricultural enterprise, these factors only provided vigorous stimulants to a rural exodus from areas of poor and outdated land tenure systems, (Beckford 1972), capital-intensive techniques, and population growth on fixed land areas of marginal productivity.

The complex problems of output, employment, and internal wealth generation (among the constituents of economic development) continued to require concerted public and private action, and concomitantly, so did the derivation of investment resources to alleviate the poor quality of life in many areas of the national territory. Keynesian economic theory postulated that increases in output and employment are generated primarily through changes in the volume of expenditure, through changes in the size and structure of the nation's GNP.

Such alterations in GNP are a reflection of the society's total demand for goods and services. An increasing desire for more goods and services left national governments with the task of creating an environment in which increases in the national 'pie' of goods and services would be facilitated. But there was also a need for employment creation so that wages and salaries could be earned to permit payment for consumption. Or alternatively, there could be reliance on a state welfare system, a collective framework for providing those outside the wage economy with the goods and services necessary for survival, and sometimes for comfortable living.

In Jamaica and Trinidad and Tobago, post-war economic policies generally aimed at increasing effective aggregate demand and consumption, while anticipating spillover job creation effects. However, the situation in both countries remained one of widespread unemployment, and underemployment. For Jamaica, Macfarlane (1970:4:10) has estimated these levels at as high as 14 percent and some figures are presented for Trinidad and Tobago in Table 15 below. But few measures proved to be effective in altering the high unemployment situation.

Table 15 : Estimates of the Labour Force of Trinidad and Tobago

	A	B	M A	M B	F A	F B
1965	63	14	87	12	40	16
1966	63	14	87	13	38	16
1967	64	14	86	13	41	17
1968	62	14	84	14	40	16
1969	62	14	84	12	38	16
1970	60	12	84	11	37	17
1971	60	13	84	10	35	18

A - Labour force as a percentage of population aged 15 and over

B - Unemployed as a percentage of the labour force

M - Males

F - Females

Source: Central Statistical Office,
Trinidad and Tobago

In the early post-independence period, domestic savings levels remained low (Jainarain 1976), and as a consequence rates of capital formation were slow. Market forces were not producing the desired rates of job creation. An increased domestic savings and investment rate could be generated by the infusion of foreign resources (through foreign borrowing and the creation of a favourable investment climate) but here too the results proved unsatisfactory.⁹⁶ External interactions, while increasing output, created only limited employment, and did not contribute much to self-reliance. A pattern of external dependence was continuing at a time when nationalism was on the rise. Changing technologies were making labour redundant in agriculture and the demographic structure of both countries, with its broad base reflecting youthful populations, (Figures 11 and 12), was making the expansion of output and employment a critical task for policy-makers. There was going to be nothing inevitable about development.

These are the conditions under which it is hoped that the channelling of investment into selected, dispersed and regionally important loci will lead to a diffusion of development throughout the entire national system. The institutional framework awaiting this strategy is fairly straightforward : conditions of economic dependence, and primate cities which draw away from development of rural as well as

⁹⁶ For some discussion on the rates of change in savings and investment and their levels, as a result of domestic and foreign action, see, Jainarain (1976: Chapters 6 and 7).

smaller urban places typify both countries. These conditions may be necessary for economic growth, (and there are some grounds for expressing doubts about this), but they are certainly not indicative of national development. They have led to spatial imbalances and numerous problems within individual urban areas which are simultaneously benefiting from the conditions of economic growth. The submission of this author is that genuine national development can only be achieved if both dependence and the state of primacy typical of many developing countries, are modified. Here, my interpretations are premised on the belief that, given the choice, individuals would prefer to be self-reliant rather than dependent, and would rather be free of all the problems associated with the primacy⁹⁷ of their capital city and its continued growth. While reductions in dependence and primacy may appear to be utopian goals to some observers, they nonetheless suggest directions for national development strategies.

National development is almost everywhere promoted as a goal to which developing nations should strive but it is hardly ever clear what mechanisms will be used for the transformation. And where a strategy of counter-primacy is thought to be necessary, the vehicles for its implementation are likewise unclear. For example, in a strategy of developmental diffusion, what would be the inter-relationships between

97

It is important to recognise that primacy is not inherently a bad thing. But analysts and policy makers should be concerned about the conspicuous negative effects of demographic and economic over-concentration in capital cities.

different settlement foci and what are their precise implications for societal change?

In a region characterised by a very open economic system and historically dependent on foreign investment and foreign capital, the strategy could be one of consigning new foreign investment to selected 'growth poles'. Or, another option could be government assumption in totality, of the role of effecting such balance through the decentralisation of its economic and administrative activities, along with the upliftment of social services in rural and smaller urban areas, and the strict enforcement of administrative regulations. But though there is not yet a firm decision or commitment to the type of strategy which should be implemented for spatial balance, there is a distinct realisation that the pious anticipation of a better marriage between the profit motive of capitalist foreign investment and the desires of both national governments for spatial efficiency and a better regional spread of development, must be replaced by firmer action and an increasing role of government in pre-empting primate city growth. Thus, there is some consensus among planners and policy makers that it is in the public interest to guide and direct the process of urbanisation and assume control over urban growth.

Figure 37: Selected Features of Educational Facilities in Jamaica.

Table 14: Distribution of Schools and the Ratio of Teachers to Students - Trinidad and Tobago.

		Number of Schools by Administrative Area (Primary and Intermediate)				Number of Pupils (Primary and Intermediate)			
		1946		1956		1965/66		1971/72	
	Port of Spain	Govt.	Asst.	Govt.	Asst.	Govt.	Asst.	Govt.	Asst.
		4	37	4	39	5	40	9	37
	San Fernando	1	7	1	13	2	13	3	13
	St. George	13	39	15	69	33	77	32	77
	Caroni	4	29	7	46	9	52	12	51
	Nariva/ Mayaro	3	11	4	17	4	17	4	17
	St. Andrew/ St. David	4	27	4	33	7	34	9	32
	Victoria	9	45	11	61	15	65	15	67
	St. Patrick	9	22	13	32	15	38	18	39
	Trinidad	47	217	59	310	90	336	102	333
	Tobago	1	33	9	26	9	26	9	29
	TRINIDAD and TOBAGO	48	250	68	336	99	362	111	362
	Port of Spain	34	35	31	35	1	6	6	6
	San Fernando	37	36	36	36	1	5	1	6
	St. George	33	35	34	34				
	Caroni	30	36	35	35				
	Nariva/Mayaro	30	35	34	34				
	St. Andrew/ St. David	29	32	32	32	(1	7	11	9
	Victoria	33	35	35	35				
	St. Patrick	33	34	33	33				
	Trinidad	32	35	34	34	3	18	18	21
	Tobago	32	33	33	33				
	TRINIDAD and TOBAGO	33	35	34	34				

Source: Central Statistical Office

Figure 38: The Incidence of Secondary Job Opportunities in Trinidad and Tobago.

Figure 40: Selected Aspects of Manufacturing Activity in Jamaica.

Source: Clarke (1974: 51)

Figure 41: The Hierarchy of Urban Settlements in Jamaica.

Figure 42: The Hierarchy of Settlements and Spheres of Influence - Trinidad and Tobago.

Planning is not new in the Caribbean, but in the early stages, physical planning was divorced from the sectoral aspects of the process and was largely neglected. National planning was primarily economic in orientation, and developed as theoretical abstractions with indirect references to social goals deemed or assumed to be in the best interests of the nation. Economic growth, increments in GNP and incomes, full employment and increased employment opportunities, were all direct goals; and it was hoped that in the Hirschmann sense, increases in output and economic growth would spread throughout the economy and improve the social welfare of the islands' citizens. This approach has not been particularly rewarding and the general consensus and direction of events acknowledge that some degree of rational intervention in and conscious management of the process of societal change was judged necessary.

Spatial planning agencies have now been established in both countries to plan spatial relationships in this process of change, to guide the geographical consequences of national development policies, and to strategically incorporate land as an active factor rather than just a site for the transpiration of non-agricultural investment activities. Because they are still in the embryonic stage, it is difficult to judge the effectiveness of these planning bodies in their attempts at fore-stalling anticipated urban and national

problems. Still, it is possible to interpret some patterns which are emergent.

For one thing, it is clear that the rapid growth of population in the capital regions of both countries, has posed and is posing severe problems for the orderly evolution of urban settlements, notwithstanding spatial planning activities aimed at directing the urbanisation process. While it can perhaps be argued that urban development can never be a problem-free experience, the magnitude of urban problems usually demands that their underlying causes be diagnosed as a prerequisite to the prescription of adequate solutions. Otherwise, recommendations are likely to be only geared to the slipshod superficial treatment of symptoms.

If one adheres to the logic that urbanisation and urban development, or lack of such, are products of society as moulded through the ages, then urban problems are also societal problems (particularly in small societies), and are reflections of both national and international socio-economic and sociopolitical orders. Their solutions may therefore require systemic changes, not only at the national level, but with spill-over effects internationally and vice versa. Thus, we may use as an example, the proposed massive industrialisation strategy in Trinidad and Tobago,⁹⁸ to indicate the implications of planning at the national or domestic level, for international patterns of

⁹⁸ See the forthcoming publication by the Town and Country Planning Division of Trinidad and Tobago, entitled A National Physical Plan for Trinidad and Tobago. This document was in the intermediate draft stage during the preparation of this thesis.

socio-economic organisation. Such investment is hoped to lead to 'development' in the Point Lisas area, with a 'trigger effect' on the spatial shift of population and capital resources from the 'magnetic' capital region.⁹⁹

However, if new investment remains dependent on external sources, then the national development framework remains extremely responsive to the whims of the international environment. The solution of urban problems is then, in turn, contingent on the domestic ability to derive and accommodate such foreign investment, and put it to uses which do not exacerbate the diseconomies of the rapid growth which has generated these problems in the first place.

The catalogue of urban problems in Jamaica and Trinidad and Tobago is extensive, with the capital cities conspicuously reflecting the acuteness of the human settlement situation. Certainly, many of these problems are not peculiar to Caribbean cities; cities the world over are beset by similar problems. Enumeration of all the maladies of which the major cities can guarantee exhibits, will contribute little here, and only a simple quadripartite categorisation with some of the more prominent examples is undertaken. Thus the problems may be: Economic - including unemployment and under-employment, unbalanced occupational structures with inflated tertiary and informal sectors, abject poverty, gross inequalities of income, and high rent

⁹⁹ Colonial capitals have sometimes been likened to magnets, attracting rural populations, and to sponges, soaking up rural migrants.

levels which many urban residents cannot afford. Or, urban problems may be physical - including environmental despoilation as a result of settlement spread, overcrowding in slums, inexorable increases in squatter settlements, acute congestion and 'arteriosclerosis' of the road systems. A third category of problems is administrative - and is reflected in a beleaguered bureaucracy pressured by increases in the urban population, and unable to establish efficient municipal services and to provide for basic urban needs such as regular garbage disposal, water supply and electricity, and an adequate sewerage system. And there is a fourth group of problems which may be regarded as social - a product of the trinity of economic, physical, and administrative inadequacies and reflecting the externalities of rapid growth beyond the absorptive capacity of the urban system. Clearly, these problems are inter-related and cannot be dealt with in isolation. However, there are obvious limitations in attempting to deal with all urban problems (or even all urban problems of a particular genre) in any single study. As a consequence, I have concentrated on deriving linkages as short-cuts in the planning process, for it is ambitious to expect that all aspects of the urban malaise in many cities can be thoroughly analysed, and relevant prescriptions compiled in even a very comprehensive document with all disciplinary inputs.¹⁰⁰

¹⁰⁰ It is perhaps in this context that Natalie Becker notes she has never seen a solution to an urban problem. (See page 6 of this thesis.)

