GLOBAL EDITION

Diversity Amid Globalization

World Regions, Environment, Development

SIXTH EDITION

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ALWAYS LEARNING

PEARSON

World – Political

The Caribbean

Guyana's 800,000, and most of the population of the Caribbean is accounted for by six countries and one U.S. territory (Puerto Rico). Of these Puerto Rico has the greatest population density with 410 people per square kilometer (1066 per square mile), followed by Haiti with 376 people per square kilometer (978 per square mile).

In absolute numbers, few people inhabit the Lesser Antilles; nevertheless, some of these microstates are densely settled. The small island of Barbados is an extreme example. With only 166 square miles (430 square kilometers) of territory, it has 1,530 people per square mile (589 people per square kilometer). Bermuda, which is one-third the size of the District of Columbia, has nearly 1300 people per square kilometer. Population densities on St. Vincent, Martinique, and Grenada, while not as high, are still more than 700 people per square mile (270 people per square kilometer). If you take into consideration the scarcity of arable land on some of these islands, it is clear that access to land is a basic resource problem for many inhabitants of the Caribbean. The growth in the region's population, coupled with its scarcity of land, has forced many people into the cities or abroad. It also has forced many Caribbean states to be net importers of food.

In contrast to the islands, the mainland territories of Belize and the Guianas are lightly populated; Guyana averages 10 people per square mile (4 people per square kilometer), Suriname only 8 (3 per square kilometer), and Belize 36 (15 per square kilometer). These areas are sparsely settled in part because the relatively poor quality and accessibility of arable land made them less attractive to colonial enterprises.

Demographic Trends

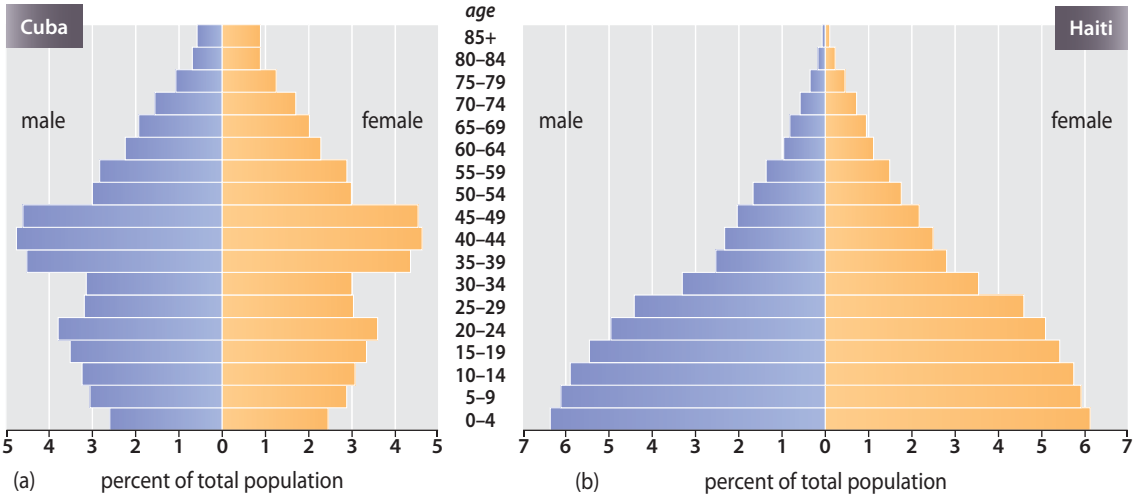
Prior to European contact with the New World, diseases such as smallpox, influenza, and malaria did not exist in the Americas. As discussed in Chapter 4, these diseases contributed to the demographic collapse of Amerindian populations. In the Caribbean, epidemics spread quickly, and within 50 years of Columbus's arrival, the indigenous

