LEARNING FROM THE MARCHÉ HYPPOLITE
PORT-AU-PRINCE, HAITI

An assessment of the philanthropic reconstruction of an urban place

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ABSTRACT

The urban post-disaster environment in Haiti poses unprecedented challenges for all stakeholders aspiring to ‘build back better’. Eighteen months after the January 2010 earthquake, media and external observers submit appalling critiques in the face of a mitigated global response. In that context, this Master dissertation aims to assess the short-term outcomes of the Marché Hyppolite (also called the Iron Market) philanthropic reconstruction in central Port-au-Prince, an exceptional and apparently successful project (according to the same media and external observers). This research assesses those outcomes as they affect – and are perceived by – the local working community.

To illustrate and analyse the given outputs and consider their relevance within the urban post-disaster context, the author met with vendors working in and around the rebuilt Market whilst drawing on two approaches corresponding to its character – a sustainable livelihood approach (for the commercial and social space) and a sense of place approach (for the historical urban place) – as well as a few relevant case studies.

This dissertation ends by offering five lessons, mentioning notably that the rebuilding of the Market has raised vendors’ human dignity and enhanced their social and political assets. However these improvements are restricted to the Market’s vendor community, the reconstruction is not yet financially sustainable for vendors, and the socio-spatial division lessens the real symbolic outcome on local communities.
STATEMENT OF ORIGINALITY

This dissertation is the result of my own independent work/investigation, except where otherwise stated. Other sources are acknowledged by explicit references.

Signed: [Signature] Date: 31-08-2011

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ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

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A special thanks to each vendor I met at and around the Marché Hyppolite. I hope this dissertation will give weight to the voices of these proud Port-au-Princiens. My findings are their realities. Perhaps this work will provide a step toward a better understanding of the challenges faced by those involved in the reconstruction of the vendors’ city and their daily lives.

The dissertation would not be the same without the assistance of many people directly or indirectly involved in the reconstruction of Haiti. I am very grateful to Architecture for Humanity’s Rebuilding Centre for its logistical support, shelter and access to its motivated staff, with whom I lived and worked for three weeks.

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David Smith
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1 THE CONTEXT
1 THE CONTEXT: HAITI AND RESEARCH METHOD

1.1 AN URBAN DISASTER IN HAITI

On 12 January 2010, the earth underneath Haiti trembled.

An earthquake hit Haiti causing severe damage, especially in urban areas where the vast majority of the population live (PDNA, 2010) and where the urbanisation had occurred quickly with unregulated urban policies and without building codes relevant for the region (ibid). The ‘allowance of various risks’ (ibid, p.15) resulted in the 2010 earthquake being one of the most significant ‘urban’ disasters of contemporary history. Whilst the shocking number of fatalities – more than 220,000 women, men and children (European Commission Humanitarian Aid 2010) – and the extensive destruction of densely built environments – more than 355,000 houses collapsed or were heavily damaged (PDNA, 2010) – are certainly the most tangible images of Haiti’s vulnerability, the earthquake also revealed a severe latent ‘ecological, political and social … crisis’ (translation by author, Théodat, 2005, n.a.) within the Haitian society.
In response to the appalling images of the destruction affecting Port-au-Prince, Léogâne, Goâve (Petit and Grand) and Jacmel (IASC, 2011), exceptional international fundraising occurred, resulting in an estimated 3.9 billion USD (FTS, 2010-2011); this funding presented an opportunity for ‘Building Back Better’ (Reitman, 2011, n.a.). In a situation where the earthquake severely affected an already instable and fragile national government (Clermont et al., 2011), influential foreign nations and international organisations alongside the business community (W J Clinton Foundation, 2011), have considerably augmented their presence to respond to the disaster and help people in need.

1.2 EIGHTEEN MONTHS AFTER THE EARTHQUAKE: SEVERE CRITIQUES… AND A SUCCESS STORY

Eighteen months after the earthquake, many observers state that the good intentions of the international community for reconstruction have barely resulted in successes. Statistics abound: ‘of the $1.28 billion in reconstruction pledges fulfilled, about 29 percent of the money went to budget support or loans for the Haitian government’ (Miller, 2011), ‘hundreds of thousands of people still living in makeshift tents’ (Charles, 2011). And observers’ critiques are numerous: a journalist criticises the ‘dysfunction[al]’ response, qualifying it as another ‘disaster’ and questioning the ‘limits of Western humanitarianism’ (Reitman, 2011); foreigners blame corruption (US business consultant, cited in Reitman, 2011); a former Haitian minister doubts ‘those who say they are just trying to help’ (Raoul Peck, cited in Reitman, 2011); and local media criticises
the financially inaccessible housing solutions that entrepreneurs propose (Haïti Libre, 2011a; Cadet, 2011).

The NGO experience of reconstruction in the aftermath of a natural disaster is essentially related to shelter, traditionally ‘the main focus of international intervention’ (Zetter & Boano, 2009, p.214). Because a house is ‘a complex set of social, cultural, domestic and personal needs represented by the variety of ways in which space is identified, ordered and used’ (Dovey, 1985), its destruction ‘seriously erodes’ the ‘meaning of life and its continuity’ (Skotte, 2005) and affects significantly people’s ‘social wellbeing’ (Zetter, 1995, all authors cited in Zetter & Boano, 2009, p.203-204). As post-disaster reconstruction ‘inevitably mediate[s] and transform[s] daily patterns of life and the social fabric’, one lesson learnt from home reconstruction is the importance of involving affected populations (Hazic and Roberts, 1999; Barakat and Chard, 2002; Barakat, 2003; El-Masri; Kellet, 2001; all cited in Zetter & Boano, 2009; Lyons & Schilderman, 2010) to use the rebuilding as a positive ‘catalyst’ (p.205) for social improvement. Rebuilding in a participatory manner could also address, amongst others, gender issues related to the construction of appropriate physical settings including lighting and latrines (Chalinder, 1998; IASC, 2005; Olson and Scharffscher, 2004; cited in Zetter & Boano, 2009, p.211), which could improve the living conditions of women and increase their level involvement in the society.
The NGO approach to housing after the 2004 tsunami and other disasters – where owner-driven or transitional shelters programmes (i.e. programmes aiming to help people build temporary but ‘secure’ dwellings by themselves) were qualified as successful (Lyons & Schilderman, 2010, Ratnayake & Rameezdeen, n.d.) – is difficult to apply in Haiti. The intrinsic urban complexity and logistical challenges may explain the noticeably mitigated response. Whilst the shelter programmes’ coverage in Haiti is questionable – more than 355,000 households lost their homes (PDNA, 2010), but only 80,000 of them benefitted from new temporary shelters June 2011 (IASC, 2011) – the authors of ‘Urban disasters – lessons from Haiti: Study of [Disasters Emergency Committee] agencies’ responses to the earthquake in Port au Prince, Haiti’ (Clermont et al., 2011) are highly critical of the controversial strategy used, highlighting amongst other issues that the structures provided are ‘essentially rural in conception’. The urban context requires a more sophisticated approach due to its density, social complexity, land issues and economy-driven environment (Clermont et al., 2011).

This dissertation asserts the value of analysing the reconstruction of public infrastructure. In the aftermath of the Haitian urban disaster, the need to rebuild schools, hospitals, shops, markets and urban places is immense. About 5,000 educational establishments and over 50 hospitals and health centres are unusable, in addition to the collapse of many administrative, public and national buildings (PDNA 2010). Rebuilding public infrastructures goes beyond the reconstruction of necessary physical environments; in addition to employment generated by construction, rebuilding also provides a structure to regain jobs lost to the earthquake: teachers, nurses, civil servants, vendors and so on. ‘What Haitians want most are jobs’ (Reitman, 2011, n.a.); the national unemployment rate averages between 40% (2010 est., CIA, 2011) and 50% (Clermont et al., 2011) and is seen as one of the main threats facing Haitian society (PDNA, 2010). The importance of addressing public spaces – beyond the state- or municipality-owned buildings – within the reconstruction process relates to the ‘varying forms of living’ in Haitian
cities (Clermont et al., 2011). Jan Gehl, ‘urban quality consultant’ (Gehl Architects, 2010) describes the importance of public spaces in developing countries’ cities:

‘A common feature of most urban inhabitants of cities in developing countries is their very modest living standard. It is precisely in those housing areas with a high population density and few economic resources that outdoor space has a particularly large bearing on living conditions. Where possible, many ordinary activities are conducted outside near dwellings, on streets, squares or any other common grounds.’ (Gehl, 2010, p.217)

Reconstruction of large infrastructure elements remains a significant challenge. The Alexandra Urban Renewal (2009) project in South Africa, although not situated in a post-disaster context, shows that when a population participates actively in the process, a top-managed approach (i.e. a project led by municipalities, governments and business sectors) can deliver substantial projects for a community. In Haiti NGOs alone do not play a major role in rebuilding public infrastructure. Instead, the business and philanthropic sectors show increasing involvement in monetary contribution and management participation, along with local owners, NGOs, and architecture-based charities (AfH, 2011). The private sector is in fact seen as a significant subscriber because it contributes to the building of structures that enhance economic development (Reitman, 2011; W J Clinton Foundation, 2011).

In *Philanthrocapitalism* Bishop (2008) also implies that ‘using the private sector will be a lot more efficient’ (cited in Reitman, 2011, n.a.). Doing so bypasses the bureaucracy of humanitarian aid organisations and their clever but complicated development agenda, and focuses on getting things done quickly and on providing a specific, specialised and even surgical intervention. This suggests the idea of ‘urban acupuncture’ (Cross, 2011; Hamdi, 2010), whereby reconstructing a particularly important building could help – by its design, business approach and social structure – to enhance urban recovery in its surrounding area. Hamdi (2010) describes development practitioners’ actions as aiming to
‘release the energy latent in place’ (p.64) but such a statement could be reemployed, simplistically perhaps, by entrepreneurs aiming to boost the economy by specific projects.

Successful built projects in Haiti using this approach are rare; yet the reconstruction of the Marché Hyppolite (often called Iron Market) – exhaustively covered by local and international media (e.g. Le Nouvelliste, Haiti Libre, BBC, The Guardian and CNN) – is reported as quite successful. Critiques after the Markets’ reopening ceremony glow with praise, qualifying it as ‘a beacon-rebuilding project that the country can reunite around, and thus reboot its shattered economy’ (Forbes, 2011) and saying that it ‘gave hundreds if not thousands of Haitians … a livelihood’ (Vulliamy, 2001).

The innovative and particularly relevant reconstruction of the Marché Hyppolite in Port-au-Prince was completed within one year. Even though the Market was rebuilt using a top-down approach (i.e. a typical rebuilding project where community participation was not the main focus), the project has had a significant impact, according to the main stakeholders of the reconstruction: Denis O’Brien, Irish owner of an important mobile company in Haiti who financed the 12-million US$ rebuilding, stated while visiting the

Figure 4 The Marché Hyppolite rebuilt

Figure 5 The reopening ceremony
Source: BBC (Forbes, 2011)
rebuilt Market that ‘in terms of significance, this is the economic and social icon of the city’ (cited in Mone, 2011); Pauline Nee, the British project architect from the London-based firm that produced plans for the reconstruction, insisted on the economic and cultural value of the Market (cited in Galilee, 2011); the influential Bill Clinton, former president of the United States and International Co-Chair of the Interim Haiti Reconstruction Commission also portrayed the Market at the opening ceremony as the ‘beautiful beacon to a bright tomorrow for Haiti’ (cited in Mone, 2011, n.a.).

1.3 THE RESEARCH QUESTION

However, whilst the media and the foreign and external stakeholders have brought attention to the significance of the Marché Hyppolite’s reconstruction during the rebuilding process and at the reopening ceremony, no one has undertaken an accurate post-construction assessment on the social, economic and cultural outcomes from a local or internal perspective. Thus it is difficult to understand how the ‘unique’ reconstruction fits in a practical and meaningful way into the broader recovery phase. Therefore, this dissertation aims to answer the following question:

**A few months after the reopening ceremony, what are the short-term outcomes of the reconstruction of the Marché Hyppolite on (and perceived by) the local community?**

To answer this question, the author undertook field-based research involving the local Market’s working community, as well as literature-based research on two approaches with previous relevant examples. The following subsections detail the research method.
1.4 AIMS AND OBJECTIVES

1.4.1 RESEARCH AIM

The research aims to assess the Marché Hyppolite reconstruction’s short-term outcomes from the viewpoint of the local community.

1.4.2 RESEARCH OBJECTIVES

This research involves three more specific goals that help to define the structure of this dissertation:

• To explore relevant theoretical and practical approaches related to the rebuilding of public and commercial spaces such as the Marché Hyppolite in Port-au-Prince;

• To assess the rebuilding of the Marché Hyppolite from the viewpoint of its community using these approaches;

• To analyse the outcomes and consider their relevance within the Haitian post-disaster context.