For further consideration, I will focus attention on the physical problems of urban growth, and the spatial implications of rapid urbanisation in small physical and socio-economic systems. Physical problems have been among the major reasons why spatial planning activities are being undertaken in both Jamaica and Trinidad and Tobago. They are very visible, and seem to be intransigent as well. Several areas of the world can provide testimony to their persistence. For example, tackling inner city squatter problems through piecemeal resettlement schemes at some distance from the legal city limits, has usually failed to do much other than get the squatter out of sight. Early schemes in Hong Kong and Singapore, (Dwyer 1975) and Lagos, (Abiodun 1974), are examples of misconceived solutions which turned out to be high cost projects beyond the social and financial means of the poor for whom they were constructed. While isolated projects were being undertaken, the poor and dispossessed flooded into new areas. Turner (1969:434) suggests that "the only way of eradicating slums (without eradicating their causes) is to eradicate their inhabitants along with them." While this represents a rather unclear personal opinion, permanence has been the keynote of many slums and squatter settlements. Though the nature of their residents may have changed, like Rasputin, these areas have been difficult to keep down and tough to do away with. Physical

problems therefore require some attention in a study which is interested in spatial relationships and in the spatial aspects of national development.

While the physical problems of urban growth are now our major domain of interest, it may be useful to restate the premise that there is a considerable degree of inter-relationship between the different aspects (physical, social, economic, politico-administrative) of urban growth and urban problems. Thus an important contributory factor to slum growth is the impoverishment (largely pecuniary) of citizens who inhabit the respective slum areas, and the shortcomings of an administration which may lack the financial resources and the skilled human resources, or may be bureaucratically or politically constrained from taking action deemed to be 'in the public interest'. Likewise, the residents may be largely unemployed or under-employed, and constituents of large households which barely eke out an existence as marginal participants in a highly competitive wage economy. For a variety of reasons, they may be unable or unwilling to generate major social, economic, or political changes which may ultimately be in their best interest. This is true, despite sporadic outbreaks of violence, and protests against poor living conditions. Social, economic, and administrative problems then, may be manifested spatially and magnified several times in the limited confines of the city.

Therefore, the focus on the physical problems of urban change does not in any way negate analysis of the social economic, and politico-administrative factors which contribute to the conspicuous aspects of spatial growth.

With continuing growth of urban populations, there is a tendency for spatial spread on to areas which formerly lay outside urban administrative boundaries. That is, vertical change (the increase in urban populations) is usually accompanied by horizontal change (the spread of urban areas). This, is especially the case in the Caribbean where the high-rise residential building has been a recent development, and where some outlet was needed for reduction of overcrowding under conditions of rapid household formation.¹⁰¹ For the newly affluent and new middle-classes, the answer to the question of residential accommodation was movement away from the central business areas, movement to the suburbs, where advantage could be taken of some of the open space. For many of the less well to do, the choice was congregation in yards (Brodber 1975), or resort to the expedient device of squatting in areas not easily amenable to urban development, and in which physical improvements would turn out to be difficult and costly.¹⁰²

¹⁰¹ See Appendices C1 to C6 for some indices of overcrowding and household conditions.

¹⁰² These include steep slopes and rough terrain on the outskirts of both Kingston and Port of Spain, but squatter and slum conditions are not as apathetic as in other cities of the world where urban blight is reflected in *bustees*, *barriadas*, *favelas*, *gecekondus*, and *villas miserias*, as only a few examples.

Orderly physical growth of both Kingston and Port of Spain has been hindered by the coastal location (so crucial in by-gone days), by the proximate highlands (so appreciable an influence because of the sheltered environment provided), and by the competition which the spatial spread of both cities generates for prime agricultural land of the Caroni lowlands and the valleys of the Northern Range (Trinidad), and the Liguanea Plains (Jamaica). Both cities are thus physically constricted - by the sea, by high relief areas, and by land with a high capability for agriculture. An apparently limited supply of urban land coinciding with an increasing demand for built-development and accompanying space for recreational uses, has led to rising land costs which are beyond the reach of many city dwellers. But the limited supply of urban land may be largely artificial at the present time, and its price may be "artificially high to the point of being a national scandal." (Murray 1977:5). They may both be consequences of the concentration of land potentially useful for settlement purposes, in the hands of speculators or individuals unwilling to part with it unless the price is right. For other individuals, there is a sense of security associated with land ownership in systems 'historically bereft of outlets for profitable investment other than in agriculture'. It is indeed a reflection of changing economic circumstances that

former sugar estates, so productive in a previous age, have now been converted to settlement uses. It is also an indication of larger shifts away from agricultural production and their requirements for real estate adjustments.

Increasing conflict between the mutually exclusive built-use and agricultural exploitation of limited land resources, is thus one of the negative features of demographic growth and spatial spread in the capital regions of our study area. Much of this growth has been spontaneous and largely uncontrolled, and has also produced shanty towns in areas which have a low value for normal urban uses and are in need of conservation, rehabilitation, and environmental management. The precariously perched slum areas and shanty-towns of Laventille (Port of Spain) and of the Moonlight City, Trench Town, and Boy's Town areas of West Kingston validate what Abrams (1964:15) enshrines as "a sombre tribute to human ingenuity in the face of privation." Such privation - a euphemism for the poverty of socio-economic underdevelopment - is perpetuated by a situation of dependence on external sources of finance to undertake investment projects on the scale required to ameliorate or eradicate squalid living conditions. But even here, the investment has failed to meet its objectives of catering to low income needs.

There is little evidence that national governments via their Housing Corporations and Planning Agencies, have managed to do much in the way of reducing national housing deficits, and particularly housing shortages in urban areas. Nor can there be any expectation that time will be an unforeseen healer and redress the situation.

In its summary introduction to the 1977 Conference on Housing and Urbanisation, the Trinidad and Tobago Society of Architects noted the need to build some 10,000-15,000 homes per year in the 1960's, in order to alleviate the critical housing shortage then in existence. But even the combined efforts of the private and public sectors had failed to achieve more than 10-15 percent of the target by the mid-1970's.

In Jamaica, the 1970 Census had indicated that there were 420,157 occupied housing units for the total population of 1,848,500. This figure for housing accommodation represented an increase of 18,386 units over the 1960 figure of 401,771. But this increase in housing was insufficient for the estimated 60,000 new households which had been formed during the intercensal period. (Kaplan et al. 1960:130). As a result, one may assume that much of the existing housing stock had to be sub-divided and shared, and, for some of the very poor, there was no recourse but to crowd into already overcrowded shanty-homes and yards. In Kingston and the parish capitals, the total number of new housing units was some 32,000, with

Kingston itself accounting for some 17,000 of these. But this increase in urban housing stock was counterbalanced by the demolition and abandonment of many urban and rural shacks and shelters; they cannot be considered as anything else. Consequently, the overall increase in occupied dwellings in the country was only sufficient for a small percentage (30.6) of the new households.

It may be one of the ironies of national development policy in both countries, that what appears to be an obvious avenue for concentrated domestic action, has for long been neglected, or at least not been given the merit it seems to deserve in strategy formulation. The housing and construction sector is one of considerable potential for the stimulation of economic growth, for the eradication of slums, for the reduction of spatial imbalances in settlement systems, for the installation of pride of achievement in individuals, and in the long run, for an alteration of value systems away from some divine benefactor. What I am suggesting, is the manipulation of the built-environment in a fashion which is geared to a de-emphasis of primate city growth, the continual revitalisation of lagging economies, and the promotion of individual and national self-reliance.

I am in obvious agreement with the recommendations of Gerardo Navaz, that "Housing and Urbanization policies and programmes should be evaluated as an important component in a unified and balanced conception and definition of develop-

ment." (Navaz 1977:1). As he further suggests, (1977:10), "a good quality of life [should be] the ultimate end of development." I see little reason why the promotion of self-help and co-operative housing ventures making use of non-monetarised resources, has not gone much further than appears to be the case in both countries. Of course, there are problems of allotment at the outset, since attempting to provide for all who need housing is a gargantuan task, under the present conditions of housing and resource shortages. Nonetheless, it is the duty of planners to work out schemes for the equitable allocation of national resources and the provision of new housing stock or the upliftment of many of what are currently inhabited dwellings.

While home construction may essentially be a short or medium term venture, its promotion can buy valuable time while other economic options are explored internally or negotiated internationally. And this option is consistent with the ultimate goal in development - the amelioration of conditions under which much of mankind lives. Minor 'make work' schemes, such as road repair, may be of considerable functional utility and among pressing social necessities. Likewise, they may be very valuable in mitigating urban unemployment. But concentrated attention on the critical area of housing may be of more widespread import. Thus, emphasised government support for a massive effort to provide homes which individual occupants can claim to own, on land which

they can perhaps utilise for the cultivation of part of their food needs (thus reducing the need for massive importation of food), may be correctly taken as moving national systems in the direction of self-reliance and the enhancement of individual well-being.

In the process of home construction, it is anticipated that individuals and groups will acquire functional skills which would be put to good use in intermediate technology industrial and quasi-industrial occupations when they become available. This is another task for policy makers. Such employment need not be in massive industrialisation schemes, as is apparently the assumption of some planners in the region. In any case, such grandiose schemes invariably tend to be capital-intensive and would therefore be largely inappropriate for labour-surplus economies. Rather, the need is to develop and institute more indigenous, labour-intensive, intermediate technologies relevant to the resources of the region.

✓ In suggesting a concerted thrust towards the amelioration of housing conditions, the author recognises that land ownership is still a major problem area. Issues of land tenure and land ownership in many parts of the world run up against powerful vested interests, and in our study area, governments have not taken any major steps to reform antiquated land-tenure systems. Even in small countries like Jamaica and Trinidad and Tobago, land is apparently very val-

uable as a static economic commodity, and thus is permitted to remain perpetually idle, unoccupied, and unproductive. Or, it is owned and controlled by powerful large land-holding interestes, to whom the peasantry must offer their labour for low wages. Under these conditions, it should be no surprise that migration to areas of perceived opportunity continues to be of immense significance. The figures in Table 16 testify that for Trinidad and Tobago, average incomes are higher in urban administrative areas than elsewhere in the country. As Appendices C1 to C6 substantiate for both Jamaica and Trinidad and Tobago, general living conditions are better in urban districts and parishes, than in other areas of the national territory. Planning for socio-economic change and national development then, must take into account these socio-economic realities (the disparities in actual and perceived opportunity), and the constraints which small size may impose on the achievement of internal development goals. (Demas 1965).

