

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”

*Reunion Island
5 December 2014*

Geoffrey Bertram
Institute for Governance and Policy Studies
Victoria University of Wellington, New Zealand

1. Introduction

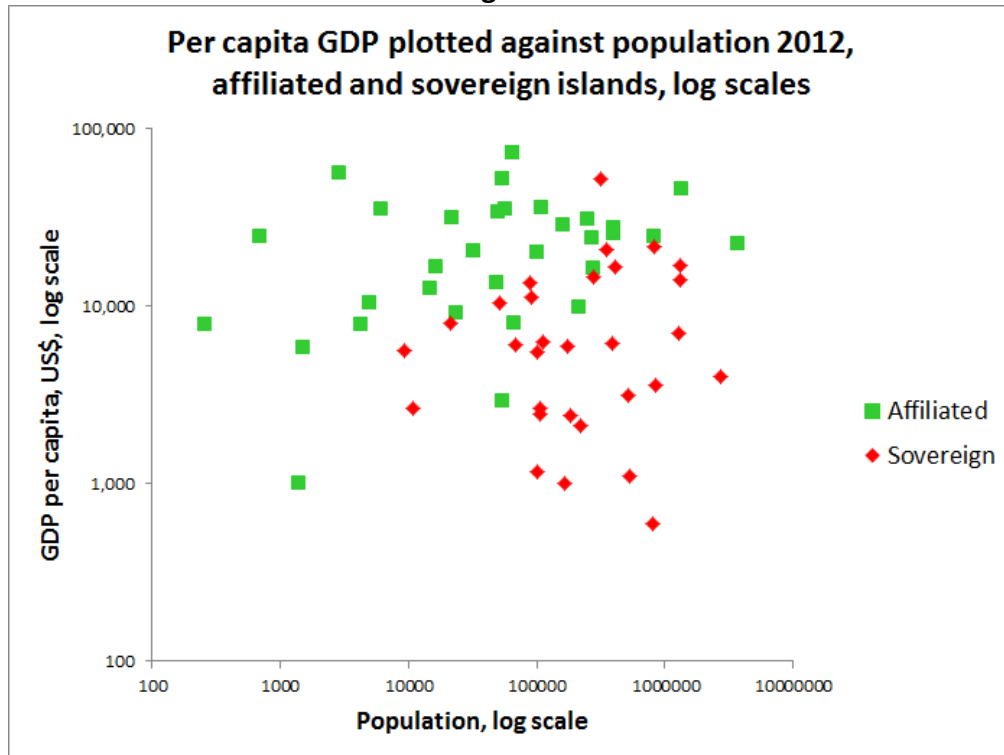
In this paper I shall present some new results from my work on the long-run economic history of small islands. The central question addressed is how the political status (sovereign independence, or affiliation with a metropolitan patron state¹) to which small islands moved during the decolonisation era 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

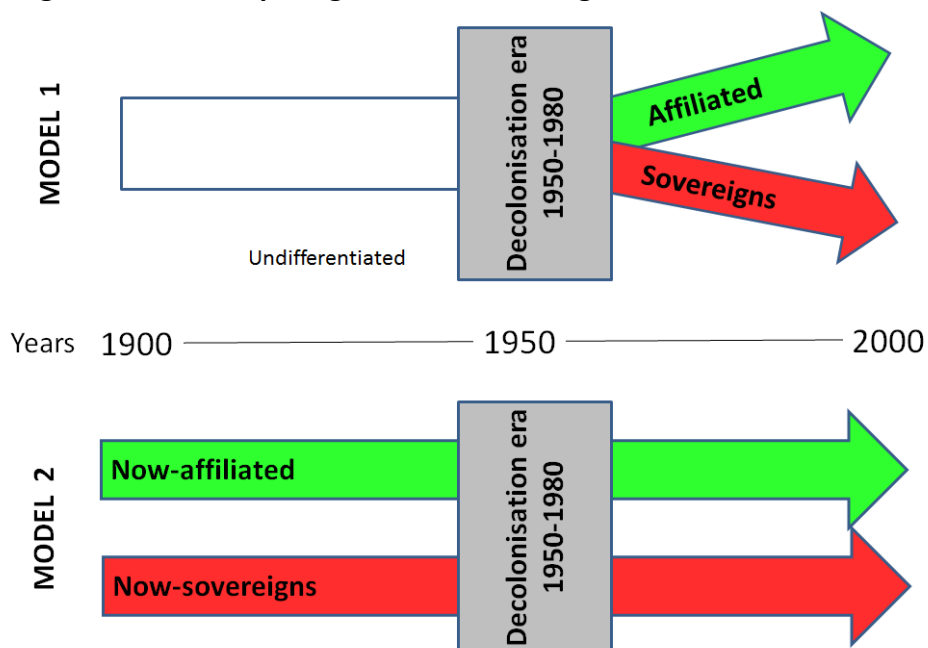
island economies in the data set had become affiliated political entities after decolonisation, would they all have ended up at the same, relatively high, income levels as those that are actually affiliated?