Table 5.1 Population Indicators

Country	Population (millions) 2013	Population Density (per square kilometer)	Rate of Natural Increase (RNI)	Total Fertility Rate	Percent Urban	Percent <15	Percent >65	Net Migration (Rate per 1000)
Anguilla*	0.02	173	–	1.8	100	24	–8	13
Antigua and Barbuda	0.1	199	0.8	2.1	30	26	7	0
Bahamas	0.3	25	0.7	1.7	84	26	6	6
Barbados	0.3	589	0.4	1.8	44	22	12	1
Belize	0.3	15	1.8	2.6	45	35	4	5
Bermuda*	0.07	1286	–	2.0	100	18	16	2
Cayman*	0.05	203	–	1.9	100	19	11	15
Cuba	11.3	102	0.4	1.8	75	17	13	–4
Curacao	0.2	348	0.5	2.1	–	20	14	19
Dominica	0.1	94	0.5	2.0	67	22	11	–6
Dominican Republic	10.3	211	1.6	2.6	67	31	6	–3
French Guiana	0.2	3	2.3	3.4	76	35	4	–1
Grenada	0.1	324	0.8	2.0	39	27	7	–8
Guadeloupe	0.4	238	0.6	2.2	98	21	15	–6
Guyana	0.8	4	1.4	2.6	28	37	3	–8
Haiti	10.4	376	1.7	3.5	53	36	4	–4
Jamaica	2.7	247	0.8	2.1	52	29	8	–6
Martinique	0.4	349	0.4	1.9	89	19	16	–5
Montserrat*	0.005	51	–	1.3	14	26	6	0
Puerto Rico	3.6	410	0.3	1.6	99	19	15	–8
St. Kitts and Nevis	0.1	210	0.6	1.8	32	23	8	1
St. Lucia	0.2	316	0.9	2.0	18	25	9	1
St. Vincent and the Grenadines	0.1	279	1.1	2.2	49	26	7	–9
Suriname	0.6	3	1.1	2.3	70	28	7	–2
Trinidad and Tobago	1.3	261	0.6	1.8	14	21	9	–2
Turks and Caicos*	0.05	50	–	1.7	93	22	4	15

Source: Population Reference Bureau, *World Population Data Sheet, 2013.*

*Additional data from the CIA *World Factbook*, 2013



► Figure 5.14
Population Pyramids of Cuba and Haiti Although neighbors, Cuba and Haiti have extremely different population profiles. (a) Cuba's population is stable and older, with a notable decline in family size. (b) Haiti's population is much younger and growing, which is reflected in its broad-based pyramid.

population was virtually gone. Only the name *Caribbean* suggests that a Carib people once inhabited the region. Initially, European planters experimented with white indentured labor to work on sugar plantations. However, newcomers from Europe were especially vulnerable to malaria in the lowland Caribbean; typically, half died during the first year of settlement. Those that survived were considered "seasoned." In contrast, Africans had prior exposure to malaria and thus some immunity. They, too, died from malaria, but at much lower rates. This is not to argue that malaria caused slavery in the region, but it did strengthen the economic case for it.

During the years of slave-based sugar production, mortality rates were extremely high because of disease, inhumane treatment, and malnutrition. Consequently, the only way population levels could be maintained was through the continual importation of African slaves. With the end of slavery in the mid- to late 19th century and the gradual improvement of health and sanitary conditions on the islands, natural population increase began to occur. In the 1950s and 1960s, many states achieved peak growth rates of 3.0 or higher, causing population totals and densities to soar. Over the past 30 years, however, growth rates have steadily come down and stabilized. As noted earlier, the current population of the Caribbean is 44 million. However, the population is now growing at an annual rate of 1.1 percent, and projected population in 2025 is 47 million (see Table 5.1).

Fertility Decline and Longer Lives The most significant demographic trends in the Caribbean are the decline in fertility and the increase in life expectancy. Cuba and Puerto Rico have the region's lowest rates of natural increase (0.4). In socialist Cuba, due to the education of women, combined with the availability of birth control and abortion, the average woman has 1.8 children (compared to 2.1 in the United States). Yet in capitalist Puerto Rico, low rates of natural increase have also been achieved, along with a total fertility rate of 1.6. In general, educational improvements, urbanization, and a preference for smaller families have contributed to slower growth rates. Even states with relatively high total fertility rates, such as Haiti, have seen a decline in family size. Haiti's total fertility rate fell from 6.0 in 1980 to 3.5 in 2013.

