

Economic consequences of decolonisation in small island economies: a long-run analysis

Paper for presentation at the conference “Tourism specialization and vulnerability: evidence and challenges for sustainable development in small island territories”

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1. Introduction

In this paper I shall present some new results from my work on the long-run economic history of small islands. The central question addressed is how the political status (sovereign independence, or affiliation with a metropolitan patron state¹) to which small islands moved during the decolonisation era 1945-1982 has been related to their relative economic performance over the past half-century. The method used in this paper is to assemble island-by-island time series on four key indicators of material well-being - per capita income, import capacity, life expectancy and infant mortality – and to ask whether these provide *prima facie* evidence for the proposition that islands that secured sovereign independent status during decolonisation suffered in their subsequent economic performance, relative to islands which moved to political affiliation with a larger metropolitan nation, as a result of that decision.

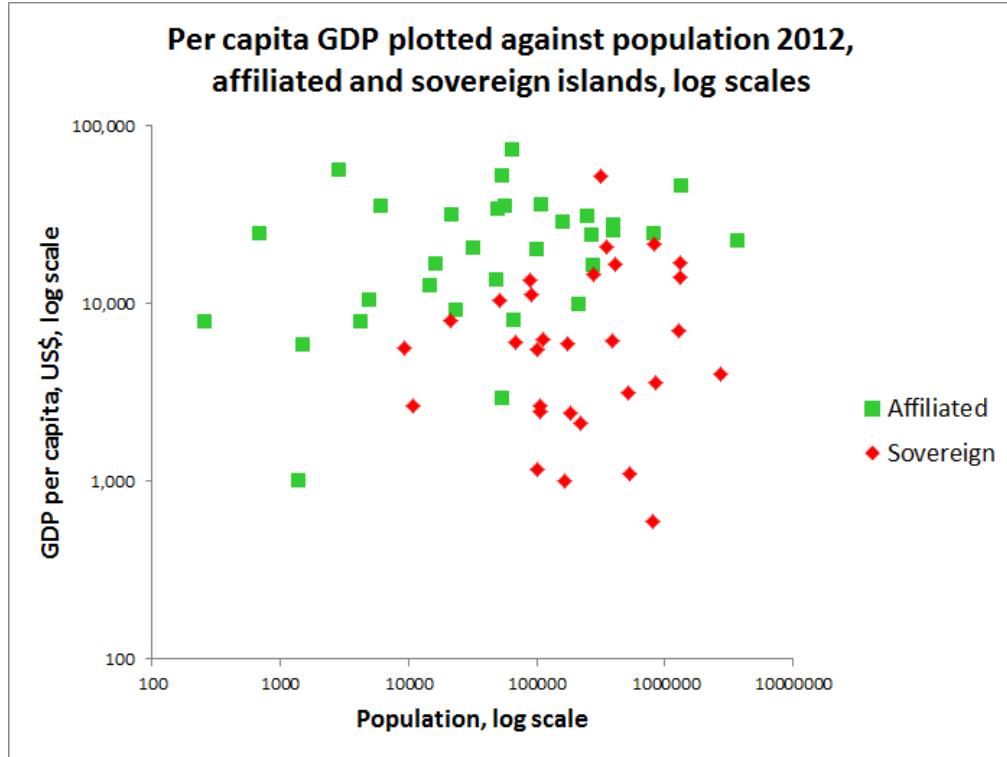
It is by now a well-established stylised fact that today, politically-affiliated islands have higher per capita incomes than sovereign ones. This discrepancy is clearly visible in Figure 1 (constructed from Table 1), which plots per capita income against population for sovereign and affiliated islands. A number of authors (Armstrong and Read 2000, 2002; Armstrong *et al* 1998; Baldacchino 2004, 2006, 2010; Baldacchino and Bertram 2009; Baldacchino and Milne 2000, 2006, 2009; Bertram 1987, 1999, 2004, 2006, 2007, 2013, 2014; Bertram and Poirine 2007; Feyrer and Sacerdote 2009; McElroy 2014; McElroy and De Albuquerque 1995; McElroy and Parry 2012; McElroy and Pearce 2006) have argued that the superior current performance of affiliated islands can be explained by their political status: affiliated island economies have not been obliged to carry the (potentially deadweight) burden of sovereign statehood, with its associated requirement to sustain a full-service government; and their closer political association with the metropole has translated to lower barriers against migration and other transactions with the metropolitan power or powers with which each island economy had historic links. Bertram (2004) described sovereign independence as a

¹

“Affiliation” is a term that covers various decolonisation options: integration with a larger state, self-government in free association with a larger state, commonwealth status, territory status, and so on.

“tax”, while McElroy and Parry (2012) wrote of a “propensity for political affiliation” arising from the conscious recognition of economic benefits from holding onto affiliated status and resisting proposed switches to sovereign independence.

Figure 1



Source: Table 1

With only one exception, statistical work on this issue to date has been restricted to cross-section or (essentially the same thing) panel regressions, all of which have found a significant contemporaneous association between political status and income in the data for periods after 1980 – that is, after the close of the main era of postwar decolonisation. The one exception to the cross-section approach was Sampson (2005) who compared growth rates of per capita income between politically sovereign and politically affiliated island economies, and found no relationship – a result that raised directly the question of when and how the modern income differential arose. If sovereign, independent political status is negatively associated with present-day per capita income but not with growth rates, is this evidence for a causal link whereby political sovereignty has held back the relative development of island economies since decolonisation, or does it indicate instead the persistence of pre-decolonisation differentials, onto which political status was grafted during decolonisation? If the latter, why might poorer colonies have tended to end up independent while richer ones tended to remain non-sovereign?

To put the issue another way, suppose that all the island economies in Table 1 had become sovereign independent states during the decolonisation era, would they all have ended up at the same, relatively low, income levels as those which are actually sovereign? Or if all the

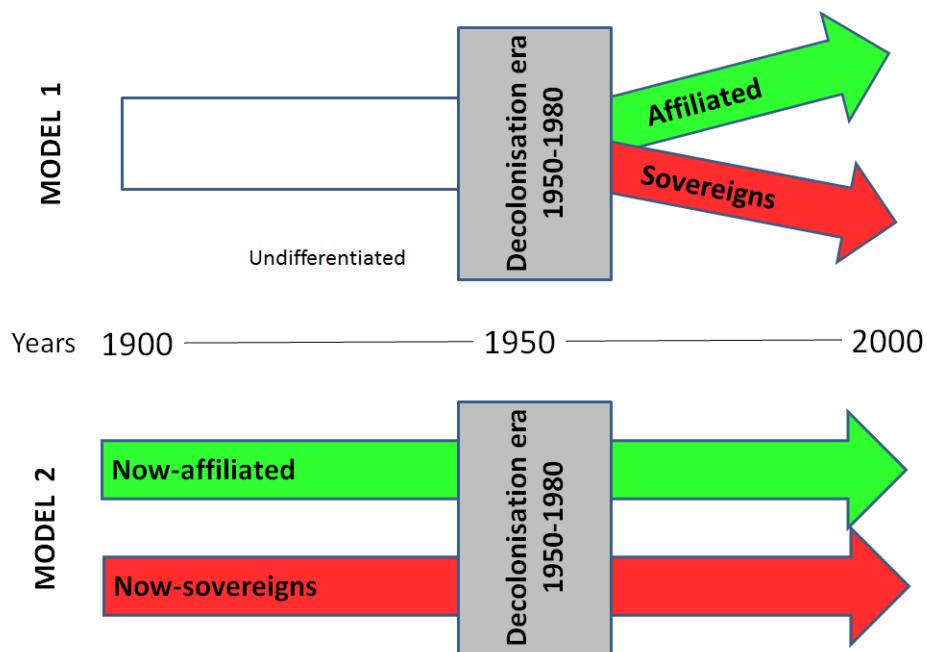
island economies in the data set had become affiliated political entities after decolonisation, would they all have ended up at the same, relatively high, income levels as those that are actually affiliated?

The hypothesis that political status has caused differences in economic performance can be restated as a divergence hypothesis: Model 1 in Figure 2. This would explain the differences between sovereign and affiliated islands seen in Figure 1 as the end product of a process of separation into two “convergence clubs”, with all the small-island colonies starting out as an undifferentiated group and progressively sorting themselves into the two present-day clubs.

A counter-hypothesis could that causality ran the other way: Model 2 in Figure 2. This would argue that prior to decolonisation, small-island colonies were already differentiated into two distinct clusters, and that the decolonisation process reflected this existing ranking, with the better-performing economies becoming affiliated and the weaker ones becoming sovereign.

In Figure 2, thus, Model 1 has the small island colonies entering the decolonisation era as an undifferentiated mass, and emerging on two separating paths. In Model 2 the differences between the two groups are in existence prior to decolonisation and are essentially unaffected by changes to political status. My own previous work has tended to support Model 1, but without direct evidence from the years before 1980. The present paper directly tests the two models using time-series data extending back to or before the decolonisation era.

Figure 2: Two competing models of the origin of modern differences



The number of identifiable small island economies is very large - Baldacchino (2010) lists 120 small island colonies in his appendix. Table 1 in this paper lists 67 island economies that form the pool of potential candidates from which samples will be drawn for this paper, depending on the availability of data, and provides summary statistical profiles².

2. National accounts data

Take first the data on GDP per capita. Reasonably consistent long-run series for small island economies have begun to appear only recently, but four major sets of data are now available. First is the United Nations System of National Accounts database³, which presents annual estimates of per capita GDP and GNI in US dollars at current prices, and real GDP at 2005 prices, from 1970 to 2012. From this data per capita series can be calculated for a total of 217 economies around the world, of which 41 are in the list of small and medium islands in Table 1. Second is the large Caribbean dataset compiled by Bulmer-Thomas (2012)⁴, which includes per capita real GDP estimates for 18 islands, at 2000 prices, for the period 1960-2008. Third is the very-long-run data set (extending from AD1 to AD2010) for GDP and GNI per capita, produced by Angus Maddison and his colleagues⁵ which has annual estimates of GDP per capita back to 1950, measured in 1990 Geary-Khamis dollars, for eight of the larger island economies listed in Table 1 for the period 1950-2008 (or 2010 in the case of Jamaica). Fourth is the Penn World Table version 8.0⁶, which provides data back to the 1950s for several island economies.

I have taken the United Nations SNA data for 41 island economies as the basic set because of its greater coverage than the other sources. Where data was available I have chain-linked earlier series from those other sources to join the UN series at 1970. (This procedure uses the growth rates shown in the other sources prior to 1970 to carry the UN series back as far as possible. There are inevitable, but not fatal, risks in this procedure: the Bulmer-Thomas figures are on the same basis as the UN figures, but the Maddison and Penn World Tables data are in purchasing-power-parity dollars.)

I then added per capita GDP estimates from the Bulmer-Thomas dataset for Guadeloupe, Martinique and the US Virgin Islands, which are not covered by the UN data. These figures have been added as they stand (at Bulmer-Thomas's 2000 prices rather than the 2005 prices

² The inclusion of Puerto Rico and Jamaica in Table 1 goes beyond the usual idea of "smallness" in relation to islands. These two larger entities are reported because of data availability and because they provide a contrast between sovereignty and affiliation at medium population size. These two have been excluded from the population-weighted calculations later in the paper.

³ <http://unstats.un.org/unsd/snaama/dnlList.asp>, last accessed 23 October 2014.

⁴ Online at http://www.cambridge.org/download_file/134497 for the A tables covering 1820-1900, http://www.cambridge.org/download_file/134483 for the C tables covering 1900-1960, and http://www.cambridge.org/download_file/134476 for the D tables covering 1960-2008.

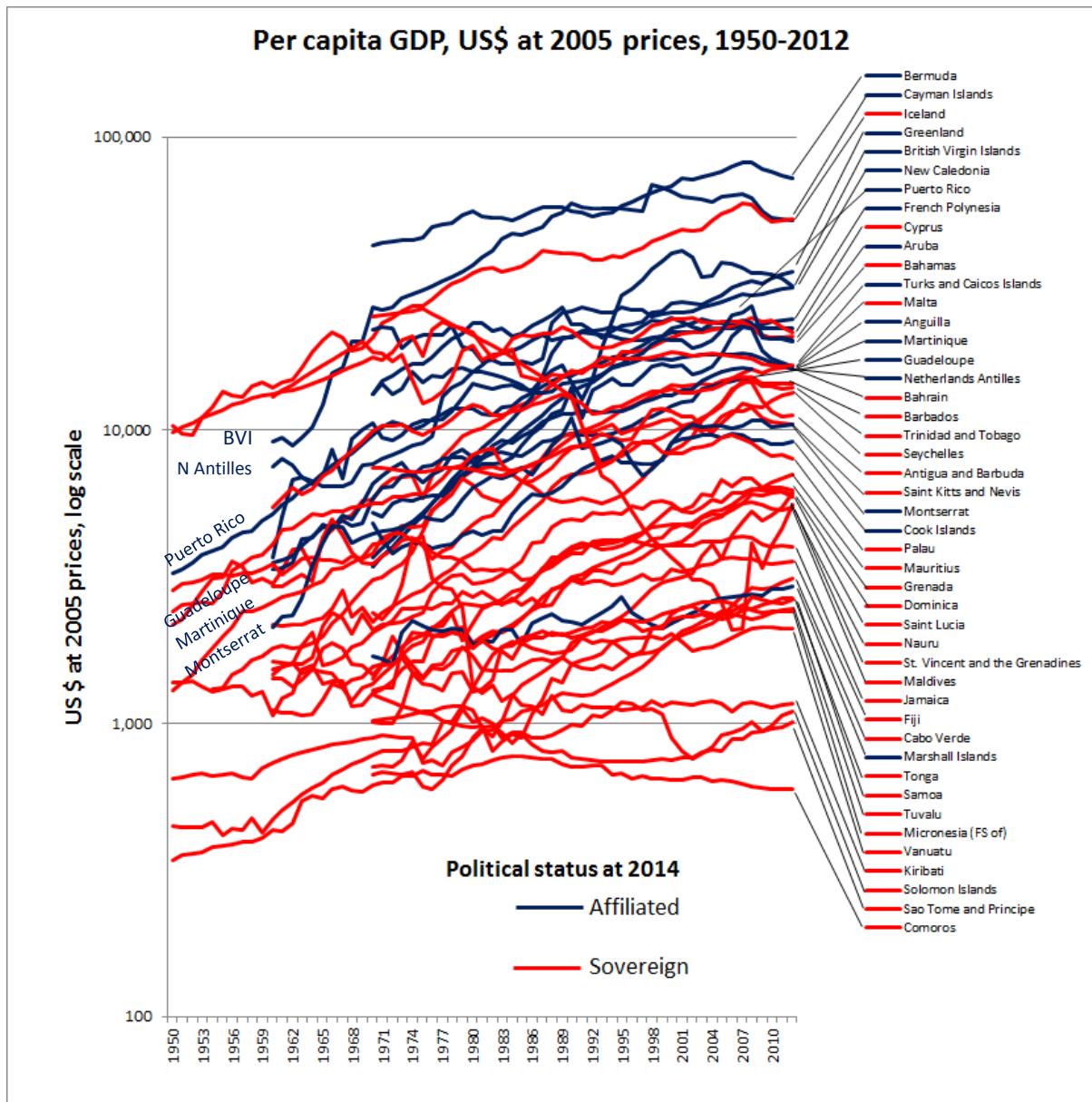
⁵ <http://www.ggdc.net/maddison/maddison-project/data.htm> last accessed 21 November 2014.

⁶ <http://www.rug.nl/research/ggdc/data/penn-world-table> accessed 24 October 2014.

used in all other series; any resulting errors are again likely to be minor and are unlikely to upset the results of the comparative exercise).

Results are shown in Table 2 and Figure 3 below. From 1970 on the chart traces the growth paths of 46 of the 67 island economies listed in Table 1 (20 sovereigns and 15 affiliated), a 71% sample which should be sufficient to reveal any general tendency for convergence or divergence between the two groups of islands, at least from 1970. Prior to 1970 the data covers only a few affiliated islands, individually identified in Figure 3 – too few to draw broad conclusions.

Figure 3



Source: Table 2

The immediate impression from Figure 1 is that neither convergence nor divergence is apparent over the last 40 years. The chart strongly suggests that if rapid post-decolonisation divergence in incomes occurred, it must have been very sudden, and in the period prior to 1970. Already by 1970 the now-affiliated island economies tended to exhibit higher incomes than the now-sovereign ones, and the growth rates of the two groups over the forty-two years 1970-2012 are very similar apart from six conspicuously-lagging sovereign economies (Micronesia, Vanuatu, Kiribati, Solomon Islands, and Comoros) plus the spectacular decline of Nauru. Not coincidentally, six of these seven weakly performing sovereigns are in the Pacific⁷.

With figures before 1970 for only seven affiliated islands, all in the Caribbean, no worldwide conclusions can be drawn for that period. It is noteworthy however that in the first half of the 1960s six affiliated Caribbean islands - Caymans, British Virgin Islands, Montserrat, Puerto Rico⁸, Guadeloupe and Martinique - can be seen growing substantially more rapidly than the typical sovereigns (cf Bertram 2015 Figure 8). Almost all of these had settled their post-colonial political status by the early 1960s⁹, which means that the hypothesis of a causal effect of political status on growth holds some provisional plausibility for this sub-set of economies at this stage of the analysis.