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.

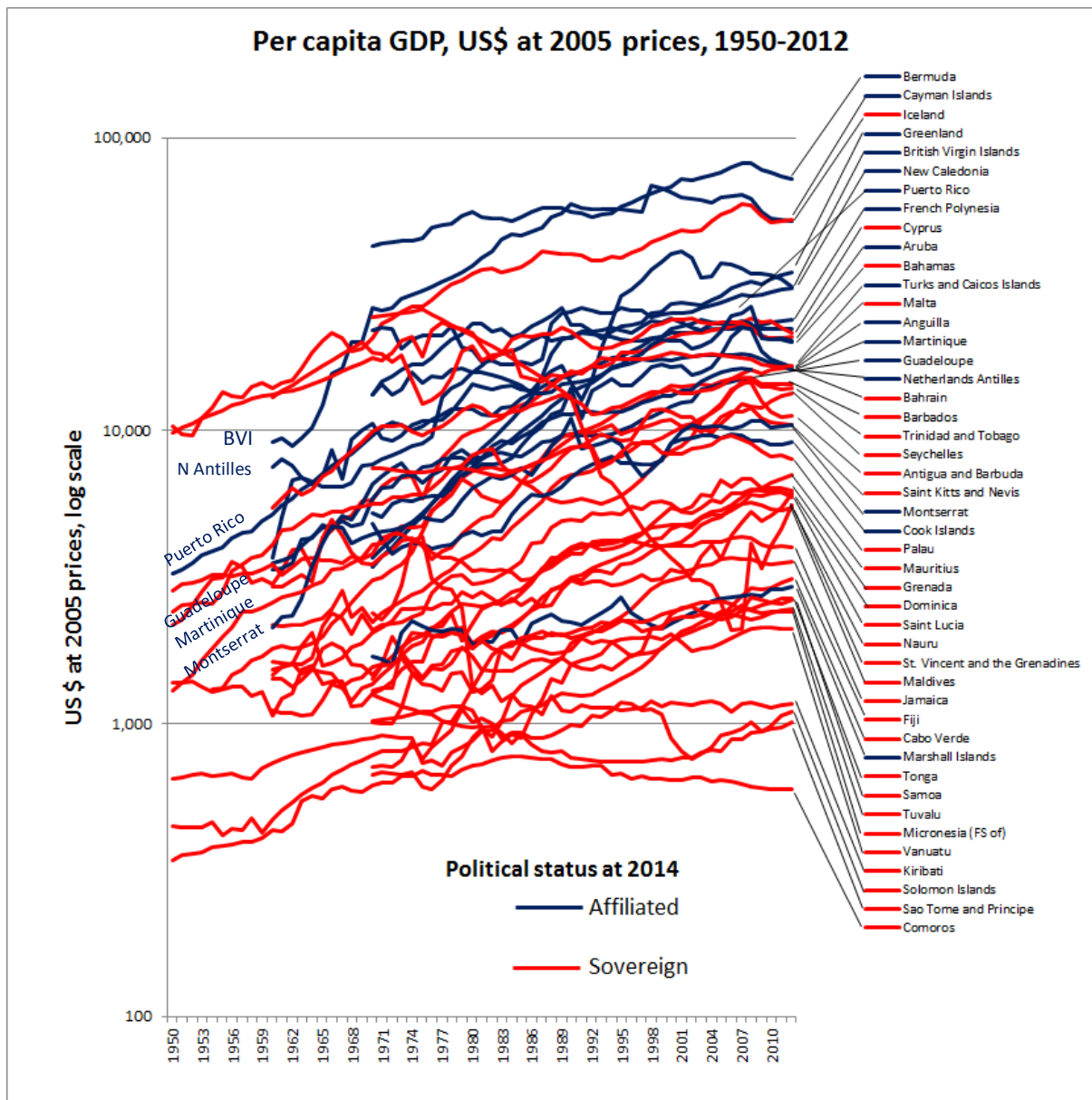
⁵ <http://www.ggd.net/maddison/maddison-project/data.htm> last accessed 21 November 2014.