Figure 5.14 provides a stark contrast in the population profiles of Cuba and Haiti. Although both are poor Caribbean countries, Haiti has the more classic, broad-based pyramid of a developing country, where more than one-third of the population is under the age of 15. Also, there are very few old people, due to the relatively low life expectancy (62 years) in Haiti. In contrast, Cuba's population pyramid is more diamond-shaped, bulging in the 35- to 49-year-old age cohort and tapering down after that. Here the impact of the Cuban revolution and socialism is evident. Family size came down sharply after education improved and modern contraception became readily available. With better health care, Cuba's population also lives longer, having nearly the same life expectancy as those in the United States (78 years). Cuba has 13 percent of its population over 65 and just 17 percent under 15; thus, it has an extremely low rate of natural increase, similar to many developed countries in the world.

The Rise of HIV/AIDS Although nowhere near the infection rates in Sub-Saharan Africa (see Chapter 6), about 1 percent of the Caribbean population between the ages of 15 and 49 had HIV/AIDS in 2012, with women having slightly higher infection rates than men. After Sub-Saharan Africa, the prevalence of HIV in the Caribbean is second in the world. Reflecting global patterns, the main transmission route is through heterosexual sex. In 2009, an estimated 17,000 people became infected with HIV and 12,000 people died of AIDS in the Caribbean.

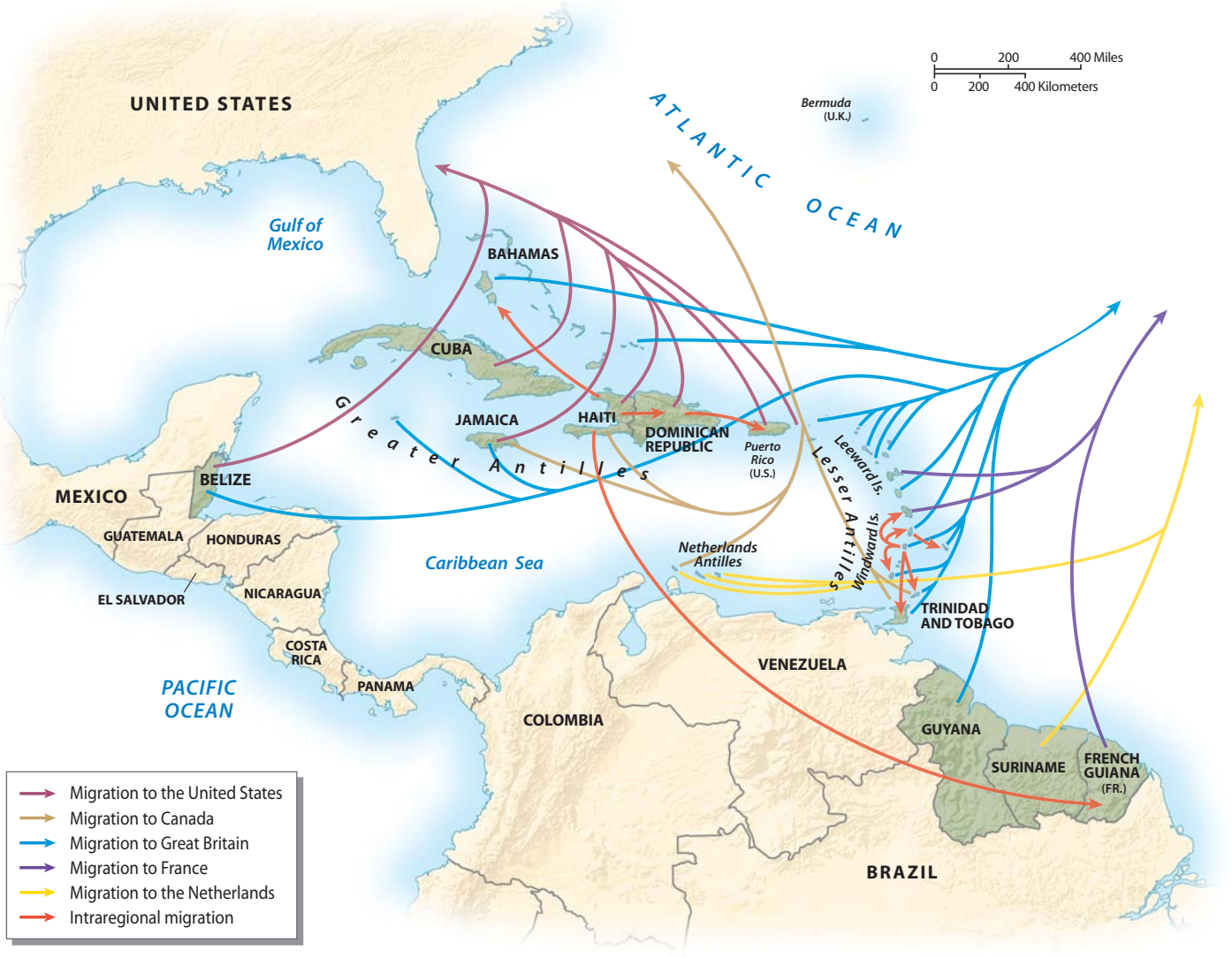
In Haiti, one of the earliest locations where AIDS was detected, 1.5 percent of men and 2.3 percent of women between the ages of 15 and 49 are infected with the virus. The Bahamas has the highest infection rate in the region. Here, too, a higher percentage of women (3.7 percent) are infected compared to men (2.4 percent). Both Belize and Jamaica have infection rates higher than the regional average; in Belize, nearly 3 percent of women and 2 percent of men are infected,