Overall, however, the available GDP data are insufficient to sustain any strong propositions pre-1970, and for 1970-2012 they demonstrate parallel growth with no sign of divergence. If indeed political status explains current income levels, the relevant events had all happened by 1970 and nothing since then suggests persistent growth advantages to political affiliation.

One could argue that political affiliation has operated to sustain the pre-existing income gap, but this is not the issue addressed in this paper.

Over the four decades since 1970, although the two sets of island economies have grown parallel over the long run, the tide of relative economic fortune has ebbed and flowed. To encapsulate this result in a simple chart I have calculated the population-weighted combined per capita GDPs of the two groups for all those islands below 1.5 million population for which we have data from 1970 to 2008 (Figure 4). I have then, in Figure 5, calculated the ratio between affiliated and sovereign population-weighted per capita GDP

⁷ For discussion of a negative Pacific regional effect on growth see Gibson and Nero 2008.

⁸ Puerto Rico has been included in this study because of its long run of GDP data, though with a population of 3.7 million it is too large to count as a small island. The same applies to Jamaica with its 2.7 million.

⁹ Puerto Rico had been a commonwealth of the USA since 1952. The Cayman Islands had separated from Jamaica in 1960 to avoid independence and retain their status as a British overseas territory; the British Virgin Islands similarly consolidated their territory status in 1960, gaining a degree of self government in 1967. The French territories had been withdrawn by France from the United Nations' list of "non-self-governing territories" in 1947 and declared to be parts of France. Montserrat was less clear-cut but never moved towards sovereign independence.

for islands below 1 million population at 2012 (Figure 5a), below 0.5 million, and below 100,000 population (Figure 5b). Inclusion of Jamaica and Puerto Rico, both larger islands with over 2 million population, would clearly affect the results of this exercise (see Figure 5a) and so they have been excluded in the construction of Figure 5b, which is for 46 island economies with populations below 1.5 million.

Figure 4

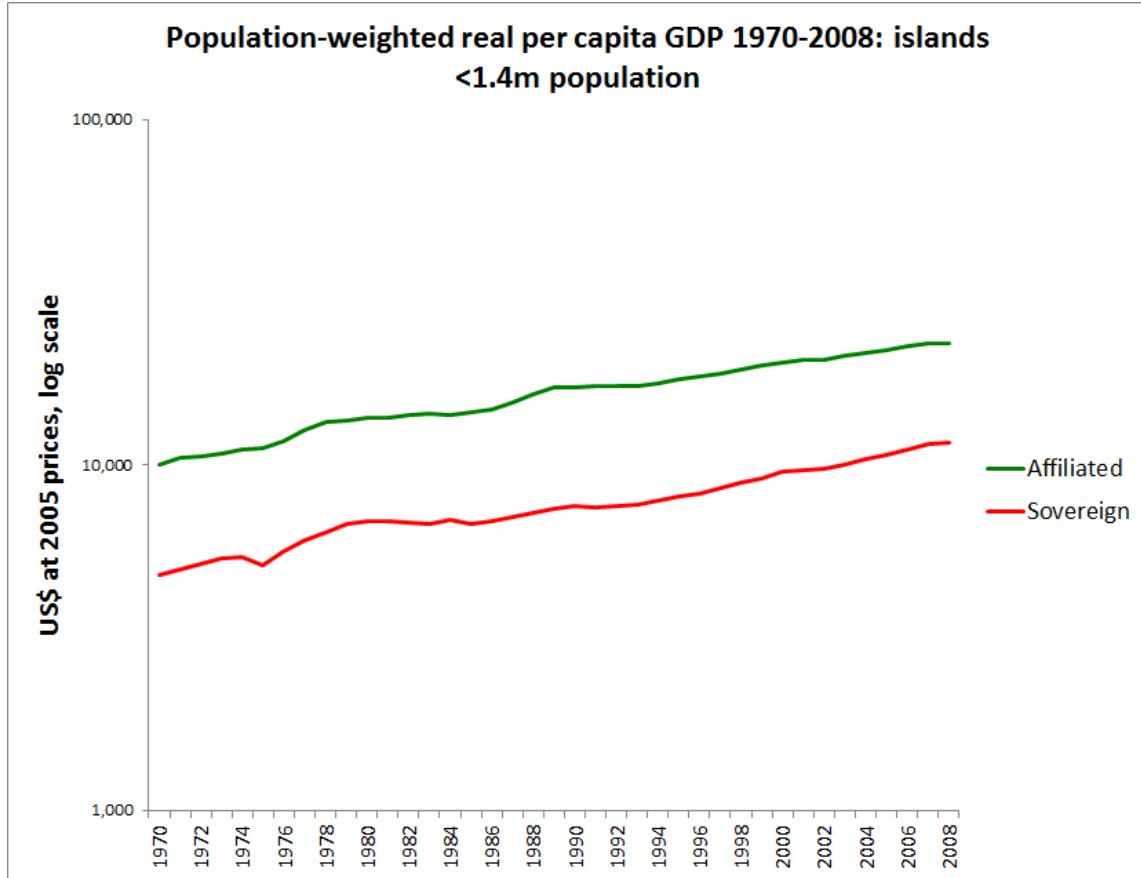


Figure 5a

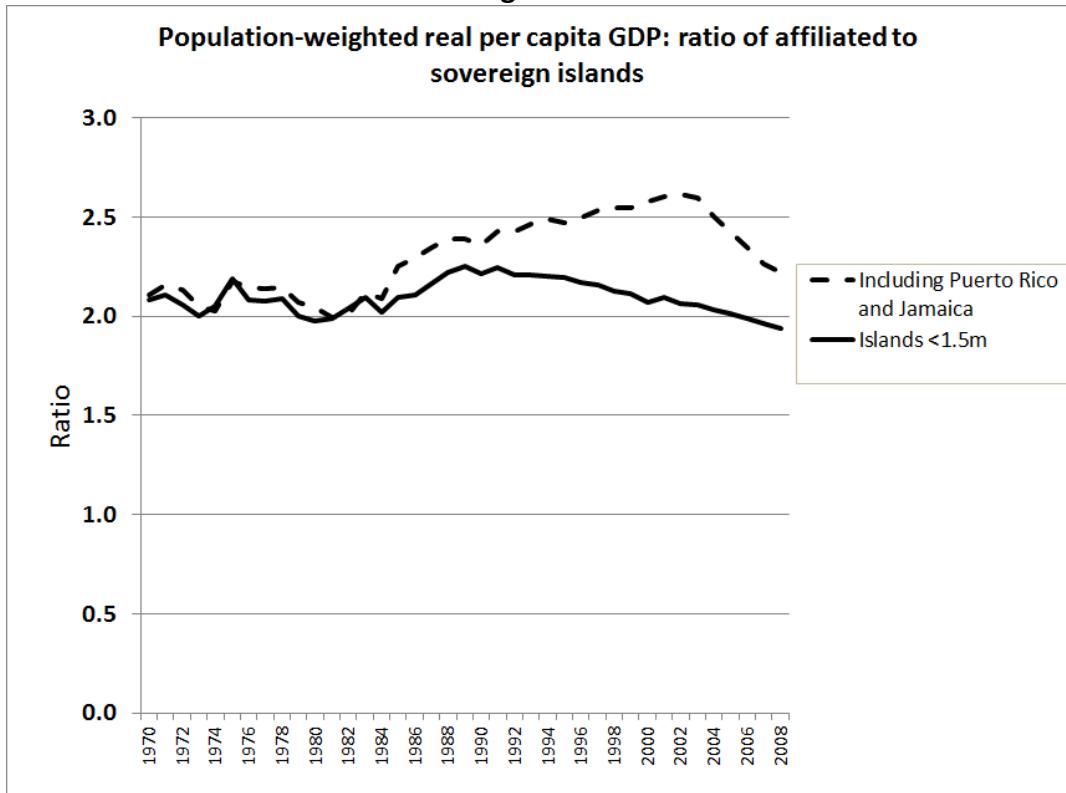
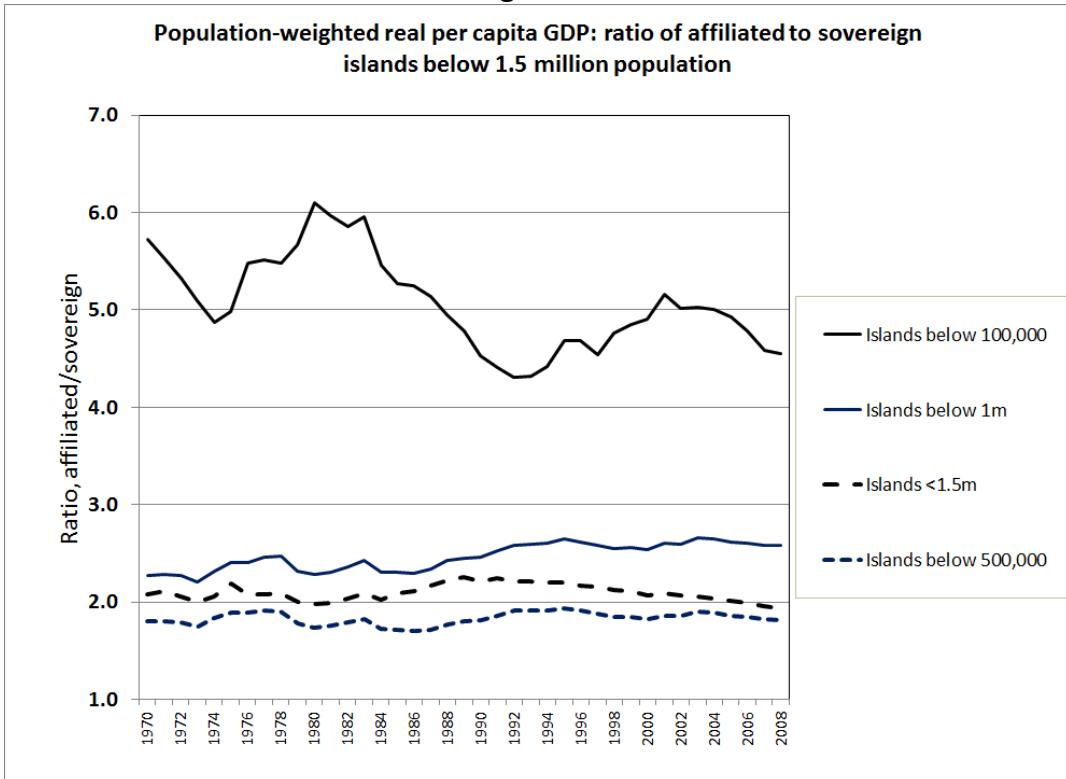


Figure 5b



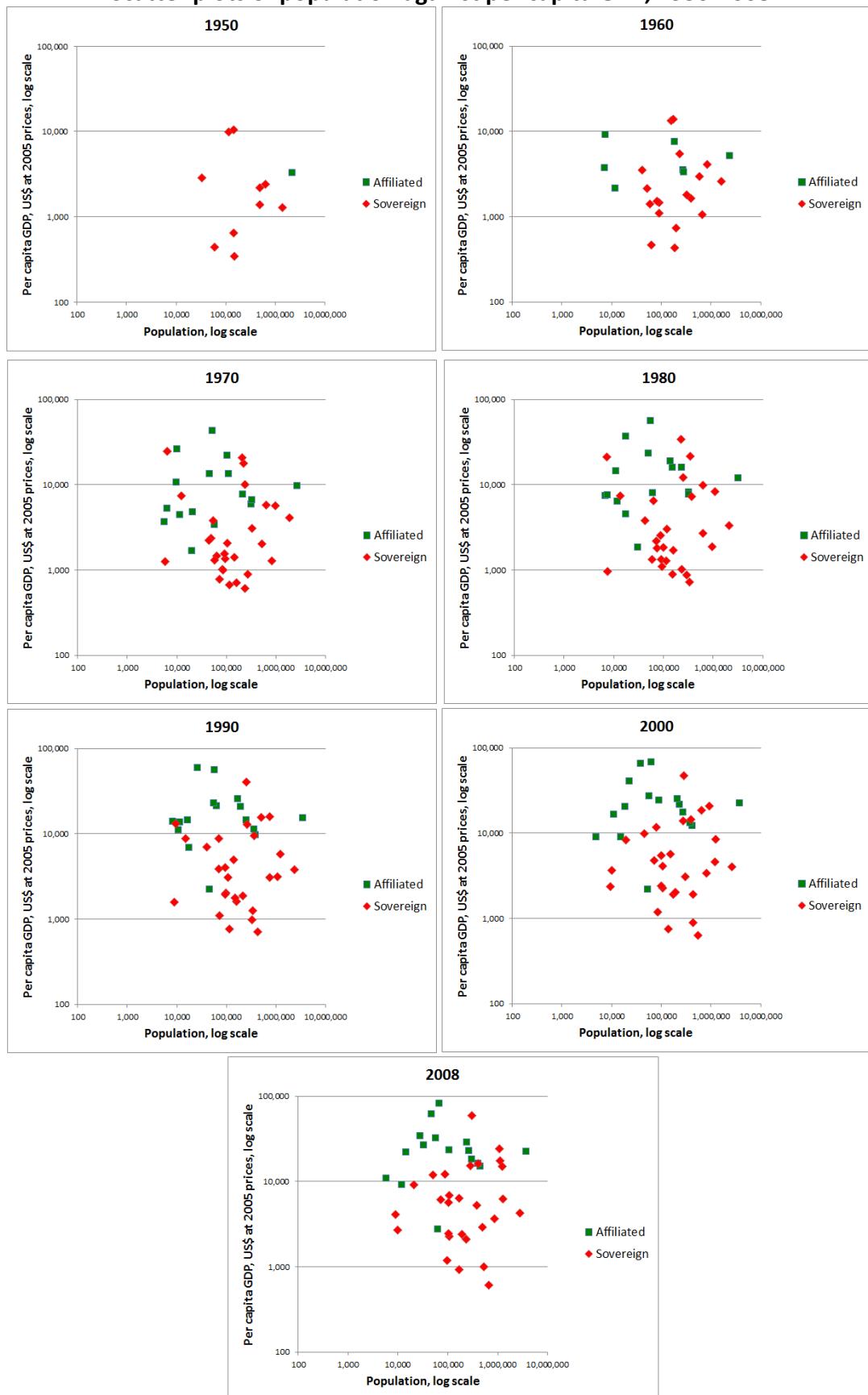
The result of this exercise is unequivocal with regard to the period 1970-2008: small island economies below 1.4 million that became affiliated during decolonisation already at 1970 had, collectively, double the per-capita income of those that became sovereign, and at the

end of the forty-year period the ratio was basically the same. For the more restricted sample of islands below 100,000 population, affiliated islands had on average a far more dramatic advantage at the start (five to six times the per capita income of now-sovereign islands back in 1970) but lost ground steadily over the period to 2008.

Within the period, affiliated islands pulled ahead during the 1970s, fell back in the 1980s (dramatically in the case of the <100,000 sample), gained again in the 1990s and then fell back in the 2000s. The precise timing of turning points differs depending which population-size sample is chosen, and the overall result over the four decades differs from sample to sample: in 2008 the <1.5 million sample had an income ratio of 1.9 times the sovereign group, compared to 2.1 in 1970; the <1 million sample had gone up from 2.3 to 2.6 times the sovereign group's income; the <500,000 sample was unchanged at 1.8; and the <100,000 sample had fallen from 5.7 to 4.5. Long-run divergence is not to be seen – on the contrary, among the smallest islands there has been clear convergence, with sovereigns pulling up relative to affiliated islands. The statistical evidence of higher incomes in affiliated islands in recent decades therefore represents not the end-product of divergence over the past half-century, but rather the persistence of a long-established gap between the two groups dating back at least to the 1960s - a dying echo of some original “big-bang” event either coincident with decolonisation or prior to it.

One other way of representing the national-accounts results is to show a series of snapshots of the GDP data in Table 2 at ten-year intervals on the same basis as Figure 1. These snapshots are set out in Figure 6. Again the pattern is one of persistent advantage to affiliated islands at all population sizes, but no overall tendency towards a widening gap.

Figure 6
Scatter plots of population against per capita GDP, 1950-2008



The analysis in this section has been on a global scale, and several issues remain to be explored further in future research – in particular, regional differences.

The main limitation of the data on per capita GDP is that it does not extend back before 1970, which leaves open the possibility that a rapid divergence between the two sets of economies might have occurred during the 1950s and 1960s, coincident with decolonisation but too early to be captured by the available national accounts data. Lacking direct evidence on incomes for that period, we turn next to demographic statistics of health status, for which the historical record is somewhat more extensive.