1.5 RELEVANCE AND SIGNIFICANCE OF THE STUDY

By giving voice to the users of the Marché Hyppolite and thus to gain a better understanding of its influence within the post-disaster Haitian context, this study goes beyond the positive critiques from external media and stakeholders. No one has undertaken an inclusive ‘post-occupation’ study of this particular Market, and no evaluations that use a human development perspective have been carried out on similar post-disaster urban public projects. This evaluation is relevant in the Haitian context for two reasons. First, plans to construct or rebuild other Haitian covered markets or public spaces are under way (e.g. the extension of the Marché Hyppolite (ISPAN, 2010a), the restoration of the Old Market in Jacmel (ISPAN, 2010a) and other public commercial places in Haiti (AfH, 2011). Second, especially in Haiti, there is a growing involvement of entrepreneurs and philanthropists in the so-called development sector; the Clinton Foundation is one of the best-known.
In a broader context, unfortunately there is an increasing chance of future urban disasters in capital cities such as Katmandu, Nepal; Istanbul, Turkey; and Teheran, Iran. Understanding the impact of reconstructing public and commercial places such as the Marché Hyppolite is thus relevant in a global perspective.

**1.6 METHODOLOGY**

The research methodology is linked to the nature of a field-based research. Moving to Port-au-Prince to listen to and understand the local community’s perception of the Market’s reconstruction necessitated, not only logistical co-ordination, but also a level of preparation. In addition to contacting people who significantly helped with logistics (see Acknowledgements), the author met with professionals and organisations in Haiti that directly or indirectly influenced this research (see Box 1).

The research has not progressed in a straightforward and linear fashion. The author was forced to maintain a certain flexibility regarding research method and content; concepts and approaches regarding the local context had to be modified or eliminated. What mattered most was the local community, its reality and its perception of the project. Whilst every part of the research was improved during the course of the project, a general methodology emerged as follows.

The author undertook a literature review, i.e. a secondary study related to Haiti, the Marché Hyppolite, and post-disaster
theoretical and practical approaches, as well as studies on livelihoods and urban places. These findings were regrouped and analysed prior to visiting Port-au-Prince; then the author selected and prioritised them based on the nature and content of the interviews both during and after the journey to Haiti. Two general approaches emerged from this process – a sustainable livelihood approach and a sense of place approach – and constitute the core methodology for assessing the Marché Hyppolite project.

In Port-au-Prince, the author met with more than 40 vendors, and conducted 16 interviews and focus groups. The majority of the interviews occurred within the Market and were spatially equally distributed. Only a few were conducted in the surrounding street markets (see Table 1).

Initially the author aimed to interview customers or guests but dropped that idea quickly, as they are a scarce resource. As suggested by the literature review (see Appendix A1 p.84), the author prepared a series of short questions and key words. These were used more strictly early in the field-based research but the author dropped some questions that the interviewees deemed irrelevant, focusing more on what the vendors were saying and more importantly letting vendors discuss their impressions freely. The use of focus groups significantly reinforced the vendors’ input; in these groups the debate proceeded openly, despite the author’s requests to repeat a comment or expand on it. The author qualifies the so-called ‘primary data collection’ as a very intense but pleasurable learning process, which is described in a succinct journal in Appendix A2 (p.87). In the mornings, the author conducted interviews; in the afternoons the author transcribed his notes into tables corresponding to categories of the frameworks used. The author also compiled data by categories. The nature and scope of the findings have been strictly preserved in the text (i.e. whether a majority or minority of those interviewed, whether many or

<table>
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* Interviewees refusing to take part
a few vendors, etc.). The author finally contrasted and compared the ‘data' using the two approaches previously mentioned (a sustainable livelihood approach and a sense of place approach).

1.7  RESEARCH SCOPE AND LIMITATIONS

1.7.1  SCOPE

The scope of the assessment of the Marché Hyppolite’s reconstruction changed during the research phrase. Originally, the criteria were those of the main stakeholders involved in the reconstruction process and in the post-construction use and management – i.e. the donor, the architects, the vendors and the users; subsequently, the criteria shifted mostly to the issues concerning vendors working in and around the Market. This shift was necessary to emphasise what was unique about the reconstruction and to put the approach in the broader context of rebuilding urban environments after a disaster.

1.7.2  LIMITATIONS

Limitations to the research mainly involve spatial, temporal and financial considerations. The study was written in multiple cities in England and Québec, and during a three-week visit to Haiti. Significant time was spent contacting relevant people, planning logistics and arranging transport. The visit to Port-au-Prince was shortened for financial and logistical reasons. Due to strict deadlines and time needed for analysis, the number of interviews was reduced. More focus groups were used, which served to enrich the experience and expand the findings.

Other limitations relate to language and cultural sensitivity. The vast majority of the interviews were conducted in a mix of Creole and French, which involved the potential for misinterpretation, the need for translation by an accompanying driver, and the habit of frequently repeating questions to ensure a good level of understanding; the author thanks the interviewees for their patience! Some data collection was restricted and some issues ignored for political, security and sensitivity-related reasons e.g. taking no photos of vendors (unless agreed), not
using interviewees’ names, going to the Market area only in the mornings, etc.

Whilst this research reveals the opinion and perception of about 40 interviewees, the author suggests that ‘the surprisingly strong patterns identified’ should be ‘treated with caution, subject to verification through statistically representative sampling’ as explained in a study on urban livelihoods (Lyons & Snoxell, 2005b, p.1316). In other words, this dissertation gives voice to only about 40 vendors working in and around the Market and should not be considered as representative of the entire vendor community. However, this sample identifies some significant principles for this study.

1.8 ETHICAL CONSIDERATIONS

The author asked for and received authorisation from the Market management office (i.e. Digicel) to undertake the study; before he took any action in a public or personal space, he gained permission from the vendors in the immediate area. The interviewees were clearly informed about who the author was and the uses to which he would put the research so as not to raise false expectations and to establish an atmosphere of trust and confidence. For security reasons and to respect confidentiality, the author chose not to mention names in the dissertation – even though in most cases the interviewees were pleased and proud to identify themselves. The author also paid special attention not to cause the vendors any inconvenience. The author scrupulously respected the vendors’ right not to participate in the study or not to answer a specific question. Interestingly, such situations arose only twice.
1.9 ORGANISATION OF THE PRESENT DISSERTATION

The study is divided into four core sections.

**Chapter 1**
THE CONTEXT: HAITI AND RESEARCH METHOD

The first chapter describes the current post-disaster context in Haiti and mentions reported critiques of international intervention. This leads to an idea for a field-based research; its method and resulting experiences are illustrated in this chapter.

**Chapter 2**
THE THEORY: APPROACHES TO ASSESSING URBAN LIVELIHOODS AND URBAN PLACES

The second chapter defines further the two research approaches used and analyses previous relevant reconstruction experiences in the context of those approaches.

**Chapter 3**
THE MARCHÉ HYPPOLITE: THE INFLUENCE OF ITS RECONSTRUCTION ON THE LOCAL WORKING COMMUNITY

The third chapter reports, analyses and discusses the outcomes of the Marché Hyppolite’s reconstruction on the working community, using both the livelihood approach and the urban place approach.

**Chapter 4**
THE PRESENT OUTCOMES AND THE FUTURE: PEOPLE, THE MARCHÉ HYPPOLITE & APPROACHES

The last chapter combines and discusses complementary findings from the previous chapters, reviews the two approaches and concludes by offering some lessons learnt from the assessment.
2  THE THEORY
THEORY: APPROACHES TO ASSESSING URBAN LIVELIHOODS AND URBAN PLACES

This section explains the two approaches used in the assessment of the Marché Hyppolite’s reconstruction and are respectively contextualised further by relating them to urban reconstruction issues and relevant case studies. The findings are used as criteria and key questions for the assessment (see Appendix A1 p.84).

2.1 TWO CONTEXT-APPROPRIATE CONCEPTUAL APPROACHES TO ASSESS THE MARCHÉ HYPPOLITE’S RECONSTRUCTION

For Haiti’s complex post-disaster urban context, two relevant approaches were chosen for their complementary nature and for their ability to assess appropriately the two main attributes of the Market: a functional space and a meaningful place. These attributes were identified by ‘external’ critics but also in interviews with the Market’s users.

The first – a livelihood approach – provides an understanding of the rebuilt commercial and social place’s ‘functional’ and ‘practical’ effects on people’s ability to develop strategies against poverty. The second – an urban place approach – provides insight into the more ‘figurative’ and ‘abstract’ impacts of the Market on the local community.

2.1.1 A METHOD TO ASSESS THE FUNCTIONAL SPACE: THE SUSTAINABLE LIVELIHOOD APPROACH

A livelihood approach is indeed appropriate for the working community that inhabits the Market and the urban context that characterises it.
On one hand, this definition of livelihoods (Box 2) certainly ‘attributes agency to the poor … in emphasising their strategic use of multiple activities and multiple assets’ (Lyons & Snoxell, 2005a, p.1079) and focuses on people’s ‘strengths’ and on ‘what they have or what they can access rather than what they miss’ (Rakodi, 2002, cited in Schmied, 2010, p.29). This contrasts with external and restrictive definitions of poverty, such as an income of less than one dollar a day that the World Bank uses (UN, 2009). According to Rakodi and Loyd-Jones (2002, cited in Lyons & Snoxell, 2005a, p.1078-1079), people do ‘cope with and recover from stress and shocks, by stinting, hoarding, protecting, depleting or diversifying the portfolio (of assets); to maintain or enhance capability or assets’. These important assets that urban workers use to live are diverse and go far beyond the more traditional economic definition of capital. The assets can be classified into six categories, as summarised in the Table 2.

**Table 2 Type of assets in the Rural Sustainable Livelihoods**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Type of assets</th>
<th>Description</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Natural</td>
<td>Natural capital includes ‘nature’s goods and services’ as well as measures for protecting the environment from degradation.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Social</td>
<td>Social capital involves ‘mutually collective action, contributing to the cohesiveness of people in their societies.’ These actions ‘are connected and structured in networks and groups’.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Human</td>
<td>‘Human capital is the total capability residing in individuals, based on their … knowledge, skills, health and nutrition. It is enhanced by their access to services.’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
| Physical       | ‘Physical capital is the store of human-made material resources, and comprises buildings’ (e.g. houses, factories, market infrastructures, etc.) They ‘make the labour more productive’.

Financial

| Financial | ‘Financial capital is defined as the financial resources that are available to people and which provide them with different livelihood options.’ |

| Political* | Political capital involves the relationships shaping the access to resources. It is related to ‘how the power is shared’ and thus directly linked with governance. |

On the other hand, the ‘livelihood’ approach to sustainable urban development – or reconstruction – is compatible with the kind of urban change the Market’s reconstruction caused. If considered as a ‘compact city initiative’, the rebuilding of the Market should have economic and social benefits (Jenks & Burgess, 2000). Whilst most debates about compact city approaches (see Box 3) have agreed on the ‘major’ sustainable social and economic impacts derived from the urban shape, Neuman (2005) insists instead on ‘the primacy of process over form’ (p.11). He states that wishing to attain ‘sustainable urban development … using urban form strategies [only] is counter productive’ (p.23). Sustainable social and economic benefits are in fact gained by the urban development – or reconstruction – process and thus touch spheres of governance, access to resources and the development of citizens’ assets. Both views corroborate the significant links between urban development and livelihoods.

### 2.1.2 A METHOD TO ASSESS THE MEANINGFUL URBAN PLACE: AN URBAN PLACE APPROACH

Additionally, an urban place approach is relevant for a more complete assessment of Marché Hyppolite because such a place seems to have a perceptive significance that goes beyond its ‘functional’ attributes. Dovey (1999) characterise objects, buildings or urban spaces using semiotics i.e. layering functions, orders or meanings. Using the example of the Marché Hyppolite, the primary function, first-order or first level of meaning of the Market may be the physical shelter that unifies vendors and in which they sell goods to the public. What may differentiate the Market from other markets – including street markets – is its secondary function, second-order or second level of meaning. The connotative or symbolic meaning may be more important than the detonative sense (Carmona et al., 2010), as it includes notions of dignity (Eco, 1968,
mentioned in Carmona et al., 2010) and quality of living (Hall, 1998, mentioned in Carmona et al., 2010).

There is, however, a great theoretical debate on how to characterise the meaning of places – often theorised in the difference between space and place (Box 4) – and thus on how to assess urban places. The different schools of thought could be classified into those that believe in an intrinsic and stable meaning of places – the character is deeply integrated in the space – and those that believe in a social, relational and flexible sense of place (Dovey, 1999) – the value is in the way individuals and the community integrate the space into their lives or their history.

As this dissertation focuses on the users’ points of view, it is common sense that ‘routes’ will be preferred to ‘roots’ (Dovey, 1999, p.3), although the intrinsic value of the place will be kept in mind since the Marché Hyppolite’s historical and architectural values were frequently mentioned in the literature and in the media (see section 3.1.1 p.45). As Dovey (1999) illustrates, ‘these places are lived and embodied; they are structured, ordered, transformed, infiltrated and negotiated; they are symbolized, packaged, and marketed’ (p.9). As the theory of Deleuze and Bourdieu (mentioned in Dovey, 1999) shows, people and environment are intimately integrated into urban places. They act as ‘social components of cities’ and their ‘quality and character’ are determined by ‘intense processes of social interaction’ (Madanipour, 2010, p.237).

Considering the Market’s historical significance, and the evocative image of rapid reconstruction and utilisation of the place by workers and dignitaries, the urban place approach – further developed into a sense of place framework – therefore provides a better understanding of the symbolic outcomes amongst the local community.
2.2 URBAN ENVIRONMENTS & RECONSTRUCTION: A LIVELIHOOD APPROACH

This section expands on the first of the two approaches to assess the Marché Hyppolite’s influence on local urban livelihoods. To successfully uncover and situate the Market-related issues within the broader academic literature and practice, the chosen approach assumes an urban poor perspective, and analyses relevant reconstruction examples in that regard.