whereas in Jamaica men have twice the infection rate (2.3 percent) of women. The rate of HIV/AIDS infection in the Caribbean has come down in the past few years, but it is still high, making the disease an important regional issue.

Various factors led to the spread of the disease. In the 1980s and 1990s, limited information was available about safe sexual practices, and a stigma existed against discussing infection and prevention. In addition, many Caribbean islands have tourist-based economies that often contribute to the growth of prostitution. Many Caribbean countries have taken steps to educate their populations about the spread of HIV/AIDS. In 2001, the Pan-Caribbean Partnership Against HIV/AIDS (PANCAP) formed to help prevent the spread of the disease and alleviate suffering by taking a regionwide approach. PANCAP was effective in negotiating lower costs for antiretroviral drugs. Through state and regional efforts, mother-to-child transmission prevention is common, condoms are now widely available, and testing is easily done. Nearly every country has launched educational campaigns to bring infection rates down. Cuba, which witnessed a surge in both tourism and prostitution in the 1990s, has maintained a very low infection rate of 0.1 percent among its 15- to 49-year-old population. Education programs and an effective screening and reporting system have kept Cuba's infection rates down.

Emigration Driven by the region's limited economic opportunities, a pattern of emigration to other Caribbean islands, North America, and Europe began in the 1950s. For more than 50 years, a **Caribbean diaspora**—the economic flight of Caribbean peoples across the globe—has defined existence and identity for much of the region (Figure 5.15).

▼ **Figure 5.15 Caribbean Diaspora** Emigration has long been a way of life for Caribbean peoples. With relatively high education levels, but limited professional opportunities, migrants from the region head to North America, Great Britain, France, and the Netherlands. Intraregional migrations between Haiti and the Dominican Republic and between the Dominican Republic and Puerto Rico also occur.



Barbadians generally choose England, most settling in the London suburb of Brixton with other Caribbean immigrants. In contrast, one out of every three Surinamese has moved to the Netherlands, with most residing in Amsterdam. As for Puerto Ricans, only slightly more live on the island than reside on the U.S. mainland. In the 1980s, roughly 10 percent of Jamaica's population legally emigrated to North America (some 200,000 to the United States and 35,000 to Canada). Cubans have made the city of Miami their destination of choice since the 1960s. Today they are a large percentage of that city's population, and since the mid-1980s nearly all of Miami's mayors have been Cuban-born.