Table 16: Trinidad and Tobago: Income Differentials by Administrative Unit.

Area	Average Household Income (\$ T.-T.)	Percentage Households with Income below national median.	Poor Households as a percentage of all households.	
U - Urban				
R - Rural				
Port of Spain	321.10	35.5	25.0	U
San Fernando	346.10	46.6	23.3	U
St. George	357.20	47.2	25.66	U
Caroni	216.60	57.7	41.37	R
Nariva/Mayaro	157.80	67.1	55.68	R
St. Andrew/St. David	185.80	72.9	48.87	R
Victoria	252.30	58.1	46.28	R
St. Patrick	261.40	53.3	42.68	R
Tobago	228.50	61.4	40.57	R
TRINIDAD and TOBAGO	290.60	50.3	35.20	

Source National Physical Plan (forthcoming) p 54

While it is true that individual aspirations may continue to be stimulated by the demonstration effect of proximate North America, this is not to say that development strategies should be patterned on the emulation of North American life styles. For the time being at least, it appears that individual West Indian economies and societies will remain small. Value-systems and life styles, indeed all of development strategy, must therefore be conditioned by this consideration. In the absence of coercion (which runs the risk of violent backlashes), the general reluctance of the population in both countries to become involved in agricultural occupations on a permanent basis, would certainly be among the more problematic of value traits. One cannot downplay the influence of slavery and indentureship, and the general plantation inheritance in this. Among the younger population (of working age) in particular, town life appears to be preferable to rural life, and as Broom has pointed out (see page 4 of this thesis), urban growth and urbanisation seem destined to continue as a result of migratory shifts of population. Planners must therefore continually gear themselves for this demographic reality and the accommodation of this population redeployment. The fact of the matter is that planning in the region must cater for the desires of a young population requiring jobs and income, food, housing, and the conveniences of a modern life which urban areas appear to offer.

In planning for urban change, it is important to realise that urban growth should not be confused with economic growth, nor must increased urbanisation be viewed as an unconditional guarantee of economic progress. For example, M.A. Tribe (1970:49) ponders on "the fact that the claimed benefits are long-run rather than short-run", and wonders whether this does not "reflect the apparent lack of evidence to support the argument that urbanisation is economically beneficial." Weitz (1973:20-21) quotes Edmundo Flores who is also apprehensive about the correlation, and notes that "Until approximately 30 years ago the relationship between economic growth and urbanisation could be stated in firm clear terms." By contrast, one should note the views of Joseph Schumpeter:

Modern economic processes are to a great extent contingent upon agglomerations of population in cities and upon the facilities put at the disposal of the business community by public action.
[quoted in Weitz 1973:21]

Similarly, for Kingsley Davis:

Urban growth is an excellent indicator to measure the economic and social development of a region. ... The city reflects the changes that take place in each sphere of social life....Its growth is nurtured by all the factors that turn agricultural illiteracy into industrial literacy...
[again quoted in Weitz 1973:21]

These latter two observations and interpretations do not offer much explanation for the anomalies visible in much, if not all, of the developing world.

The economic benefits of increased urbanisation are deemed to derive from functional specialisation, and the narrowing of the range of activities performed in urban areas, so that there is an accrual of external economies. "The net effect of such specialisation is to increase the total goods or services produced by the community within a given period of time." (Mabogunje 1968:34). For Brian Berry, at the Rehovot Conference,¹⁰³ the economic benefits of urbanisation arose from 'cumulative causation'.

This...extends outward to the hinterlands, for once the core-periphery pattern is set the core region becomes the lever for development of peripheral regions, reaching out to them for their resources as its input requirements increase, stimulating their growth differentially in accordance with its resource demands and the resource endowment of the regions. The result of this core-centered pattern of growth and expansion is regional differentiation - the specialization of regional roles in the national economy. [quoted in Weitz 1975:19]

But in the developing world, there is much evidence to the contrary. (Weitz 1975:Chapter 1; New Internationalist No. 64). Rural regions continue to lag behind urban areas, with standards of living visibly below those of towns. However, not all of urban life gives the impression of prosperity relative to rural areas, for many urban residents are perpetually engaged in marginally productive or non-productive economic activities,

¹⁰³ See, Weitz (1975). Conferences to discuss trends in world urbanisation or urbanisation in specific regions are now being held all over the world. That is, urbanisation is now a well discussed topic. To my knowledge, the first ever major conference on Housing and Urbanisation in the Commonwealth Caribbean was held in Port of Spain, in November 1977, with 25 countries in attendance.

through which they attempt to make the best of their life in an urban environment for which they are ill-equipped. Their physical presence in urban areas contributes to urban growth and increased urbanisation, but because they may be largely excluded from the wage economy, their economic role has been difficult to quantify. This is perhaps one of the reasons why planners have for long shied away from their mobilisation. It is more the potential of their social and political roles, rather than their economic role, which has attracted the attention of government planners.

Nonetheless, recent national planning in the study area shows a positive and fortunate tendency towards being comprehensive - reflecting social, economic, physical, and administrative goals in policy making. Little attention is paid, however, to direct political goals (generally embodied in a constitution), despite a broad concern with expansion of the popular base of urban and national planning and 'involvement of the people' in the planning exercise. For example, Trinidad and Tobago planners anticipate that their developmental goals and objectives would be "subjected to re-shaping through public participation in the planning process."¹⁰⁴ And one can argue that such public participation in the discussion of proposed spatial plans is a step in the

104

See Town and Country Planning Division, Government of Trinidad and Tobago, *'Planning for Development: The National Framework'* (1975:17).

right direction, and in the wider context is a political input, since such action allows the open involvement of individual citizens and interested collectivities which would otherwise be excluded or removed from the recommendations of bureaucrats, planning experts, and the pedagogic elite. To be specific, it would appear that planning is no longer a singular, centralised strategy from above, from the top down, in the mould of divine wisdom and reflecting the standards, ideals, and values of a largely metropolitan trained core of experts.¹⁰⁵ Nor alternatively, has it polarised to the opposite extreme of over-popularisation of the goals toward which urban development should be directed.¹⁰⁶

105

P It has been suggested to me that the ideals and methods of North American-trained and British-trained town and country planners are sometimes in conflict and require much compromise. Such compromise may not, however, always be on the basis of logic or consensus. A further complication is provided by a group of local-trained experts from the University of the West Indies. The differences in schooling sometimes generates different interpretations and opinions of the goals of spatial development and the direction spatial development strategy could (indeed should) take. Added to this are the views and recommendations of independent bodies and experts seconded by the United Nations and development agencies in various countries. In the long run, the diversity of backgrounds may prove beneficial in the planning process, but at the outset, issues such as seniority and political clout may determine the particular path which development policy and strategy will follow.

106

Some would argue, of course, that it is never possible to over-popularise development goals, since development should be of and for the people. Nonetheless, it is this author's opinion that planners, policy makers, and development experts have a significant role in the direction of national development and the identification of options. But this should not be removed from the popular will. That is, there must be inputs from both the 'scholar' and layman, in the determination of national development objectives.

In a region where anything foreign has historically been deemed to be good, the process of change can be easily but simplistically viewed as necessitating complete or major modification or eradication of foreign norms including architectural styles, spatial layout, and views of the development process, to give a few examples. Such an approach would certainly not be sound. Rather the objective of planners must be to selectively utilise the positive institutions of a foreign dominated historical experience and to fuse this with the popular will and wishes judged through historical observation, and supplementarily expressed through public participation in the planning process. Occasionally, the popular will has been expressed through spontaneous action in the form of demonstrations and urban violence.

Of course, the degree of public participation and flexibility in the planning process is difficult to specify and would obviously vary with the individual circumstances of each nation. Nonetheless, at no time should planning be a rigid 'red-tape' exercise. As an oil-producing nation, Trinidad and Tobago found itself in the fortunate position of increased government revenues (Figure 43) derived from external sources, but necessitating little change in the internal socio-economic structure of the state. This increased wealth permits somewhat more flexibility in planning than at any time previously and can be channelled directly into lagging regions on behalf of a government which claims to be

interested in the the social and economic well-being of all the country's residents and not just those who are in close contact with the seats of power. However, there is no guarantee that this will come about. On the other hand, current social commentary is over optimistic in anticipating an overnight economic transformation while questioning the whereabouts of the new found wealth of 'petro-dollars'. Medium and long-term investment appear to be the government's objectives, and there is some indication of concern with the state of housing which elsewhere has been described as "a national disaster."¹⁰⁷ In the 1978 Budget speech, the Prime Minister enunciated the following broad goals for Trinidad and Tobago society, and though these objectives are couched in impressionistic terms, they do suggest that transportation, youth, and housing are major areas for future government action.

With malice toward none, with charity for all;
with firmness in the right, as God gives us to
see the right; inviting, appealing to, pleading
with one and all to mount a national effort in
the national cause of our greatest capital investment,
our children, so that each and every one of us
could say as we see our children go by, well fed,
well clothed, well served by public transport,
well housed above all, there go my petro dollars. [some \$332 million]¹⁰⁸

Nevertheless, planners are gearing their efforts in another direction, toward capital-intensive heavy industry (an iron and steel complex, an electricity generating plant,

¹⁰⁷ This description is attributable to Oswald Chase, one of the assessors for the Housing Competition at the Port of Spain Conference on Housing and Urbanization. The preamble to the Competition Brief describes the housing situation as being in 'a state of crisis'.

¹⁰⁸ Government of Trinidad and Tobago, INFO. December 1977. pp.3.

an aluminium smelter, and furfural, fertiliser, petrochemicals and cement plants). This is a strategy which will be dependent on foreign investment, geared to undetermined external markets (which may be largely under oligopolistic control), and judged to be accompanied by "prospects for employment [which] do not appear equally encouraging."¹¹⁰

Such is a modest indication of the direction which economic planning may take in the country: planners mortgaging the island for the sake of the heavy industry syndrome in which they are entrapped.¹¹¹ And despite many past experiences to the contrary (Girvan 1975), such investment, which will be in the main externally derived; is expected "to include both backward and forward linkages as other industries [no indication of which others] seek to substitute foreign inputs, [and thus that] spinoff industries and ancillary services will be eventually induced into the economy."¹¹² The only differences between this and previous industrialisation strategies is the locational component. Now, investment will not take place almost exclusively in Port of Spain and San Fernando. The government will be participating in this investment and it is hoped that

110

Excerpt from the forthcoming National Physical Plan for Trinidad and Tobago. (page 167).

111

The size of investment required to finance some of these projects is estimated at three times the country's annual budget, a little less than four times the total value of bank deposits in the country, and almost 40 times the level of capital formation for 1976. (from the forthcoming National Physical Plan; page 169).

112

Ibid. p.170.

new occupations and income generation will be channelled away from the two major cities - to a point almost midway between them, to Point Lisas and Claxton Bay. No crystal ball is needed to help in detecting that the capital-intensive nature of the proposed industrial development would mean that its main requirements are going to be for skilled as opposed to the large amounts of unskilled and semi-skilled labour available; few jobs would thereby be created. The forthcoming National Physical Plan acknowledges this, thus leading to speculation that 'job creation is not a serious objective of the island's planners. However, a 'redeeming feature' in this new strategy with its dearth of new jobs, is that transportation problems around the new complex could be minimised - some compensation - and with evangelical style optimism, it is undoubtedly hoped that this new locus of investment and 'opportunity' will become the focus of population reallocation.