2.2.1 THE SUSTAINABLE LIVELIHOOD APPROACH IN URBAN ENVIRONMENTS

This dissertation draws on Sanderson’s (2010b) version of the sustainable livelihood framework (Figure 8) to understand how the reconstruction of the Marché Hyppolite has had a practical influence on the life of vendors working in and around the Market. This framework has the advantage of being ‘practical, understandable and does not require extensive reading of supporting information’ (Schmied, 2010, p.16-17), compared with previous models that ‘have remained too abstract for
field level staff’ (Carney et al., 1999, cited in Schmied, 2010, p.16-17). For an overview of what the livelihood conditions in a typical market area could be, some issues specific to urban environments and city centres that have surfaced in several studies are considered. Special attention is given to the relationship between urban in-between spaces and livelihoods.

2.2.1.1 SUSTAINING BASIC NEEDS

An important – and probably obvious – asset in urban environments such as Port-au-Prince is money. Urban dwellers are dependent on and integrated into an economic system in which earning and spending cash to obtain basic goods and services is the common rule (Davis, 2007). Similarly to Beall (2006), Satterthwaite and Tacoli (2002) affirm that ‘urban households generally face particularly higher costs for housing [renting or owning], access to water [purchased from private companies or informal traders], sanitation from pay-as-you-use facilities, transport, food and other necessities for living in the towns and cities’ (cited in Schmied, 2010, p.29). In other words, almost every basic need has a price in urban environments.

2.2.1.2 BUILDING CAPACITY: ACCESSING RESOURCES AND GOVERNANCE

Figure 9 Colourful informal markets occupying the streets surrounding the Marché Hyppolite (under reconstruction)
Source: adapted by author from googlemap.com
Many authors and organisations (Wigle, Brown, HIC & UNESCO, in Wigle, 2008; Razzu, 2005; Hackenbroch, Baumgart & Kreibich, 2009) argue that the city centre should be considered as a resource – although an often-contested one – and suggest that the ‘right to [have] shelter’ must be ‘scaled-up’ to the ‘right to [access] the city’. Complementary to shelter or housing, livelihood and social spaces also contribute to urban inhabitants’ quality of life (Wigle, 2008). Based on a study of UK cities, Burton (2000) states that ‘higher urban densities’ could also ‘reduce social segregation’ and ‘improve access to facilities’ (n.a.). However, in contrast with UK cities, these opportunities may be informal in developing countries. In Afghan cities, ‘urban poor have little or no access to basic services and social infrastructure’ (Beall, 2006, n.a.). The livelihood studies in Mexico City (Wigle, 2008) and in Old Accra, Ghana (Razzu, 2005) do link livelihoods to living and working locations, and to the access to unique and informal economic and social opportunities that the city centre offers. Working or living in a city centre is important ‘especially for unskilled women and children as dwellers benefit from the ‘proximity [of] market places and access to a vast range of informal activities’ (Razzu, 2005, p.399-400). What happens within the built-up areas (or within the demolished or unused buildings in the unfortunate case of central Port-au-Prince, Figure 9 p.30) ‘will determine the quality of habitat for most of the metropolitan population’ (Connolly, 2003, cited in Wigle, 2005, p.215).

However, the control of the urban space rarely involves the vast community living in the streets – because of their insufficient financial and political resources – but rather the planning departments and urban policies of the city (Wigle, 2008), and the interests of urban elites who own the land and the historical buildings (Crossa, 2009). Changes in the urban space might improve the living conditions of street communities when urban governance promotes their participation in decision making-processes (Schmied, 2010). Nevertheless these communities are too often ‘largely neglected by municipalities and national government departments who...lack the capacity, resources and political will’ (Beall, 2006, n.a.) and usually have few opportunities to express their wishes and
to defend themselves. As a result, they are often confronted by decisions that do not consider their rights and are often faced with forced displacement (Crossa, 2009).

2.2.1.3 BUILDING RESILIENCE: DEVELOPING ASSETS AND RESISTING TO SHOCKS AND THREATS

As stated previously, money is an important asset for urban dwellers. More precisely, financial assets include savings and the ability to borrow money from friends, family, or a local bank (Lyons & Snoxell, 2005b). Whilst this is probably the most important asset needed to resist the threats of disease and economic shocks, the study of urban livelihoods in Addis Ababa, Ethiopia (Schmied, 2010) and in Nairobi, Kenya (Lyons & Snoxell, 2005a) confirms that money should not be considered as the only significant asset for ‘creating or developing a business’. The ‘good relationships with neighbours and friends’ (Schmied, 2010, p.66) are equally or more important. The study of social capital in four markets in Dakar, Senegal and Accra, Guana (Lyons & Snoxell, 2005b, p.1316) corroborates this and establishes a list of four universal but critical issues necessary to ‘survive in business’:

• Long-term financial management (savings) – financial capital;
• Participation in decision-making over trading practices – social and political capital;
• Access to loans or credit in times of crisis – financial capital;
• Access to good customers or suppliers – resources (clients & supplies).

Because formal institutions resist offering financial support to informal vendors or dwellers, the study confirms the importance of market friendships of proximity and association to help vendors ‘substitute’ or ‘augment’ financial capital (ibid, p.1317), and thus compensate for the disadvantages of ‘unsecure employment’ (Beall, 2006, n.a.), ‘increased competition…reduction of customers…and uneven access to resources (Rogerson, 1996; Friedman and Hambridge, 1991; Lund and Skinner, 1998; Castells and Portes, 1989; all cited in Lyons & Snoxell, 2005a, p.1979). In fact, such necessary relationships are reported to be
‘stronger’ in high-density environments (in a study on UK cities, Raman, 2010). Certainly related to the physical characteristics of successful markets, two contributing factors are ‘the location of public spaces’ and the ‘visibility from and to these spaces’ (Raman, 2010, p.63). This could explain why Lyons & Snoxell (2005b) suggest that ‘markets should not be relocated or removed in the process of formalisation, without thorough consultation’ (p.1317).

Shelter is perceived as another important physical asset for urban poor. Shelter offers a productive potential for home-based businesses (Moser, 1998, in Schmied, 2010) – and a potential to unlock financial capital (De Soto, 2001). However, the concept of shelter in urban environments should be extended further. Indeed cities are more than ‘shelters’ that people own and under which people live. In urban environments owners mix with renters – whether formal or informal and no matter the size or price of their dwellings (Davis, 2007). Rent prices are dictated by the market; in the case of Port-au-Prince, prices have risen considerably since the earthquake affecting many families’ financial wellbeing (Cadet, 2011). However, very little information on physical assets in city centres – where working spaces take over living spaces (Gehl, 2010) – has been found. Informal commercial spaces in city centres could be considered as spatial assets, ‘rich cultural magnets’ and thus ‘economic as well as social assets’ (Power, 2001, in Razzu, 2005, p.400). Unfortunately the presence of street vendors is highly contested by municipalities and building owners; often such street spaces become scenes for evictions (Crossa, 2009). Bad working conditions on the streets have a negative impact on vendors’ physical health and ‘can compromise their ability to earn a living’ (Beall, 2006, n.a). In addition, urban street communities often see modernisation as ‘dangerous’ because it could ‘threaten …[the] social structure…of the poor living in historical centres’ (Razzu, 2005, p.399).

2.2.2 REBUILDING LIVELIHOOD WHILST REBUILDING ENVIRONMENTS

Rebuilding an important public and commercial space such as the Marché Hyppolite after a disaster gives rise to issues related to
livelihoods. The reconstruction could considerably improve or worsen citizens' living conditions, the conditions discussed in the previous subsection. To identify the critical factors to consider in the present assessment, this section will summarises a few case studies of humanitarian and commercial interventions involving reconstruction or beautification of city centres in developing countries, focusing on the process and its consequences on livelihoods.

On one hand, the destruction and deterioration of living and working environments, and the attendant human casualties, whether rural or urban, have terrible consequences on a population’s poverty level. The extent of the damage goes far beyond the physical environment; it affects human, social and financial capital (Kumaran & Negi, 2006), as well as people’s hope for betterment (Narayan & Petesh, 2002).

On the other hand, remaining ‘soft’ assets such as social solidarity are quite important in self- and community-resilience because they are used quickly in the aftermath of a disaster (Moser, 2001; Lyons & Schilderman, 2010). Consequently, victims should be considered as ‘resources, even at times of emergency and...these should form the basis recovery’ (Longhurst, 1994, cited in Moser, 2001, p.23). The importance of social solidarity is also relevant in the reconstruction process where communities need to be relocated ‘as close as possible to where they lived before the disaster and...in their entirety rather than being fragmented’ (Philips, 2005, World Bank, 2005 in Kumaran & Negi, 2006, p.382). Although this case is related to living spaces, it confirms Lyons and Snoxell’s (2005a) thoughts on the value of conservative social policies for both living and working space.

Whilst NGOs try to involve as much as possible the local populations in housing rebuilding processes, the experience in beautification or reconstruction of public spaces and buildings in the city centres of Puebla, Mexico (Jones & Varley, 1994); Beirut, Lebanon; Nicosia, Cyprus; and Mostar, Bosnia (Charlesworth, 2003) reveals that, on the contrary, leaders greatly restricted citizen participation. Governments, politicians and large international organisations took control of the reconstruction
and benefited from the ‘highly visible political spin-offs through a persistent cycle of inauguration ceremonies, ...international recognition and tourism receipts’ (Jones & Varley, 1994, p.27).

This approach leads to tensions between urban informal communities and elites financing the reconstruction or owning the land – but often living in the suburbs (Jones, 1991, in Jones & Varley, 1994, p.29). This is particularly the case when, referring to Accra, Ghana, 'the level of poverty is so high that it is not possible to involve the community...in the payment of a substantial part of the intervention’ (Razzu, 2005, p.415). However, not involving vulnerable communities in decision-making processes could be ‘destructive’ (Jones & Varley, 1994, p.27). Even though the policies seek an ‘improvement in the quality of life for the local population’ (in the case of Mexico, Crossa, 2009, p.57), the hidden agenda is often the exclusion and relocation of the most vulnerable – e.g. street vendors ‘who rely on public spaces for their daily survival’ (Crossa, 2009, p.43) – through an equivalent of privatisation or segregation of urban places.

Despite the surprising case of Mexico – where vendors have

Figure 10 Informal market next to the Marché Hyppolite
strengthened their ‘social ties and networks’ and created ‘spaces of resistance, …strategies of manipulation and mobility’ (Crossa, 2009, p.57-58) – these conflicts could result in dismantling the social-spatial assets of the street communities (like in Beirut, Charlesworth, 2003). The relocation of communities quickly after the earthquake in 1963 in Skopje, a former Yugoslavian city and capital of the ‘new’ Republic of Macedonia, is another significant ‘early decision’ that led to a ‘negative impact on the development of the [long-term] overall city plan’ (Davis, 2007, cited in GFDRR, 2010). Thirty years after the earthquake struck, Ladinski (cited in GFDRR, 2010), an architect living in Skopje since the earthquake, raises ‘serious doubts [about] whether the rapid initial planning decision on the location of new settlements was correct’ (p.18-19) despite the apparent efficiency of the operation.
This section develops the second approach to assess the Marché Hyppolite’s socio-spatial and symbolic outcomes. The sense of place approach is modified appropriately to uncover these outcomes through the vendors’ perspectives. Further examples are examined in that regard.

Table 3 Urban design theories

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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Vitality</td>
<td></td>
<td>Liveability</td>
<td>Permeability</td>
<td>Places matter most</td>
<td>Hybridity and connectivity</td>
<td>Character</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sense</td>
<td></td>
<td>Identity and control</td>
<td>Variety</td>
<td>Learn lessons from the past</td>
<td>Porosity</td>
<td>Continuity and enclosure</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fit</td>
<td></td>
<td>Access to opportunities</td>
<td>Legibility</td>
<td>Encourage mixed uses and activities</td>
<td>Authenticity</td>
<td>Quality of the public realm</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Access</td>
<td></td>
<td>Imagination and joy</td>
<td>Robustness</td>
<td>Design on a human scale</td>
<td>Vulnerability</td>
<td>Ease of movement</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Control</td>
<td></td>
<td>Authenticity</td>
<td>Visual appropriateness</td>
<td>Encourage pedestrian freedom</td>
<td>diversity</td>
<td>Legibility</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Richness</td>
<td>Provide access for all</td>
<td>Adaptability</td>
<td>Adaptability</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Personalisation</td>
<td>Build legible environments</td>
<td>Diversity</td>
<td>Diversity</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Liveability</td>
<td>Access to opportunities,</td>
<td>Build lasting environments</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Identity and control</td>
<td>Imagination and joy</td>
<td>Control change</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Access to opportunities</td>
<td>Authenticity</td>
<td>(incrementally)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Imagination and joy</td>
<td>Community and public life</td>
<td>Join it all together</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Urban self-reliance</td>
<td>An environment for all</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Carmona et al., 2010

Figure 11 Sense of place framework
Source: Montgomery, 1998, illustrated and adapted by Carmona & al., 2010,
2.3.1 A PEOPLE-CENTRED URBAN PLACE FRAMEWORK

As stated previously (section 2.1.2 p.27), the physical (denotative) and the symbolic (connotative) dimensions are incomplete without the social dimension. The model developed by Montgomery (1998), using Relph and Canter’s (1977) ideas, has the advantage of combining these three components (physical setting, activity and image/meaning) into a single sense of place framework (Figure 11 p.37, all authors mentioned in Carmona et al., 2010, p.121).