3. Infant mortality and life expectancy

Whereas national accounting estimates of GDP per capita for small islands are scarce before 1970, and virtually non-existent before 1960, demographic indicators of the health status of island populations are now available back to 1950 at the beginning of the decolonisation era. The 2012 revision of the United Nations' *World Population Prospects*¹⁰ has tables covering 1950-2010 for infant mortality¹¹ and life expectancy at birth¹² for 37 of the island economies in Table 1. The World Bank's *World Development Indicators* has a table showing infant mortality for 50 of the island economies in Table 1 back to 1960¹³, and carries its series up to 2010-2014.

Take first infant mortality. Combining the UN and World Bank data, adding Hawaii 1950-2013 (for which data is available from Schmitt 1977 Table 2.5, updated from the Hawaiian Government's *Health Trends in Hawaii* website)¹⁴, and adding in some additional information back to 1990 from the US Census Bureau database¹⁵, Table 3 has data for 61 island economies back to 1990 (60 if we discount the separate recording of the Channel Islands as well as Guernsey and Jersey), 47 back to 1980, 40 back to 1970, and 38 back to 1950. Of the 38 economies for which full data is available 1950-2014, 25 are sovereign and 13 are affiliated. The resulting sample is less representative of affiliated islands than would be ideal, but enables at least a preliminary enquiry as to whether there is any evidence of divergent paths for the two groups starting from 1950.

The results are plotted in Figure 7. Three immediate conclusions can be drawn. First, small islands have generally enjoyed infant mortality rates below the world, and all of them have

¹⁰ <http://esa.un.org/wpp/>

¹¹ http://esa.un.org/wpp/Excel-Data/EXCEL_FILES/3_Mortality/WPP2012_MORT_F01_1_IMR_BOTH_SEXES.XLS accessed 20 October 2014.

¹² http://esa.un.org/wpp/Excel-Data/EXCEL_FILES/3_Mortality/WPP2012_MORT_F07_1_LIFE_EXPECTANCY_0_BOTH_SEXES.XLS accessed 20 October 2014.

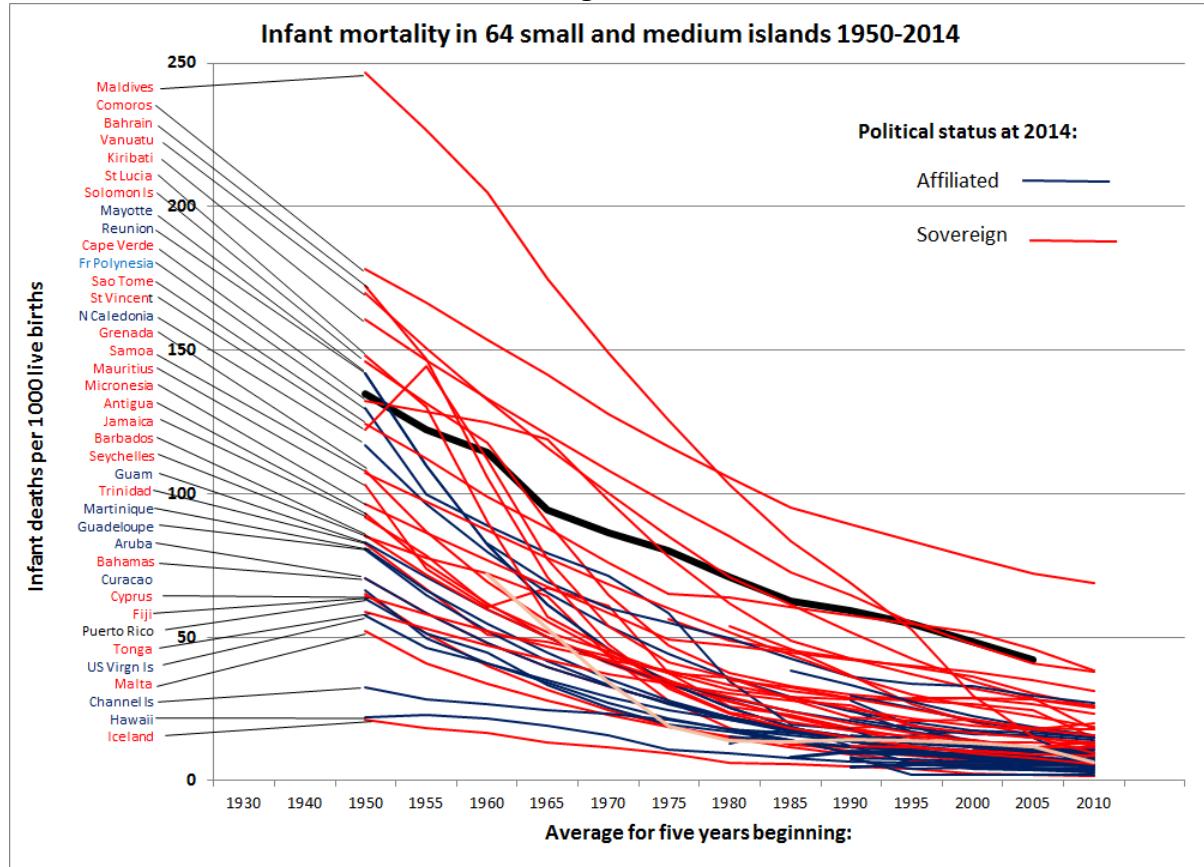
¹³ <http://data.worldbank.org/indicator/SP.DYN.IMRT.IN/countries?display=default> accessed 20 October 2014.

¹⁴ <http://www.healthtrends.org/DataTable.aspx?ChartID=HS-15> accessed 21 Nov 2014.

¹⁵ <http://www.census.gov/population/international/data/idb/informationGateway.php>

experienced rapidly falling rates, with only a couple of setbacks (St Vincent briefly in the 1950s, Mauritius briefly in the 1960s). Second, consistent with the GDP picture, as at 2010-2014 the affiliated islands are clustered at lower rates of infant mortality (indicative of a higher standard of living) than the sovereign islands. Table 1 and Table 5 show only three of the 28 affiliated islands with rates over 15 per 1000, with the Marshall Islands highest at 27, whereas 14 of the 29 sovereign islands were at or above 15, with rates ranging up to 38 in Kiribati and 69 in the Comoros. Third, although the sample is much thinner back at 1950, there does seem to be a general tendency for islands on their way to affiliated status to have started off at 1950 with lower infant mortality rates than those on their way to sovereign status, and for those affiliated islands that started out with relatively high rates to have reduced them faster between 1950 and 1980 than comparable islands destined for sovereignty. Figure 7 does not lend strong support to the full Model 1 hypothesis, that at the outset of decolonisation health status was randomly distributed across the small-island world so that the lower infant mortality rates in affiliate islands today emerged only in the past half-century. It is, however, consistent with the possibility that an initial advantage possessed by today's affiliated islands may have been reinforced during the decolonisation era by their emerging political status – something that is suggested by the rapid clustering of affiliated islands at the bottom of Figure 7 by the 1980s.

Figure 7



Source: Table 1

Similar conclusions flow from inspection of the data on life expectancy at birth, arrayed in Table 4 and Figure 8.

The data again come mainly from the United Nation's *World Population Prospects* for 1950-55 to 2005-10¹⁶, for 37 of the 38 islands which start at 1950 in the table, whose series have been extended forward to 2010-14 using the US Census Bureau dataset¹⁷. The US Census Bureau data has then been used to add figures, starting at later dates than 1950, for another 26 islands not covered by the UN data. Figures for Hawaii have been added from Schmitt (1977 Table 2.6), the *Health Trends in Hawaii* website¹⁸, and a recent estimate from another website¹⁹. Table 3 lists 61 islands back to 1990 (though since the Channel Islands has a row as well as Guernsey and Jersey the true coverage is 60 islands), 45 islands back to 1980, 38 back to 1960, and 37 back to 1950..

The situation at 1950 again seems to show some initial advantage for later-affiliated islands over later-sovereign ones, though this time the overlap between the two groups is substantial. There is a clear tendency for the affiliated group to have raised life expectancy faster than the sovereign group during the 1950s and 1960s, consolidating a clear lead by the 1980s (though Greenland, the Marshall Islands, and Montserrat were, and remain, laggards among the affiliated).

The evidence here is at least consistent with the proposition that an emerging lead for affiliated islands coincided with the decolonisation era of the 1950s and 1960s, though the strong impression remains that the origins of this lead dated back before 1950, leaving the issue of causality unclear.

But clearly the demographic/health evidence does not reject the proposition that political status followed superior economic performance, rather than preceding it. At best we are left with the possibility of two-way causation.

At this stage, therefore, it seems that at least some of the gap between now-affiliated and now-sovereign small island economies began to open up before the decolonisation process got under way around 1946. To explore this further, we turn now to a data set that extends back into the early twentieth century.

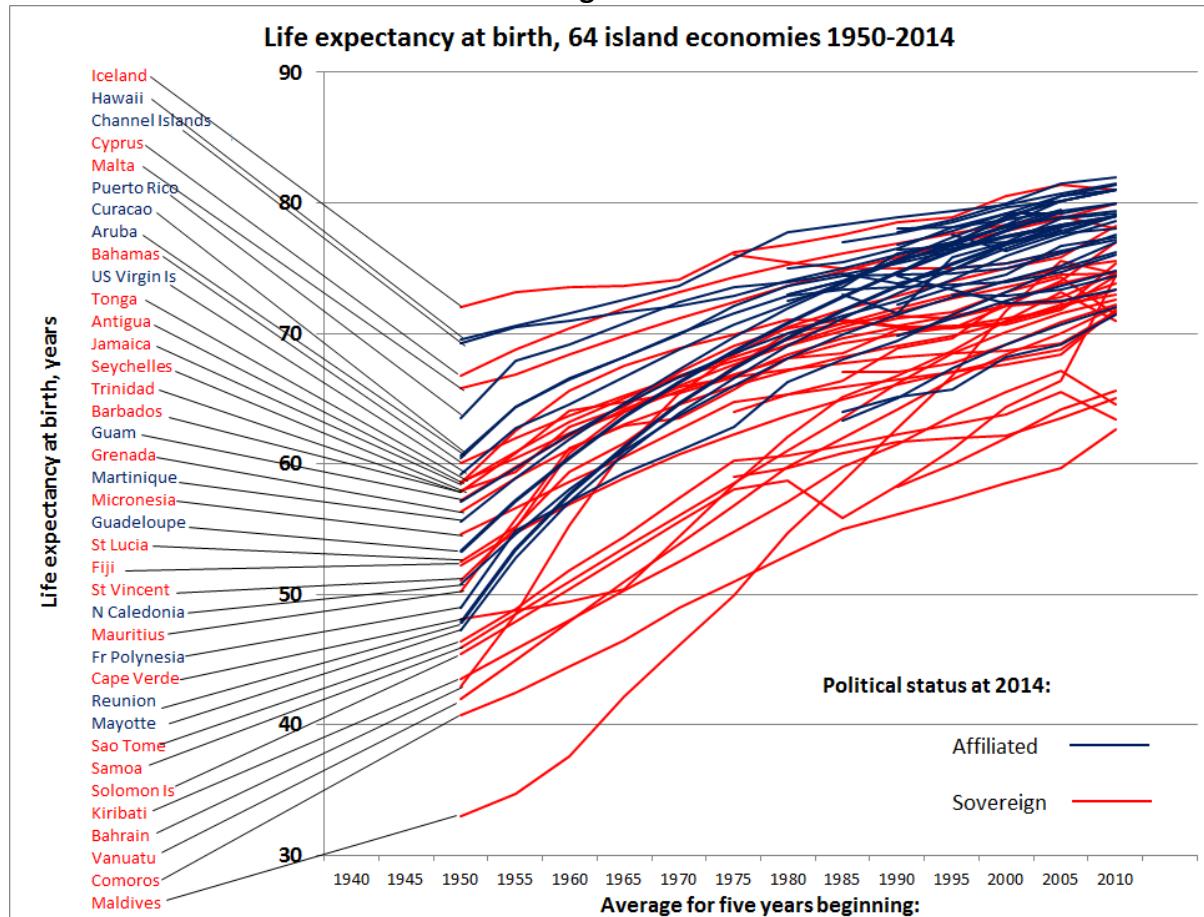
¹⁶ http://esa.un.org/wpp/Excel-Data/EXCEL_FILES/3_Mortality/WPP2012_MORT_F07_1_LIFE_EXPECTANCY_0_BOTH_SEXES.XLS accessed 15 October 2014.

¹⁷ <http://www.census.gov/population/international/data/idb/region.php> data extracted 15 October 2014.

¹⁸ <http://www.healthtrends.org/DataTable.aspx?ChartID=HS-01> downloaded 23 Nov 2014.

¹⁹ <http://www.worldlifeexpectancy.com/usa/hawaii-life-expectancy> downloaded 23 Nov 2014.

Figure 8



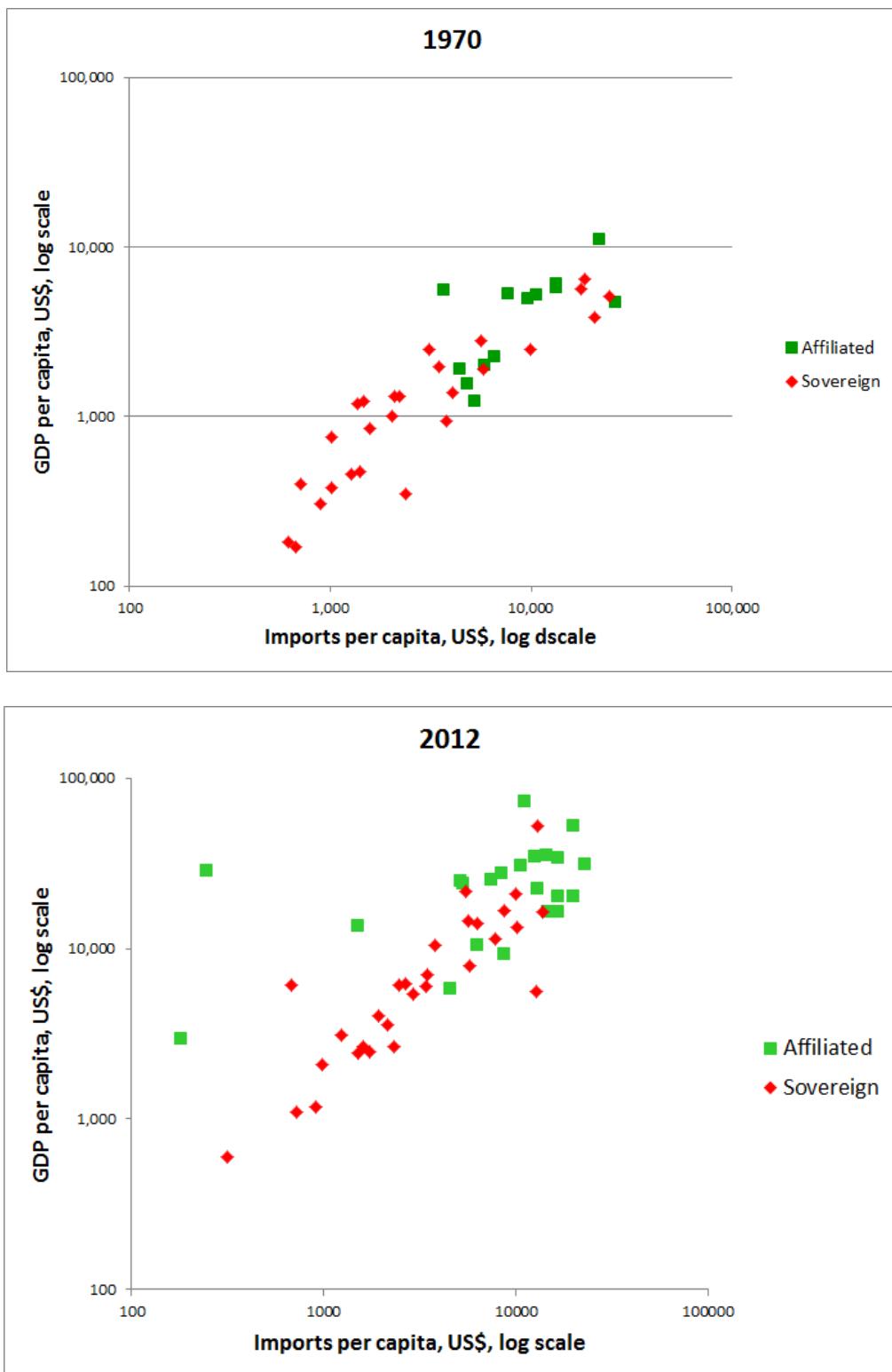
Source: Table 8

4. Trade Data

While national-accounts data is hard to come by prior to 1970, and infant mortality and life expectancy data are scarce for small islands prior to 1950, merchandise trade data has been collected for most economies since the nineteenth century. In this section therefore I assemble figures on merchandise imports per capita since 1900 for 51 small island economies. Because island economies are very open and commonly rely upon imports for a wide range of consumption items, there is a clear link between material consumption levels in each island economy and the availability of imports, with causality running both ways: the ability to finance imports places a constraint on achievable levels of consumption, while at times when the import capacity constraint does not bind, consumption levels will “cause” imports. Whichever direction causality runs, a relationship is to be expected between the material welfare of islander populations and the volume of import trade.