⁶ <http://www.rug.nl/research/ggd/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

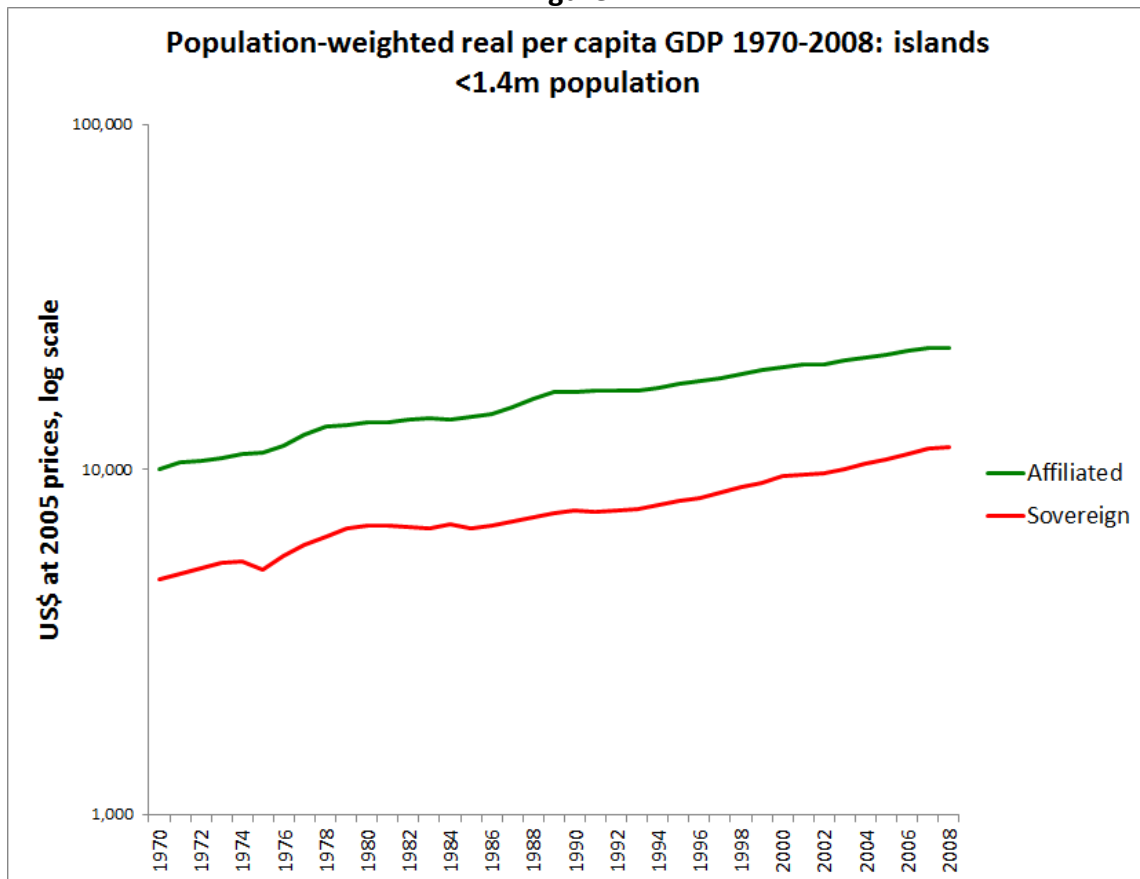