2.3.1.1 FROM A PLACE-CENTRED APPROACH CONCERNING PEOPLE TO A PEOPLE-CENTRED FRAMEWORK CONCERNING PLACES

Whilst many urban design theories are complex and diverse (see Table 3 p.37), this framework appears to be ‘useful in simplifying and organising [the] notion of place and sense of place’ (Carmona et al., 2010, p.122). However, Carmona et al. (2010) point out the danger of oversimplifying the reality – ‘real places are complex and messy’ (p.121) – and the potentially unequal significance of these three components – mentioning that ‘materiality and physicality of places may often be overstated’ (p.122) – and that individuals will have their own perceptions of the sense of place. The main negative, however, is that many of the notions attached to the three spheres are considered too abstract (Dovey, 1999), too passive or too broad for an inner or people-centred perspective and thus not are not useful for this present assessment (see Table 4).

Table 4 Notions attached to Montgomery’s model

<table>
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<tr>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Scale</td>
<td>Diversity</td>
<td>Symbolism &amp; memory</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Intensity</td>
<td>Vitality</td>
<td>Imageability &amp; legibility</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Permeability</td>
<td>Street life</td>
<td>Sensory experience &amp; associations</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Landmarks</td>
<td>People watching</td>
<td>KNOWLEDGABILITY</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Space to building ratios</td>
<td>Café culture</td>
<td>RECEPTIVITY</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Stock (adaptability &amp; range)</td>
<td>Events &amp; local</td>
<td>PSYCHOLOGICAL ACCESS</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Vertical grain</td>
<td>Tradition/pastimes</td>
<td>COSMOPOLITAN/SOPHISTICATION</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Public realm (space systems)</td>
<td>Opening hours</td>
<td>FEAR</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Carmona & al., 2010, p.122
Spaces are places if they involve people: ‘places that are real to people invite, require and reward involvement – both intellectual and emotional – and provide a sense of psychological connectedness’ (Carmona et al., 2010, p.132). Taking into account the perceptual dimension puts ‘the emphasis... on people and how they perceive, value and both draw meaning from and add meaning to the urban environment’ and tests the ‘degree of finesse, contrivance and authenticity’ of the urban place (ibid).

Building on that, this framework was modified to take into account the perceptual dimension so as to have active, people-centred and useful criteria. The suggested model of the people’s sense of place (Figure 12) puts people in the centre of the assessment: the physical setting is converted into their appreciation for the environmental quality (including appreciation for physical space and living/working conditions), the activities become the capability to appropriate the place (using and transforming the space), and the image/meaning slightly changes to become the people’s given meaning of the location.

2.3.1.2 THE SENSE OF PLACE APPROACH TO URBAN ENVIRONMENTS

The physical environment (and the perception of) does influence users’ quality of life. Indeed authors (e.g. Madanipour, 2010, and Ball et al., 1990) mention that the environment in which people live intimately affects them, and may influence considerably the actions undertaken within the space. As an example, the perceived or real lack of security is one of the main threats to the use of urban places (Carmona et al., 2010). It could affect people’s mobility within the space – reaching a critical point where the place is completely avoided (Carmona et al., 2010) – or could ‘appeal [to] people’s feelings or emotions’ (Lanman, 2010, p.134-135). In addition to security, provision for sanitation is perceived as an important and necessary physical element in public
spaces. In a study of UK public toilets, Greed (2003) points out that the ‘under-provision’ of sanitation affects inequitably women’s health and also their level of comfort (cited in Carmona et al, 2010, p.165).

Box 5 Learning from *Un retour au civisme*

A market, an important unifying space, works when [it encompasses] a mixture of different activities and people: ‘the market is a public event that draws people together regularly throughout the year to participate in a necessary and pleasurable activity. So open and accessible is the market that no one is excluded: young and old, the well-to-do and those less well off, people from every social group and of every occupation mix freely.’ (Lennard & Lennard, 1984, p.35, cited in Smith, 2010, p.53)

Some lessons learnt from the thesis-studio on public markets (Smith, 2010) are also that ‘they represent and formalise the heart of a community’ (p.54) and that consequently an architectural intervention – i.e. reconstruction in a post-disaster context – could shape and improve the economic, social and spatial conditions of the market as well as enhance its symbolic cultural value.

*Translated and adapted from a thesis-studio undertaken by the author as part of his fulfilment of a Masters in Architecture degree at Université Laval, Québec (Smith, 2010)*

The definition of public places is closely linked to its level of *publicness*, which can be qualified in terms of ‘ownership’, ‘access’ and ‘use’ (Carmona et al., 2010, p.137). Whilst many authors have focused on the functional or instrumental side of these public attributes of places (Benn & Gaus, 1983, cited in Madanipour 2010; Carr et al., 1992, Madanipour, 1996, Tibbalds, cited in Madanipour, 1996, all cited in Landman, 2010) – closely related to capacity issues of the previous sustainable livelihood framework, others emphasise the perceptual or symbolic dimensions that these same features provide (Walzer, 1986, cited in Landman, 2010; Dovey, 1999; Madanipour, 2010). As the assessment focuses on the impacts on the local community, asking ‘to whom a space might be more or less public’ (Carmona et al., 2010, p.138) is essential.

Such an urban *public* place can be strongly linked to individual and social identity, as its social and physical dimensions – the public realm – contributes to social and political processes and cultural expressions (Loukaitou-Sideris & Benerjee, 1998, cited in Carmona et al., 2010). Whereas the recent events in Cairo’s Tahrir Square are probably one of the most exceptional, intense and powerful expressions of social change and new national identity in an urban place, in an ordinary daily scene the ‘good’ appropriation of the environment could be determined by
the ‘unnecessary’ (Jan Gehl, 1996, cited in Carmona et al., 2010) or ‘optional’ (Madanipour, 2010, p.10) activities taking place there (Table 5). They complement the ‘necessary’ (often commercial) activities and may make a difference in the level of people’s attachment to a place.

Considering the notion of placemaking, Nabeel Hamdi (2004) insists on ‘getting the right level of spontaneity… because of the way problems and opportunities appear and disappear’ (cited in Beinart, 2006, p.37). When these opportunities occur within a ‘space of power’, they also add a significantly ‘obvious symbolic value’ (Jones & Varley, 1994, p.37).

However, the privatisation of such public places – which may occur due to diverse financial and political reasons – could threaten the public realm. The urban space could be used for economic and ‘exclusive’ market-oriented benefits such as publicity and visibility. In such conditions, ‘traditional’ users could lose their social attachment to the place and their power to use the space in an expressive way, instead providing a benefit to a ‘fixed’, foreign and imposed identity (Madanipour, 2010, p.8).

Urban place meaning is often considered a synonym for personal constructed images (Carmona et al, 2010). According to Ittelson (1978, cited in Carmona et al., 2010, p.112) people use ‘cognitive’ (knowledge, memory), ‘affective’ (emotion, feeling), ‘interpretative’ (lecture, explication) and ‘evaluative’ (judgement, significance) attributes to selectively construct a symbolic meaning and a sense of place. The symbolic perception, ‘a form of distinction rather than a form of capital’ (Dovey, 1999, p.5) that people attach to places where they work or live,

### Table 5 Quality of the environment in relation with activities

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Quality of the environment</th>
<th>Poor</th>
<th>Good</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Necessary activities</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Optional activities</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>‘Resultant’ activities</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(Social activities)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Jan Gehl, 1996, illustrated in Carmona & al., 2010, p.207
could be described at best as community ‘mobilisation towards a better future’ or at worst as inaccessible ‘enclaves of class distinction’ (ibid). People’s identities are often intimately integrated to the idiosyncratic sense of belonging to spaces. Belonging is determined by accessibility to a space and the flexibility to perform symbolic roles in a space (Madanipour, 2010) or by ‘the symbiotic interdependence between people and space’ (Beinart, 2006, p.10). The stronger the symbolic value of a place is, the stronger the perception is that the place allows citizens to fully participate in the activities of the society (Carmona et al., 2010), injects a ‘sense of hope’ (Madanipour, 2010, p.107), and ‘reinvigorates society through collective action’ (Madanipour, 2010, p.238). All such feelings are certainly valuable in post-disaster contexts like present-day Port-au-Prince.

2.3.2 REBUILDING SIGNIFICANT URBAN ENVIRONMENTS AND REBUILDING SOCIO-SPATIAL TIES

As previously stated, public places have positive significance when the quality of the space raises people’s living conditions and dignity and when people democratically use, transform and appropriate their space in expressive ways. Conversely, the destruction of public spaces due to natural hazards or deliberate actions negatively affects communities’ social and cultural bonds as well as the ‘human spirit’ (Hasic, 2002, p.72) associated with these important spaces. Their post-disaster reconstruction could be powerful community and economic ‘catalysts’ for ‘improving the living and working conditions’ (Madanipour, 2010, p.18-19) and ‘promoting a socio-spatial integration’ (Landman, 2010, n.a.). In the case study of Mostar, Bosnia, the reconstruction of its Old Bridge underscores a few significant issues that should be considered in the assessment of the rebuilding of the Marché Hyppolite.

Probably the main lesson learnt from the reconstruction of iconic places such as the Old Bridge in Mostar is that ‘top-down externally-conceived’ (Barakat, 2007, p.26) approaches to rebuild significant places do not work; ‘development-oriented approaches’ tend to be more efficient in not only rebuilding physical environments but also in re-creating places
that have powerful and hopeful meanings for communities (ibid, p.26). When utilising the people’s sense of place model (Figure 12 p.39), focusing on the quality of the physical environment with the goal of symbolic social impact fails without involving the communities for whom such places are rebuilt. The local communities in Mostar perceived the rebuilt Old Bridge as meaningless (Calame & Pasec, 2009), and therefore it does not function as an icon of optimistic unity as the international community (UNESCO, 2004) had hoped, simply because the social bonds had not been strengthened in the first place (Beyhum, 1992, cited in Charlesworth, 2002).

Rebuilding an iconic place using foreign funds or external stakeholders could also impoverish its symbolic value by imposing one idealised image (Jones & Varley, 1994) that conflicts with the multiplicity and diversity of the place’s meanings. The case of Mostar reveals gaps between foreign or external reconstruction priorities and local realities and concerns. In particular, local communities felt that the foreign funder and media misidentified the real ‘symbol of reconciliation and human solidarity’ (UNESCO, 2004) and ‘reunification’ (BBC News, 2001); it is possible that more meaningful, ‘higher priority physical reconstruction projects’ could have been undertaken within a locally significant area (Calame & Pasic, 2009). In Barakat’s words (2007, p.29), ‘what is critical to the achievement of a vision for recovery is not only the what of recovery of cultural heritage, but the how’. To create a ‘real’ sense of place, people’s ‘creativity, pragmatism and resilience’ (Batakat, 2007, p.33) need to be used. Contrasting with politicians or heritage specialists believing in a form of a quick ‘chirurgical operation’ (Charlesworth, 2002, p.52), Barakat (2007) agrees that such important places should not be rebuilt or restored too rapidly: ‘the recovery of cultural heritage is not a quick fix limited to physical restoration but forms an integrated component of a development (and protection) process’ (p.31). Otherwise opportunities to create a real sense of place and sustainable socio-spatial bonds could be missed (Calame & Pasic, 2009) and the ‘quality and authenticity’ risk being ‘compromised’ (Barakat, 2007, p.36).
3  THE MARCHÉ HYPPOLITE
3  THE MARCHÉ HYPPOLITE: THE INFLUENCE OF ITS RECONSTRUCTION ON THE LOCAL WORKING COMMUNITY

This section gives historical details and the author’s own insight into the place’s atmosphere. It also illustrates and analyses vendor interviewees’ perception of the outcomes using both the livelihood and the urban place approaches and the issues raised in the previous chapter.

3.1  PEOPLE’S MARKET

3.1.1  HISTORY OF THE IRON MARKET

The present site of the Marché Hyppolite has been, since human occupation, part of the public domain – from a public park (1773) to a theatre (1776) ‘before re-becoming, since the Independence in 1804 the intrinsic location of an important market’ (ISPAN, 2010a, p.3). It is most commonly called the Marché Hyppolite, but is also known as the Marché Vallières or Marché en fer (the ‘Iron Market’). The first name was formalised in 1890, when the Hyppolite government ordered the installation of a cast iron structure made in Paris.

Figure 13 Urban plan of Port-au-Prince in 1798
Source: ANOM, illustrated in ISPAN, 2010a, p.2
The Market reached its peak in 1940s-1960s with the development of tourism, and since then has remained a ‘real icon’ (ISPAN, 2010a, p.3). In addition to food trade in the South part, the Market has been a shelter for arts and crafts and commerce in vaudou objects in the North part (ISPAN, 2010a). The commercial success of the Market extended its physical boundaries; the ‘Bord-de-mer’ neighbourhood used to form the commercial heart of Haiti. The sector was filled with traders and merchants, their warehouses and magasins (ISPAN, 2010a). Since the 1980s and until the earthquake ‘the informal sector and its galeries-trottoirs’ (markets on sidewalks) have developed and expanded; informal vendors occupied streets, sidewalks and covered galleries of shops and warehouses, developing complementary links between formal businesses and petty trade, according to ISPAN (2010a, p.3). Although these links are now broken with the extensive destruction of buildings, the informal market is still very lively in central Port-au-Prince.