This relationship between merchandise imports per capita and GDP per capita is plotted in Figure 9, at 1970 and 2008. Using real merchandise imports as a proxy for real income from 1900 on seems reasonable on the basis of these charts.

Figure 9: The relationship of merchandise imports per capita with GDP per capita

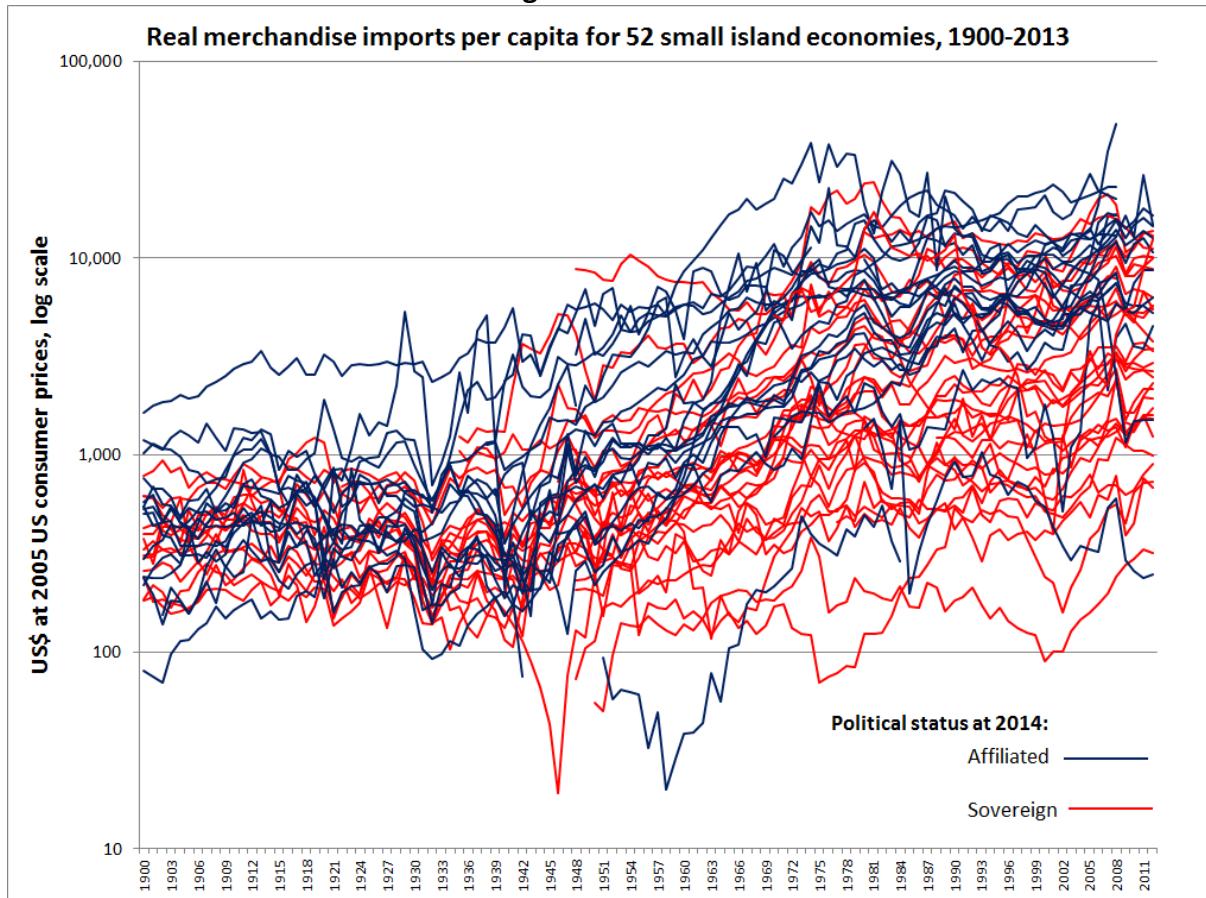


The first task was to collect trade data in current US dollars for as many island economies as possible from 1900 to 2013. A range of sources has been drawn upon for aggregate import

data, starting with the World Trade Organization's online database²⁰ and the Bulmer-Thomas Caribbean dataset²¹, and filling gaps in those sources using Mitchell's historical statistics collections (Mitchell 2005, 2007), early data for the Cook Islands, Niue and Tokelau culled from administrators' reports to the New Zealand Government, and several other miscellaneous sources. Figures in other currencies were converted to US dollars at current exchange rates. Each US dollar import series was then divided through by population, and deflated using the US consumer price index²²

The results of this exercise are in Table 5 and Figure 10

Figure 10



Source: Table 5

²⁰ World Trade Organisation database in US\$, current price, <http://stat.wto.org/StatisticalProgram/WsdbExportZip.aspx?Language=E> last accessed 17 November 2014, data for 1950-2013.

²¹ http://www.cambridge.org/download_file/134483, Table C.18 Merchandise Imports 1900-1960, and http://www.cambridge.org/download_file/134476, Table D.11 Merchandise Imports 1960-2008..

²² Price index for 1900-1912 from http://www.minneapolisfed.org/community_education/teacher/calc/hist1800.cfm accessed 24 November 2014. Index for 1913-2014 from <http://www.usinflationcalculator.com/inflation/consumer-price-index-and-annual-percent-changes-from-1913-to-2008/> accessed 22 November 2014.

Figure 10 finally reveals the early timing of a clear divergence between those islands destined for affiliated status and those headed for sovereignty. The visual dividing line is around 1940 – before decolonisation moved to the top of the UN agenda in 1946. From 1900 to the 1930s the two groups of islands look to have followed essentially a common trajectory; from 1940 on they diverged, and since about 1980 the clustering of affiliated islands at the top of the chart has been locked in at an unchanging relativity to the sovereign group.

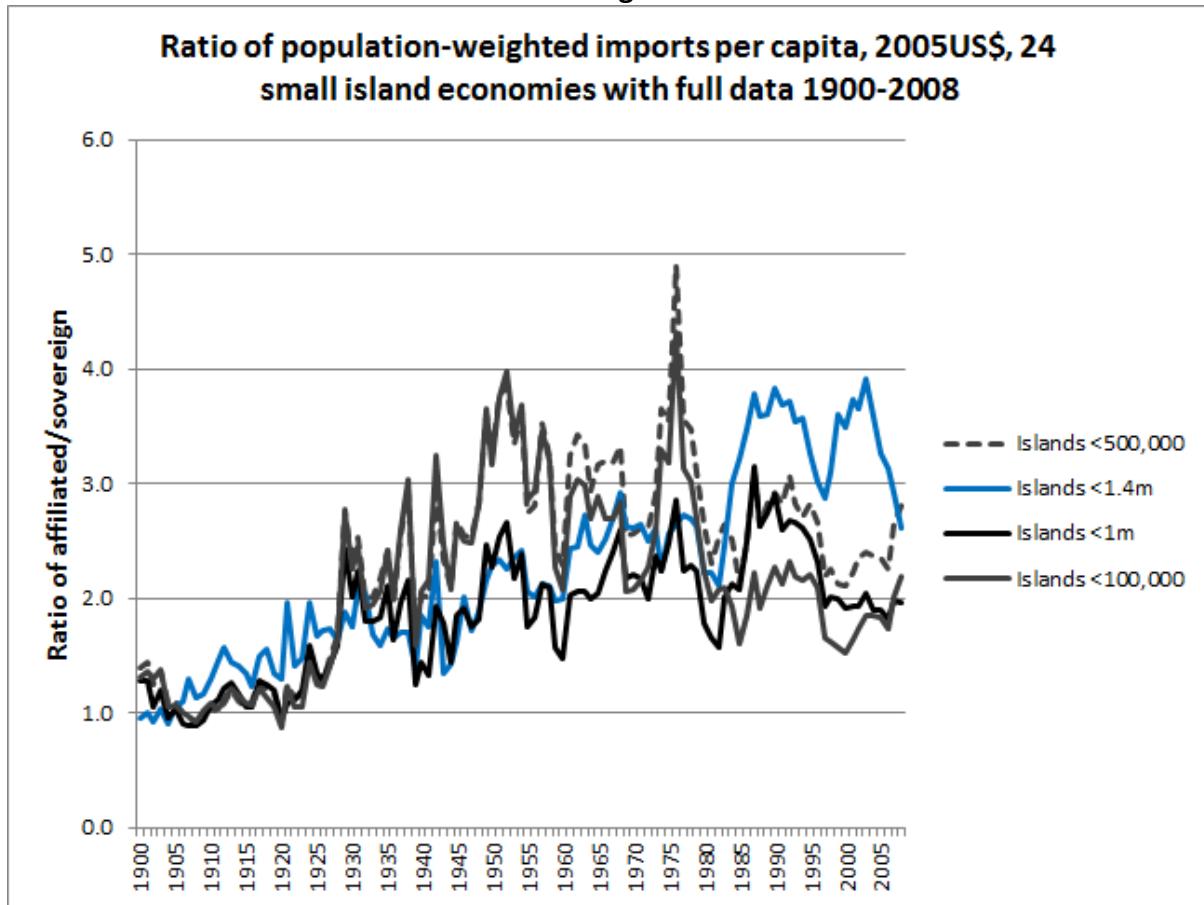
The emergence of the now-affiliated islands' lead over the sovereigns therefore began before decolonisation got underway, and proceeded through the first decade or so of decolonisation. This looks consistent basically with Model 2 (divergence preceded decolonisation) but potentially also with a third hypothesis – that political status and relative economic performance were jointly determined by some third cause during the 1940s and 1950s. One way to frame this third hypothesis is that the colonial powers, at some time around the middle of the twentieth century, whether deliberately or by accident, set some of their colonies on the path to affiliation and greater wealth, and others on the path to sovereignty and lower wealth. This suggests a need to know more about what may have been in the minds of metropolitan statesmen at the time (see, e.g., Heinlein 2002).

To explore further the timing of the divergence moment, Figure 11 aggregates the total imports and population of affiliated and sovereign islands for which complete data is available 1900-2008, and calculates the collective per capita real imports of the two groups on a population-weighted basis. The exercise is conducted for four samples: 24 islands with 2012 population below 1.4 million (12 sovereign and 12 affiliated); 22 islands with population below 1 million (10 sovereigns and 12 affiliated); 21 islands with population below 500,000 (nine sovereigns, 12 affiliated); and nine islands with 2012 populations below 100,000 (three sovereigns, six affiliated). The representativeness of the samples is driven by data availability rather than more directly-relevant criteria, and the results need to be read with corresponding caution.

The pattern shown in Figure 11 is nevertheless very striking: the weighted-average ratio between now-affiliated and now-sovereign small islands was unity at 1900 (that is, the two groups of islands were essentially identical) and had shifted to around two by the 1930s and 1940s, well before political decolonisation. For eight decades from 1930 to 2008 the ratio fluctuated around a long-run average of two for the <1 million sample of 22 islands. The two smaller-population samples (<500,000 and <100,000) both saw their ratios surge up above three in the first half of the 1950s, then stabilise until about 1980, then fall steadily through to 2008. One reading of Figure 11 is that these smallest islands actually had a secularly-declining trend in their affiliated/sovereign ratio from 1965 on, broken by a shortlived spike coinciding with the oil shocks of the 1970s and the global debt-crisis recession of the early 1980s. Only when islands with 2012 populations between a million and 1.5 million are added to the sample does there emerge an upward trend in the ratio

throughout the period of decolonisation and the following half-century. The fact that this change arises from adding to the dataset just two relatively weak sovereign economies (Cyprus, and Trinidad and Tobago) makes the result very suspect, but it is the closest that Figure 11 comes to supporting our Model 1 story of economic divergence driven by decolonisation rather than preceding it. The remainder of the chart supports, if anything, the Model 2 story in which divergence had got underway already, in advance of the allocation of political status.

Figure 11



5. Conclusion

This paper has addressed the issue of whether the positive association of affiliated political status with relatively favourable income and health statistics across the world's small island economies is the outcome of a process of divergence driven by the politics of decolonisation, in which the political status to which islands were allocated in the mid-twentieth century "caused" subsequent economic performance; or whether the modern divergence dates back before decolonisation, which case causality may have run from relative economic performance to the form of decolonisation.

The evidence collected to date gives only very limited support to the hypothesis that the form of decolonisation caused subsequent differences in economic prosperity. It provides

rather stronger support for the alternative Model 2 hypothesis that the economic divergence was well established prior to decolonisation. Trade data indicates divergence between the two groups of island economies became apparent during the 1920s and 1930s and was well entrenched by the time decolonisation got underway in the 1950s.

The data assembled for this paper provide now the basis for more sophisticated research using tools of statistical analysis to test the competing causality hypotheses more carefully and to take account of various factors that undoubtedly conditioned the outcomes for particular islands, for example

- regional effects: the Pacific, Caribbean, and European regions can be expected to differ significantly
- identity of the metropolitan patron economy (cf Bertram 2004)
- population size and growth
- extent of out-migration over time
- the particular economic strategy adopted by each island (cf Baldacchino 2006, Baldacchino and Greenwood 1998, Bertram and Poirine 2007).

Wellington
November 2014

Table 1: Current data for 67 island economies

Islands	Metropolitan power	Political Status at 2014	Population 2010	GDP per capita	Infant mortality per 1000 live births	Life expectancy at birth	Merchandise imports per capita
American Samoa	USA	Affiliated	66,000	8,000	9.4	74.4	
Anguilla	UK	Affiliated	16,373	16,469	3.0	81.0	16,619
Antigua and Barbuda	UK	Sovereign	90,801	11,301	8.1	75.6	7,847
Ascension Island	UK	Affiliated	702	24,595			
Aruba	Netherlands	Affiliated	101,860	20,099	10.8	76.0	20,036
Bahamas	UK	Sovereign	346,900	20,895	10.8	71.4	9,999
Bahrain		Sovereign	1,314,000	16,765	5.9	78.2	8,745
Barbados	UK	Sovereign	276,302	14,483	11.6	74.6	5,671
Bermuda	UK	Affiliated	64,566	72,683	2.0	81.0	11,095
British Virgin Islands	UK	Affiliated	21,689	31,077	14.2	78.0	22,888
Cape Verde	Portugal	Sovereign	517,831	3,132	26.0	71.0	1,242
Cayman Islands	UK	Affiliated	54,878	52,112	6.4	81.0	19,956
Channel Islands	UK	Affiliated	159,518		8.8	79.5	
Cocos (Keeling) Islands	Australia	Affiliated	600				
Comoros	France	Sovereign	798,000	595	69.0	62.6	316
Cook Islands	New Zealand	Affiliated	23,600	9,174	15.2	74.8	8,644
Cyprus	UK	Sovereign	827,697	21,703	3.0	78.0	5,453
Dominica	UK	Sovereign	69,017	6,052	6.4	76.2	2,469
Faeroe Islands	Denmark	Affiliated	49703	33,700	6.0	80.0	16,526
Falkland Islands	UK	Affiliated	2932	55,400			
Fiji	UK	Sovereign	857,000	3,573	20.1	71.6	2,153
French Polynesia	France	Affiliated	268,500	23,928	5.0	76.3	5,276
Greenland	Denmark	Affiliated	56,534	34,771	9.8	71.4	12,623
Grenada	UK	Sovereign	110,821	6,261	11.1	73.4	2,663
Guadeloupe	France	Affiliated	401,784	25,479	7.0	79.4	7,483
Guam	USA	Affiliated	159,600	28,700	6.0	78.6	245

Hawaii	USA	Affiliated	1,360,301	45,112	5.1	81.5	
Iceland	Denmark	Sovereign	313,000	52,361	1.8	81.0	12,969
Isle of Man	UK	Affiliated	87.0	53,800	4.0	81.0	
Jamaica	UK	Sovereign	2,702,310	4,010	15.0	73.0	1,938
Kiribati	UK	Sovereign	100,000	1,169	37.8	64.6	905
Maldives	UK	Sovereign	394,000	6,106	9.7	74.6	679
Malta	UK	Sovereign	415,275	16,452	5.4	80.0	13,688
Marshall Islands	USA	Affiliated	54,305	2,938	27.1	72.0	182
Martinique	France	Affiliated	396,308	27,688	7.6	80.1	8,400
Mauritius	UK	Sovereign	1,280,924	7,041	12.9	74.6	3,468
Mayotte	France	Affiliated	212,645	9,766	5.6	77.9	
Micronesia, Federated States of	USA	Sovereign	107,839	2,467	31.2	71.8	1,725
Montserrat	UK	Affiliated	5,020	10,438	14.8	73.4	6,285
Nauru	Australia	Sovereign	9,378	5,573	8.6	65.6	12,796
Netherlands Antilles	Netherlands	Affiliated	275,077	16,247			14,699
Aruba	Netherlands	Affiliated	101,860	20,099		76.0	20,036
Bonaire	Netherlands	Affiliated	14,006			77.6	
Curacao	Netherlands	Affiliated	152,760		8.6		
Sint Maarten	Netherlands	Affiliated	917		9.4	77.4	
Saba	Netherlands	Affiliated	1,991				
Sint Eustacius	Netherlands	Affiliated	3,543				
New Caledonia	France	Affiliated	250,040	30,836	5.8	77.0	10,616
Niue	New Zealand	Affiliated	1,496	5,800			4,537
Northern Marianas	USA	Affiliated	48,317	13,600	6.0	77.2	1,501
Palau	USA	Sovereign	21,388	7,984	15.9	72.2	5,748
Pitcairn	UK	Affiliated	58				
Puerto Rico	USA	Affiliated	3,721,208	22,259	8.0	79.0	13,012
Rapanui (Easter Island)	Chile	Affiliated	5,761				
Reunion	France	Affiliated	828,054	24,765	5.6	78.2	5,158