Figure 5a

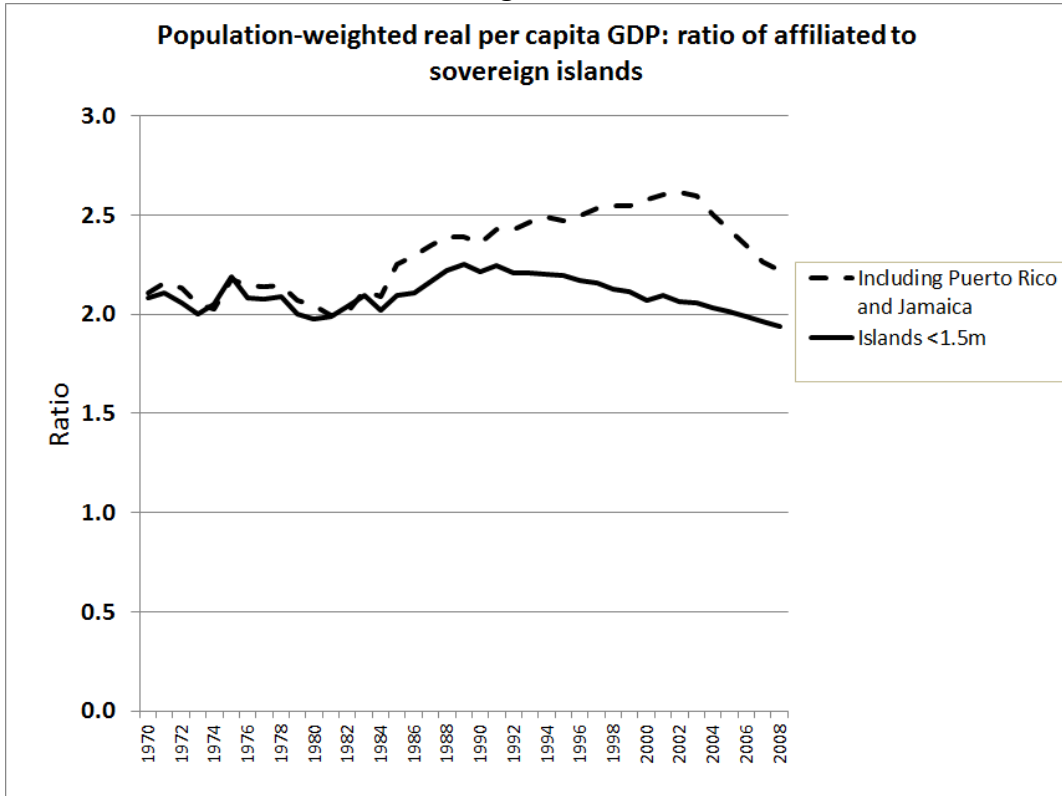
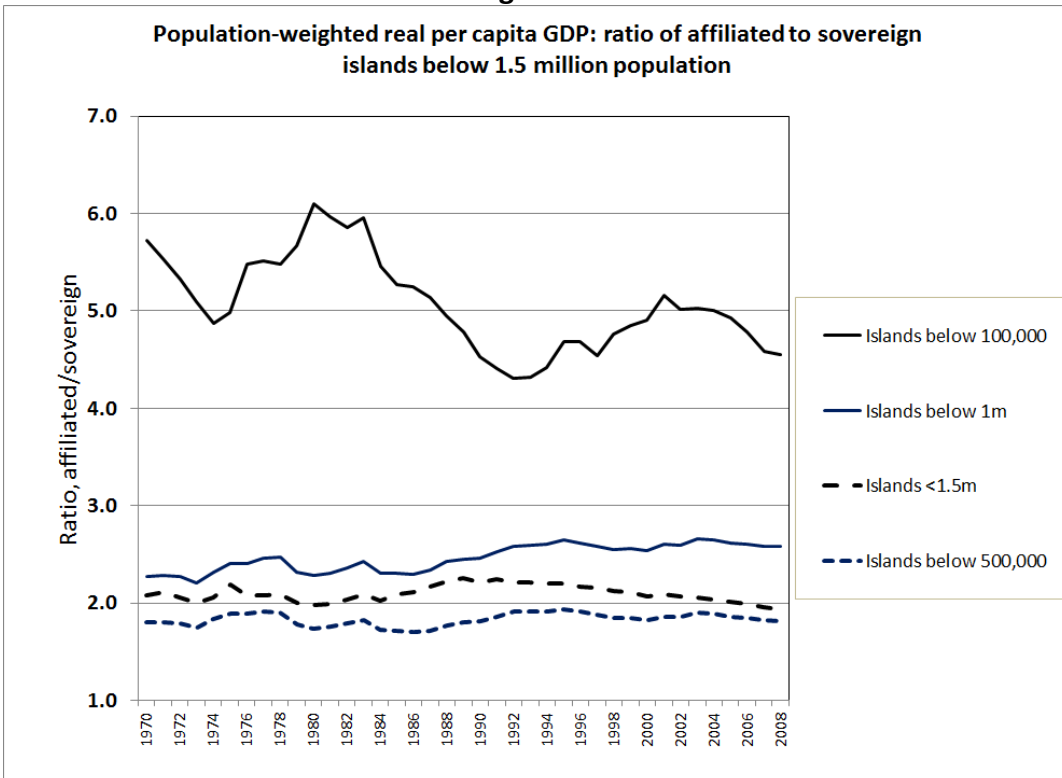