In Trinidad and Tobago, four options had been suggested by the Town and Country Planning Division in the attempt to select an appropriate spatial development strategy.¹¹³ These alternatives were respectively (1) Concentration in the Capital Region (2) Widely dispersed growth (3) A growth pole strategy and (4) A laissez faire approach. These are depicted and summarised in Figures 44 through 47. However, the most appropriate of these strategies would be superimposed on a

113

See, Town and Country Planning Division, Trinidad and Tobago. Planning For Development : The National Framework. (1975) Port of Spain.

regional planning base, and for this purpose, Trinidad and Tobago was divided into nine regions. (Figure 48). These regions are regarded as being manageable socio-economic entities (on the basis of physical and functional uniformity) within the national framework. Each, with the exception of the North Coast Region,¹¹⁴ contains an important urban area (Figure 49) which could serve as the focus for some future investment geared to regional balance within the national socio-economic system. It is projected that these urban centres will benefit from the provision or improvement of facilities in the following sectors: Education (Senior secondary schools, vocational institutions and branch libraries; Recreation (a regional playground); Social and Religious Assembly (a community hall or civic centre); Health (a county hospital); Public Protective Services (divisional headquarters of the fire service and the police force); Shopping (a government administered county market); as well as local government offices and regional offices of significant ministries of national government.¹¹⁵ Similar but lower level services may also be provided lower down the hierarchy of settlements - at the level of the sub-regional centre and the small town/village or neighbourhood.

¹¹⁴

The absence of an important urban area in the North Coast region is attributable to the lack of flat land, except for a few narrow indentations. Much of the region is hemmed in between the sea and the rugged terrain of the country's Northern Range.

¹¹⁵

See, Town and Country Planning Division, Trinidad and Tobago (1975) op cit. 45-79.

Figure 43: The State of Government Revenues in Trinidad and Tobago in Recent Years.

Much of the increase in government revenue is a direct result of the increase in oil prices which occurred during the 1970's. Trinidad's economy is heavily dependent on the export of petroleum.

Figure 44: *Trinidad and Tobago: Development Zones.*

Figure 45: Trinidad and Tobago: Development Strategy I.

Concentration of Development in the Capital Region - This is essentially a perpetuation of current trends. All growth is deliberately encouraged in the capital zone; while growth in other areas may be limited or discouraged. Economic benefits may be substantial, but there are also likely to be considerable diseconomies of scale. The Laissez-faire approach to spatial development would produce similar effects.

Figure 46: *Trinidad and Tobago: Development Strategy II.*

Figure 47 : Trinidad and Tobago: Development Strategy III.

Source: Town and Country Planning Division
August 1973 Sheet No. 6

Figure 48: Trinidad and Tobago: Planning Regions.

These planning regions are identified mainly on the basis of local government authority and responsibility. However, planning authorities have also made minor modifications to allow for topographic conditions, and settlement location and accessibility.

Source: Town and Country Planning Division. Sheet No 2

166,50

Note. P

Cedro

Figure 49: Urban Areas in the Various Planning Regions In Trinidad and Tobago.

Port of Spain would remain the national centre, with a concomitant provision of high level national services and functions worthy of its status as capital of the state. Nonetheless, some facilities (referred to as 'footloose facilities') have already been and will continue to be located outside of Port of Spain proper, though mainly within the Capital Region. They would thus be easily accessible to the legal city. For example, the University of the West Indies campus at St. Augustine is within the Capital Region and only some ten miles from down-town Port of Spain. However, road congestion within the 'East-West transportation corridor'¹¹⁶ may sometimes make this reference to 'easily accessible' a questionable one. And several new residential areas are being (indeed must be) located outside the gazetted city, though again within the Capital Region. The bulk of Capital Region jobs (especially in government services) are, however, located within the bounds of the true city. Transportation problems are thus exacerbated since residential and employment locations have been separated and there has been an associated increase in the volume of vehicular traffic. Many of the new movers are in the 'middle class', a group recently in a position to afford the cost of new home ownership and private automobiles.¹¹⁷

¹¹⁶ Built up areas stretch along the major highways out of Port of Spain, and there are only a few alternate access routes to places of employment and economic activity.

¹¹⁷ In 1973, private car ownership was estimated at 1 car per every 16.8 persons. This is expected to rise to 1 car per 10 persons by 1995.

For the lower stratum of society, the proximity of residence to place of work remains an important consideration, despite a growing fleet of taxis and public buses. A new 'priority bus route' is under construction along the 'East-West corridor' parallel to the Eastern Main Roads. This augurs well for rapid transit between Port of Spain and settlements within the Capital Region, and now provides an express and limited stop service between Port of Spain and San Juan. Two areas of concern must, however, be noted. The first is the means of controlling vehicular and pedestrian traffic across this 'buses only' route. At present, it amounts to the deployment of policemen at almost every intersection.¹¹⁸ The second is the apparently novel pattern of having the buses operational at extremely close time intervals, even though the passenger situation does not seem to warrant this except in the peak hour. Perhaps, this is an unconscious conditioning of the seemingly ready availability of fuel for the buses. It is to be hoped that more rational means of operation will be devised.

The spatial planning process in Trinidad and Tobago has progressed further than that in Jamaica, even though it commenced earlier in the latter country, with the proclamation of the Town and Country Planning Law and the Town and Country Planning Order in 1957. But in 1972,

¹¹⁸ This is almost certainly a short-term measure, but it has the unintended effect of regular visibility of the nation's police force. Many citizens are concerned about this latter development, even though there have been occasional 'terrorist' attacks against residents in various parts of the country.

planning in Jamaica suffered the major setback of having a change of socio-political context. Despite the production of a fairly comprehensive National Physical Plan (published in 1971), economic and spatial planners are currently preparing a similar replacement document to reflect more closely the desires of a new national government, influenced by more fundamental socialist principles and operation via socialist welfare guidelines.¹¹⁹ This is in contradistinction to a government (prior to 1972), setting the stage for an economy heavily influenced by the tenets of capitalism.¹²⁰ Thus, in Jamaica, there has been at least one major example of the potential conflict between the actual planning dimension and its socio-political ambit. Despite all the virtues of the planning approach to national development, particularly as it makes an effort to encompass the popular will, the decision-making process remains a critical area. All may resort to the simple likelihood that while bureaucrats and the public make recommendations, politicians make the ultimate decisions. Alternatively, there may be conflict between the dimensions of plan formulation and plan adoption and implementation. In Jamaica, nonetheless, the spatial planning goals of both

119

In 1974, Prime Minister Manley broadcast from Parliament that his government would attempt to have the economy and society function along the guidelines of 'democratic socialism'. Among the major roles of government would increased participation in many enterprises which were formerly under exclusive private control, and which could be regarded as part of the major sectors of the economy.

120

As put by a town planner in Jamaica, "the previous Physical Plan was over-ambitious in its decentralisation objectives, and over-emphatic in the capitalistic sector of the economy, particularly tourism."

the present regime (under the People's National Party) and its predecessor (the Jamaica Labour Party), are extremely similar. They are a reflection and a result of all the geographical problems of settlement and diffusion of development, previously experienced in the country.

As in Trinidad and Tobago, the spatial development strategy is one of a 'hierarchy of settlements', aimed at de-emphasising further growth of the Kingston Metropolitan Area. This is not much different from the general objectives in the previous physical plan. However, unlike in Trinidad and Tobago, the planning process which culminated in the Jamaican Physical Plan, did not go through the detailed stages of sub-regional and local area plans requiring local input and parliamentary approval. It was a plan to encompass the entire nation at once, and, as it turned out, a plan divorced from a changing political reality. As a result, the bulk of the document was tacitly rejected by the new government.

In the new plans currently being developed, Kingston would remain the only national centre, with the rest of the country being divided into 122 planning districts. This division is based on the ability of each district to undertake the efficient provision of social services, such as health and educational facilities, recreational areas, and a library. Each of these proposed districts would contain at least one urban centre into which social overhead investment would be infused.

The hierarchy of settlements in Jamaica in 1970 was identified by planning experts as:¹²¹

- (1) The Kingston Metropolitan Area (National Centre)
- (2) Parish Capitals - 12 in number and with populations varying from 3100 in Black River to 24,000 in Montego Bay. Each contains a government-administered market and a variety of retail enterprises, and each has already developed urban administrative functions for its surrounding territory and populations.
- (3) Other Towns - Town planners in Jamaica have divided this group of settlements into three categories.
 - (a) Towns similar in size to the smaller parish capitals. These are 13 in number and vary in population totals from 2000 to 4500.
 - (b) Towns of a shopping importance. There are 12 of these, and they too vary in population size from 2000 to 4500.
 - (c) Towns of a lesser shopping importance, numbering 19 and varying in population size from 2000 to 3500.
- (4) Smaller townships and villages - These are 68 in number and have individual populations of less than 2500. They contain only 10 to 20 small shopping centres.

Categories 1 and 2 are already firmly established urban areas with a high ranking on the basis of certain specified development criteria.¹²² However, the type of subdivision undertaken in Category 3 may only reflect rigorous conceptual precision and over-concentration on rather low-key market functions. It is true that market centres played an important role in the evolution of urban life. Still, the

¹²¹

See, Town Planning Dept. (Jamaica) and UNDP, Urban Structure and Policy - Jamaica. (1971: Chapter 2.)

¹²²

These development criteria are identified and enumerated in Appendix F1. About 215 towns and villages in Jamaica were selected for this ranking exercise to determine the most appropriate places to receive development emphasis and investment in the future.

plausibility of utilising each such identifiable market centre as a basis for differentiating levels of investment is somewhat unrealistic. This is especially the case, since there are overlaps in spheres of influence for some centres, and the spatial extent of each planning district is small, averaging only 93.2 square kilometres (36 square miles).

One hundred and thirteen urban places, at four hierarchical levels are proposed as the new urban structure. They include Kingston, as the national centre, 4 regional centres (Mandeville, Montego Bay, St. Ann's Bay, and Port Antonio), 20 sub-regional centres (including the other parish capitals), and 88 district towns. (Figure 50, page 249). All the urban centres identified would contain infrastructure similar to that proposed and identified earlier for Trinidad and Tobago.