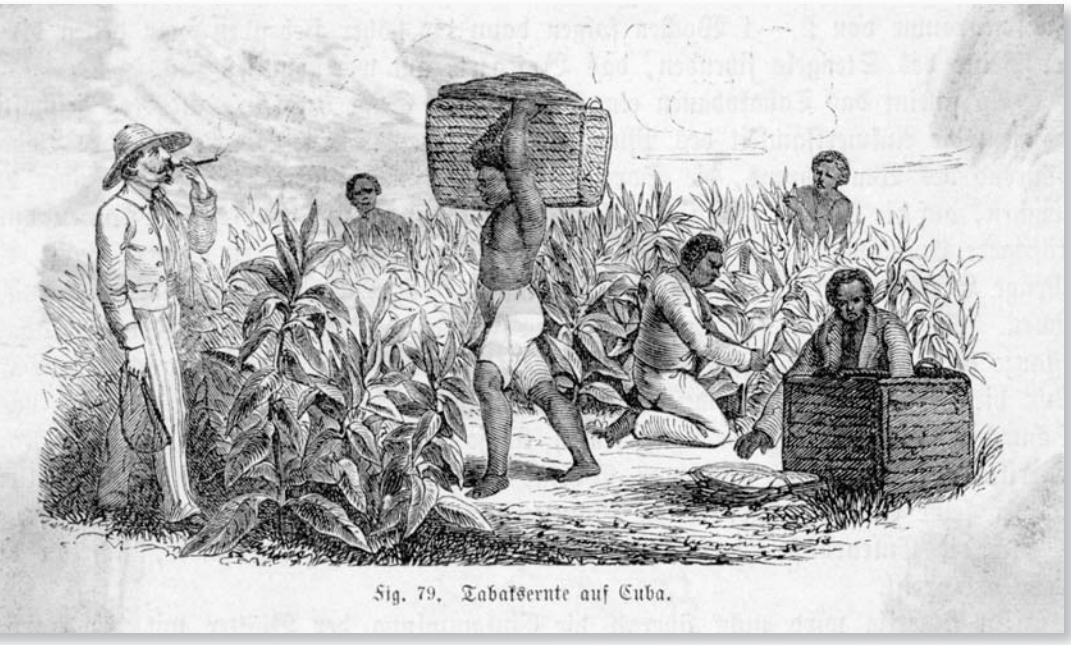
Intraregional movements also are important. Perhaps one-fifth of all Haitians do not live in their country of birth. Their most common destination is the neighboring Dominican Republic, followed by the United States, Canada, and French Guiana. Dominicans are also on the move; the vast majority come to the United States, settling in New York City, where they are the single largest immigrant group. Others, however, simply cross the Mona Passage and settle in Puerto Rico. As a region, the Caribbean has one of the highest annual rates of net migration in the world at –3.0 per thousand. That means for every 1000 people in the region, 3 leave annually. Individual countries have much higher rates, such as Guyana and Grenada at –8 per 1000 and Jamaica at –6 per 1000 (see Table 5.1). The economic implications of this labor-related migration are significant and will be discussed later.

Most migrants, with the exception of Cubans, are part of a **circular migration** flow. In this type of migration, a man or woman typically leaves children behind with relatives in order to work hard, save money, and return home. Other times a **chain migration** begins, in which one family member at a time is brought over to the new country. In some cases, large numbers of residents from a Caribbean town or district send migrants to a particular locality in North America or Europe. Thus, chain migration can account for the formation of immigrant enclaves. Caribbean immigrants have increasingly practiced **transnational migration**—the straddling of livelihoods and households between two countries. Dominicans are probably the most transnational of all the Caribbean groups. They regularly move back and forth between two islands: Hispaniola and Manhattan. Dominican President Leonel Fernandez was first elected in 1996 for a four-year term and was reelected in 2004 and in 2008. He grew up in New York City, still holds a green card, and has said he intends to return when his presidential term is over.