A ‘city emblem’ (ISPAN, 2011a, p.1) – on the 1000-gourde note since 1999 (Figure 13 p.47) – the Market is a symbol representing one aspect of the vibrant Haitian cultural. Indeed ‘crafts, books and music occupy a central place within the country’s economic development’ (translation by author, HL, 2011, n.a.). This also strengthens the cultural and economic importance of the Market.

A fire in 2008 destroyed the North Hall and thereby terminated the commercial trade of cultural objects within the Market. Denis O’Brien, Irish owner of Digicel (an important mobile company in Haiti), a major Clinton Foundation contributor and chairman of the Clinton Global Initiative’s Haiti Action Network (Reitman, 2011), then decided to restore the whole Market. ‘Immediately after [the 2008 fire] he understood…the Marché Hyppolite’s symbolic significance for the capital of Haiti and for its inhabitants’ (translation by author, ISPAN, 2011a, p.2) and decided to finance its conservation. The 2010 earthquake, which destroyed the rest of the structure, increased his determination to finance and rebuild the Market quickly – at a cost of USD 12 million. By hook or by crook, the
structure had to be rebuilt within one year to respect the funder’s wish (Forbes, 2011).

On 11 May 2010 (ISPAN, 2010a), a presidential decree declared the Market as a National Heritage building (Dieudonné, 2010). Its rebuilding process has proven difficult because of significant logistical challenges and a strict deadline. Through collaboration between Digicel, ISPAN (the National Heritage Institute), the municipality, and foreign architectural and construction stakeholders (including the London-based architecture firm John McAslan + Partners), the Market was rebuilt within 11 months. This was followed by the reintegration of former vendors (except the butchers); a directory from before the fire considerably helped this ‘transparent’ process (Duval, 2011; ISPAN, 2011a) but the reduced floor space complicated it (Duval, 2011).
O’Brien and Digicel’s ‘time and result commitment’ was honoured (Marteen Boute, Digicel CEO, cited in Duval, 2011, n.a.); on 11 January 2011, dignitaries including Denis O’Brien; Bill Clinton; Jean-Yves Jason, mayor of Port-au-Prince; and René Préval, then President of Haiti, inaugurated the ‘new’ Market (Figure 14). At this ceremony, Digicel committed to contribute toward financing the management and maintenance of the Market, as well as to rebuild other commercial public infrastructure (Duval, 2011). The Marché Hyppolite, heart of the commercial activities of Port-au-Prince alongside Marché Croix-des-Bossales (ISPAN, 2011b), is in the words of the Digicel CEO ‘indicating the path…to a not too distant future’ (translation by author, cited in ISPAN, 2011b, p.12).

Figure 14 Opening ceremony - 11 Jan 2011
Source: Le Nouvelliste, Duval, 2011
3.1.2 WELCOME TO CENTRAL PORT-AU-PRINCE AND THE MARCHÉ HYPPOLITE

This section includes an extract of the author’s personal journal describing the atmosphere in and around the Marché Hyppolite six months after its reconstruction. The following figure shows the author’s daily route through Port-au-Prince and situates the Market.

13 July 2011

Port-au-Prince

Coming from the suburbs of Pétion-Ville, I am travelling to the city centre for the first time. We try to find our way through blocus (traffic jams) and street holes of standing grey water. It’s noisy. It’s polluted. Blue or white tents are still standing up in the half dozen internal refugee camps occupying public open spaces I pass by.

The more you approach the city centre, the more the built environment is old and dense but half or completely collapsed. We pass a sport utility vehicle identified as Red Cross… and a colourful ‘taptap’ with a dozen passengers on board. In the streets they are selling clothes here and shoes just beside the cosmetics over there. There is a kind of density of
energy that I have not found anywhere else. A guy with a basket full of bags of water on his head is also passing by. It seems so unorganised but you rapidly realise that each sector has its own function... and that works. They repair cars over there!

We follow a UN truck full of soldiers from Brazil for a bit. I’m looking at the badly damaged buildings that are still standing up, with no windows. They seem empty. I pay attention to these broken buildings and I imagine what could have been the life before, when they were still occupied. But, the horns bring you back to reality quite quickly. A motorbike also wants to pass across the crowd.

The streets are still full of people, full of life.

And then there stands the colourful Iron Market – its green and red-orange colours are contrasting with the neighbouring environment. We pass the gate and go inside. It’s already calmer and quieter. The driver brings me directly behind the Market in a conditioned caravan where the management staff from Digicel is located. After few phone calls, I finally get the authorisation to do academic research in the Market (thankfully!).

I notice the toilets built behind the Market and walk within alleys of the restored section, where vendors are selling food. It’s a lot cleaner compared to the streets and there is an apparent sense of order. I pass into the other section, where a new structure has been erected. There I am welcomed and approached by a lot of vendors. People want me to look at their paintings, sculptures, vaudou magic potions, and clothes.
All the vendors are at their stands... but where are the clients?

It seems that there are unclear and unknown issues behind this somewhat ‘spectacular’ project that have probably not been covered in the media but also within the ‘development sector’. My first day confirms that it should be interesting – I hope! – to go beyond the surface, beyond the bright colours, and see what are the real outcomes of the reconstruction a few months after the re-opening.

The reconstruction of the Iron Market seems to be significant within its own history. Is it only colours?

3.2 REBUILDING THE MARCHÉ HYPPOLITE AND BUILDING LIVELIHOODS

The history of the Marché Hyppolite demonstrates that it has evolved over the boisterous history of central Port-au-Prince. A few months after the devastating earthquake, the Market is now a distinctive and unique place. The rebuilt colourful historical structure and its clean and spacious interior contrast with the surrounding, still severely damaged built environment; its apparent sense of order and relative emptiness also clash with the noisy, polluted, crowded but dynamic neighbouring street markets.

Evaluating the Marché Hyppolite’s reconstruction involves analysing the livelihood-related issues – such as the four mentioned by Lyons & Snoxell (2005b) – presented in section 2.2. The analysis suggests how and how far the livelihood-related issues have changed. In other words, the study
looks at the differences that are directly or indirectly linked with the new physical and organisational structure, comparing the situation before the earthquake with the setting after the reconstruction of the Market, and contrasting the reality of working informally in the streets and working in the formal Market.

3.2.1 BUILDING CAPACITY

This subsection first analyses how and how far the reconstruction of the Market has built vendors’ capacity; then it analyses how and how far it has built resilience amongst the vendors (see Figure 8).

3.2.1.1 THE MARKET AS A RESOURCE

The review of previous experiences in rebuilding housing and public spaces reveals that accessing the city centre, referred to as ‘the right to the city’, yields better livelihoods. Another lesson learnt is the value of using participatory governance structures that represent the vendors who do not own the land. Referring to the livelihood model, this means that the Market should be seen as a resource (Figure 18).

All the vendor interviewees in the ‘tourist’ area of the Market mentioned that working at the Market brings ‘unique’ economic opportunities and puts them on important commercial routes (Figure 19 p.53). Significant buyers included members of the Diaspora, as well as clients from the countryside and from neighbouring countries. As an example, one interviewee highlighted wholesalers coming from flourishing tourist regions in the Guadeloupe to buy Haitian arts & crafts.

*“Before wholesalers were coming from the Caribbean to buy [arts & crafts]. They have not come back yet.”*

*Male vendor*  
*arts & crafts*
However, the significant earthquake damage to the entire city centre caused local wholesalers to relocate to the Port-au-Prince suburbs. As a result, the Market is no longer able to play its role of an economic hub – a role that the suburb of Pétion-Ville has assumed (Cadet, 2011). The destruction of the neighbouring magasins is frequently mentioned as the main reason – alongside lack of awareness outside the country that the Market has reopened, and lack of security outside the Market – the Market no longer attract clients. This is particularly relevant for vendor interviewees working in the ‘food’ section who previously benefitted from the presence of wealthier people working in formal businesses or living in the city centre – people who have not come back yet.

**3.2.1.2 ACCESS TO AND GOVERNANCE OF THE MARKET**

The governance structure of the Market changed significantly with the reconstruction. Before the earthquake, the Market was owned and managed by the Port-au-Prince municipality. Vendors paid weekly rent...
for the right to sell at the Market – but they had no clear, assigned, dedicated space.

“The Market belongs to Digicel.”

female vendor botanica

After the reconstruction, Denis O’Brien’s company, Digicel, remains responsible for the Market’s management and funding (Duval, 2011). Indeed the Port-au-Prince municipality agreed to give Digicel the management rights for an undefined period of time (a few vendors mentioned terms of 20 or 30 years), and according to vendors the municipality now plays an external role. Therefore, the power shifted from the municipality to Digicel; this explains why the vast majority of interviewees perceive Digicel as the new single owner of the Market. As a consequence, a few vendor interviewees blame Digicel for the final design that created fewer vendor places than before. Although the company did promise to build other markets, the excluded vendors designate Digicel as the responsible body.

Furthermore, a completely new management structure was implemented (Figure 20). Marteen Boute, CEO of Digicel, describes its operation:
‘All vendors must report to their association to assert their rights. The leaders of their respective organisations will address their grievances in a commission composed of representatives from the municipality, representatives of their associations, and the Digicel Company. All requests will be analysed in detail.’ (translated by author, cited in Duval, 2011, n.a.)

Whilst the ‘privatisation’ of the Marché Hyppolite might imply a lack of vendors’ participation in decision-making processes, the reality is far different: every vendor now ‘owns’ a dedicated, numbered stall, and organisations – one for the tourist area and another for the food area – representing the Market community have been created. Acting like unions, these organisations defend the vendors’ interests to Digicel and the municipality. Meeting regularly, these three stakeholders try to resolve problems that might occur. However, it is the general consensus that Digicel plays the leading role.

The majority of interviewees trust their representatives and believe that the organisation plays a significant role. The vast majority of interviewees are happy with the Market’s governance structure and consider themselves more capable of influencing managers, whether from the municipality or Digicel. In other words, although the vendors still do not manage the Market themselves, they do have a greater level of influence in decision-making processes.

3.2.2 BUILDING ASSETS

According to the livelihood framework, using the Market as a resource enables vendors to develop their assets. Indeed the reconstruction has influenced – positively or negatively – the development of vendors’ financial, physical, social and political capital (Figure 21 p.56). Reviewing the literature and interviewing vendors confirms that these categories of assets have been developed...or weakened.
3.2.2.1 MONEY AND FINANCIAL CAPITAL (AND ACCESS TO)

One of the main reasons given for rebuilding a commercial public space is to restart its economic activities and subsequently to restore lost jobs. However, the study of Marché Hyppolite’s reconstruction reveals that within a short period of time (six months after the reconstruction), the Market is far from profitable. All the interviewed vendors could not, or were scarcely able to, pay rent. Few of them could rely on formal or informal financial support. A few vendors mentioned that they have access to micro-credit from a local bank (ACME) and could put money aside using Digicel’s financial management service, but social solidarity – related to social capital – seems to be more successful at the moment in helping them to pay rent every Friday. However, many vendors are just not able to pay rent: They do not consider a loan from the bank to be advantageous in this difficult economic time, and their Market friends have no extra money to lend.

“When you build a market, I like that. You build jobs. I lost my job when it burnt.”

male vendor
arts & crafts

“Everyone is on the verge of bankruptcy. We can no longer help each other here.”

female vendor
botanica
Vendors are therefore having difficulty supporting their families financially. Although their very basic needs seem to be met, the vendors could not help their households. A few interviewees divulged that their families are sustaining the basic needs of the vendors, not the other way around. Because their small enterprises are not profitable, the vendors cannot expand and thus possibly attract additional clients.

3.2.2.2 PHYSICAL AND SPATIAL CAPITAL

An improvement resulting from the reconstruction of the Marché Hyppolite is formalising the vendors’ physical capital in the previously described management structure (section 3.2.1.2 p.53). Physical capital includes renting an identified stall (Figure 23). In addition to personal space, the
Market provides communal physical space and services: a secure, clean and fresh work environment, with access to water and waste services. (Pay-as-you-use 10-gourde toilet facilities are also available at the back of the Market but interviewees do not consider these parts of the agreement, as those facilities are also accessible to the informal community working around the Market.) A vendor can store goods in-place during the night, impossible in the streets where informal vendors rent a storage place (often at a higher price than the rent at the Market), and must unpack and pack daily. It might be interesting to note that issues related to human capital e.g. health has not been an issue during interviews inside the Market – perhaps because the environment does not cause any health threat.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Table 6 Rent costs per week in Haitian gourdes</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Before</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>North pavilion (tourist)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>South pavilion (food)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: interviewed vendors

The reconstruction significantly increased rental costs (Table 6). The price of a south pavilion (food) stand has doubled while the price in the north pavilion (tourist) has nearly quadrupled. All the interviewees consider the price too high compared to their weekly profit (section 3.2.2.1 p. 56), although they find it quite reasonable for the service and environment the Market provides.

Vendors also mentioned the fear of being evicted if they default on their rental agreement. A few interviewees were quite concerned about being expelled if they were not able to pay rent within three months. This apprehension did not exist before the earthquake; because rent was cheaper, being at the Market was profitable. This concern changes the vendors’ perception that a place at the Market was guaranteed by tradition or family ties; the physical capital is now considered unsecure if vendors fail to make weekly payments to Digicel.