In Trinidad and Tobago, individual regional plans based on a similar comprehensive evaluation of small and manageable segments of the national territory, was undertaken as a prelude to national plan formulation, and the creation of functionally-efficient planning areas. This exercise will eventually be reinforced by planning at an even lower level - that of the local area, or action plan. Under the Town and Country Planning Ordinance, passed in 1960 and proclaimed in 1969, all spatial plans require the approval of parliament before they can be implemented. Allowance is also made for some public input to the direction and contents - even though bureaucrats and experts are in the end required to interpret the public's position - of such plans before

they reach parliament. This is a positive approach to national development planning, even though there is a very real danger of overkill in the process, and little resultant action after years of discussion and evaluation. For example, the Town and Country Planning Division of the Ministry of Finance and Development in Trinidad and Tobago, has been in existence since 1963, and is still in the process of preparing the country's first National Physical Plan. This is partly a reflection of the tediousness of the comprehensive planning strategy at the outset, especially in areas where data are generally not available in the detail needed to permit quantification of the planning models viewed as fundamental in the suggestion of adequate policy options. The possible results of ambiguity and uncertainty at the theoretical level may include resource misallocation, and an extremely thin spread of rather scarce investment. Further, all efforts should be made to ensure that the socio-economic aspects of planning be adequately integrated with the locational dimension of the process. Similarly, sectoral allocations should not conflict with spatial goals, and the implementation of rational land use policies to accommodate urban growth and new housing construction.

It is clear to many observers, that some action on the part of governments and planners is required to alter the structural conditions under which the urbanisation process will occur, or urban problems will exist in perpetuity.

Jack Gibbs (1961:xxii) has adequately summed up the situation, and I do not hesitate to submit that it is a complex one. Nonetheless, it is one of which policy makers must be aware in their search for solutions to the problems of rapid urban change, and for the achievement of the goals of national development. As Gibbs put it:

The speed of urban change and the relative recency of truly mass urbanisation have left national and local governments without consistent policies for dealing with the resulting problems. At the moment, whether one looks at highly industrial or at agrarian regions, it appears that there is a growing awareness of urban problems but a growing uncertainty as to the best methods of dealing with them. Although governments frequently express antipathy to the growth of cities, the whole process of urbanisation is so massive and may be so intimately bound up with the coveted goal of economic development that it is probably impossible to stop. If this is so, this means that the innumerable problems growing out of massive urbanisation must somehow be solved without eliminating the basic causes which is urbanisation or city growth itself. [1961:xxii]

There is a totality about urbanisation and this must be taken into consideration in the prescription of a relevant course of action. But any such strategy need not be unilateral on the part of governments. This only runs the risk of wasting or misdirecting scarce, skilled manpower and capital, and land resources, if removed from the popular base with which most policies must eventually deal. In looking at the broad dimensions of urban growth, urbanisation, and urban problems in many societies, several questions may remain unanswered. In some cases, where the answers are 'known', they may not be unambiguous. The

reasons for this may lie, at the outset, with the paucity of relevant data. Others may be rooted in the complexity of research design and frameworks which the comprehensive analysis of urbanisation requires. Still others may lie in the separation of plan prescription from plan implementation, of recommendation from execution and the exercising of political and economic power. It is hoped that this chapter and the ones leading up to it, have identified sufficient linkages and options, to serve as a basis for future research and for the derivation of firm 'answers' to the problems and directions of urban change in the study area.

Chapter 6

SUMMARY:

In this study we have traced the processes of settlement change and urbanisation as they affected two Caribbean societies through much of their history. In an effort to understand the patterns and potentialities of urban change in Jamaica and Trinidad and Tobago, a comparative analysis based on a singular theoretical framework of urbanisation as a societal process, has been undertaken.

In the early sections of this investigation, some of the theoretical options for analysing urban systems in the region were discussed and we settled on the historical-systemic strategy as the research tool. This was in turn refined by direct considerations and limitations, the most prominent of which was data availability. Still, miscellaneous evidence could be drawn on, to facilitate recognition of changes (or alternatively the lack of such) which may occur with the evolution of societies.

Intuitively, the two Caribbean societies and economies seemed to provide a fairly adequate laboratory for the 'semi-controlled experiment'. Though urbanisation was not to become a significant and prominent feature of societal readjustments until the twentieth century, we could take Columbus' voyages to the West Indies as a logical starting point for tracing the patterns of settlement which would

develop. As it turned out, these patterns were shaped by cultural settings ranging from Spanish and British colonialism to independent governments and more concerned individuals attempting to find solutions for all the negative legacies bequeathed from a colonial period characterised by resource extraction for Europe.

Notwithstanding the impact of the human element in generating societal change, nature provided an adequate and convenient framework for analysis spanning four and a half centuries. Both societies are small and their urban patterns are not very complex. Simple hierarchies were identified for both Jamaica and Trinidad and Tobago. The capital cities were viewed to be the dominant nodes in attracting migrants and economic assets. In this analysis, there was some illustration of the ways in which changing socio-economic conditions could affect settlement patterns - for example migratory shifts in response to the exploitation of new economic resources and the re-location of capital cities in the early histories of both islands. However, by the late nineteenth century, it was clear that settlement patterns were already firmly entrenched and the port town was the focus of economic and political power. Once a firm foothold had been gained, growth of port towns became self-perpetuating, as new investment was attracted by perceived economic benefits (such as larger markets and occupational specialisation). By the mid-twentieth century there would also be diseconomies of scale resulting from continued urban growth with an inadequate absorptive base for

new residents of the city.

Unfavourable living conditions at a time of increasing urbanisation has led to efforts at controlling and directing urbanisation in all its aspects. The obvious need for comprehensive planning, incorporating both sectoral and geographical dimensions of the process has only recently been transmitted into action, in the form of spatial development plans. These are aimed at channelling new investment into selected nodes, or in some way harnessing what appears to be a runaway trend of capital region growth with numerous urban problems. It is to be hoped that these measures will make full use of existing human and natural resources, and to this end the author has suggested that the housing sector may well prove to be the stimulus to improved human qualities and a better life.

Figure 51 : Important market Centres in Jamaica.

GLOSSARY

- Cabildo* : Town council. This was generally composed of an *alguacil mayor* (chief constable), *procurador general* (solicitor for the council), *alcaldes ordinarios* (magistrates), *alferez mayor* (standard bearer), and *regidores* (town councillors).
- Cedula* : Decree.
- Ciudad* : Town. St. Joseph was the first settlement in Trinidad to rise to the rank of town. It was the locality where general administrative functions were performed by the governor assisted by other Spanish officials in the judiciary and the town council. In theory, the jurisdiction of these officials was island-wide. In practice, however, their influence was most strongly felt in St. Joseph and later, in Port of Spain.
- Encomienda* : A scheme whereby grants of Indians were given to eminent colonists as personal rewards for merits and services. In return for protection and Catholic religious instruction, the Indians were obliged to pay the *encomendero* (a recipient of an *encomienda*) tribute in the form of money or goods or labour services.
- Procurador* : Solicitor or attorney. One of the more eminent men in the Spanish colonies, next to the governor.
- Vecino* : Householder. When towns were established, land was allotted to the first inhabitants; who were then referred to as *vecinos*, and held municipal rights. *vecinos* were generally males, but not all male inhabitants of towns were *vecinos*.

Appendix A1: Local Born Non-Institutional Population by Sex, Place of Birth, and Usual Place of Residence for Parishes - Jamaica, 1970.

MALE	PLACE OF BIRTH															
	TOTAL	KINGSTON	ST. ANDREW	ST. THOMAS	PORTLAND	ST. MARY	ST. ANN	TRELAWNY	ST. JAMES	HANOVER	WESTMORELAND	ST. ELIZABETH	MANCHESTER	CLARENDON	ST. CATHERINE	NOT STATED
KINGSTON	49592	28754	1111	1679	1114	1814	1999	929	915	613	1440	1768	1742	1836	1708	75
ST. ANDREW	18125	18476	03073	3090	3819	8092	6779	2993	3041	1758	4401	4201	6157	5474	7761	430
ST. THOMAS	34245	937	531	27342	1271	766	344	164	157	135	347	613	625	563	631	19
PORTLAND	33067	889	291	179	27544	1112	349	148	173	157	232	342	271	317	440	18
ST. MARY	48069	1677	515	261	852	39042	1608	240	208	134	235	411	284	445	1514	13
ST. ANN	58687	1196	154	71	172	951	53371	404	244	156	225	231	361	533	537	19
TRELAWNY	30196	650	61	40	48	158	1037	25229	800	299	439	433	678	149	129	12
ST. JAMES	48327	845	150	81	136	269	410	804	38144	2201	2949	1467	343	222	198	48
HANOVER	28483	282	27	28	30	70	89	116	711	25619	1070	230	67	83	58	3
WESTMORELAND	35251	691	60	54	67	92	130	143	824	1351	50165	1181	164	168	134	4
ST. ELIZABETH	61441	1124	116	111	82	130	144	161	411	147	889	36745	755	359	234	23
MANCHESTER	58354	1726	291	133	179	208	466	632	263	137	332	1968	50166	1433	394	21
CLARENDON	86451	1583	339	384	355	665	1361	399	475	407	982	1523	2968	72914	2044	37
ST. CATHERINE	96870	3325	1192	543	665	2300	1860	510	380	354	908	1366	1501	2831	88667	46
NOT STATED	32	7	4	2	3	0	2	3	1	2	1	1	2	0	0	4
JAMAICA	858587	42662	07015	36398	36337	56271	89999	33015	46962	32487	64615	74680	63804	87167	84440	765

FEMALE	PLACE OF BIRTH															
	TOTAL	KINGSTON	ST. ANDREW	ST. THOMAS	PORTLAND	ST. MARY	ST. ANN	TRELAWNY	ST. JAMES	HANOVER	WESTMORELAND	ST. ELIZABETH	MANCHESTER	CLARENDON	ST. CATHERINE	NOT STATED
KINGSTON	56447	38401	1355	1683	1684	2488	2782	1584	1387	628	2141	2858	2471	2509	2541	89
ST. ANDREW	210884	20147	05287	4128	5303	10416	9416	4394	4206	2910	6675	9639	8763	8814	10362	376
ST. THOMAS	34282	994	561	27997	1492	545	250	149	130	78	227	445	287	494	607	5
PORTLAND	33645	961	317	836	20140	1235	332	120	172	127	193	305	177	323	618	9
ST. MARY	48728	1709	593	277	978	39782	1742	236	218	138	210	345	272	504	1699	15
ST. ANN	59253	1251	157	92	180	1162	53445	536	215	136	195	254	373	629	617	11
TRELAWNY	29458	605	51	39	54	127	1106	24764	915	215	308	368	604	175	132	13
ST. JAMES	50370	839	162	81	126	220	386	1048	39358	7697	3122	1553	315	238	197	27
HANOVER	28840	339	24	24	37	40	90	116	729	25845	117	192	5	87	67	10
WESTMORELAND	56354	739	70	43	86	71	109	138	830	1767	50744	1285	140	175	139	4
ST. ELIZABETH	61701	1057	112	92	74	123	130	168	434	124	851	57267	770	334	178	7
MANCHESTER	59584	1784	278	122	181	199	514	799	294	136	307	2834	8816	1762	435	9
CLARENDON	85315	1574	374	346	281	596	1402	388	409	307	704	1523	3146	72213	2031	19
ST. CATHERINE	90853	3461	1309	938	670	2362	2155	607	599	320	922	1771	1609	3458	70662	30
NOT STATED	30	5	4	2	2	2	4	1	3	3	0	0	1	1	1	1
JAMAICA	905070	45918	110654	36363	39110	59489	73668	34928	46899	35728	87962	88761	67803	91736	90066	585