Figure 5b



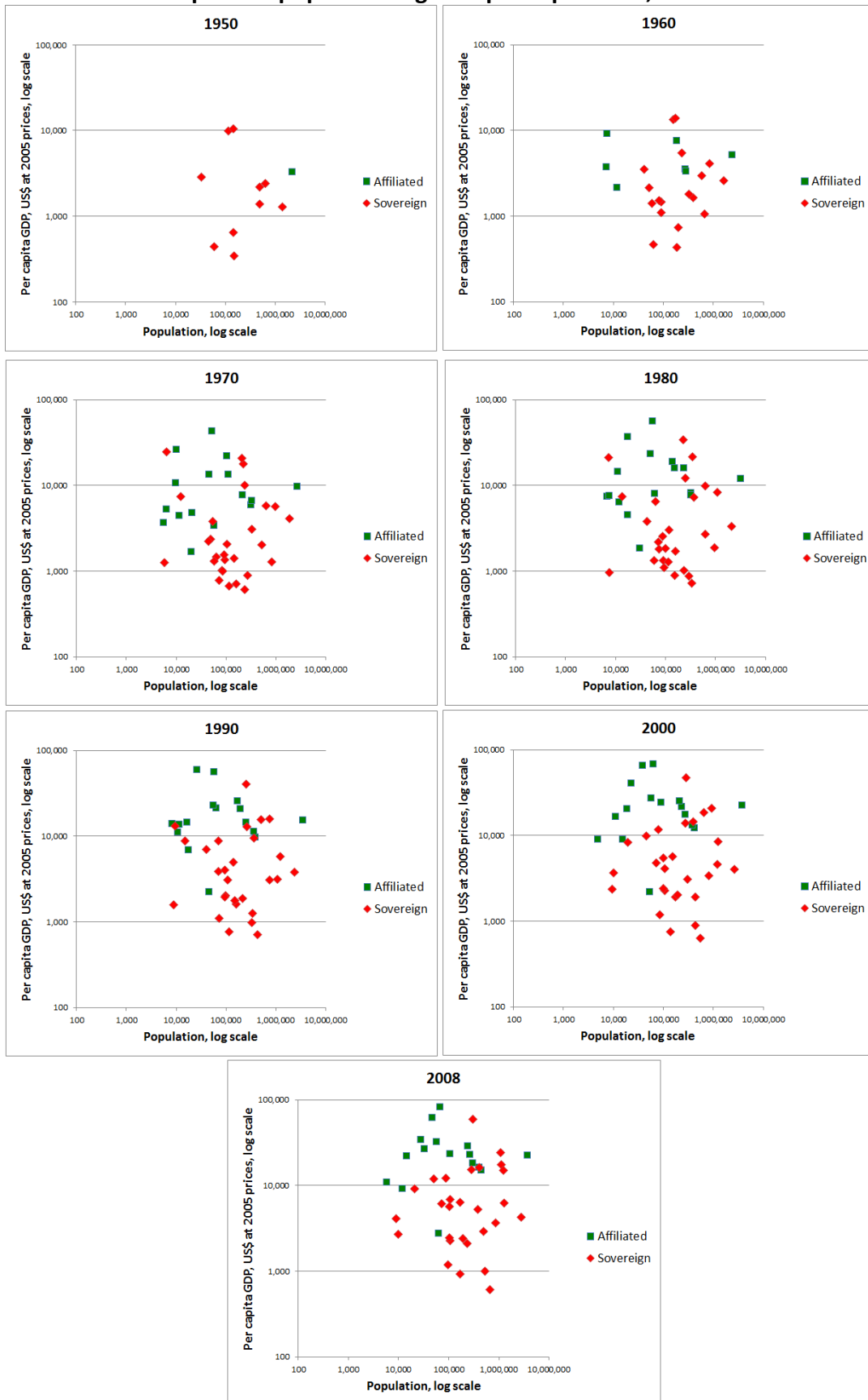
The result of this exercise is unequivocal with regard to the period 1970-2008: small island economies below 1.4 million that became affiliated during decolonisation already at 1970 had, collectively, double the per-capita income of those that became sovereign, and at the

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.