The Rural–Urban Continuum

Initially, plantation agriculture and subsistence farming shaped Caribbean settlement patterns. Low-lying arable lands were dedicated to export agriculture and controlled by wealthy colonial landowners. Only small amounts of land were set aside for subsistence production. Over time, villages of freed or runaway slaves were established, especially in remote areas of the interior. But the vast majority of people continued to live on estates as owners, managers, or slaves. Cities were formed to serve the administrative and social needs of the colonizers, but most were small, containing a small fraction of a colony's population, and often defensive. The colonists who linked the Caribbean to the world economy saw no need to develop major urban centers.

Plantation America Anthropologist Charles Wagley coined the term **plantation America** to designate a cultural region that extends from midway up the coast of Brazil through the Guianas and the Caribbean into the southeastern United States. Ruled by a European elite dependent on an African labor force, this society was primarily coastal and produced agricultural exports. It relied upon **monocrop production** (a single commodity, such as sugar) under a plantation system that concentrated land in the hands of elite families. Such a system created rigid class lines, as well as forming a multiracial society in which people with lighter skin were privileged. The term *plantation America* is not meant to describe a race-based division of the Americas, but rather a production system that relied upon export commodities, coerced labor, and limited access to land (Figure 5.16).



◀ **Figure 5.16 Tobacco Plantation**
This woodcut from the 1840s depicts slaves harvesting tobacco in Cuba while a white supervisor looks on smoking a cigar. Commodities such as tobacco and sugar were profitable but the work was arduous. Several million Africans were enslaved and forcibly relocated to the region to produce these commodities.

▲ **Figure 5.17 Santo Domingo Metro** Passengers load onto metro cars in downtown Santo Domingo, Dominican Republic. The Metro, which opened in 2009, received technical support from the Metro in Madrid, Spain.

Even today, the structure of Caribbean communities reflects the plantation legacy. Many of the region's subsistence farmers are descendants of former slaves who continue to work their small plots and seek seasonal wage-labor on estates. The social and economic patterns generated by slavery still mark the landscape. Rural communities tend to be loosely organized; labor is transient; and small farms are scattered on available pockets of land. Because men have tended to leave home for seasonal labor, matriarchal family structures and female-headed households are common.

Caribbean Cities The mechanization of agriculture, offshore industrialization, and rapid population growth caused a surge in rural-to-urban migration in the 1960s. Cities have grown accordingly, and today 66 percent of the region is classified as urban. Of the large islands, Puerto Rico is the most urban, and Haiti is the least (see Table 5.1). Caribbean metropolitan areas are not large by world standards, as only five have more than 1 million residents: Santo Domingo, Havana, Port-au-Prince, San Juan, and Kingston. Three were laid out by the Spanish, one by the French, and one by the English.

Like their counterparts in Latin America, the Spanish Caribbean cities were laid out on a grid with a central plaza. Vulnerable to raids by rival European powers and pirates, these cities were usually walled and extensively fortified. The oldest continually occupied European city in the Americas is Santo Domingo in the Dominican Republic, settled in 1496. Today it is a metropolitan area of 2.9 million. Merengue—a fast-paced, highly danceable music that originated in the Dominican Republic—is the soundtrack that pulses through the metropolis day and night. As rural migrants poured into the city over the last four decades in search of employment and opportunity, the city steadily grew. In 2009, a high-speed Metro opened in Santo Domingo with one line and 16 stations; more lines are planned to link the downtown with the suburbs and reduce the crushing traffic (Figure 5.17). The country has experienced solid growth in the 2000s, but there is still inadequate housing, electricity, employment, and schooling for a large portion of Santo Domingo's residents. Some critics argue that an expensive underground Metro was ill-advised given the city's other pressing needs. Yet it is also a sign of both big-city status and modernity that Dominicans have embraced.

The second largest city in the region is metropolitan San Juan, estimated at 2.6 million. It, too, has a renovated colonial core that is dwarfed by the modern sprawling city, which supports the island's largest port. San Juan is the financial, political, manufacturing, and tourism hub of Puerto Rico. With its highways, high rises, shopping malls, and ever-present shoreline, it is an interesting blend of Latin American, North American, and Caribbean urbanism.