	Male Migrants	Female Migrants	TOTAL
Kingston	18338	26546	44884
St. Andrew	78452	105599	184051
St. Thomas	6903	6285	13188
Portland	5518	5525	11043
St. Mary	8427	8936	17363
St. Ann	5316	5808	11124
Trelawny	4967	4714	9681
St. James	10183	11012	21195
Hanover	2864	2991	5855
Westmoreland	5086	5592	10678
St. Elizabeth	4696	4454	9150
Manchester	8188	9770	17958
Clarendon	13539	13102	26641
St. Catherine	18203	20011	38214
Not Stated	16	15	31
JAMAICA	190696	230360	421056

Source: Jamaica Population Census 1970 Bulletin 4, Table 1

Appendix A2

URBAN/RURAL* DISTRIBUTION OF POPULATION AT CENSUSES OF POPULATION
1970 AND 1960

Parish	1970		1960		Numeric Change 1960-1970	Increase % 1960-1970
	Number	Percentage	Number	Percentage		
JAMAICA - Total	1,813,594	100.0	1,609,814	100.0	203,780	12.7
Urban	750,951	41.4	540,503	33.6	210,448	38.9
Rural	1,062,643	58.6	1,069,311		6,668	0.6
Kingston - Total	111,879	100.0	123,403	100.0	11,524	9.3
(all of parish) Urban	111,879	100.0	123,403	100.0	11,524	9.3
Rural						
St. Andrew - Total	413,329	100.0	296,013	100.0	117,316	39.6
(Most of Parish) Urban	363,669	88.0	253,117	85.5	110,552	43.7
" Rural	49,660	12.0	42,896		6,764	15.8
St. Thomas - Total	69,391	100.0	68,725	100.0	666	1.0
(Morant Bay, Urban	15,092	21.7	9,317	13.6	5,775	62.0
Port Morant, Bath and Yallahs) Rural	54,299	78.3	59,408	86.4	5,109	8.6
Portland - Total	67,497	100.0	64,510	100.0	2,987	4.6
(Port Antonio and Buff Bay) Urban	13,823	20.5	10,651	16.5	3,172	29.8
Rural	53,674	79.5	53,859	83.5	185	0.3
St. Mary - Total	98,392	100.0	94,233	100.0	4,159	4.4
(Port Maria, Annetto Urban	17,867	18.2	12,183	12.9	5,684	46.7
Bay, Oracabessa and Highgate) Rural	80,525	81.8	82,050	87.1	1,525	1.9
St. Ann - Total	120,001	100.0	114,360	100.0	5,641	4.9
(St. Ann's Bay, Brown's Town, Urban	23,025	19.2	14,973	13.1	8,052	53.8
Clarendon, Ocho Rios and Discovery Bay) Rural	96,976	80.8	99,387	86.9	2,411	2.4
Trelawny - Total	60,504	100.0	56,080	100.0	4,424	7.9
(Falmouth, Duncans Urban	7,653	12.7	5,270	9.4	2,383	45.2
and Clarks Town) Rural	52,851	87.3	50,810	90.6	2,041	4.0
St. James - Total	100,529	100.0	83,003	100.0	17,526	21.1
(Montego Bay) Urban	43,754	43.5	23,610	28.4	20,144	85.3
Rural	56,775	56.5	59,393	71.6	2,618	4.4

Appendix A2 cont'd.

URBAN/RURAL* DISTRIBUTION OF POPULATION AT CENSUSES OF POPULATION
1970 AND 1960

PARISH			1970		1960		Numeric Change 1960-1970	Increase % 1960-1970
			Number	Percentage	Number	Percentage		
Hanover (Lucea)	Total		58,296	100.0	53,902	100.0	4,394	8.2
	Urban		3,635	6.2	2,803	5.2	832	29.7
	Rural		54,661	93.8	51,099	94.8	3,562	7.0
Westmorland (Savanna-La-Mar Frome and Grange Hill)	Total		112,863	100.0	109,606	100.0	3,257	3.0
	Urban		16,585	14.7	9,789	8.9	6,796	69.4
	Rural		96,278	85.3	99,817	91.1	3,539	3.6
St. Elizabeth (Black River, Santa Cruz and Balaclava)	Total		125,279	100.0	116,706	100.0	8,573	7.4
	Urban		6,498	5.2	5,656	4.9	842	14.9
	Rural		118,781	94.8	111,050	95.1	7,731	7.0
Manchester (Mandeville, Christiana, Spaldings and Port)	Total		121,407	100.0	111,788	100.0	9,619	8.6
	Urban		25,627	21.1	15,543	13.9	10,084	64.9
	Rural		95,780	78.9	96,245	86.1	465	0.5
Clarendon (May Pen, Chapeltown, Frankfield, Spaldings and Lionel Town)	Total		173,823	100.0	163,950	100.0	9,873	6.0
	Urban		39,068	22.5	25,292	15.4	13,776	54.5
	Rural		134,755	77.5	138,658	84.6	3,903	2.8
St. Catherine (Spanish Town, Linstead, Old Harbour, Old Harbour Bay, Bay Walk, Independence City/Port Henderson)	Total		180,404	100.0	153,535	100.0	26,869	17.5
	Urban		62,776	34.8	28,896	18.8	33,880	117.3
	Rural		117,628	65.2	124,639	81.2	7,011	5.6

COMMONWEALTH CARIBBEAN POPULATION CENSUS 1979

JAMAICA

(CAP 368 SEC 4 (c)) FORM-CI CONFIDENTIAL

SEC. VI		23		24		25		26		27		28		29	
ALL PERSONS 10 YEARS OLD AND OVER		MAIN ACTIVITY DURING PAST 12 MONTHS		WORKER OR OCCUPATIONAL STATUS DURING PAST YEAR		MONTHS WORKED DURING PAST 12 MONTHS		MAIN TYPE OF JOB OR OCCUPATION DURING PAST 12 MONTHS (WRITE AS GIVEN)		INDUSTRY OR TYPE OF BUSINESS DURING PAST 12 MONTHS (WRITE AS GIVEN)		ECONOMIC SITUATION DURING PAST WEEK		TOTAL NUMBER OF HOURS WORKED (INCLUDING OVERTIME) DURING PAST WEEK	
P A S T Y E A R	P A S T W E E K	23		24		25		26		27		28		29	
		[FOR OFFICE USE ONLY]		[FOR OFFICE USE ONLY]		[FOR OFFICE USE ONLY]		[FOR OFFICE USE ONLY]		[FOR OFFICE USE ONLY]		[FOR OFFICE USE ONLY]		[FOR OFFICE USE ONLY]	
F E M A L E S 1 4 Y E A R S A N D O V E R	P A S T W E E K	30		31		32		33		34		35		36	
		NUMBER OF LIVESBORN CHILDREN EVER HAD		AGE OF MOTHER AT BIRTH OF FIRST LIVESBORN CHILD		AGE OF MOTHER AT BIRTH OF LAST LIVESBORN CHILD		NUMBER OF LIVE BIRTHS/STILLBIRTHS DURING PAST 12 MONTHS		UNION STATUS—AT PRESENT OR AT AGE 45		DURATION OF UNION (COMPLETED YEARS)		TYPE OF DWELLING	
		31		32		33		34		35		36		37	
		31		32		33		34		35		36		37	
		31		32		33		34		35		36		37	
T H E H E A D O F T H E H O U S E - H O L D O N L Y	P A S T W E E K	38		39		40		41		42		43		44	
		TYPE OF TENURE		WATER SUPPLY		TOILET FACILITIES		YEAR WHEN DWELLING BUILT		MATERIAL OF OUTER WALLS		NUMBER OF ROOMS		TYPE OF LIGHTING/FUEL USED FOR COOKING	
		38		39		40		41		42		43		44	
		38		39		40		41		42		43		44	
		38		39		40		41		42		43		44	
A L L P E R S O N S	P A S T W E E K	45		46		47		48		49		50		51	
		WHERE DID INDIVIDUAL SPEND CENSUS NIGHT		LOCALITY OR ABROAD		PARISH IN JAMAICA		FOR OFFICE USE ONLY		TOTAL INCOME		AMOUNT (\$)		PAY PERIOD	
P E R S O N S 1 0 Y E A R S A N D O V E R	P A S T W E E K	45		46		47		48		49		50		51	
		45		46		47		48		49		50		51	

FORM CI
CONFIDENTIAL

COMMONWEALTH CARIBBEAN POPULATION CENSUS
APRIL 7, 1970

(CAP. 368 SEC. 4 (c))

100 HOUSEHOLD
PRINTED IN U.S.A.

1 IDENTIFYING NUMBER

COUNTRY	PARISH	CONSTITUENCY	WEEKLY SPEC. AREA	E.D. NUMBER	HOUSEHOLD NUMBER	NAME OF INDIVIDUAL
5						

SEC. I

ALL PERSONS
10 YEARS AND OVER

SEC. II

ALL PERSONS
10 YEARS AND OVER

ALL PERSONS
10 YEARS AND OVER

SEC. III

ALL PERSONS
10 YEARS AND OVER

SEC. IV

ALL PERSONS
10 YEARS AND OVER

SEC. V

ALL PERSONS
10 YEARS AND OVER

3	HOUSEHOLD NUMBER	100 200 300 400 500 600 700 800 900
4	INDIVIDUAL NUMBER WITHIN HOUSEHOLD	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9
5	RELATIONSHIP TO HEAD OF HOUSEHOLD	HEAD OF HOUSEHOLD, SPOUSE, CHILD, OTHER, DOMESTIC EMPLOYEE, OTHER, NOT STATED
6	SEX	MALE, FEMALE
7	AGE (IN COMPLETED YEARS)	0-4, 5-9, 10-14, 15-19, 20-24, 25-29, 30-34, 35-39, 40-44, 45-49, 50-54, 55-59, 60-64, 65-69, 70-74, 75-79, 80-84, 85-89, 90-94, 95-99
8	MARITAL STATUS	MARRIED, SINGLE, SEPARATED, DIVORCED, WIDOWED, LEGALLY DEAD, NOT STATED
9	USUAL RESIDENCE	(a) LOCAL OR FOREIGN, (b) PARISH IN JAMAICA, (c) FOREIGN COUNTRY
10	BIRTH PLACE	(a) PARISH IN JAMAICA, (b) FOREIGN COUNTRY
11	RACE	NEGRO/BLACK, EAST INDIAN, CHINESE, AMERICAN INDIAN, PORTUGUESE, OTHER, NOT STATED
12	RELIGION	SCORE SPECIFIED RELIGION IF APPLICABLE, IF RELIGION NOT SPECIFIED ABOVE (WRITE)
[FOR OFFICE USE ONLY]		
13	NUMBER OF YEARS LIVED IN THIS PARISH	0-4, 5-9, 10-14, 15-19, 20-24, 25-29, 30-34, 35-39, 40-44, 45-49, 50-54, 55-59, 60-64, 65-69, 70-74, 75-79, 80-84, 85-89, 90-94, 95-99
14	PARISH LAST LIVED IN	0-4, 5-9, 10-14, 15-19, 20-24, 25-29, 30-34, 35-39, 40-44, 45-49, 50-54, 55-59, 60-64, 65-69, 70-74, 75-79, 80-84, 85-89, 90-94, 95-99
15	NUMBER OF PARISHES EVER LIVED IN	0-4, 5-9, 10-14, 15-19, 20-24, 25-29, 30-34, 35-39, 40-44, 45-49, 50-54, 55-59, 60-64, 65-69, 70-74, 75-79, 80-84, 85-89, 90-94, 95-99
16	YEAR OF IMMIGRATION	1945-1949, 1950-1954, 1955-1959, 1960-1964, 1965-1969, 1970-1974, 1975-1979, 1980-1984, 1985-1989, 1990-1994, 1995-1999
17	TYPE OF NONVOCATIONAL SCHOOL OR UNIVERSITY NOW BEING ATTENDED	NOT STATED, PRIMARY, SECONDARY, PRIVATE, OTHER
18	ATTENDANCE AT SCHOOL OR UNIVERSITY	FULL TIME, PART TIME, NOT ATTENDING
19	HIGHEST LEVEL OF EDUCATIONAL ATTAINMENT (INCLUDING PERSONS STILL AT SCHOOL)	(a) TYPE OF SCHOOL/UNIVERSITY, (b) YEARS OF PRIMARY SCHOOLING, (c) EXAM PASSED
20	OCCUPATION FOR WHICH TRAINED OR BEING TRAINED (WRITE)	
[FOR OFFICE USE ONLY]		
21	METHOD BY WHICH VOCATIONAL TRAINING ACQUIRED	ON JOB, PRIVATE STUDY, NOT TRAINED, OTHER, NOT STATED
22	PERIOD OF TRAINING FOR PERSONS WHOSE TRAINING HAS BEEN COMPLETED	UNDER 1 YEAR, 1-2 YEARS, 2-3 YEARS, 3-4 YEARS, 4-5 YEARS, 5-6 YEARS, 6-7 YEARS, 7-8 YEARS, 8-9 YEARS, 9-10 YEARS, 10+ YEARS