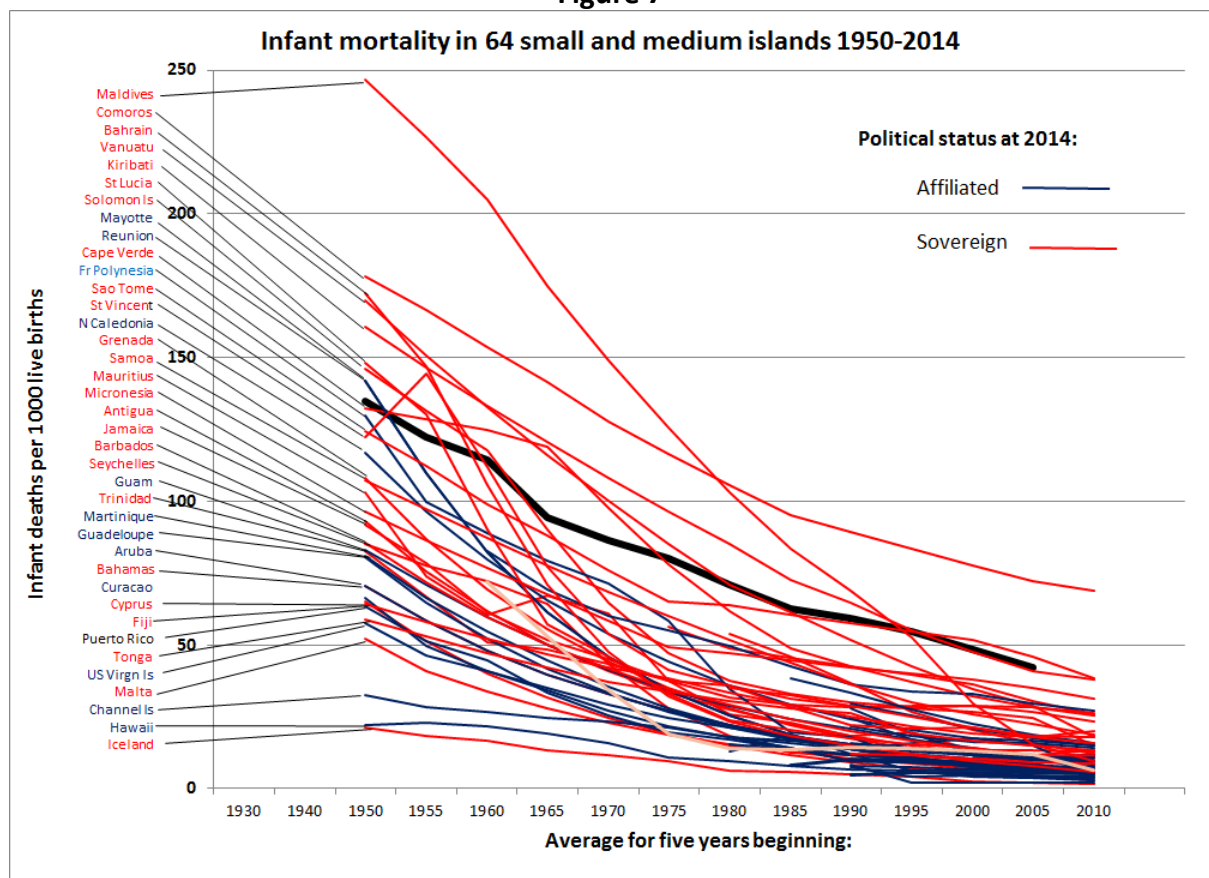
¹³ <http://data.worldbank.org/indicator/SP.DYN.IMRT.IN/countries?display=default> accessed 20 October 2014.

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.