Samoa	New Zealand	Sovereign	184,032	2,423	18.9	72.6	1,515
Sao Tome and Principe	Portugal	Sovereign	163,783	1,010	38.3	63.4	
Seychelles	UK	Sovereign	89,770	13,392	12.3	73.8	10,116
Solomon Islands	UK	Sovereign	530,669	1,095	26.1	74.4	727
St Helena	UK	Affiliated	4,250	7,800	15.8	79.0	
St Kitts & Nevis	UK	Sovereign	51,970	10,420	12.0	74.8	3,763
St Lucia	UK	Sovereign	172,370	5,958	13.2	77.0	3,382
St Vincent and the Grenadines	UK	Sovereign	100,892	5,451	17.9	74.4	2,921
St. Pierre and Miquelon	France	Affiliated	6,080	34,900	7.2	80.0	14,422
Tokelau	New Zealand	Affiliated	1,400	1,000			
Tonga	UK but never a colony	Sovereign	106,000	2,677	13.2	75.4	1,598
Trinidad and Tobago	UK	Sovereign	1,317,714	14,023	23.5	71.6	6,290
Turks and Caicos	UK		32,664	20,215	11.6	79.2	16,419
Tristan da Cunha	UK	Affiliated	263	7,800			
Tuvalu	UK	Sovereign	10,924	2,640	25.5	65.0	2,320
US Virgin Islands	USA	Affiliated	110,000	35,500	7.0	79.4	
Vanuatu	France and UK	Sovereign	221,417	2,100	18.0	72.0	985
Wallis and Futuna	France	Affiliated	15,000	12,640	4.8	79.0	

Table 2: Per capita real GDP, US dollars at 2005 prices

	2.1 Affiliated islands													
	Anguilla	Aruba	Bermuda	British Virgin Islands	Cayman Islands	Cook Islands	French Polynesia	Greenland	Marshall Islands	Montserrat	Netherlands Antilles	New Caledonia	Puerto Rico	Turks and Caicos Islands
1970	5,255	3,425	42,778	10,635	26,219	4,797	13,341	13,311	1,691	4,419	7,657	21,973	9,643	3,670
1971	5,081	3,713	43,795	9,417	25,812	4,271	14,444	14,694	1,656	4,521	8,026	22,598	10,219	3,977
1972	5,622	4,023	44,141	9,277	26,380	3,802	13,304	15,315	1,596	4,591	8,283	22,378	10,668	4,272
1973	5,814	4,360	44,362	9,659	28,352	4,000	13,864	16,133	2,038	4,690	8,510	19,028	10,501	4,566
1974	5,765	4,734	44,348	10,483	29,237	4,112	15,826	16,884	2,245	4,858	8,885	20,610	10,063	4,882
1975	5,932	5,153	45,641	10,856	30,178	4,147	14,573	16,873	2,155	5,079	9,051	21,224	10,412	5,237
1976	5,996	5,627	49,353	10,748	31,174	3,952	15,286	17,806	2,083	4,992	9,585	21,128	10,900	5,643
1977	5,980	6,161	50,267	10,893	32,230	4,063	15,141	19,352	2,063	4,905	13,070	21,058	11,416	6,096
1978	6,405	6,750	50,965	11,654	33,433	4,087	16,154	20,509	2,107	5,192	13,954	22,698	11,905	6,581
1979	7,011	7,380	53,986	12,860	34,878	4,379	16,302	21,470	2,078	5,794	14,614	19,285	11,891	7,077
1980	7,372	8,035	55,705	14,381	36,631	4,547	15,905	23,227	1,855	6,399	15,820	18,894	11,841	7,558
1981	7,699	8,697	53,424	14,072	38,745	4,398	16,757	23,191	1,893	6,630	15,890	17,283	11,330	8,012
1982	7,688	9,367	53,154	13,902	41,202	4,525	17,896	21,919	1,899	6,967	15,437	17,413	11,247	8,444
1983	7,753	10,077	53,291	14,141	45,163	4,527	18,325	22,381	2,095	6,851	15,172	16,790	11,940	8,883
1984	8,080	10,883	51,882	14,298	46,868	5,182	18,773	20,940	2,077	7,053	14,719	16,817	12,064	9,375
1985	8,832	11,835	53,738	13,864	46,553	5,614	19,245	21,437	1,857	7,460	14,260	17,288	12,927	9,933
1986	9,765	12,990	55,746	13,748	47,860	6,073	20,298	22,698	2,205	7,094	13,360	16,834	13,441	10,574
1987	10,417	15,276	57,562	15,051	49,647	5,997	21,165	23,698	2,300	7,954	13,425	17,494	14,197	11,281
1988	11,340	18,349	57,916	16,011	53,686	6,128	20,380	24,795	2,372	8,847	13,541	23,133	14,776	12,061
1989	11,702	20,590	57,598	16,704	55,392	6,415	20,771	26,247	2,243	9,626	14,497	25,195	15,205	12,875
1990	14,038	21,021	55,717	14,523	59,611	6,911	20,805	23,043	2,230	11,058	14,598	25,575	15,415	13,569
1991	11,045	21,826	55,534	12,705	57,642	7,355	21,607	22,941	2,178	8,724	14,714	26,245	15,966	14,163
1992	13,723	21,887	53,723	14,966	56,833	7,716	21,357	21,742	2,291	8,881	15,018	25,777	16,544	14,637
1993	14,286	22,105	54,739	19,060	56,955	7,931	21,165	20,652	2,396	9,074	15,556	25,304	17,066	15,404
1994	14,986	22,608	55,326	23,671	57,176	8,175	20,859	21,886	2,510	9,304	16,332	25,351	17,673	16,450
1995	14,240	22,129	58,026	28,792	56,864	7,794	20,611	22,706	2,693	8,991	16,639	26,244	17,924	16,808

1996	14,226	21,632	59,985	30,366	56,386	7,799	20,400	23,044	2,398	7,745	17,064	25,780	18,649	17,677
1997	15,376	22,707	62,455	32,799	56,042	7,679	20,339	23,364	2,258	6,977	17,595	25,734	19,538	18,349
1998	16,575	23,713	64,601	35,360	68,859	7,696	20,618	25,144	2,168	7,373	17,431	24,396	20,463	19,647
1999	16,785	23,522	66,491	37,864	67,492	7,950	20,977	25,444	2,100	8,035	17,478	24,967	21,037	20,466
2000	16,578	24,082	68,169	40,192	65,087	9,043	21,649	27,191	2,204	9,048	17,394	25,103	22,306	20,320
2001	16,613	23,468	72,769	41,167	62,984	9,320	21,588	27,456	2,285	9,924	17,796	25,211	22,776	20,340
2002	15,510	22,452	71,380	38,985	62,030	9,462	21,709	27,095	2,378	10,452	17,913	25,379	23,337	19,106
2003	15,838	22,087	73,504	33,368	61,497	9,668	22,141	26,898	2,455	10,275	18,146	26,164	23,862	19,398
2004	16,576	23,332	74,916	33,786	60,387	9,682	22,333	27,970	2,623	10,363	18,177	26,743	23,462	20,217
2005	18,125	23,303	75,902	37,550	62,558	9,411	22,374	28,977	2,677	10,382	18,086	27,266	23,205	21,877
2006	20,911	23,178	79,861	36,830	63,601	9,752	22,324	30,550	2,699	10,168	18,104	28,373	23,005	24,679
2007	22,618	23,737	81,828	35,784	63,769	9,634	22,475	31,647	2,731	10,407	18,293	29,129	22,646	25,164
2008	22,184	23,154	82,296	34,323	61,812	9,222	22,816	32,383	2,765	10,836	18,113	28,920	22,266	26,466
2009	18,680	21,161	77,933	34,554	55,921	9,254	23,097	31,556	2,720	10,748	17,544	29,165	22,231	20,753
2010	17,503	20,435	76,093	34,128	53,071	8,927	23,369	33,117	2,867	10,284	17,011	29,807	22,228	20,453
2011	17,054	20,438	73,789	32,976	52,523	8,957	23,632	34,130	2,886	10,391	16,601	30,381	22,393	20,800
2012	16,469	20,099	72,683	31,077	52,112	9,174	23,928	34,771	2,938	10,438	16,247	30,836	22,259	20,215

Table 2 continued

	2.2 Sovereign islands																													
	Antigua and Barbuda	Bahamas	Bahrain	Barbados	Cabo Verde	Comoros	Cyprus	Dominica	Fiji	Grenada	Ice land	Jamaica	Kiribati	Maldives	Malta	Mauritius	Micronesia (FS of)	Nauru	Palau	Saint Kitts and Nevis	Saint Lucia	Samoa	Sao Tome and Principe	Seychelles	Solomon Islands	St. Vincent and the Grenadines	Trinidad and Tobago	Tuvalu	Vanuatu	
1970	3,504	18,443	17,739	9,985	894	615	5,784	1,475	2,043	1,363	20,746	4,081	2,375	671	3,090	1,273	1,303	24,521	7,482	2,228	2,087	1,417	781	3,812	711	1,567	1,020	5,655	1,255	1,010
1971	3,711	18,256	17,395	10,322	913	628	6,457	1,573	2,131	1,463	23,154	4,145	2,270	685	3,168	1,309	1,318	24,752	7,425	2,392	2,167	1,584	804	4,307	720	1,597	1,030	5,652	1,221	1,006
1972	3,934	17,224	18,582	10,388	905	629	6,825	1,689	2,249	1,576	24,255	4,456	2,494	679	3,353	1,393	1,328	25,001	7,365	2,516	2,201	1,588	806	4,461	711	1,987	1,045	5,902	1,185	1,002
1973	4,220	18,155	20,263	10,458	893	661	6,921	1,833	2,453	1,719	25,557	4,442	2,961	666	3,489	1,534	1,779	25,279	7,295	2,618	2,211	1,686	803	4,740	746	1,746	1,058	5,915	1,150	1,135
1974	4,320	14,819	20,910	9,911	894	664	7,016	1,951	2,471	1,838	26,672	4,206	4,224	682	3,826	1,632	2,045	25,602	7,240	2,762	2,314	1,493	832	4,680	864	1,574	1,079	6,051	1,119	1,479
1975	4,048	12,372	18,022	9,675	734	687	5,890	2,003	2,477	1,908	26,538	4,136	4,362	608	4,545	1,627	2,025	25,978	7,215	2,837	2,388	1,425	856	4,711	760	1,439	1,096	6,052	1,092	1,367
1976	3,658	12,742	22,094	10,065	749	666	7,008	2,125	2,474	2,103	27,838	3,822	3,125	595	5,266	1,955	1,993	24,943	7,316	3,020	2,799	1,547	847	5,350	833	1,571	1,094	6,352	1,074	1,351
1977	3,900	13,612	23,373	10,402	719	667	8,120	2,158	2,556	2,254	30,024	3,691	2,913	644	5,832	2,048	1,988	23,976	7,456	3,223	3,013	1,527	1,015	5,680	898	1,599	1,133	6,836	1,025	1,298
1978	4,021	15,203	22,754	10,892	799	661	8,704	2,386	2,559	2,406	31,563	3,672	2,874	719	6,388	2,092	2,036	23,058	7,473	3,348	3,191	1,614	1,013	6,046	950	1,772	1,141	7,419	998	1,482
1979	4,451	18,755	22,217	11,728	833	697	9,495	1,927	2,814	2,565	32,811	3,563	2,479	774	6,948	2,132	2,010	22,160	7,460	3,639	3,229	1,819	1,146	6,820	1,118	1,813	1,151	7,579	984	1,496
1980	4,767	19,535	21,709	12,210	879	723	9,950	2,192	2,706	2,541	34,370	3,316	1,343	890	7,324	1,891	1,804	21,263	7,390	3,804	3,004	1,700	1,106	6,499	1,012	1,833	1,323	8,240	967	1,289
1981	5,042	17,342	19,495	11,935	944	727	10,126	2,455	2,812	2,518	35,463	3,350	1,264	963	7,452	1,977	1,914	20,368	7,251	4,019	3,039	1,537	971	5,980	1,044	1,929	1,500	8,483	979	1,310
1982	5,120	18,095	17,480	11,301	953	750	10,643	2,563	2,677	2,571	35,823	3,336	1,357	902	7,510	2,063	1,802	19,481	7,062	4,294	3,089	1,512	983	5,818	999	2,005	1,718	8,664	810	1,415
1983	5,550	18,337	18,459	11,303	1,020	764	11,065	2,647	2,535	2,566	34,646	3,357	1,193	1,012	7,356	2,051	1,777	18,604	7,006	4,269	3,219	1,509	929	5,661	898	2,078	1,816	7,647	869	1,824
1984	6,062	20,496	18,851	11,654	1,034	774	11,879	2,813	2,686	2,622	35,655	3,279	1,251	1,240	7,323	2,130	1,654	17,737	7,190	4,681	3,392	1,520	857	6,069	933	2,184	1,846	7,101	920	1,906
1985	6,643	21,058	15,370	11,728	1,103	770	12,292	2,871	2,539	2,792	36,407	3,090	1,161	1,353	7,413	2,258	1,873	16,885	7,400	4,975	3,591	1,572	919	6,662	930	2,301	1,965	6,720	891	1,883
1986	7,329	21,038	15,039	12,274	1,119	764	12,611	3,100	2,686	3,015	38,257	3,115	1,146	1,429	7,606	2,459	1,970	16,052	7,644	5,322	4,122	1,653	846	6,734	897	2,438	2,002	6,427	1,081	1,803
1987	8,108	21,286	14,798	12,541	1,155	756	13,355	3,367	2,501	3,377	41,068	3,335	1,079	1,504	7,827	2,691	1,963	15,246	7,915	5,763	4,156	1,657	803	7,036	892	2,532	2,056	6,077	1,203	1,770
1988	8,854	21,410	15,569	12,930	1,213	757	14,309	3,692	2,542	3,540	40,588	3,415	1,240	1,583	8,393	2,854	2,034	14,475	8,203	6,408	4,659	1,629	799	7,419	914	2,884	2,012	5,792	1,424	1,738
1989	9,546	22,462	15,420	13,346	1,267	726	15,242	3,702	2,872	3,801	40,265	3,633	1,105	1,676	8,981	2,960	2,006	13,747	8,486	6,825	4,913	1,683	804	8,171	950	2,941	2,014	5,703	1,387	1,754
1990	9,773	21,717	15,652	12,861	1,255	714	16,035	3,915	3,095	4,023	40,318	3,811	1,104	1,891	9,441	3,141	2,038	13,066	8,754	7,042	4,977	1,600	768	8,726	986	3,077	1,968	5,749	1,590	1,791
1991	9,958	20,430	15,925	12,320	1,246	710	15,727	3,990	2,984	4,108	39,828	3,819	1,152	1,980	9,919	3,232	2,105	10,362	8,868	7,170	4,935	1,552	760	8,859	983	3,087	2,012	5,865	1,638	1,953
1992	9,881	19,279	16,736	11,423	1,252	717	16,757	4,092	3,063	4,065	38,113	4,182	1,137	2,049	10,268	3,387	2,133	8,504	8,798	7,329	5,229	1,535	748	9,341	1,064	3,314	2,073	5,733	1,675	1,883
1993	10,153	18,981	17,680	11,527	1,307	721	16,465	4,068	3,072	3,913	38,248	4,229	1,129	2,122	10,610	3,507	2,223	7,005	7,503	7,716	5,183	1,582	740	9,730	1,052	3,316	2,062	5,619	1,736	1,911
1994	10,507	19,245	17,654	11,932	1,360	666	17,060	4,116	2,952	3,976	39,253	4,230	1,129	2,209	11,097	3,605	2,206	6,636	7,830	8,021	5,212	1,527	741	9,474	1,105	3,247	2,160	5,791	1,906	1,907