“I’m satisfied but it’s too expensive.”

female vendor
botanica

“We are afraid of being expelled.”

female vendor
food
3.2.2.3 SOCIAL CAPITAL

Working at the Marché Hyppolite signifies being part of a ‘large family’. Interviewed vendors said that Market friendships are very important. For most of them, rebuilding the Market also meant rebuilding their ‘family’, regaining friends they lost contact with after the fire of 2008 or the earthquake of 2010.

These friendships are based on proximity – one interviewee confirmed the point of view that each section has its own family – and are also a vital source of help. As an example, one group of women in the ‘food’ section mentioned that they help each other to pay rent. In other words, their social capital helps them to secure payments by redistributing a group of friends’ financial capital. Formalising and dividing the commercial space (yielding an equal distribution of the physical capital) has also strengthened solidarity. Many vendors reported that the social atmosphere has been positively enhanced since the reconstruction; having a defined, larger personal commercial place reduced potential conflict with neighbouring vendors.
Nonetheless the scarcity of sales can cause tension: neighbours may react with jealousy when a vendor makes a sale, which could threaten good relations between vendors. However, despite these conflicts, the majority of vendors insisted on the constant sense of unity that prevails despite the few annoying discords.

3.2.2.4 POLITICAL CAPITAL

Surprisingly perhaps, the top-down reconstruction also considerably improved the political capital of the vendors. This is largely because of the management structure that was implemented (3.2.1.2 p. 53). Many interviewees mentioned the importance of being represented by an organisation (without specifying the level of influence this organisation actually has). Some representatives stressed the credibility and respect they personally get from being part of it. This gives them the power to negotiate with the main stakeholders and to ‘speak to the radio’ if it is needed. It also gives them hope, a great source of resilience.

Furthermore, there is a case that demonstrates the impact of working in a newly declared national historic place. The Market was recently used for a national event, where the President of Haiti honoured local artisans. Representatives and vendors (only the arts and craft vendors, were invited) took the opportunity to challenge the President on the rent costs and obtained a ‘promise’ that they should be reduced. Although it is too early to report on the efficiency of that political bond – the event happened during the writing of this dissertation – it certainly confirms that new political ties have been created and are used in the vendors’ interests. This probably would not have been possible without the implemented management structure; having official and legitimate representatives certainly creates

“I spoke to the President. He went around the market and asked questions to vendors. He offered 100 gourdes [per week]. I don’t know if it is going to work. We’ll see…”

male vendor
arts & crafts
credibility. This event and its impact is further analysed in section 3.3.1.2 (p.68).

3.2.3 BUILDING PEOPLE’S LIVELIHOODS: THE WHOLE PICTURE

The previous section demonstrated that the reconstruction has influenced many categories of the livelihood framework, as summarised in Figure 28. Indeed, the *marchandes* working in the rebuilt Marché Hyppolite have regained and strengthened their social bonds, acquired a secure and pleasant – although not permanent – work environment, developed and used recent political ties, and influenced decisions and processes throughout their respective organisations. Unfortunately, the reconstruction has not allowed them to make a profit yet: the destruction of the neighbouring urban environment caused the departure of important enterprises and the loss of significant regular clients and tourists.

In addition to these findings and in order to predict the Market’s role in rebuilding livelihoods, the next section looks in greater detail at the relationship between the Market’s new formalised structure (spatial and
managerial) – probably the main improvement in functionality – and some livelihood-related issues.

### 3.2.3.1 CREATING A NEW SPATIAL ORDER AND ITS INFLUENCE ON LIVELIHOODS

Space distribution changed with the reconstruction and became more structured and ordered, in such a way that the area is certainly easier to manage. Having defined personal places and more space between stalls influences the quality of the relationships between marchandes and the ability to obtain financial and political support. However, without the return of a more formalised economy around the Market, the cost of this implemented structure may not be financially sustainable.

Assuring that every vendor has the same amount of space, thus creating a certain level of equality amongst vendors, has enhanced considerably the quality of their relationships. Many vendors reported that comfort and equal space have had a positive impact, whereas before the close proximity of vendors and the competition for commercial space caused many conflicts. Thus there is certainly a relationship between the architectural dimension of space and the peaceful atmosphere in the Market. The author observed no apparent conflicts inside the covered Market, compared to two open conflicts between neighbouring informal vendors outside the Market. Because the author spent considerably less time outside, this is a relevant observation.

Dividing the commercial space into several numbered stalls creates the possibility of formalising the physical capital and thus increases vendors’ political and financial capitals. This suggests that just as with the formalisation of housing (De Soto, 2001), the formalisation of workspace could yield financial capital. The findings at the Marché Hyppolite reveal that the formalisation of working spaces may help people to find capital
directly. In a profitable Market, this could also produce state revenues and strengthen governance structures in the vendors’ interests, although this must be verified in greater detail through a longer-term analysis and, ideally, in other case studies.

3.2.3.2 IMPLEMENTING A DIFFERENT MANAGERIAL STRUCTURE AND ITS INFLUENCE ON LIVELIHOODS

Just as a formal market can create formal financial capital, a spatial structure also allows an official and clearer organisational configuration to emerge. This is particularly interesting in the present case of privatising a public place, where one might assume that citizens would have less power in decision-making processes. However, the organisation representing the vendors allows them to address issues amongst themselves and with Digicel and the municipality. Their level of influence appears greater than that of the informal vendors. All the interviewees working in the streets around the Market mentioned their lack of power to improve their conditions, to resolve internal conflicts or to defend themselves against potential expulsions. In contrast, the vast majority of the vendors working in the rebuilt Market felt they were able to influence decisions having an impact on their working conditions.

This point of view seemed to be almost universal amongst vendors, which suggests a factual democratic representation and a certain level of control of horizontal and vertical relationships. The description of the situation before the reconstruction implies that without a clear and equal distribution of space and power, unfair arrangements could exist for the advantage of the few, thus creating conflicts. Many vendors mentioned this consistently in talking about the old Market.

This finding tends to align with Hanson & Hillier’s (1989) social theory of space, distinguishing spatially Durkheim’s (in Hanson & Hillier, 1989) organic solidarity and mechanical solidarity. Indeed, an organic solidarity was difficult to obtain in a place where vendors were in competition with each other but were in an ‘integrated and dense space’, as organic solidarity requires ‘interdependence through differences’ (p.18). This theory could explain why ordering a spatial and
organisational structure in the rebuilt Market has significantly improved
the social atmosphere and the level of solidarity amongst vendors;
implementing a more ‘segregated and dispersed space’ enhanced
‘mechanical solidarity based on integration through similarities of belief
and group structure’ (Hanson & Hilier, 1989, p.18). In other words, the
social and political assets of vendors, grouped by ‘families’, selling similar
products in the Market were significantly improved through a division of
space and a democratic, formal social structure. This could be referred
to as the formalisation of physical capital.

3.2.4 SUMMARY

The findings confirm that, alongside the studies of urban livelihoods in city
centres such as Mexico City (Wiggle, 2008) and Accra, Ghana (Razzu,
2005), the city centre of Port-au-Prince used to be a significant resource
for informal and formal vendors. However, the earthquake damaged the
city centre to such an extent that both important clients and investors
left the area. Consequently, the city centre does not offer the economic
opportunities that used to characterise the commercial zone. Because
of the earthquake’s effects, the rebuilt Market alone does not attract
eight enough clients and cannot make a financial difference for the vendors.
It will probably take further and greater political and physical
interventions to bring back to life the economic activity at the heart of
Port-au-Prince and by doing so help the Market’s vendors reach a
sustainable level of profitability.

This of course has significant consequences on vendors’ livelihoods.
Because working in the rebuilt Market is not profitable yet, the rent
vendors pay is considered too high, even though they agree the price is
fair for the services provided and the work environment. Lower revenues
but higher expenses mean that vendors not only fail to provide their
households’ basic needs but also fear their potential expulsion.

Nevertheless all the interviewees believe in the importance of rebuilding
the Market: many of them not only approve of the physical and
organisational structures that have been implemented but also are able
to see their social and political benefits. Following the criteria used by Lyons & Snoxell (2005b), these vendors might now benefit from financial help through credit and financial management – ‘ghost’ assets due to lack of profit but potentially useful in the future – and participate more actively in decision-making processes. More importantly, social bonds were restored and strengthened amongst the vendor community. In their view, this is certainly the most valued asset; the findings are quite similar to the studies of other markets in the Global South (Schmied, 2010; Lyons & Snoxell, 2005b). For many of the interviewees, new social and political assets temporarily override individual financial problems. However, the longer-term economic situation might overturn the vendors’ optimism, as the future of Haiti and Port-au-Prince’s city centre is full of uncertainties.

3.3 REBUILDING THE MARCHÉ HYPPOLITE AND BUILDING A SOCIO-SPATIAL MEANING

The objective of this chapter is to go beyond the ‘visible’, ‘tangible’ and ‘functional’ outcomes – based on the sustainable livelihood framework in the previous chapter – and analyse the ‘invisible’, ‘intangible’ and ‘emblematic’ impacts of the reconstruction, as these impacts are frequently mentioned by stakeholders and media (see sections 1.2 & 3.1.1). This chapter develops further, modifies and contextualises a framework based on the urban place model, and then analyses different precedents in the reconstruction of iconic places or buildings. The relevant issues and concepts help to better define the local community’s emblematic outcomes of the Market’s reconstruction – outcomes that are put in context and discussed further.
3.3.1 BUILDING A SOCIO-SPATIAL MEANING

The previous study of sense of place reveals that sociality – people – is intimately integrated with spatiality – place. The meaning of place does not exist without people using and transforming places, and without quality places raising their living conditions. Each individual has his or her own perception of place; each link with the space is unique. It is not a surprise that reviewing the reconstruction of meaningful places in a post-disaster context exposes the prerequisite to integrate communities in expressive decision-making processes to rebuild not only the physical structure but also the symbolic. The assessment of the socio-spatial outcomes of the Marché Hyppolite’s reconstruction uses the modified sense of place framework (Figure 12). Therefore, it analyses people’s perceptions of changes in the quality of the space and living conditions; in their level of appropriation of the place; and in their given place meaning and place attachment.

3.3.1.1 APPRECIATION OF THE ENVIRONMENT

The interviewees frequently mentioned and insisted on the improved quality of their work environment. The most significant changes related to security and to a spacious environment, with positive consequences on developing their assets (detailed in section 3.2.2 p.55). Access to sanitation (toilets and sinks) and having a clean and comfortable work environment was also of great importance, especially for women working in the South (food) pavilion, where women were the vast majority of vendors. Whereas pay-as-you-use rates shock many of them, all interviewed women vendors agreed on their importance. The environment is also significantly fresher than in the surrounding streets.

“People sell more on the streets but here we feel secure. Security is very important.”

female vendor food

“It is very pleasant here. We are well. We have toilets. It’s great!”

female vendor food
The vast majority of interviewees confirmed that these improvements in environmental quality have considerably enhanced their personal pride and – perhaps more importantly – women’s dignity. They have a ‘chance’ to work in what was once called a ‘palace’ – an environment that underscores and honours their vocations. Even though such an environment is associated with high rental costs, with a manifested consequence on livelihoods (discussed in the previous chapter), the majority of the vendors consider their environment as a considerable improvement in their daily living conditions, as many of them spend most of their time – and their life – at the Market.

“People don’t want to leave.”
(about selling on the streets)

Almost all interviewees mentioned their preference to work in an environment like the Marché Hyppolite, even though they make no money, because they benefit from a secure, appropriate and dignifying environment. Although having better working conditions has its price, people are definitely willing to sacrifice the potential for greater income to gain access to such a gratifying environment. Interviewees in the surrounding informal markets stressed this benefit even more strongly. People implored for better working conditions and were ‘ready’ to invest to obtain it.

“It’s not for us, it’s for them.”

A regrettable fact about the Market, however, is that it has not improved the working conditions in its surrounding areas. Informal vendor interviewees expressed that they were not concerned about the reconstruction of the Market and felt it did not enhance their working conditions, although they theoretically have access to sanitation facilities and could use the Market as a refuge when dangerous events occur in the streets. This may be caused by external fences added to the new design, complicating access to the alleys (see Figure 32 p.68), or by security guards maintaining a certain level of control. This issue also contradicts some thoughts about a kind of ‘urban acupuncture’ (mentioned in section 1.2 p.12) as the external working community is not fully benefitting from the Market facilities.
3.3.1.2 Appropriating the Place: Accessibility, Sense of Belonging, Ownership and Involvement in the Public Realm

The vendors’ perceptions of their level of involvement in Market activities are strongly related to the nature of those activities. Indeed there is a difference in the level of appropriation between commercially-based, ‘necessary’ and more ‘optional’ gathering activities (Table 7). This has a significant impact on the degree of ‘resultant’ meaningful social activities.

As demonstrated in the discussion of the outcomes on livelihoods, the vendors make the most of the Market’s physical and organisational structures to significantly improve their livelihoods. Vendors fully use and appropriate the space designated for commercial activities.

More precisely, however, the vendors’ participation is restricted to commercial activities. In other words, they do not use the central place – physically formalised by the most
Table 7 Involvement of local communities in the social environment of the Market

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Quality of the environment</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Necessary activities</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Optional activities</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'Resultant' activities (Social activities)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: based on Gehl’s model (1996)

“I was not invited [to the party. But I would like to organise a party, to dance, to have fun!”

female vendor botanica

According to interviewees, the only supportive activities organised since the reconstruction are the opening ceremony and the presidential tribute to significant Haitian artists – an event that occurred during the author's visit to the Market. The physical and social setting of the event and the vendors’ perception of this so-called ‘fair’ expose a perhaps surprising dynamic.