MIGRATION

These questions numbered 13 to 16 deal with the movement of persons from parish to parish and into Jamaica. Numbers 13 to 15 are relevant to all individuals local and foreign born, while question 16 relates only to persons born abroad.

5.24 Question 13 -
Number of
Years Lived in
This Parish

Mark as described above, the number of years that the individual has been residing in the present parish. If the individual was born in this parish and has never resided in another parish, the number of years will be the same as the age of the individual recorded at Question 7.

If the individual had previously resided in this parish and then lived outside of it, mark the number of years since his last return to reside in this parish.

5.25 Question 14 -
Parish Last
Lived in.

Mark the name of the last parish in Jamaica in which the individual was resident.

If the person has never resided in another parish, mark the present parish of residence that is, the one marked at 9 (b).

5.26 Question 15 -
Number of
Parishes Ever
Lived in

Mark the number of parishes in Jamaica in which the individual has resided for 6 months or more (including the parish of birth if applicable).

5.27 Question 16 -
Year of
Immigration

This question is to be addressed only to persons born outside of Jamaica (see Question 10 (b) and relates to the time when the individual came to live in Jamaica.

If the year stated is 1942 or some year before that, mark 1943. If the year is 1943 or some year up to and including 1946, mark the response position 1943 - 46, and so on.

Appendix Cl: Private Households By Number of Rooms and Area, 1970.

AREA	TOTAL	PRIVATE HOUSEHOLDS WITH							
		1 Room	2 Room	3 Room	4 Rooms	5 Rooms	6 Rooms	7+ Rooms	not stated
Trinidad & Tobago	191,815	22,372	49,262	58,065	36,196	10,417	3,591	2,295	9,617
Port of Spain	15,455	2,923	3,371	3,207	2,887	1,286	532	399	850
San Fernando	8,009	650	1,375	2,204	1,943	884	324	225	404
Arima	2,287	217	409	640	603	214	85	51	68
St George									
Diego Martin	14,943	1,337	3,412	3,583	3,645	1,228	527	439	772
St Anns	29,127	3,713	8,260	7,881	5,246	1,432	459	270	1,866
Tacarigua	16,112	1,548	3,642	4,603	3,556	1,186	428	262	887
Rest of County	5,761	699	1,738	1,683	930	209	58	23	411
Caroni	21,323	2,096	5,795	7,919	3,565	752	175	98	923
Nariva	4,079	565	1,316	1,347	490	147	22	13	179
Mayaro	1,894	421	601	467	230	54	26	9	86
St David	1,570	308	607	401	132	21	8	2	91
St Andrew	8,235	1,078	2,449	2,641	1,372	289	63	31	312
Victoria	31,349	3,270	7,746	11,213	5,705	1,315	433	256	1,411
St Patrick	23,750	2,842	6,013	7,728	4,715	1,136	343	154	819
Tobago	7,921	705	2,528	2,548	1,167	264	108	63	538

Source: Housing and Urbanization Commission Brief (1977.26)

Appendix Clb : Private Households By Year of Construction and Area, 1970.

AREA	TOTAL	1970	1969	1968	1960-67	1951-59	1950 or earlier	Not stated
Trinidad & Tobago	191,815	1,417	7,567	7,427	49,467	31,483	60,065	34,389
Port of Spain	15,455	48	163	190	1,630	1,194	8,662	3,568
San Fernando	8,009	8	93	116	985	1,185	3,814	1,808
Arima	2,287	10	62	85	473	336	1,235	86
St George								
Diego Martin	14,943	109	843	617	4,026	2,362	3,318	3,668
St Anns	29,127	186	713	728	5,789	4,216	8,310	9,185
Tacarigua	16,112	124	519	575	4,096	2,512	5,987	2,299
Rest of County	5,761	66	324	417	2,265	1,004	122	323
Caroni	21,323	237	1,342	1,247	7,808	4,770	4,555	1,364
Nariva	4,079	43	267	237	1,342	752	1,162	276
Mayaro	1,894	18	84	85	412	331	728	236
St David	1,570	6	46	51	215	176	669	407
St Andrew	8,235	51	400	379	2,049	1,458	2,369	1,529
Victoria	31,349	255	1,447	1,419	9,301	5,768	8,161	4,998
St Patrick	23,750	214	1,007	978	6,440	4,469	7,179	3,413
Tobago	7,921	42	257	303	2,636	950	2,554	1,179

Source: Housing and Urbanization Commission Brief (1977.26)

Appendix C2a : Private Households by Water Supply and Area, 1970.

AREA	TOTAL	Public piped into dwelling	Public piped into yard.	Private piped into dwelling	Private catchment not piped	Public stand pipe	Public tank.	Other	Not stated
Trinidad & Tobago	191,815	60,576	25,721	8,206	3,928	79,341	1,321	10,155	2,576
Port of Spain	15,455	8,960	3,804	961	16	1,362	2	24	326
San Fernando	8,009	6,473	774	263	7	347	2	50	93
Arima	2,287	1,382	353	64	2	421	1	10	54
St George									
Diego Martin	14,943	6,776	914	826	244	4,868	132	937	256
St Anns	29,127	10,975	4,629	1,275	230	10,593	97	833	495
Tacarigua	16,112	6,214	3,200	812	109	5,011	42	483	241
Rest of County	5,761	989	472	188	177	3,016	17	822	80
Caroni	21,323	3,079	4,334	785	144	10,884	352	1,512	233
Nariva	4,079	388	163	49	542	1,630	22	1,254	31
Mayaro	1,894	317	72	150	49	1,197	4	85	20
St David	1,570	160	61	60	23	1,118	2	136	10
St Andrew	8,235	1,507	592	169	153	3,927	314	1,507	66
Victoria	31,349	6,728	3,718	1,442	1,361	16,239	236	1,282	343
St Patrick	23,750	5,157	1,594	838	608	14,343	67	948	195
Tobago	7,921	1,462	1,041	324	263	4,385	31	282	133

Source: Housing and Urbanization Commission Brief (1977-3.)

Appendix C2b: Private Households by Toilet Facilities and Area, 1970.

AREA	TOTAL	PIT	W.C Linked To Sewer	W.C. Not Linked to Sewer.	Other	Not stated
Trinidad & Tobago	191,815	135,619	23,456	29,681	1,831	1,228
Port of Spain	15,455	5,055	7,988	2,146	153	113
San Fernando	8,009	1,959	3,707	2,246	44	53
Arima	2,287	1,100	919	223	2	43
St George						
Diego Martin	14,943	8,097	3,441	3,194	98	113
St Anns	29,127	18,817	4,917	4,949	268	176
Tacarigua	16,112	11,110	505	4,309	114	74
Rest of County	5,761	4,907	83	666	58	47
Caroni	21,323	19,088	220	1,751	166	98
Nariva	4,079	3,735	25	200	78	41
Mayaro	1,894	1,511	70	268	28	17
St David	1,570	1,471	24	58	9	8
St Andrew	8,235	7,361	41	725	59	49
Victoria	31,349	25,632	640	4,526	362	189
St Patrick	23,750	19,398	579	3,354	296	123
Tobago	7,921	6,378	297	1,066	96	84

Source: Housing and Urbanization Commission Brief (1977-3.)

Appendix C3a : Private Households by Type of Dwelling and Administrative Area, 1970.

AREA	Total	Separate House	Flat Apartment	Barracks	Out-Room	Part of Commercial Building	Other
Trinidad & Tobago	191,815	143,128	38,970	2,528	1,140	2,633	3,416
Port of Spain	15,455	8,039	5,699	633	321	323	430
San Fernando	8,009	4,049	3,439	68	67	244	142
Arima	2,287	1,520	585	36	7	31	108
St George.							
Diego Martin	14,943	11,061	3,281	74	131	87	309
St Anns	29,127	18,254	9,281	222	225	625	520
Tacarigua	16,112	11,829	3,348	262	97	208	368
Arima (w)	4,405	3,587	619	55	5	52	87
Rest of							
County	1,356	1,193	65	57	1	6	34
Caroni	21,323	18,595	1,822	207	77	317	305
Nariva/Mayaro	5,973	3,139	550	110	14	100	58
St David/							
St Andrew	9,805	8,327	923	338	28	150	129
Victoria	31,349	25,602	4,595	249	104	270	569
St Patrick	23,750	18,721	4,307	189	32	261	240
Tobago	7,921	7,212	456	28	31	51	143

Source: Housing and Urbanization Commission Brief (1977: 26)

Appendix C3B

Principal Financiers and Sums Disbursed for Housing in Trinidad and Tobago.

The National Insurance Board	: \$62.2m (1973 - 1975)
Insurance Companies	: \$110.1m (1973 - 1974)
Commercial Banks	: \$74.3m (1973 - 1975)
Trinidad and Tobago Mortgage and Finance Company	: \$5.9m (1973 - 1975)
National Housing Authority	: \$8.0m (1975)
Building Societies	: \$46.8m (1973 - 1975)
Credit Unions	: \$13.1m (1975)

"Most striking of all is the fact that, for a large proportion of the population, present credit facilities are not reasonable enough. The National Housing Authority is the only major agency involved in Low Cost Housing."