1995	9,724	19,783	17,529	12,137	1,425	674	18,416	4,198	2,990	4,046	38,922	4,235	1,107	2,311	11,695	3,715	2,276	6,044	8,457	8,208	5,208	1,614	743	9,266	1,182	3,490	2,242	5,998	1,803	1,949
1996	10,036	20,355	17,600	12,588	1,486	649	18,461	4,359	3,098	4,226	40,387	4,208	1,124	2,458	12,043	3,860	2,189	5,294	9,104	8,646	5,502	1,721	743	9,322	1,168	3,547	2,235	6,403	1,688	1,957
1997	10,303	21,353	17,480	13,144	1,566	659	18,623	4,492	3,211	4,438	41,950	4,127	1,132	2,680	12,591	4,040	2,056	4,685	9,094	9,182	5,409	1,725	741	10,619	1,116	3,679	2,209	6,883	1,777	1,967
1998	10,523	22,755	17,730	13,591	1,665	650	19,305	4,665	3,105	4,792	44,152	4,036	1,195	2,866	13,161	4,243	2,117	4,243	9,075	9,170	5,676	1,758	751	11,702	1,120	3,868	2,265	7,434	2,119	1,974
1999	10,776	23,229	18,103	13,602	1,827	646	20,015	4,721	3,121	5,118	45,496	4,037	1,143	3,026	13,713	4,316	2,160	3,968	8,424	9,416	5,730	1,805	760	11,803	1,073	4,033	2,351	8,012	2,099	1,945
2000	10,898	23,842	18,581	13,864	1,923	639	20,800	4,766	3,373	5,481	46,984	4,028	1,183	3,097	14,339	4,635	2,265	3,697	8,319	9,893	5,641	1,924	752	11,632	896	4,106	2,412	8,544	2,368	2,019
2001	10,373	24,044	18,213	13,448	2,003	644	21,399	4,779	3,302	5,358	48,338	4,044	1,170	3,140	14,063	4,760	2,308	3,443	8,327	10,256	5,312	2,067	762	11,188	803	4,173	2,475	8,870	2,495	1,905
2002	10,535	24,212	17,954	13,480	2,070	653	21,599	4,680	3,358	5,529	47,921	4,037	1,156	3,257	14,356	4,815	2,323	3,094	8,655	10,292	5,258	2,121	763	11,121	760	4,430	2,548	9,533	2,509	1,778
2003	11,037	23,407	18,108	13,683	2,131	652	21,667	5,021	3,461	6,036	48,580	4,153	1,181	3,709	14,414	5,075	2,368	3,095	8,741	9,983	5,452	2,228	797	10,218	789	4,761	2,586	10,858	2,412	1,798
2004	11,505	23,118	18,228	13,805	2,191	634	22,079	5,166	3,482	5,980	51,807	4,179	1,197	4,102	14,324	5,275	2,295	2,957	8,942	10,259	5,802	2,311	814	9,833	831	4,950	2,589	11,662	2,362	1,831
2005	12,080	23,417	18,156	14,286	2,309	644	22,298	5,126	3,655	6,754	54,883	4,190	1,175	3,666	14,781	5,350	2,352	2,599	9,446	11,109	5,662	2,414	807	10,553	915	5,064	2,613	12,323	2,259	1,878
2006	13,548	23,539	17,879	15,026	2,526	636	22,831	5,342	3,698	6,465	56,713	4,288	1,104	4,403	15,096	5,593	2,360	2,088	9,634	11,641	6,086	2,410	883	11,400	929	5,444	2,568	13,881	2,325	1,967
2007	14,671	23,431	17,835	15,206	2,735	622	23,554	5,652	3,633	6,840	59,267	4,331	1,168	4,872	15,634	5,906	2,324	2,100	9,299	11,563	6,094	2,542	882	12,421	965	5,617	2,435	14,468	2,432	2,044
2008	14,518	22,475	17,526	15,177	2,911	610	24,159	6,078	3,632	6,881	59,111	4,283	1,182	5,300	16,157	6,214	2,278	4,117	9,070	12,017	6,309	2,431	934	12,084	1,011	5,703	2,465	14,886	2,707	2,118
2009	12,630	21,010	16,834	14,483	2,868	601	23,506	6,014	3,549	6,401	54,456	4,078	1,157	4,914	15,625	6,383	2,311	3,376	8,499	11,068	6,243	2,380	943	11,975	942	5,577	2,530	14,167	2,638	2,140
2010	11,602	20,697	16,722	14,440	2,898	598	23,701	6,124	3,508	6,355	51,528	4,000	1,134	5,155	16,186	6,625	2,378	4,060	8,161	10,669	6,180	2,413	958	12,564	985	5,391	2,601	14,137	2,597	2,125
2011	11,158	20,699	16,528	14,454	3,026	595	22,488	6,166	3,548	6,392	52,250	4,049	1,153	5,487	16,378	6,851	2,431	4,638	8,245	10,539	6,200	2,423	974	13,108	1,067	5,367	2,664	13,858	2,577	2,106
2012	11,301	20,895	16,765	14,483	3,132	595	21,703	6,052	3,573	6,261	52,361	4,010	1,169	6,106	16,452	7,041	2,467	5,573	7,984	10,420	5,958	2,423	1,010	13,392	1,095	5,451	2,677	14,023	2,640	2,100

Table 3: Infant mortality per 1000 live births

	Average for five years beginning in:												
	1955	1960	1965	1950	1970	1975	1980	1985	1990	1995	2000	2005	2010
WORLD AVERAGE	122.4	114.5	94.2	134.7	86.2	80.2	70.9	62.6	59.1	54.8	48.3	42.3	
Affiliated islands													
American Samoa											11.0	10.5	9.4
Anguilla							13.0	18.8	12.2	6.3	4.2	3.8	3.0
Aruba	58.3	48.1	39.7	70.6	32.8	27.0	22.2	18.3	15.6	14.2	11.6	10.0	10.8
Bermuda									8.2	2.0	2.0	2.0	2.0
British Virgin Islands									21.8	18.2	16.3	15.8	14.2
Cayman Islands								8.0	10.2	10.3	8.2	7.2	6.4
Channel Islands	28.2	26.9	24.8	32.5	23.4	21.2	18.1	15.9	13.7	12.1	10.3	8.8	
Cook Islands									29.4	25.3	21.0	17.7	15.2
Curacao	49.6	41.0	34.1	66.3	27.2	21.6	17.7	16.9	14.8	13.6	12.8	11.4	8.6
Faroe Islands									8.0	7.7	6.5	6.5	6.0
French Polynesia	99.9	89.0	79.5	129.6	71.3	58.6	34.8	19.7	18.1	10.2	9.4	8.8	5.0
Greenland									27.8	19.3	12.2	11.5	9.8
Guadeloupe	64.7	52.0	41.7	80.6	33.5	26.8	21.5	17.2	13.7	11.0	8.7	7.0	
Guam	71.1	59.9	49.9	82.9	41.3	34.3	28.7	24.4	20.8	17.0	13.5	11.4	6.0
Guernsey									7.4	4.3	4.7	3.8	3.6
Hawaii	22.9	21.6	19.1	22.1	15.7	10.8	9.4	8.1	6.5	6.4	6.5	5.9	5.1
Isle of Man									5.0	5.3	5.7	4.7	4.0
Jersey									4.6	5.8	5.2	4.3	4.0
Marshall Islands		82.7	69.3		60.3	55.0	49.5	42.7	36.3	33.6	33.2	29.4	27.1
Martinique	66.4	54.6	44.6	80.8	35.3	27.9	22.0	17.4	13.7	10.8	8.5	7.6	
Mayotte	109.6	82.1	61.3	142.0	45.7	34.0	25.3	18.8	13.9	10.3	7.6	5.6	
Montserrat									13.8	15.7	17.7	16.8	14.8
New Caledonia	96.4	79.5	65.6	116.7	54.0	44.2	36.0	29.3	24.3	20.5	17.4	15.1	5.8
Northern Marianas											6.7	6.0	6.0
Puerto Rico	51.4	44.8	33.3	63.4	25.3	19.7	17.2	13.8	11.6	10.9	8.0	7.0	8.0
Réunion	109.6	82.1	61.3	142.0	45.7	34.0	25.3	18.8	13.9	10.3	7.6	5.6	
Sint Maarten									16.0	14.0	12.5	10.0	9.4
St Barthelemy							17.8	14.3	9.7	9.0	8.0	7.2	6.6
St Helena								38.5	33.5	27.5	22.5	18.7	15.8
St Martin							17.8	14.3	9.7	9.0	8.0	7.0	6.6
St Pierre et Miquelon							15.3	13.8	12.0	9.8	9.3	8.2	7.2
Turks and Caicos Islands									24.7	17.2	14.2	11.3	11.6
United States Virgin Islands	46.4	40.8	34.8	57.5	29.3	24.7	21.5	17.9	15.2	13.1	11.5	10.6	7.0
	1955	1960	1965	1950	1970	1975	1980	1985	1990	1995	2000	2005	2010
Wallis and Futuna										5.2	6.0	5.3	4.8
Sovereign islands													

Antigua and Barbuda	75.6	61.5	50.2	93.0	41.0	33.4	27.3	22.3	18.3	14.9	12.2	10.0	8.1		
Bahamas	58.3	48.1	39.7	70.6	32.8	27.0	22.2	18.3	15.6	14.2	11.6	10.0	10.8		
Bahrain	146.8	105.4	70.8	172.6	47.5	32.0	23.1	18.5	14.9	12.0	9.8	8.0	5.9		
Barbados	71.6	59.9	50.0	85.5	41.7	34.8	29.0	24.2	20.1	16.8	13.9	11.6	11.6		
Cape Verde	128.5	124.7	119.0	132.4	97.5	77.9	61.9	49.0	42.7	39.7	36.2	30.5	26.0		
Comoros	166.7	153.8	141.5	178.3	127.5	116.4	105.6	95.3	89.3	83.5	77.8	72.3	69.0		
Cyprus	51.1	40.2	31.5	64.9	24.7	19.3	15.1	11.8	9.2	7.2	5.6	4.4	3.0		
Fiji	57.8	52.0	46.8	64.3	42.0	38.4	33.4	29.0	25.2	21.9	19.0	17.9	20.1		
Grenada	86.7	69.4	55.4	107.9	44.1	35.1	27.9	22.1	17.5	13.9	12.0	10.2	11.1		
Iceland	18.5	16.7	13.4	21.4	11.9	9.4	6.4	5.6	4.8	4.0	2.6	2.0	1.8		
Jamaica	78.3	61.4	51.6	91.9	45.0	37.5	35.8	31.2	28.8	27.9	26.8	24.4	15.0		
Kiribati	146.3	133.0	120.4	160.5	108.2	96.4	85.3	72.5	64.7	55.0	47.4	40.8	37.8		
Maldives	226.5	204.7	175.0	246.5	148.9	125.5	103.2	83.4	68.7	52.7	29.7	15.2	9.7		
Malta	41.0	33.8	27.9	52.3	22.9	18.9	15.5	12.8	10.5	8.6	7.1	5.8	5.4		
Mauritius	73.9	60.7	67.3	103.1	60.8	37.7	26.0	23.1	18.5	19.7	13.4	13.2	12.9		
Micronesia (Fed. States of)	86.5	76.9	67.6	96.5	58.3	49.4	47.0	44.6	42.3	40.0	37.9	34.9	31.2		
Nauru										12.3	11.5	10.3	9.2	8.6	
Palau									34.9	32.7	29.0	24.9	21.1	18.0	15.9
Saint Lucia	130.1	90.3	57.3	148.2	45.7	33.0	23.6	20.4	17.3	15.3	14.2	11.9	13.2		
Saint Vincent and the Grenadines	144.4	112.0	77.3	122.1	54.0	41.4	35.9	28.5	22.3	21.0	21.3	18.5	17.9		
Samoa	97.1	87.2	77.7	107.4	68.6	59.9	51.6	43.8	36.1	29.9	25.7	22.4	18.9		
Sao Tome and Principe	112.4	99.0	88.1	124.5	76.1	64.9	63.6	60.5	57.5	54.6	51.9	46.1	38.3		
Seychelles	77.4	72.3	64.3	85.1	43.3	28.1	18.4	12.4	11.5	11.1	10.6	10.2	12.3		
Solomon Islands	131.6	117.5	90.2	146.2	64.7	47.0	37.4	32.9	30.0	28.4	28.7	28.2	26.1		
St Kitts and Nevis								53.8	45.9	36.5	26.7	20.2	15.7	12.0	
Tonga	53.0	47.2	42.0	58.9	37.3	33.9	30.6	27.8	26.4	19.2	16.8	15.0	13.2		
Trinidad and Tobago	66.5	50.7	48.4	82.6	43.4	37.6	31.7	29.1	28.2	28.8	28.9	26.6	23.5		
Tuvalu							56.3	48.9	45.5	42.5	37.2	32.0	28.4	25.5	
Vanuatu	150.6	132.8	116.0	169.9	100.1	85.1	70.9	61.3	51.6	42.4	34.6	28.7	18.0		

Table 4: Life expectancy at birth (years)

	Average for five years beginning in:												
	1950	1955	1960	1965	1970	1975	1980	1985	1990	1995	2000	2005	2010
Affiliated islands													
American Samoa										73.0	72.8	73.3	74.4
Anguilla							72.5	73.5	76.2	77.0	78.7	80.5	81.0
Aruba	60.4	64.4	66.6	68.2	70.0	71.5	72.9	73.3	73.6	73.7	74.0	74.7	76.0
Bermuda										74.6	76.8	79.0	80.2
British Virgin Islands									75.6	76.8	77.0	77.7	78.0
Cayman Islands								77.0	77.7	78.5	79.7	80.2	81.0
Channel Islands	69.2	70.5	70.9	71.6	72.1	72.9	74.0	74.9	76.1	77.0	78.3	79.5	0.0
Cook Islands									69.8	71.2	72.5	73.7	74.8
Curacao	60.7	64.3	66.5	68.2	69.9	72.2	73.7	74.4	74.5	74.6	75.0	76.1	77.6
Faroe Islands									78.0	78.2	79.2	79.2	80.0
French Polynesia	48.9	54.9	57.1	59.3	61.0	62.8	66.3	68.0	69.5	71.4	73.2	75.0	76.3
Greenland								64.0	65.2	65.7	68.2	69.2	71.4
Guadeloupe	53.3	57.2	60.5	63.6	66.2	68.6	70.8	72.8	74.6	76.3	77.9	79.4	0.0
Guam	57.1	59.7	62.2	64.6	66.7	68.4	70.0	71.3	72.5	74.1	75.9	77.4	78.6
Guernsey									77.8	78.7	80.0	81.5	82.0
Hawaii	69.5	70.5	71.6	72.6	73.6	75.7	77.8	78.4	78.9	79.4	79.9	80.7	81.5
Isle of Man									76.4	76.7	78.3	80.2	81.0
Jersey									76.8	77.8	79.2	80.5	81.4
Marshall Islands								63.3	65.0	67.3	69.2	70.7	72.0
Martinique	55.6	58.9	61.9	64.7	67.3	69.7	71.9	73.9	75.7	77.4	78.9	80.1	0.0
Mayotte	47.3	52.8	57.1	60.7	63.9	66.6	69.0	71.1	73.1	74.9	76.5	77.9	0.0
Montserrat									74.4	73.3	72.3	72.5	73.4
New Caledonia	50.7	54.6	58.0	61.0	63.7	66.0	68.1	69.9	71.5	72.8	74.1	75.2	77.0
Northern Marianas										75.0	75.3	76.3	77.2
Puerto Rico	63.5	67.9	69.1	70.7	72.4	73.5	73.9	74.6	73.8	74.9	76.8	77.9	79.0
Reunion	47.9	53.4	57.7	61.4	64.6	67.3	69.6	71.7	73.6	75.3	76.8	78.2	0.0
Saint Martin							73.0	74.0	75.7	76.5	77.5	78.3	79.0
Saint Pierre et Miquelon							75.0	75.5	76.5	78.2	78.7	79.3	80.0
Saint-Barthelemy							73.0	74.0	75.7	76.5	77.5	78.3	79.0
Sint Maarten								0.0	72.3	73.5	74.5	76.7	77.4
St Helena								74.5	75.3	76.3	77.3	78.2	79.0
Turks and Caicos Islands								73.0	71.5	75.8	77.0	78.8	79.2
US Virgin Islands	59.2	62.7	64.6	66.7	68.7	70.7	72.2	73.9	75.5	76.9	78.1	78.9	79.4
Wallis and Futuna									77.6	76.3	77.7	77.7	79.0
	1950	1955	1960	1965	1970	1975	1980	1985	1990	1995	2000	2005	2010
Sovereign islands													
Antigua and Barbuda	58.5	60.9	63.2	65.0	66.7	68.2	69.5	70.8	71.9	73.0	74.1	75.0	75.6