Only the vendors from the arts and crafts section were invited to the event but most of the invited interviewees were highly critical that they were not involved in the ceremony, and thus felt useless, as they could not conduct business either. Furthermore, most of them had to sleep at the Market after the ceremony because public transport is considered dangerous after dark. The vast majority of both formal and informal
vendors declared that the event was not for them but for the President and the honoured artists.

The central gates connecting the informal market to the Marché Hyppolite’s central place were locked and covered during the preparation for the ceremony (Figure 35), and all the gates were reportedly closed during the ceremony. This physically expresses the social barriers that keep the local community – encompassing formal vendors, street vendors, clients, and citizens living in nearby IDP camps – away from significant activities that might enhance a people’s sense of place. Instead of improving their pride in and attachment to place, the highly restricted publicness of the event generated feelings of disinterest, jealousy and exclusion amongst the non-participants, and feeling of frustration, anger and humiliation amongst the very few participants from the vendor community. These consequences are investigated further in section 3.3.2 (p.73).

“It wasn’t a fair; it was a party for Haitian artists and guests. It was for the honour of the President. It was not for us. I am so disappointed.”

male vendor
arts & crafts

Figure 35 The physical setting of the event
3.3.1.3 GIVING MEANING TO THE PLACE: SOCIAL AND PLACE ATTACHMENT, IDENTITY, MEMORY & SYMBOLIC VALUE

The meanings given to the Market and its reconstruction are as various as the people interviewed. It is thus difficult to generate a common and concise analysis of people’s perception of the reconstruction’s connotative attributes. However, patterns – sometimes similar on some points and contradictory on others – have emerged; three are illustrated here. Interestingly enough, they can be qualified by how the Market is named, and involve with different emphasis Ittelson’s (1978) four attributes: the cognitive, affective, interpretative, and evaluative ways to perceive an environment (cited in Carmona et al., 2010, p.112).

The Marché Hyppolite: The first meaning pattern is the reference to the Market’s past, whether related to Haiti’s rarely mentioned flourishing époque during the Hyppolite reign, or to the more frequently cited vendors’ childhoods. Indeed several vendors in the formal Market referred to the history of Haiti, and mentioned that the Market is a place to learn that history. Others identify strongly with the Market because they have spent all their lives there. Rebuilding the Market somehow honours their family and ensures that it will continue into future generations. Informal vendor interviewees did not mention this sense of meaning, which consequently puts a damper on the historical values in the early phase of recovery.

“The Market is my life. It’s my school.”

female vendor botanica

The Marché en fer: The second meaning pattern – certainly the most frequently mentioned - relates to the Market’s new physical structure and its working conditions. As stated previously, people give much importance to the quality of their living and working conditions. Exclusively associated with their working space, their dignity and sense of belonging have been significantly enhanced. All vendor interviewees,
whether inside or outside the formal structure, agree on the importance of building markets and commercial places, whilst almost half of the interviewees put such (re)construction as a top priority – even above housing.

The Marché Digicel: The third meaning pattern concerns a symbolic value directed toward an external and distant identity (i.e. people who are not involved directly in the sense of place they help create) and the relative privatisation of the place. On one hand, some interviewees’ prefer the idea that the Market is ‘a gift’ for Haiti, specifying that it is not from Haitians. The inaugural event reinforced the idea: some people attached the Markets’ symbolic attributes to the President and the ‘High Society’. On the other hand, the Market image is also related to Digicel. Especially amongst people interviewed in the streets, there is a strong connotative bond between Digicel and the Market; one vendor had literally named the place ‘Marché Digicel’. The high visibility that the company enjoys from the reconstruction (see Figure 38) and management of the Market, along
“Are you talking about the Marché Digicel?”

female vendor

neighbouring street market

with people’s general satisfaction with how Digicel is involved in the community, could explain this symbolic tie.

3.3.2 BUILDING AND TRANSFORMING PEOPLE’S SENSE OF PLACE

It has been illustrated that the reconstruction of the Marché Hyppolite has had an emblematic – although somewhat mitigated – influence within the three spheres of the people’s sense of place. They are summarised in Figure 39.

Furthermore, the relations between each sphere of thought could explain in more precise detail and a more defined context the sense people currently have of the Marché Hyppolite. The relationship between the quality of the Market environment and the local community’s (including vendors) involvement in the place could be qualified as poor: A London-based firm undertook the design and construction roles, and Digicel undertook the management role. In contrast, the two other relations, although poles apart, could be qualified as strongly influential. These two relations are discussed further in this section.

3.3.2.1 CREATING A DIGNIFYING ENVIRONMENT AND ITS RELATIONSHIP WITH PEOPLE’S MEANING OF PLACE

An undeniable relationship exists between the quality of the spatial and physical environment – the living conditions – and the importance
people give to the Market. The Marché Hyppolite is now more than an historical iron structure where goods are traded; it is a place that enhances vendors’ assets. The Marché Hyppolite is also a ‘good’ and ‘pleasant’ place to work, an environment that raises considerably the dignity of users in their everyday routines. Such quality in a ‘public’ environment for urban citizens in central Port-au-Prince is rare elsewhere – or nearly non-existent – especially after the devastating earthquake. In contrast to the reconstruction of the Old Bridge in Mostar the reconstruction of the Market presented on a silver plate a dignifying place for vendors to work and live.

Nevertheless the reduced ‘publicness’ of the place, perhaps lower than expected, limits the number of people benefiting Market vendors. As mentioned in the previous chapter, clients or visitors are rare. Therefore, the improved conditions are restricted to Market workers, as they are its main users. Secondly, because such meaning is strongly physical and spatial, it could not ‘by definition’ be extended to neighbouring areas. The informal vendors interviewed in the streets insisted on the importance of and the desire for such a quality environment. They sometimes characterised the space they occupy as ‘inhuman’ or disrespectful of human beings. This perception is reinforced by the difficulty informal vendors have ‘instinctively’ in finding another meaning sense for the Market.

3.3.2.2 INSTIGATING A DIFFERENT SPACE-BASED POWER AND ITS INFLUENCE ON SYMBOLIC VALUES

Vendors benefit on a daily basis from the high quality of the Market’s physical and managerial structures, enabling them to conduct business in an environment honouring commercial activities. However, the local community does not benefit from additional activities that could considerably augment the meaning of this unique place. The Marché Hyppolite is indeed one of few public places – if not the only one – that has been rebuilt since the earthquake. Such additional ‘unnecessary’
activities, according to Gehl’s model (1996, in Carmona et al., 2010), could bring more people to the Market and give it the opportunity to expand and develop its ‘unique’ symbolic presence – whether from the quality of its environment, from its historic significance, or from the social and cultural aspects associated with events taking place at the Market. And interviewed vendors want these activities: interviewed arts and crafts vendors expected an open fair rather than the restricted ceremony organised by the President.

In fact, the analysis of the relation between people’s symbolic values attached to the place and the nature of the activities taking place exposes the regrettable socio-spatial segregation occurring at the Market (Figure 40). Vendors have fully appropriated the two halls dedicated to commerce. The environment is spatially and organisationally structured to have positive outcomes on livelihoods (demonstrated in section 3.2.3 p.61), and its quality improved the users’ living conditions and dignity. The central section – spatially dedicated to special activities, and thus concerning the other part of the symbolic spectrum – is however exclusively operated and used by ‘high society’ and so far without meaningfully involving the local community. The image that the Market and its reconstruction offers is thus associated with opportunity for positive visibility – the media presence is for a specific reason – and essentially benefits the élites and targeted VIPs, such as politicians, philanthropists and dignitaries. This socio-spatial division lessens the real symbolic outcome on communities.

This therefore limits the success of the philanthropic approach to reconstruction and the privatisation of a public place. Whilst authors e.g.
Dovey (1999) already expressed concerns about place-making undertaken by commercial or foreign parties, this particular case has revealed the complex inside story of the local involved parties. The implicit appropriation and control by funders, politicians and private companies indirectly transforms people’s meaning of place.

3.3.3 SUMMARY

In contrast with the case of Mostar, where the reconstruction of the Old Bridge is seen as the wrong target (Calame & Pasec, 2009), the rebuilding of the Marché Hyppolite has a significant – but mitigated – symbolic outcome. The Market’s improved living and working conditions enhance such feelings as human dignity and hope. The reconstruction of the Market is different from the case of Beirut, where its city centre was converted into an exclusive business neighbourhood (Somma, 2002): at the Market, the ‘necessary’ daily activities in the dedicated spatial and structural environment benefit the local community.

However, the socio-spatial exclusion implemented by the privatisation of space, as explained by Madanipour (2010), characterises the Market. This explains why the Market could be seen as an enabling and meaningful environment, but with misdirected symbolic potentials for the local community. These potentials are restricted by the organisational challenges of the place’s privatisation and politicisation. In addition, the potentials may be limited by the surrounding physical, financial and political environments – severely shaken and weakened by the earthquake – within which the ‘reborn’ Market evolves.
4 THE PRESENT OUTCOMES AND THE FUTURE
4 THE PRESENT OUTCOMES AND THE FUTURE: PEOPLE, THE MARCHÉ HYPPOLITE & APPROACHES

This section summarises and combines the ‘tangible’ and the ‘intangible’ outcomes presented previously. Additionally, the frameworks are briefly reviewed. Finally, as a conclusion, some lessons learnt from the assessment and the research process are offered, putting the Market assessment – and vendors’ voices – into the broader reconstruction process.

4.1 THE MEANINGFUL PRACTICAL OUTCOMES

Using the sustainable livelihood framework and the sense of place framework to analyse people’s testimonies on how they evaluate the reconstruction of the Marché Hyppolite reveals a range of expected and unexpected outcomes. Following is the research question stated at the beginning of this dissertation:

A few months after the reopening ceremony, what are the short-term outcomes of the reconstruction of the Marché Hyppolite on (and perceived by) the local community?

Emerging complementary characteristics from the two frameworks used in this dissertation clarify the wide-ranging picture of the outcomes perceived by the local community. These are complementary in some aspects: one ‘practical’ element is reinforced by a related ‘emblematic’ meaning (see Table 8 p.79). Some categories are more independent and their interrelationships more indirect. Not surprisingly, these are also the categories where outcomes are diverse, fairly negative, mitigated and/or controversial.
The three categories of the livelihood framework that are complementary to those of the sense of place framework could be employed to obtain a general view of the meaningful practical outcomes the reconstruction of the Marché Hyppolite has had on – and according to – the local community.

First, a likely relationship exists between renting a stall at the Market and thus having access to its common facilities (the physical and spatial capital), and benefiting from better living and working conditions. Having a dedicated personal place in a working space like the rebuilt Marché Hyppolite – though currently barely secured by weekly payments – certainly improves vendors’ daily living conditions. The environment is qualified as new, clean, fresh and spacious, and provides sinks and pay-as-you-use toilets. It is quite exceptional for the less fortunate people of post-disaster Port-au-Prince to own officially and legally an environment of such quality. The reconstruction clearly has had a positive impact on their human dignity. The primacy given to working conditions over profitability, confirmed by many interviewees, is a powerful sign, although certainly not a financially sustainable situation. However, this meaningful outcome seems reserved for the users of the Market, almost exclusively vendors, as clients remain scarce and the surrounding local community does not use the open but fenced space.

### Table 8 Comparison of the categories involved in the assessment

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Complementing categories</th>
<th>Livelihood framework</th>
<th>Sense of place framework</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Physical and spatial capital</td>
<td>PHYSICAL AND SPATIAL LIVING CONDITIONS, SENSE OF OWNERSHIP</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Social capital</td>
<td>SOCIAL AND ‘RESULTANT’ MEANING, SENSE OF BELONGING</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Structures of governance</td>
<td>INVOLVEMENT IN THE PUBLIC REALM</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Financial capital</td>
<td>IMAGE, SYMBOLIC AND HISTORICAL VALUES</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Access to an economic market</td>
<td>PLACE ATTACHMENT, AND PERSONAL AND SOCIAL MULTIPLE IDENTITIES</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Independent categories</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Access to an economic market</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Second, vendors’ social relationships, regenerated, strengthened and formalised by the reconstruction of the Marché Hyppolite, have significantly impacted the Market community’s sense of belonging to the place. Within the iron hall, interpersonal respect and mutual aid are perceived as substantial and felt stronger than in the surrounding streets. It is apparent that these social dimensions seem strongly integrated to the spatial dimensions; in the eyes of many, belonging to the Market also means belonging to the Market’s community or to a family sharing common attributes. Unfortunately, the social bonds are politically and spatially restricted to the vendor communities. The two non-commercial events held at the Market did not involve local people (i.e. the vendors and the neighbouring working communities) in a significant manner. Consequently the sense of solidarity the Market’s reconstruction has regenerated and strengthened has not expanded beyond the hall fences.