Source: Housing and Urbanization Commission Brief (1977: 24)

Appendix C4a : Dwellings: Parishes and Parish Capitals 1960 and 1970

Parish	Dwellings		Parish Capital	Dwellings		Percentage Change	
	1960	1970		1960	1970	Parish	Parish Capital
Kingston/	113,711	130,441	Kingston	104,142	120,328	+ 15%	+ 16%
St. Andrew			Metropolitan				
St. Thomas	20,631	18,670	Morant Bay	1,529	2,037	- 10%	+ 33%
Portland	16,904	16,407	Port Antonio	2,265	2,780	- 3%	+ 23%
St. Mary	24,857	23,690	Port Maria	1,155	1,335	- 4%	+ 16%
St. Ann	24,052	24,321	St. Ann's Bay	1,341	1,697	+ 1%	+ 27%
Trelawny	14,010	14,006	Falmouth	1,030	1,078	...	+ 5%
St. James	21,438	23,858	Montego Bay	7,003	11,482	+ 11%	+ 64%
Hanover	12,823	12,983	Lucea	751	948	+ 1%	+ 26%
Westmorland	26,565	25,498	Savannah-la-Mar	2,669	2,894	- 4%	+ 8%
St. Elizabeth	24,713	25,280	Black River	680	590	+ 2%	- 9%
Manchester	23,685	24,776	Mandeville	1,962	3,182	+ 5%	+ 61%
Clarendon	39,244	38,288	May Pen	3,913	6,280	- 2%	+ 63%
St. Catherine	39,138	41,931	Spanish Town	3,953	10,181	+ 7%	+ 158%

Appendix C4b : Average Number of Persons per Dwelling Parishes and Parish Capitals
1960 and 1970

Parish	Number of persons per dwelling (rounded)		Parish Capital	Number of persons per dwelling (rounded)		Percentage Change	
	1960	1970		1960	1970	Parish	Parish Capital
Kingston/	3.7	4.0	Kingston	3.6	4.0	+ 9%	+ 9%
St. Andrew			Metropolitan				
St. Thomas	3.3	3.8	Morant Bay	3.3	3.7	+ 15%	+ 11%
Portland	3.8	4.2	Port Antonio	3.5	3.8	+ 9%	+ 10%
St. Mary	3.8	4.2	Port Maria	3.5	3.9	+ 12%	+ 14%
St. Ann	4.8	5.0	St. Ann's Bay	3.8	4.3	+ 5%	+ 13%
Trelawny	4.0	4.4	Falmouth	3.6	3.7	+ 9%	+ 1%
St. James	3.9	4.4	Montego Bay	3.4	3.8	+ 14%	+ 13%
Hanover	4.2	4.6	Lucea	3.7	3.8	+ 8%	+ 3%
Westmorland	4.1	4.4	Savannah-la-Mar	3.7	4.1	+ 8%	+ 7%
St. Elizabeth	4.7	5.0	Black River	4.5	4.6	+ 6%	+ 1%
Manchester	4.7	5.0	Mandeville	4.3	4.6	+ 6%	+ 6%
Clarendon	4.2	4.6	May Pen	3.6	4.1	+ 11%	+ 14%
St. Catherine	3.9	4.4	Spanish Town	3.7	4.0	+ 13%	+ 8%

Appendix C5a: Average Number of Rooms per Dwelling: Parishes and Parish Capitals
1960 and 1970

Parish	Number of rooms per dwelling (rounded)		Parish Capital	Number of rooms per dwelling (rounded)		Percentage Change	
	1960	1970		1960	1970	Parish	Parish Capital
Kingston/	2.0	2.3	Kingston	2.0	2.3	+ 19%	+ 19%
St. Andrew			Metropolitan				
St. Thomas	1.8	2.2	Morant Bay	1.9	2.6	+ 18%	+ 38%
Portland	2.2	2.5	Port Antonio	2.1	2.4	+ 13%	+ 15%
St. Mary	2.1	2.2	Port Maria	1.5	2.1	+ 6%	+ 40%
St. Ann	2.3	2.8	St. Ann's Bay	1.9	2.5	+ 20%	+ 26%
Trelawny	2.1	2.4	Falmouth	2.2	2.5	+ 16%	+ 15%
St. James	2.1	2.5	Montego Bay	1.9	2.5	+ 15%	+ 33%
Hanover	2.4	2.7	Lucea	2.4	2.9	+ 14%	+ 19%
Westmorland	2.3	2.6	Savannah-la-Mar	2.2	2.6	+ 15%	+ 18%
St. Elizabeth	2.1	2.6	Black River	2.3	3.0	+ 25%	+ 31%
Manchester	2.5	2.9	Mandeville	3.2	3.7	+ 17%	+ 16%
Clarendon	1.9	2.4	May Pen	1.8	2.1	+ 22%	+ 16%
St. Catherine	1.9	2.2	Spanish Town	1.8	2.3	+ 16%	+ 22%

All parishes show an increase but most parish capitals show higher rates of growth than the parishes.

Appendix C5b : Average Number of Persons per Room: Parishes and Parish Capitals
1960 and 1970

Parish	Number of persons per room (rounded)		Parish Capital	Number of persons per room (rounded)		Percentage Change	
	1960	1970		1960	1970	Parish	Parish Capital
Kingston/	1.9	1.7	Kingston	1.7	1.8	- 9%	+ 8%
St. Andrew			Metropolitan				
St. Thomas	1.8	1.8	Morant Bay	1.8	1.5	- 3%	- 17%
Portland	1.8	1.7	Port Antonio	1.7	1.6	- 5%	- 9%
St. Mary	1.8	1.9	Port Maria	2.1	1.9	- 5%	- 11%
St. Ann	2.0	1.8	St. Ann's Bay	2.0	1.8	- 12%	- 6%
Trelawny	1.9	1.8	Falmouth	1.7	1.5	- 6%	- 9%
St. James	1.8	1.8	Montego Bay	1.8	1.8	- 1%	- 2%
Hanover	1.8	1.7	Lucea	1.5	1.4	- 6%	- 7%
Westmorland	1.8	1.7	Savannah-la-Mar	1.7	1.6	- 7%	- 2%
St. Elizabeth	2.2	1.8	Black River	2.0	1.8	- 22%	- 11%
Manchester	1.9	1.7	Mandeville	1.3	1.3	- 11%	- 5%
Clarendon	2.2	2.0	May Pen	2.0	2.0	- 9%	- 4%
St. Catherine	2.1	2.0	Spanish Town	2.0	1.9	- 2%	- 7%

Appendix C6a : Overall Indicator for Housing Characteristics, and the Number of Dwellings and Population by Parish, 1960 and 1970.

PARISH	1960	1970	Parish Capital	1960	1970	Parish Capital	1960	1970	% change	1960	1970	% change
Kingston/	7.5	7.5	Kingston	7.5	7.5	...	113,711	130,441	+15%	419,416	550,100	+31%
St. Andrew			Metropolitan									
St. Thomas	6.2	6.1	Morant Bay	6.6	6.9	-2% + 5%	20,831	18,670	-10%	68,725	71,400	+4%
Portland	5.9	6.2	Port Antonio	6.5	6.7	+5% + 4%	16,904	16,407	-3%	64,570	68,500	+6%
St. Mary	6.0	6.0	Port Maria	6.3	6.8	...	24,857	23,890	-4%	94,233	100,200	+6%
St. Ann	5.5	5.9	St. Ann's Bay	6.4	6.8	+6% + 5%	24,052	24,321	+1%	114,360	121,800	+7%
Trelawny	5.6	5.8	Falmouth	6.6	6.9	+4% + 5%	14,010	14,006		56,080	61,300	+9%
St. James	6.2	6.4	Montego Bay	6.8	7.0	+4% + 2%	21,438	23,858	+11%	83,003	105,400	+27%
Hanover	5.7	5.9	Lucea	6.9	7.6	+3% + 10%	12,823	12,983	+1%	53,902	59,100	+10%
Westmorland	5.8	6.0	Savannah-la-Mar	6.7	6.8	+3% + 2%	26,565	25,498	-4%	109,806	113,200	+3%
St. Elizabeth	5.1	5.6	Black River	6.1	6.9	+10% + 13%	24,713	25,280	+2%	116,706	126,700	+9%
Manchester	5.6	6.0	Mandeville	7.3	7.9	+6% + 7%	23,685	24,776	+5%	111,788	123,600	+11%
Clarendon	5.4	5.8	May Pen	6.6	6.8	+9% + 1%	39,244	38,288	-2%	163,450	176,800	+8%
St. Catherine	5.9	6.2	Spanish Town	6.4	6.8	+5% + 6%	39,138	41,931	+7%	153,535	186,100	+21%
JAMAICA:			401,771 420,159 +5% 1,601,344 1,825,940 +16%									

Appendix C6b : Number of rooms and Number of Persons per Room for Jamaica, 1960 and 1970.

Parish	Average number of rooms per dwelling		Percentage Change	Percentage of dwellings of 1 room		Average number of Persons per room	
	1960 (rounded)	1970 (rounded)		1960 (rounded)	1970 (rounded)	1960 (rounded)	1970 (rounded)
Kingston/St. Andrew	2.0	2.3	+19%	61%	48%	1.9	1.8
St. Thomas	1.8	2.2	+18%	49%	34%	1.8	1.8
Portland	2.2	2.5	+15%	35%	28%	1.8	1.7
St. Mary	2.1	2.2	+6%	43%	32%	1.8	1.9
St. Ann	2.3	2.8	+20%	34%	23%	2.0	1.8
Trelawny	2.1	2.4	+16%	43%	32%	1.9	1.8
St. James	2.1	2.5	+15%	44%	34%	1.8	1.8
Hanover	2.4	2.7	+14%	24%	17%	1.8	1.7
Westmorland	2.3	2.6	+15%	30%	20%	1.8	1.7
St. Elizabeth	2.1	2.6	+25%	30%	22%	2.2	1.8
Manchester	2.5	2.9	+17%	31%	22%	1.9	1.7
Clarendon	1.9	2.4	+22%	48%	38%	2.2	2.0
St. Catherine	1.8	2.2	+18%	52%	41%	2.1	2.0
JAMAICA	2.1	2.4	+17%	46%	35%	1.9	1.8

Appendix D1: Determination of the future urban structure for Jamaica

The following development criteria were used in the ranking of urban settlements in Jamaica.

- (1) Present size and shopping importance.
- (2) Existence and size of (parochial) market.
- (3) Existing accessibility.
- (4) The following were considered to be economic growth potential factors and were given double weight.
 - A. Agriculture
 - B. Manufacturing Industry
 - C. Tourism
 - D. Bauxite/Alumina
 - E. Fishing
 - F. Commercial forestry
 - G. Diversification of employment.
- (5) Existing water supply.
- (6) Other existing utilities, such as electricity and the telephone.
- (7) Post primary educational facilities.
- (8) Other public facilities, such as hospitals and health centres, libraries, community centres, and post offices.
- (9) Existence and level of land authority centres.
- (10) Existence and size of government-owned land for urban expansion.

The factors listed under (4) were given double weight in the ranking. About 215 towns were investigated. This preliminary selection was based on the present size and local importance, as well as urban development factors, such as existing and proposed public facilities.

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