Havana emerged as the most important colonial city in the region, serving as a port for all incoming and outgoing Spanish galleons. Strategically situated on Cuba's north coast at a narrow opening to a natural deep-water harbor, Havana became an essential city for the Spanish empire. Consequently, Old Havana possesses a handsome collection of colonial architecture, especially from the 18th and 19th centuries, and is a UNESCO World Heritage Site. The modern city is more sprawling, with a mix of Spanish colonial and Soviet-inspired concrete apartment blocks. It is also a city that had to reinvent itself when subsidies from the former Soviet Union stopped flowing (see *Working Toward Sustainability: Urban Agriculture in Havana*). Americans are still banned from tourist travel to Cuba, but Havana's streets are filled with tourists from other parts of the world.

Working Toward **Sustainability**

Urban Agriculture in Havana

Many cities around the world have seen a renewed interest in urban gardening as a way to build community unity, reduce food insecurity, improve nutrition, create income opportunities, and enhance urban environments by converting brown spaces into green ones. Cuba is a global leader in urban agriculture, and these farming efforts are especially evident in metropolitan Havana. Scattered throughout this city of 2 million are thousands of small and large plots where urban residents are producing vegetables on raised beds; harvesting fruit trees; and raising rabbits, chickens, and goats for meat, eggs, and milk (Figure 5.2.1). Although the Cuban context is unique—a socialist planned economy with fixed prices and limited exposure to market forces—some of the successes of Havana farmers are transferable to other cities in the world.

▼ **Figure 5.2.1 Urban Farmer** A worker harvests lettuce from an urban farm in Havana.

Gardening by Necessity In 1989, the Cuban government officially recognized the potential for urban gardens as a means to address the pressing food shortages provoked by drastic cuts in food and energy supports from the Soviet Union. Within a couple of years after the Soviet collapse, average per capita daily caloric intake in Cuba plummeted by about 1000 calories (from 2800 to 1800). Cubans needed a creative, fast, and durable solution to their food problem. The Ministry of Agriculture responded by creating the first coordinated urban agriculture program, providing access to land, especially small urban lots; extension services for training and research; supply stores; and sales outlets. In addition to government actions, nongovernmental organizations from Germany, Canada, and the United States were consulted for best urban agricultural practices and innovative organic techniques. From the start, intensive organic farming techniques and the use of biological agents for pest control were emphasized—in part, due to the expense of imported fertilizers and pesticides.

By the early 1990s, it became clear that the entire agricultural system in Cuba required radical reform. Large state-run farms that typically grew sugarcane or citrus were partitioned into Basic Units of Cooperative Production. The producers on these smaller farms have use rights to the land for an indefinite period and the freedom to choose the crops they grow and to sell their products at market prices. In cities, residents interested in growing food on empty lots or other open spaces (say, public parks) have free use of the land as long as they keep it in production. An Urban Agriculture Department was formed to change city laws so that gardeners would have

Other colonial powers left their mark on the region's cities. For example, Paramaribo, the capital of Suriname, has been described as a tropical, tulipless extension of Holland. In the British colonies, a preference for wooden whitewashed cottages with shutters is evident. Yet the British and French colonial cities tended to be unplanned afterthoughts; these port cities were built to serve the needs of the rural estates, rather than the needs of all residents. Most of them have grown dramatically over the last half century. No longer small ports for agricultural exports, cities such as Bridgetown, Barbados, and Point-a-Pitre, Guadeloupe, increasingly are oriented to welcoming cruise ships and sun-seeking tourists.

Caribbean cities and towns do have their charms and reflect a variety of cultural influences. Throughout the region, houses are often simple structures (made of wood, brick, or stucco), raised off the ground a few feet to avoid flooding and painted in pastels (Figure 5.18). Most people still get around by foot, bicycle, or public transportation; neighborhoods are filled with small shops and services that are within easy walking distance. Streets are narrow, and the pace of life is markedly slower than in North America and Europe. Even when space is tight in town, most settlements are close to the sea and its cooling breezes. An afternoon or evening stroll along the waterfront is a common activity.

REVIEW

5.3 Describe the pattern of population distribution within the Caribbean.

5.4 What are the three factors that are influencing the demographics of the Caribbean?