Third, the organisational structures implemented with the reconstruction have had a mitigated influence on the vendors’ level of involvement in the public realm. On one hand, the structures have considerably improved vendors’ social and political capital, giving them a certain power to influence decisions concerning their business vitality. Belonging to a recognised organisation also gives them a level of credibility, allowing them to address the President directly or to speak out on the radio to express their concerns. On the other hand, the implemented organisation is in fact confined to the commercial activities and seems to restrict potential involvement in a greater public sphere. Market vendors – even less, the surrounding working community – have neither the control of the activities outside ‘their’ halls nor the financial or political ability to self-organise public activities. Such activities might enhance the public realm of this potentially enabling urban public place that characterises the Marché Hyppolite. Further significant symbolic impacts and their advantages are reserved to a more external and ‘higher’ community of foreign philanthropists, multinationals, international and national politicians, élite members, and politicians. This limits the advantages of the philanthropic ‘top-down’ approach to the
rebuilding of urban places. This also raises questions about the concerned leaders' ability to adopt community-based place-making methods to create the level of sense of place they had promoted as part of the reconstruction.

4.2 REFLECTION ON THE TWO APPROACHES

As Dovey (1999) states: 'theories are all too often critiqued according to their consistency with other theories' (p.4). She instead aims ‘to judge concepts and ideas on the basis of what they enable us to do and see…’ (ibid). Similar to Dovey’s approach, the frameworks used in this dissertation are briefly assessed on their ability to clarify the understanding of the outcomes.

The sustainable livelihood framework has been quite useful to illustrate the ‘tangible’ impacts the reconstruction of the Market has had on the local community. Too often perhaps, built environment projects are assessed on their design appropriateness and not on their capacity to consistently improve users’ livelihoods. The sustainable livelihood model puts people in the centre of the assessment and appears to be a valuable – although not perfect – model to evaluate the reconstruction of an urban commercial space in a developmental perspective and within a post-disaster recovery context.

The socio-spatial framework, after being modified, has been useful in uncovering people’s meanings – the ‘intangible’ impacts of the Market’s reconstruction. As Carmona et al. state (2010), the global picture is not as simple as the diagram illustrates. The diversity of images, feelings and psychological bonds are as diverse as the number of interviewees and even vary – and are ambiguous – within one single testimony. The findings derive from more irrational, emotional and personal mindsets. Nevertheless, whilst it has covered abstract aspects directly or indirectly related to livelihoods (see Table 8), the framework has revealed the socio-spatial division occurring in this urban place. This reality did not fully emerge during the livelihood analysis, perhaps because the socio-spatial division takes place in parallel with the daily issues that ‘practically’
concerns the Market’s users. However, this framework has been found necessary – interviewees confirmed its importance – because the Marché Hyppolite is more than a commercial space; it is also seen as a potentially meaningful urban place for local communities.

4.3 FIVE LESSONS FOR HAITI... AND FOR THE NEXT URBAN DISASTER

The vendor interviewees, through this assessment, agree that positive and significant change is possible with financial and political determination. Other similar – though probably less spectacular – projects are on the drawing board in Haiti and a few relevant lessons could be learnt from the vendors who participated in this research. These lessons could also be useful in other urban post-disaster recovery context.

The author’s understanding suggests that interviewed vendors generally believe:

1. Rebuilding and maintaining a well-designed area raises vendors’ working conditions and human dignity;

2. The implementation of a spatial structure complementary to a managerial structure enhances vendors’ social and political assets;

3. Rebuilding a single commercial place rapidly does not necessarily mean boosting vendors’ financial capital; on the contrary, further physical and political actions in the neighbouring devastated area seem necessary to attract clients and make the project financially more sustainable;

4. Rebuilding an important commercial/symbolic place does not necessarily mean that its financial/symbolic impact will go beyond the place itself: involving local communities – beyond the spatial borders of the place – in social activities is crucial;

5. Restricting non-commercial meaningful activities to ‘high society’ negatively affects workers’ sense of belonging to the place; again, the local community must take an active part in the symbol’s use to benefit from it.
To conclude, whilst the spatial and physical structure – and architecture – is important, the process of rebuilding it – i.e. the formalisation and the democratisation of the social and spatial structure – is far more significant. In Turner’s words (1976), *rebuilding* must be seen as a verb where locals should take part in the action as well as being its main beneficiaries. The case of the Marché Hyppolite demonstrates that it has had a significant influence on users’ lives but the outcomes could be expanded and upgraded through the extra-commercial participation of the local community.

The financial and managerial contribution of the philanthropist Denis O’Brien and the Digicel Company are not only extraordinary but also fundamental for the life of the Market and its vendors. The Market would have not been rebuilt without such a donation. However, the philanthropic reconstruction of a public place should not be seen as a luxury gift. Short-term action should move toward a sustainable reality. Indeed the financial and ‘symbolic’ sustainability of the actual project for the local community is still questionable. However, improving the entrepreneurial approach in a developmental perspective is promising not only for this particular Market but also for many other markets and public projects in Haiti – especially if local communities have the opportunity to participate and remain part of these places’ destiny.

Clearly, in cooperation with the business sector, empowered communities should be and can be the key to successful urban recovery.
A description of a typical first interview structure follows. As stated in section 1.6 (p.19), the author reduced the list of key words and questions to ask as the interviews progressed. In the last interviews, especially with focus groups, the author let vendors speak more freely about their issues and prioritise them. The author then asked for further information to complete each section, using a few keywords from the first structure.

During the interview process the author changed the order of the categories, from separating 'tangible' and 'intangible' outcomes to regrouping complementary categories of outcomes and separating non-complementary ones, depending on the testimonies. (In the analysis however, separating the 'practical' from the 'more abstract' proved more useful.)
| INTRODUCTION | Presentations | Introduction of the interpreter (if needed)  
| | | Introduction of myself (student, no professional link with anyone)  
| | | Research (purpose, confidentiality, clarification of expectations, present the order of the interview)  
| | | Agreement on the process  
| Basic data | First name  
| | Age  
| | Occupation (regarding the market), living and working area  
| Paying attention to: | Change and improvement (difference between before and after)  
| | Gender issues  
| | Process of reconstruction and involvement  
| | Discrimination  
| Physical and spatial capital | (Dis)advantages of the location of the Market? Does it influence the location of the house.  
| | Appropriateness of what has been delivered/ level of satisfaction  
| | ‘Personal space’ to sell goods  
| | Services (W.C, lighting, water, electricity)  
| | ‘Public’ space  
| | Owning v. renting (Payment? To whom? A lot?)  
| | What is guaranteed in the agreement? How far is it sustainable?  
| | Presence of publicity (Digicel)?  
| | Who owns the Iron Market? (Privatisation of public space)  
| | Differences between before and after?  
| Social capital and social status | Friendship of proximity (marketplace friends): how many? Importance?  
| | Family relationships (How are they useful? Do they benefit from the market?)  
| | Culture (as an asset? as something you can build on?)  
| | Social diversity? The poor allowed to use the market?  
| | Trust? (Is it possible to borrow/lend money?)  
| | Conflict?  
| | Are there victims of the reconstruction of the market? People left over?  
| Money and financial capital | Estimation of the profit (more or less than before the reconstruction?)  
| | Price at the market and price outside on the streets?  
| | Formal and informal financial support (loans, etc.)?  
| | Ability to save  
| Political capital | Distribution of power  
| | Power to change things, resolve problems  
| | The Market belongs to whom?  
| Access to opportunities/resources | Cultural products  
| | Tourism (foreign buyers)  
| | Clients from where?  
| | More clients because of the location?  
| | Opportunities (jobs, contacts, resources)?  
| | Opportunities to move from one stand to another?  
| | Opportunities for improvement?  
| | Capability to access new opportunities? Any access to opportunities available elsewhere?  
| | Access to the city/ right to the city  
| | Advantages of the Iron Market (compared to what the vendor used to have)  
| | Discrimination against ‘informal’ traders?  
| | Could anyone enter the market?  

85
| Change at a Socio-Spatial Level | Change and improvement (difference between before and after)  
Gender issues  
Perception of the reconstruction process |
|----------------------------------|---------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| Paying attention to             | Security (awareness of seismic resistance, does it make a difference?, lightning? protection by policemen)  
Sanitation (access to toilets, conditions of the toilets, cleaning of the place) and its impact on human capital?  
Comfort (feeling more comfortable than in the streets?)  
Does the building correspond to peoples’ needs?  
Better working conditions? (vs. living conditions?)  
Dignity (does all this raise level of dignity?) |
| The quality of the space:        | Open to all the public? Are there groups coming more often than others?  
Do people feel they belong to this place? (more than in the streets?)  
Do people feel they own their space?  
How much are vendors involved in the management/governance of the market?  
Does the market allow other activities than market-based?  
Can people can organise the outdoor space for special events?  
What do people think about the management of the market? |
| Using and transforming the place | Is there a market-based community?  
What are the spatial boundaries of the market community, how far does it go?  
What kind of attachment does the person have with the market community?  
What has changed in the market community?  
How does the community benefit from the existence of the market?  
What are the main goals/ objectives of the community (to see if they are the same)?  
Is there a feeling of solidarity and trust amongst vendors?  
Are special or unique occasions taking place? (meeting an old friend for instance? a celebration? a festival? – ‘unnecessary’ activities)  
How do people identify themselves? Is the Market associated with their personal identity? Is it more associated with people at the market?  
Does it make a difference to be at the market?  
Are they proud to sell/shop?  
What matters most between the market itself and people working/shopping at the market? (roots v. routes)  
What did people feel when it was destroyed/rebuilt? Did they feel that a bit of their lives were being destroyed/rebuilt?  
What image do they have from the market before and after the reconstruction?  
Is the Iron Market a symbol for Haitians? Why?  
Is the reconstruction linked with this symbol?  
Is the reconstruction a catalyst?  
Has the person’s meaning of life changed?  
What did/does the market represent for Haitians?  
Was it important to rebuild the Iron Market and why? Level of priority?  
How important is it to rebuild heritage/ historically important sites such as the Iron Market? |
| Meaning of the place             | Missed questions or need for clarification?  
After reviewing the questions, are there issues that matter most?  
Anything the interviewee would like to talk about that has not been discussed yet?  
Appreciation of person’s willingness to take part in the interview! |
| OTHER                            |
A2

DAILY JOURNAL

A succinct description of the days the author passed at the Market follows. It shows the research learning process concerning time-frames and data collection methods. It is an extract from the author’s personal journal.

13 July 2011
Authorisation from the market to do research
Meet few representatives
Observation in and around the market
Visit of the city centre with Marine and Mano.

15 July 2011
Interviews with 3 vendors
Discussions were (too) long. I was following the list.
This morning, while I was interviewing someone, another one joined and participated to the discussion for 10-15 minutes and then left. I find it interesting to have two people for the discussion - at some point he was less shy to tell me some things - but at the same time it felt that he was interrupting, that he did not know what I was doing here (I had to explain again to him that I’m not representing Digicel, etc.) so perhaps doing FGDs will be more ‘structured’ ie starting with 2-3 people and staying with them until the end of the discussion?
People were also willing to participate as long as I buy something at the end. It’s a bit tricky as it becomes almost like a transaction. I am wondering if for focus groups that’s becoming more complicated? I don’t feel 100% comfortable with that...
I interviewed 3 vendors this morning. It went really well overall but I have to rearrange a bit the questions. Sometime they were a bit repetitive (different questions for the same answer) and sometime I felt that it was less a discussion but more me asking questions. The interview was a bit too long (90 minutes). I’ll focus on fewer issues next time and change my approach a bit. But overall the findings are quite interesting...

18 July 2011
Interviews at 5 stands
Just-long-enough discussions (1 hour) at the beginning but too short discussions at the end (1/2 hour).
More focus groups this time, the first ones went really well. Great discussions and just a bit of debate between people. Light atmosphere.
The two last groups I’ve met, it was more difficult as they were talking mostly about the same issue – their frustration about the price and their location in the market - but I guess it also means something. Their frustration also went to a point that I was not able to understand them (they were talking fast in Creole).
No need to buy anything this time… I felt I was less seen as a tourist and more as someone interested in their situation and in the market.
I'm also discovering that instead of putting the market in the middle (in the livelihood model), it is more appropriate to put it as a 'resource'. It really makes sense that way.

19 July 2011
Interviews at 4 stands (one outside), 2 FGD, 2 interviews

The FGD were very good and fun to do. Probably too big – it has been too hard to say that the discussion was restricted to a group of 4, as people really wanted to take part - the format and the content of the discussions reflected the solidarity between the marchandes.
When I wanted to speak to people who were hanging out on the central plaza, I ended up talking to a manager. Interesting but was not what I wanted...
We visited at the end the informal market and interviewed one marchande. I realised that I have to prepare a bit more my questions, as the situation is different. But it would be very interesting to compare and contrast both.
I realise that the three first interviews of the morning are more complete and interesting then the last ones. Probably less energy to do that at the end?

21 July 2011
Interviews at 3 stands (+ 2 informal vendors refused to take part)
Went well as I was more prepared to have interviews in the informal market.
Good to meet people again...
Took pictures (asking at each time and often not allowed to)
Sketched the plan.

22 July 2011
Interview at 1 stand
Observation, sketches & photos (incl. preparation for the fair).
Re-met people, socialised.
Clarifications about financial capital.

25 July 2011
More photos taken.
Reached the vast majority of the people who agreed to participate.
I sincerely thanked them and asked questions about the event that happened Friday night.
BIBLIOGRAPHY


Sanderson, D. (2010a) Architects are often the last people needed in disaster reconstruction. The Guardian, 3 March 2010, [Online] Available at