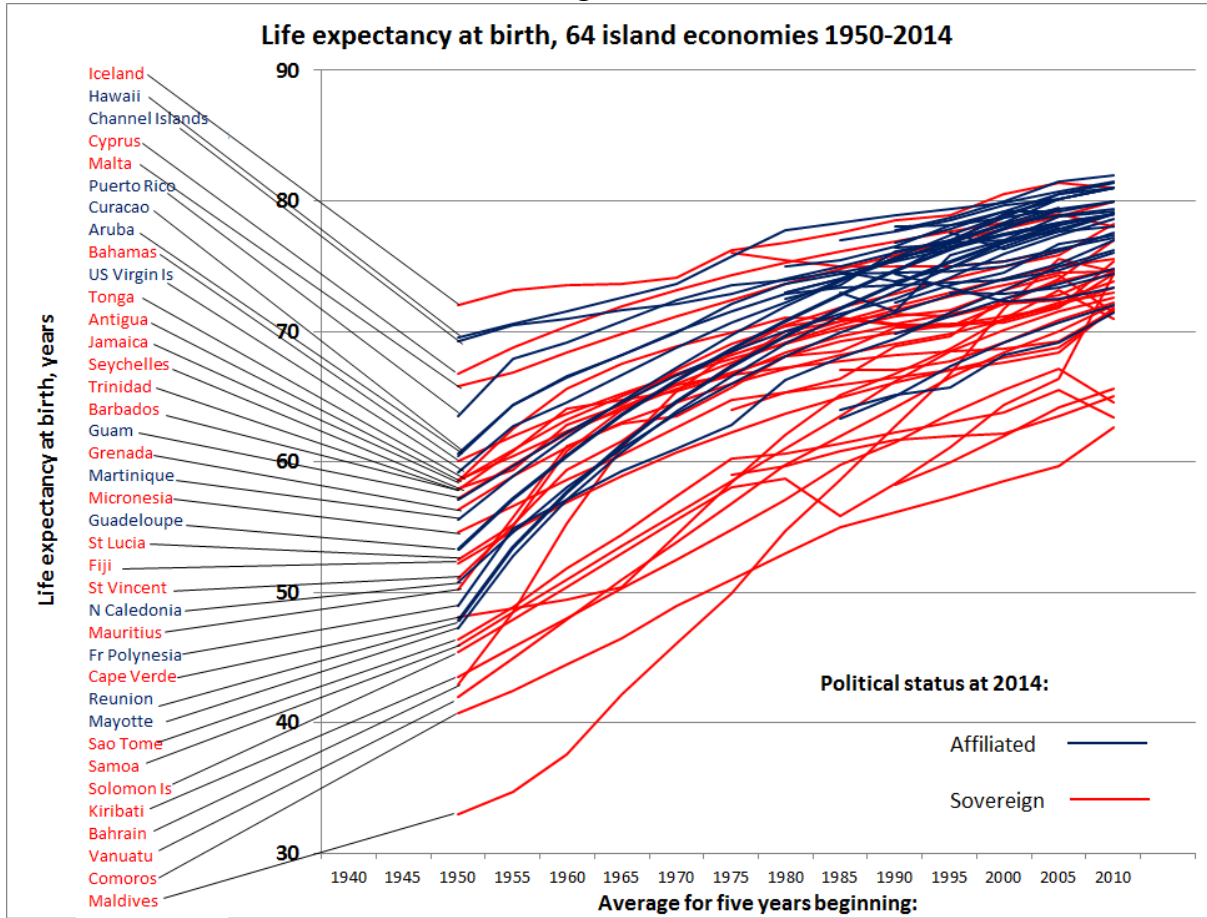
¹⁶ http://esa.un.org/wpp/Excel-Data/EXCEL_FILES/3_Mortality/WPP2012_MORT_F07_1_LIFE_EXPECTANCY_0_BOTH_SEXES.XLS accessed 15 October 2014.