Bahamas	60.0	62.0	63.7	65.2	66.6	67.9	69.1	70.2	71.1	71.7	73.2	74.3	71.4
Bahrain	43.0	48.5	55.3	61.1	65.4	68.4	70.5	71.8	72.9	74.0	75.0	75.8	78.2
Barbados	57.2	59.8	62.2	64.2	66.0	67.6	69.1	70.5	71.7	72.7	73.6	74.5	74.6
Cape Verde	48.1	48.8	49.4	50.4	54.4	58.4	62.0	65.2	66.8	68.7	71.0	73.2	71.0
Comoros	40.7	42.5	44.5	46.5	49.0	51.0	53.0	55.0	56.1	57.3	58.5	59.7	62.6
Cyprus	66.7	68.7	70.4	71.9	73.2	74.3	75.3	76.1	76.9	77.7	78.3	79.0	78.0
Dominica							76.0	75.5	75.0	75.0	75.0	75.3	76.2
Fiji	52.2	54.7	56.9	58.9	60.7	62.2	63.7	64.9	66.1	67.1	68.0	68.8	71.6
Grenada	56.3	58.9	61.1	63.0	64.6	66.0	67.1	68.2	69.0	69.8	70.9	72.0	73.4
Iceland	72.0	73.2	73.5	73.7	74.1	76.2	76.8	77.6	78.5	78.9	80.5	81.4	81.0
Jamaica	58.5	62.6	65.6	67.5	68.9	69.9	71.0	71.0	70.4	70.3	70.8	72.2	73.0
Kiribati	43.5	45.8	48.0	50.3	52.5	54.8	57.0	59.8	61.5	63.7	65.5	67.1	64.6
Maldives	33.0	34.7	37.6	42.1	46.1	49.9	54.7	58.6	62.7	66.7	71.8	75.5	74.6
Malta	65.8	66.9	68.4	69.8	71.2	72.4	73.6	74.8	75.8	76.9	77.9	78.8	80.0
Mauritius	50.2	55.8	61.2	63.0	63.5	65.7	68.1	68.5	70.3	70.4	72.1	72.8	74.6
Micronesia, Federated States	54.6	56.6	58.6	60.6	62.7	64.8	65.3	65.9	66.5	67.1	67.6	68.3	71.8
Nauru									58.3	60.0	62.0	64.2	65.6
Palau									67.0	67.0	67.7	69.2	70.8
Saint Kitts and Nevis						64.0	65.3	66.3	68.8	69.7	72.5	73.8	74.8
Saint Lucia	52.6	55.2	59.4	61.6	64.5	67.4	70.0	70.7	71.3	71.2	72.1	74.0	77.0
Saint Vincent and the	51.1	55.1	60.8	64.0	65.9	66.7	68.4	69.6	70.5	70.6	70.7	71.9	74.4
Samoa	45.9	48.5	51.0	53.5	56.0	58.5	61.0	63.5	66.2	68.5	70.1	71.5	72.6
Sao Tome and Principe	46.4	48.9	51.8	54.4	57.4	60.2	60.6	61.4	62.2	63.0	63.8	65.5	63.4
Seychelles	58.0	59.4	62.9	64.4	67.0	69.0	70.4	71.1	70.6	71.4	72.1	72.4	73.8
Solomon Islands	45.4	47.9	50.4	53.0	55.5	58.0	58.7	55.8	58.3	61.1	64.4	66.4	74.4
Tonga	58.6	60.5	62.3	64.0	65.6	66.9	68.1	69.3	69.9	70.5	71.2	71.8	75.4
Trinidad and Tobago	57.9	60.8	64.1	64.8	65.5	66.7	67.3	67.8	68.2	68.4	68.7	69.3	71.6
Tuvalu						59.0	59.7	60.8	61.7	62.0	62.2	63.5	65.0
Vanuatu	41.9	44.9	47.9	50.9	53.8	56.8	59.8	61.9	64.2	66.4	68.4	70.0	72.0

Table 5: Per capita merchandise imports in 2005 US dollars

	5.1 Affiliated islands																						
	Anguilla	Bermuda	British Virgin Islands	Cayman Islands	Cook Islands	Faeroe Islands	French Polynesia	Greenland	Guadeloupe	Guam	Hawaii	Martinique	Montserrat	Netherlands Antilles	New Caledonia	Niue	Northern Marianas	Puerto Rico	Reunion	St Pierre et Miquelon	Tokelau	Turks and Caicos	US Virgin Islands
1900			80	240	297		546		503		1,627	527	238	542	1,014			217	577			759	1,185
1901			75	238	347		690		506		1,784	548	195	437	1,143			265	629			668	1,129
1902			70	237	370		559		391		1,857	455	138	454	1,084	155		300	454			669	1,066
1903			97	250	445		550		378		1,883	461	182	544	1,066	212		311	531			611	1,216
1904			113	274	423		448		308		2,003	346	179	487	976	181		279	457			474	1,323
1905			114	420	463		416		310		1,925	346	155	582	843	156		345	430			540	1,250
1906			130	474	526		373		311		1,994	345	193	589	821	191		448	286			512	1,154
1907			140	431	605		442		301		2,230	353	271	669	723	226		571	320			514	1,437
1908			170	434	679		526		362		2,347	342	333	506	749	177		515	286			468	1,212
1909			148	429	835		621		339		2,518	364	269	570	766	274		522	311			482	1,053
1910			162	441	990		727		399		2,730	437	315	540	1,006	239		572	441			509	1,367
1911			175	480	1,056		917		448		2,889	436	371	701	1,215	254		713	537			449	1,350
1912			185	507	1,062		952		457		2,954	461	325	683	1,193	479		750	475			486	1,284
1913			148	437	1,210		1,079		448		3,389	448	288	671	1,348	337		618	552			517	1,309
1914			161	581	996		1,015		408		2,760	450	299	649	1,281	276		594	290			483	1,005
1915			146	293	681		661		412		2,566	424	254	632	844	229		539	284			452	982
1916			148	449	560		682		453		2,806	548	331	788	1,055	210		565	408			442	834
1917			192	393	646		650		634		3,099	797	345	740	977	247		652	339			452	843
1918			202	438	675		731		553		2,564	666	366	721	1,046	278		645	415			432	954
1919			190	422	778		585		597		2,556	607	244	583	802	286		546	376			342	1,014
1920			302	386	663		303		492		3,234	474	288	259	676	187		718	235			381	1,896
1921			268	421	507		359		391		2,970	360	157	814	839	294		862	333			419	1,342
1922			323	352	633		512		420		2,498	331	201	737	847	211		549	303			445	958
1923			378	850	713		592		367		2,864	341	215	1,082	691	255		594	292			438	921
1924			367	471	712		794		399		2,908	438	219	1,607	931	224		725	346			396	975
1925			366	410	708		740		439		2,868	443	268	1,258	960	267		706	428			409	911
1926			342	399	715		566		323		2,883	409	282	1,461	979	248		723	316			480	857
1927			309	386	618		692		435		2,955	479	281	1,395	1,290	201		750	405			480	1,008
1928			328	367	619		713		430		2,864	519	305	2,236	1,327	272		702	358			431	1,152
1929			296	396	550		642		653		2,938	604	425	5,299	1,211	278		732	365			443	1,178
1930			162	390	517		590		665		2,897	549	339	2,670	1,186	269		631	420			364	889
1931			104	331	331		365		606		2,959	558	220	2,480	811	162		624	407			267	721
1932			92	173	255		381		590		2,356	536	140	699	506	175		547	451			205	587
1933			97	323	338		401		726		2,470	725	221	918	788	171		507	546			257	707
1934			113	268	305		496		891		2,625	892	213	1,234	908	197		566	708			281	972
1935			107	264	286		596		645		3,094	654	312	2,605	923	211		583	628			239	1,521
1936			135	284	332		787		648		3,279	663	340	1,636	952	337		678	617			298	2,129
1937			156	281	374		707		639		3,857	579	330	4,255	1,043	383		755	504			306	2,339
1938			169	314	321	1,129	600		591		3,705	460	298	5,098	1,150	215		714	492			306	1,902
1939			190	296	285	1,150	671		495		3,693	404	235	1,151	1,170	186		630	441			257	1,968
1940			151	293	260	208	356		307		4,416	319	187	2,380	835	202		794	250			272	2,324
1941			174	300	281	510	444		309		5,578	284	217	2,561	910	172		879	184			359	3,248
1942			161	399	197	812	532		230		2,952	245	203	4,066	984	243		918	75			248	2,232
1943			183	489	287	1,114	620		203		3,228	151	207	4,054	1,058	278		465	0			522	1,997
1944			212	549	403	1,416	709		471		2,565	565	210	2,515	1,133	255		693	254			422	1,945
1945			257	604	359	1,718	797		517		3,557	618	323	3,475	1,541	223		731	262			664	2,167
1946			200	607	443	2,276	760		495		4,339	638	286	4,390	1,487	350		1,144	439			394	3,156
1947			123	652	496	2,834	1,146		1,069		5,819	1,274	394	4,143	1,508	381		1,260	730			406	2,895
1948			257	689	584	1,767	831	1,501	722		5,498	782	449	5,270	1,422	448		1,341	841	3,241		427	2,852

1949			287	663	641		1,328	2,238	859		5,650	981	325	6,960	1,759	516		1,309	883	4,924		486	3,063	
1950			218	699	713		1,114	1,842	825		5,907	775	253	4,504	1,872	349		1,259	855	3,225		359	3,328	
1951			252	668	603		1,335	1,960	919		5,475	1,036	276	6,520	2,523	382		1,470	1,001	3,520	93	421	3,169	
1952			283	790	784		1,440	2,243	1,195		4,818	1,227	383	7,008	3,234	456		1,483	1,082	4,102	57	436	3,664	
1953			314	819	715		1,135	2,633	1,090		5,779	1,089	322	4,304	3,181	516		1,646	970	5,084	64	415	4,355	
1954			389	843	910		1,146	2,792	1,138		5,312	1,096	333	5,742	3,129	618		1,723	945	4,207	62	449	4,190	
1955			465	949	705		1,091	2,969	1,137		5,669	1,159	367	4,095	3,543	681		1,861	1,019	4,872	61	422	4,292	
1956			460	1,263	916		1,000	2,821	1,056		5,522	1,061	355	5,264	4,404	687		2,020	1,108	5,287	33	481	4,790	
1957			641	1,259	890		1,136	3,116	1,077		5,808	1,108	433	7,174	5,966	623		2,185	1,124	5,082	49	489	5,021	
1958			593	1,363	959		1,127	3,379	1,221		5,130	1,044	473	6,723	6,332	599		2,143	1,031	5,024	20	528	5,321	
1959			619	2,270	757		1,072	3,247	1,047		5,619	1,051	599	5,403	2,466	667		2,337	912	5,470	29	618	7,282	
1960			773	1,830	912		1,477	3,299	1,157		5,822	1,113	635	3,876	3,182	882		2,551	1,027	5,827	38	705	8,579	
1961			1,145	1,864	1,005		1,834	3,266	1,215		5,688	1,158	699	8,501	3,853	890		3,062	1,092	5,980	39	882	9,619	
1962			1,647	1,709	908		1,897	4,065	1,286		5,189	1,255	809	8,945	3,159	671		3,174	1,152	5,554	44	1,103	10,999	
1963			1,826	1,813	1,159		2,357	4,432	1,488		5,350	1,574	866	8,493	2,803	579		3,763	1,216	6,578	78	1,375	12,541	
1964			1,862	1,987	1,385		4,981	4,808	1,639		5,877	1,633	1,250	6,570	3,828	785		3,723	1,484	6,401	56	1,715	14,644	
1965			2,163	2,297	1,380		7,172	5,405	1,761		6,263	1,824	1,501	6,145	5,234	840		3,687	1,539	6,867	104	2,132	16,723	
1966			2,883	2,797	1,384		10,502	5,587	1,784		6,738	1,778	1,717	6,370	4,317	829		3,875	1,555	7,892	109	2,619	17,548	
1967			2,529	2,976	1,203		6,776	6,255	1,857		7,628	1,937	1,960	7,241	4,817	918		4,079	1,616	9,087	174	3,209	19,816	
1968			3,762	3,755	1,278		9,465	5,949	1,810		7,835	1,891	1,855	7,201	5,313	1,030		4,467	1,619	8,881	206	3,891	17,630	
1969			4,522	3,650	982		5,410	5,796	1,753		8,486	2,056	1,882	7,127	6,719	900		4,635	1,725	10,183	202	4,662	18,814	
1970	1,237		5,245	4,694	1,548		6,027	5,799	2,009		8,882	2,265	1,906	5,276	11,000	835		4,965	1,754	11,811	216	5,571	19,814	
1971	1,382		4,276	4,934	1,517		5,725	6,259	1,867		8,524	2,301	1,802	5,730	10,267	891		5,353	1,762	9,047	241	5,890	25,295	
1972	1,568		3,486	6,587	1,486		6,011	7,018	2,115		8,165	2,456	2,523	4,821	8,523	1,075		5,521	1,948	11,362	264	6,240	23,867	
1973	1,661		4,053	7,589	1,455		7,390	8,528	2,689		9,651	3,185	2,332	9,018	8,079	952		5,806	2,620	12,811	489	6,393	29,667	
1974	1,635		4,424	8,368	1,794		8,935	8,529	2,758		11,281	3,332	2,631	14,494	9,016	1,485		6,254	2,724	17,226	394	6,268	38,589	
1975	1,628		4,749	8,455	2,368		7,946	9,279	3,357			3,537	2,350	11,958	9,798	2,270		6,427	3,070	14,398	356	6,274	24,341	
1976	1,468		4,648	8,758	2,523		7,533	8,855	3,281			4,092	2,313	22,559	7,136	1,559		6,205	3,130	15,490	332	6,509	37,796	
1977	1,537		5,798	9,277	3,032		7,677	10,517	3,657			3,975	1,902	11,645	6,972	1,769		6,992	3,220	13,763	307	6,720	28,988	
1978	1,655		6,076	9,492	3,152		8,485	10,936	3,841			4,368	2,505	11,436	6,398	1,991		6,948	3,601	14,823	420	6,864	33,774	
1979	1,684		8,162	9,898	3,452		8,673	14,812	4,876			5,314	2,698	10,161	7,015	1,638		7,021	4,064	15,678	385	6,749	33,203	
1980	1,726	13,445	8,709	14,030	3,057	9,811	8,526	15,548	5,220	1,364		5,767	3,283	11,165	7,711	2,303		6,946	4,129	16,583	491	6,473	18,680	
1981	1,829	12,618	9,442	15,543	2,827	8,252	7,611	12,386	4,228	1,522		4,724	3,427	9,976	6,178	2,186		6,914	3,271	14,579	431	6,330	13,260	
1982	2,024	12,916	10,098	14,295	3,012	6,899	6,502	10,820	3,823	1,090		4,450	3,487	6,327	5,171	1,668		6,283	3,100	14,179	555	6,388	21,734	
1983	2,359	13,236	11,400	16,359	2,680	7,408	6,279	9,993	3,825	670		4,063	3,322	5,052	4,114	1,390		6,121	3,066	12,103	365	6,622	31,300	
1984	2,262	13,896	11,556	18,457	2,902	6,642	5,864	9,718	3,251	1,480		3,624	3,135	5,619	3,937	1,617		6,633	2,705	13,755	286	6,838	26,693	
1985	3,021	13,062	11,973	20,323	2,546	7,063	5,675	10,137	3,289	197		3,524	2,978	5,620	4,165	1,059		6,653	2,696	12,164		7,164	17,326	
1986	3,777	13,755	12,483	21,399	2,668	9,646	7,306	11,880	3,898	321		4,460	2,878	6,241	5,273	1,107		6,387	3,555	15,007		7,568	16,200	
1987	4,437	12,668	12,922	21,907	3,300	12,620	7,729	16,141	4,842	440		5,439	3,465	6,960	6,816	1,391		6,835	4,323	16,407		7,860	26,901	
1988	5,765	14,134	14,188	18,624	3,978	12,224	7,065	15,578	5,267	582		5,958	3,544	8,025	6,192	1,368		7,244	4,732	16,952		8,232	8,655	
1989	7,037	14,783	14,426	17,578	3,924	11,595	6,459	11,426	5,045	761		5,689	4,760	8,795	7,349	1,337		8,007	4,555	21,930		8,720	20,588	
1990	5,101	15,329	14,380	16,508	4,391	13,289	7,072	11,874	6,294	920		7,254	5,899	9,702	7,815	1,951		8,493	5,275	21,496		9,072	14,139	
1991	4,627	12,609	14,591	14,041	3,309	12,995	6,535	10,447	5,859	769		6,555	4,547	8,924	7,132	2,679		8,379	4,901	19,400		8,587	12,710	
1992	5,161	13,260	15,056	16,228	4,284	12,731	6,082	11,541	5,098	784		6,614	3,823	8,876	7,164	2,135		7,775	5,078	17,705		8,605	13,389	
1993	4,965	12,233	15,589	14,100	4,315	9,608	5,471	8,351	5,152	1,027		5,535	3,003	8,532	6,342	2,402		7,253	4,293	13,741		9,433	10,444	
1994	5,350	12,102	16,222	13,737	3,593	9,547	5,412	8,542	5,229	794		5,523	3,690	8,910	6,157	2,300		5,674	7,522	4,704	16,473		11,182	9,971
1995	6,094	11,747	16,819	15,594	3,459	10,543	5,971	9,932	6,142	756		6,480	4,245	10,348	6,382	2,440		5,234	7,986	5,158	15,805		11,693	9,853
1996	6,503	11,611	18,757	13,791	2,982	11,768	5,784	10,425	6,196	628		6,439	4,786	10,627	6,292	2,250		6,828	7,807		15,144		6,313	9,752
1997	6,392	12,348	20,392	17,679	3,343	10,730	5,085	8,475	5,322	734		5,269	4,191	9,362	5,622	2,198		8,368	8,254		13,385		7,522	8,847
1998	7,158	12,156	20,454	17,972	2,700	11,635	5,351	8,597	5,373	687		5,150	3,381	10,293	5,421	965		9,683	8,754					

2005	8,363	14,924	20,856	26,727	5,786	12,479	6,764	10,216	6,148	328		6,373	5,287	11,528	7,647	4,742	8,324	12,521		14,136		9,949	13,720
2006	10,577	16,058	21,716	22,050	7,439	13,139	6,215	11,023	6,056	323		6,517	5,054	10,802	8,655	5,962	7,766	13,171		11,844		15,183	18,644
2007	16,123	16,410	22,977	20,767	7,745	14,647	6,762	12,295	6,845	541		7,633	4,750	11,659	11,028	2,128	4,790	13,148		13,250		16,875	34,712
2008	16,619	15,691	22,888	19,956	8,364	15,774	7,480	13,994	7,483	598		8,400	5,845	12,699	12,019	3,942	2,502	13,012		15,441		16,419	48,026
2009		14,244			5,436	14,152	5,876	11,653		294			5,394	16,320	9,449	4,652	1,159			12,605			
2010		12,802			7,409	15,335	5,746	12,484		257			5,257	12,782	11,773	3,569	1,493			14,761			
2011		11,325			8,714	17,855	5,734	13,704		235			5,803	26,378	12,542	3,473	1,503			15,965			
2012		11,095			8,644	16,526	5,276	12,623		245			6,285	14,699	10,616	4,537	1,501			14,422			

Table 5 continued

5.2 Sovereign islands

	Antigua and Barbuda	Bahamas	Bahrain	Barbados	Cape Verde	Comoros	Cyprus	Dominica	Fiji	Grenada	Iceland	Jamaica	Kiribati	Maldives	Malta	Mauritius	United States	Palau	St. Kitts and Nevis	St. Lucia	St. Vincent and Grenadines	Samoa	Seychelles	Solomon Islands	Tonga	Trinidad and Tobago	Tuvalu	Vanuatu
1900	396	181		614			184	309	301	422		256						331	615	241	375				787			
1901	398	188		598			218	311	306	445		260						367	607	181	279				827			
1902	457	170		495			200	330	475	413		285						329	534	186	432				935			
1903	418	157		455			168	337	417	388		273						316	598	177	429				820			
1904	439	159		601			202	318	370	421		227						330	609	172	360				857			
1905	430	166		594			205	328	366	388		253						382	350	162	526				679			
1906	411	180		685			253	344	495	378		287						373	280	184	424				771			
1907	502	207		715			280	383	495	450		248						413	322	223	400				816			
1908	547	210		723			253	501	520	488		314						434	398	276	358				763			
1909	462	206		671			246	415	494	430		329						412	318	216	465				756			
1910	534	192		786			219	449	613	428		321						456	329	235	465				727			
1911	572	183		904			233	495	624	472		340						839	330	263	561				707			
1912	534	207		847			247	454	629	414		354						586	300	297	683				618			
1913	508	227		771			227	489	566	398		324						455	288	278	762				682			
1914	518	212		751			172	563	594	393		291						458	345	247	0				732			
1915	483	202		707			191	540	524	359		252						377	283	195	682				739			
1916	546	244		956			279	491	488	441		305						434	346	183	427				872			
1917	713	217		1,017			232	474	452	387		281						536	321	204	608				856			
1918	626	142		1,150			204	351	458	350		243						472	259	190	515				776			
1919	546	170		1,218			248	280	336	330		284						453	229	211	393				718			
1920	651	247		1,163			242	276	380	334		428						489	227	208	523				837			
1921	551	290		715			204	240	396	148		266						394	164	137	473				786			
1922	419	642		824			233	216	303	191		283						691		370	186	148	393		636			
1923	429	714		847			178	206	317	217		323	308					730		386	246	160	371		597			
1924	373	505		830			196	187	325	195		280	238					725	393	220	178	359			569			
1925	452	608		793			263	200	405	320		324	273					641	413	273	249	473			610			
1926	380	703		735			256	221	459	282		316	183					517	514	244	236	433			600			
1927	458	636		786			260	227	382	293		336	132					571	470	222	202	398			703			
1928	445	640		818			304	241	458	316		356	208					517	462	236	228	417			734			
1929	362	690		716			323	308	450	289		384	308					480	509	235	219	355			817			
1930	337	594		617			234	269	381	257		335	233					409	426	187	240	324			743			
1931	289	458		545			236	223	292	199		272	333					338	368	139	216	183			551			
1932	227	292		511			191	138	228	166		221	216					248	312	137	153	139			440			
1933	368	361		668			225	195	311	189		254	231					340	390	175	190	151			599			
1934	363	321		847			289	222	338	242		315	162					403	438	201	237	103			763			
1935	323	299		765			288	181	400	259	1,243	311	169		1,041	381		419	220	233	139				694			
1936	443	397		823			283	177	474	261	1,154	310	134					930	377		435	213	233	167		882		
1937	529	470		859			401	187	515	333	1,371	355	119					1,029	407		465	258	256	252		1,097		
1938	480	441		801			408	154	484	273	1,303	371	152					989	409		478	199	249	182		1,077		

1939	386	374		836			300	150	421	238	1,323	341	184		967	364			433	213	246	162			951			
1940	306	381		684			244	132	394	233	1,309	273	161		492	272			455	196	237	115			1,035			
1941	352	449		688			329	168	506	243	2,212	283	137		584	394			432	288	233	105			1,274			
1942	324	356		537			290	120	460	216	3,662	213	113		665	338			351	268	163	181			1,062			
1943	346	381		722			286	236	512	266	3,440	262	90		769	381			447	266	252	339			1,068			
1944	445	424		835			509	259	468	352	3,277	315	66		825	512			463	259	316	248			1,191			
1945	590	422		808			0	261	452	346	4,044	323	43		1,380	436			605	258	274	205			1,080			
1946	628	595		1,045			732	340	555	447	5,157	378	19		2,270	460			559	289	323	218			1,136			
1947	618	745		1,263			1,081	345	673	624	5,139	497	75		1,718	676			692	310	387	354			1,489			
1948	592	761	8,761	1,023	955		1,066	271	632	560	4,162	470	128	205	1,710	735			576	319	316	354	232	72	461	1,479	319	
1949	659	698	8,714	1,033	566		694	293	657	452	2,679	418	118	208	1,509	720			609	417	301	333	234	105	381	1,582	407	
1950	654	661	8,397	868	474	55	619	385	496	371	1,879	360	246	204	1,219	622			549	271	278	300	246	113	375	1,252	245	
1951	413	745	7,730	1,054	426	50	805	428	602	452	2,867	447	152	191	1,321	642			587	317	289	296	456	168	330	1,478	322	
1952	617	825	7,648	1,056	430	96	826	447	734	445	2,782	507	276	284	1,327	691			715	303	301	399	441	177	309	1,583	647	
1953	658	812	9,242	874	432	140	841	389	622	389	3,300	482	271	284	1,302	720			730	263	279	299	428	169	439	1,484	416	
1954	606	851	10,314	919	658	136	913	419	662	553	3,258	499	344	277	1,297	590			723	256	264	376	419	190	416	1,514	438	
1955	832	971	9,735	1,030	505	135	1,165	446	796	541	3,595	600	363	121	1,375	670			738	299	364	408	386	203	198	1,736	506	
1956	861	1,118	9,095	1,124	442	153	1,458	501	868	635	4,015	748	509	178	1,692	581			781	380	393	384	305	231	214	1,692	408	
1957	867	1,289	8,120	1,204	508	137	1,598	540	753	493	3,515	817	483	168	1,655	631			760	409	439	353	290	220	243	1,866	524	
1958	992	1,362	7,754	1,264	469	129	1,232	591	817	512	3,442	768	436	165	1,694	676			809	404	541	403	346	232	201	2,032	442	
1959	1,087	2,035	7,528	1,271	463	121	1,350	662	751	557	3,683	801	508	184	1,612	627			849	447	519	447	316	229	398	2,132	604	
1960	1,104	1,882	7,582	1,390	406	137	1,183	648	695	635	3,641	879	472	148	1,665	694			869	521	617	441	364	247	375	2,301	695	
1961	1,338	2,399	7,393	1,322	208	129	1,198	677	698	672	2,949	836	565	160	1,637	653			911	556	586	405	287	263	310	2,593	706	
1962	1,434	1,921	7,563	1,447	211	148	1,396	802	672	625	3,172	859	567	145	1,573	625			864	685	566	437	297	276	258	2,629	568	
1963	1,467	2,161	6,628	1,578	117	176	1,428	737	746	600	3,777	843	549	122	1,648	624			820	663	566	440	324	273	244	2,743	529	
1964	1,414	2,689	6,107	1,708	192	191	1,115	907	973	690	4,376	1,051	529	143	1,886	699			894	791	694	498	334	312	371	3,031	582	
1965	1,907	2,764	5,443	1,788	153	198	1,487	1,018	982	729	4,424	994	561	158	1,912	633			966	826	623	443	311	364	314	3,261	604	
1966	2,451	3,556	5,393	1,954	142	205	1,545	964	811	805	4,909	1,079	403	133	2,067	545			1,030	1,019	650	365	518	448	361	3,005	650	
1967	1,981	4,022	5,958	1,908	167	202	1,577	915	859	840	4,781	1,113	566	144	2,054	571			1,011	987	598	341	597	409	477	2,631	721	
1968	1,634	4,175	5,213	1,989	163	180	1,551	892	890	782	3,730	1,165	494	124	2,168	529			912	818	634	311	669	431	405	2,501	702	
1969	1,899	6,622	5,203	2,177	229	184	1,775	1,027	936	962	3,236	1,239	311	136	2,434	441			992	1,074	726	387	730	371	373	2,682	712	
1970	1,966	6,505	5,667	2,477	306	181	1,893	1,226	1,004	1,190	3,879	1,394	351	170	2,491	458			1,313	1,318	849	476	936	403	379	2,818	756	
1971	2,128	6,560	6,674	2,483	357	202	1,983	1,234	1,170	1,195	4,906	1,383	318	175	2,380	482			1,674	1,600	961	440	1,328	434	412	3,277	991	
1972	2,127	4,995	7,620	2,723	413	216	2,308	1,214	1,369	1,108	5,158	1,523	332	131	2,573	654			1,678	1,569	926	611	1,720	447	500	3,619	1,479	
1973	1,545	7,029	9,428	3,034	540	257	3,054	1,091	1,758	1,019	7,433	1,503	405	123	3,270	860			1,803	1,549	915	696	1,898	454	579	3,520	1,656	
1974	2,206	6,659	17,983	3,305	487	382	2,452	1,119	1,912	774	9,537	1,852	444	122	4,422	1,403			1,714	1,620	1,067	693	1,908	574	769	7,291	2,020	
1975	2,095	5,034	16,684	3,200	516	305	1,783	1,109	1,690	948	8,056	2,008	497	69	4,154	1,361			1,940	1,527	943	890	1,933	624	697	5,270	1,441	
1976	1,580	5,426	20,918	3,302	365	158	2,412	948	1,549	950	7,287	1,512	495	75	4,407	1,377			1,718	1,479	843	671	2,216	516	544	6,745	1,130	
1977	1,726	5,098	21,984	3,559	425	172	3,264	1,005	1,650	1,156	8,796	1,320	530	78	5,004	1,577			1,609	1,694	1,002	867	2,387	515	699	5,664	456	
1978	1,859	5,667	18,993	3,808	554	180	3,668	1,193	1,741	1,202	9,047	1,273	553	85	5,071	1,611			1,661	2,164	1,099	1,023	2,774	593	841	5,618	488	1,420
1979	2,730	6,484	19,850	4,616	487	236	4,353	825	2,032	1,328	9,717	1,232	432	83	5,889	1,630			1,991	2,338	1,260	1,264	3,614	842	862	5,318	461	1,490
1980	3,459	7,623	23,751	4,988	544	202	4,522	1,557	2,098	1,333	10,378	1,198	500	124	6,108	1,497			2,469	2,489	1,346	945	3,669	909	972	6,963	728	
1981	4,151	6,828	24,374	4,894	508	198	3,927	1,466	2,095	1,282	9,532	1,438	456	123	5,081	1,236			2,404	2,315	1,231	770	3,089	811	936	6,098	541	
1982	3,987	6,043	19,360	4,413	479	188	3,837	1,328	1,563	1,219	8,165	1,247	468	125	4,433	947			2,085	1,969	1,290	646	3,038	575	906	6,671	589	
1983	3,060	6,319	16,289	4,735	554	183	3,644	1,213	1,412	1,165	6,767	1,287	445	153	4,040	863			2,353	2,296	1,346	600	2,621	561	789	4,429	532	
1984	3,598	6,360	16,044	4,824	500	216	3,838	1,510	1,233	1,070	6,601	935	539	197	3,836	875			2,311	1,794	1,419	599	2,487	555	813	3,103	571	
1985	4,451	7,742																										

1995	6,521	5,944	8,180	3,687	839	167	5,583	2,112	1,479	1,617	8,421	1,449	582	418	9,828	2,255	1,082	3,891	3,955	2,693	1,587	727	3,985	526	1,015	1,737	792	720
1996	6,518	6,321	8,915	3,855	737	144	5,732	2,262	1,577	1,915	9,449	1,469	599	368	9,176	2,510	1,169	4,454	4,244	2,641	1,496	737	6,231	486	949	2,114	746	703
1997	6,288	7,508	8,020	4,489	708	132	5,054	2,156	1,494	2,124	9,055	1,506	592	396	8,109	2,320	1,138	5,430	4,038	2,715	2,099	692	5,415	483	902	2,887	986	643
1998	6,285	8,281	6,834	4,465	661	125	4,939	2,328	1,091	2,411	10,853	1,419	479	407	8,290	2,139	1,123	4,133	3,976	2,620	2,141	675	5,962	374	837	2,857	1,265	611
1999	6,462	7,545	6,774	4,758	683	121	4,676	2,361	1,325	2,373	10,637	1,311	572	368	8,594	2,246	1,063	5,248	3,942	2,751	2,182	776	6,511	306	862	2,561	1,001	615
2000	6,010	8,585	8,024	4,785	607	89	4,741	2,364	1,169	2,700	10,448	1,440	537	411	9,928	2,001	1,132	7,536	4,822	2,637	1,712	686	4,900	241	795	2,997	599	515
2001	5,436	7,667	7,065	4,359	589	101	4,637	2,035	1,205	2,308	8,785	1,397	522	397	7,123	1,829	1,167	5,711	4,463	2,539	1,898	849	6,547	223	807	3,151	406	504
2002	5,455	6,797	7,613	4,087	670	100	4,684	1,749	1,197	2,110	8,575	1,428	616	460	7,300	1,937	1,048	5,401	4,613	2,152	1,765	801	5,626	159	968	3,174	1,262	482
2003	5,549	6,727	7,688	4,563	819	126	4,912	1,886	1,554	2,609	10,309	1,436	608	507	8,668	2,054	1,153	4,780	4,410	2,714	1,995	882	5,334	212	992	3,325	866	539
2004	5,730	7,059	9,002	5,236	963	146	5,763	2,074	1,801	2,310	12,812	1,501	675	573	9,485	2,325	1,258	5,616	3,894	2,734	2,200	1,187	6,189	260	1,079	4,053	1,232	624
2005	6,096	8,256	10,255	5,730	930	158	6,247	2,296	1,920	3,119	16,779	1,732	796	481	9,236	2,540	1,188	5,284	4,287	3,013	2,268	1,294	8,045	373	1,198	4,604	1,350	687
2006	7,176	9,402	10,348	5,616	1,099	174	6,510	2,246	2,071	2,742	19,857	1,983	640	627	10,426	2,804	1,227	5,584	4,854	3,518	2,480	1,431	8,653	413	1,115	5,088	1,298	948
2007	8,059	9,876	10,273	5,714	1,454	198	7,737	2,561	1,991	3,254	21,025	2,334	695	589	11,256	2,902	1,236	4,935	5,078	3,507	2,931	1,331	9,445	531	1,287	5,856	1,508	944
2008	7,847	10,254	12,272	6,065	1,515	242	9,048	3,069	2,385	3,080	18,492	2,739	703	779	11,914	3,312	1,308	5,183	5,780	3,562	3,224	1,378	11,382	558	1,451	7,066	2,446	1,216
2009	8,098	8,034	5,125	1,289	278	6,574	2,809	1,510	2,398	10,697	1,631	622	388	10,060	2,646	1,455	5,635	5,495	2,961	2,891	1,099	8,263	447	1,251	5,148	1,299	1,116	
2010		8,113	9,305	5,315	1,306	295	6,958	2,746	1,849	2,637	11,364	1,644	661	447	11,146	3,036	1,403	5,118	4,833	3,685	2,911	1,445	9,979	648	1,346	4,723	1,458	1,042
2011		8,972	9,097	5,283	1,594	333	6,727	2,689	2,145	2,698	13,516	1,949	789	761	13,391	3,428	1,526	4,961	4,283	3,735	2,769	1,556	10,243	716	1,580	6,725	1,973	1,053
2012		9,999	8,745	5,671	1,242	316	5,453	2,469	2,153	2,663	12,969	1,938	905	679	13,688	3,468	1,725	5,748	3,763	3,382	2,921	1,515	10,116	727	1,598	6,290	2,320	985

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