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



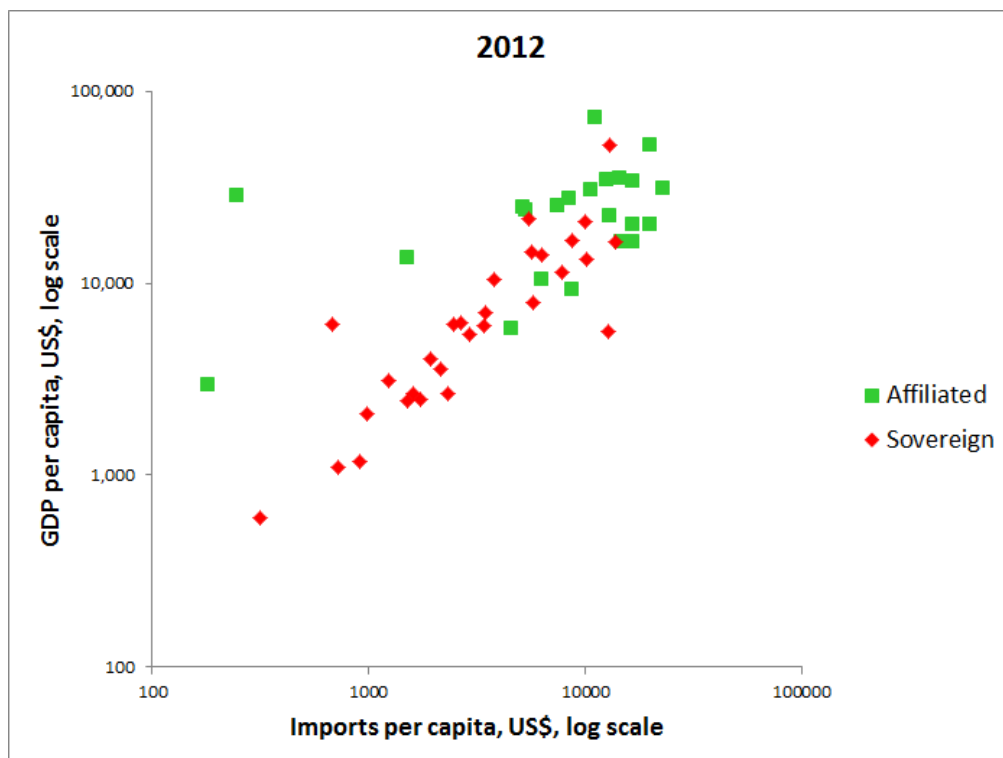
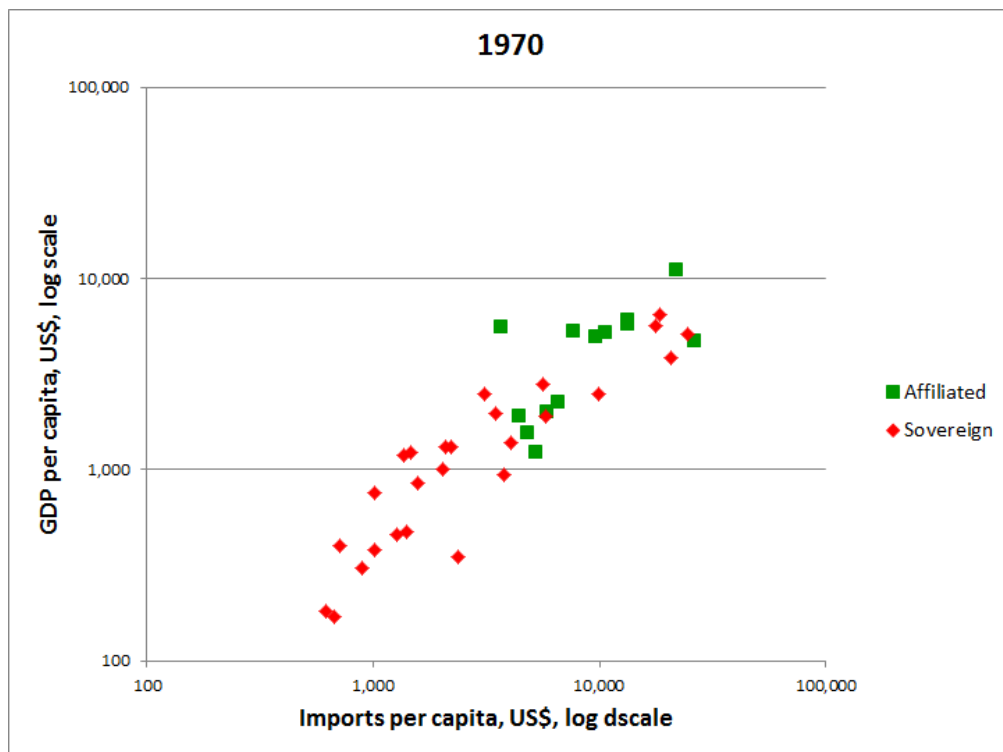
Source: Table 8

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

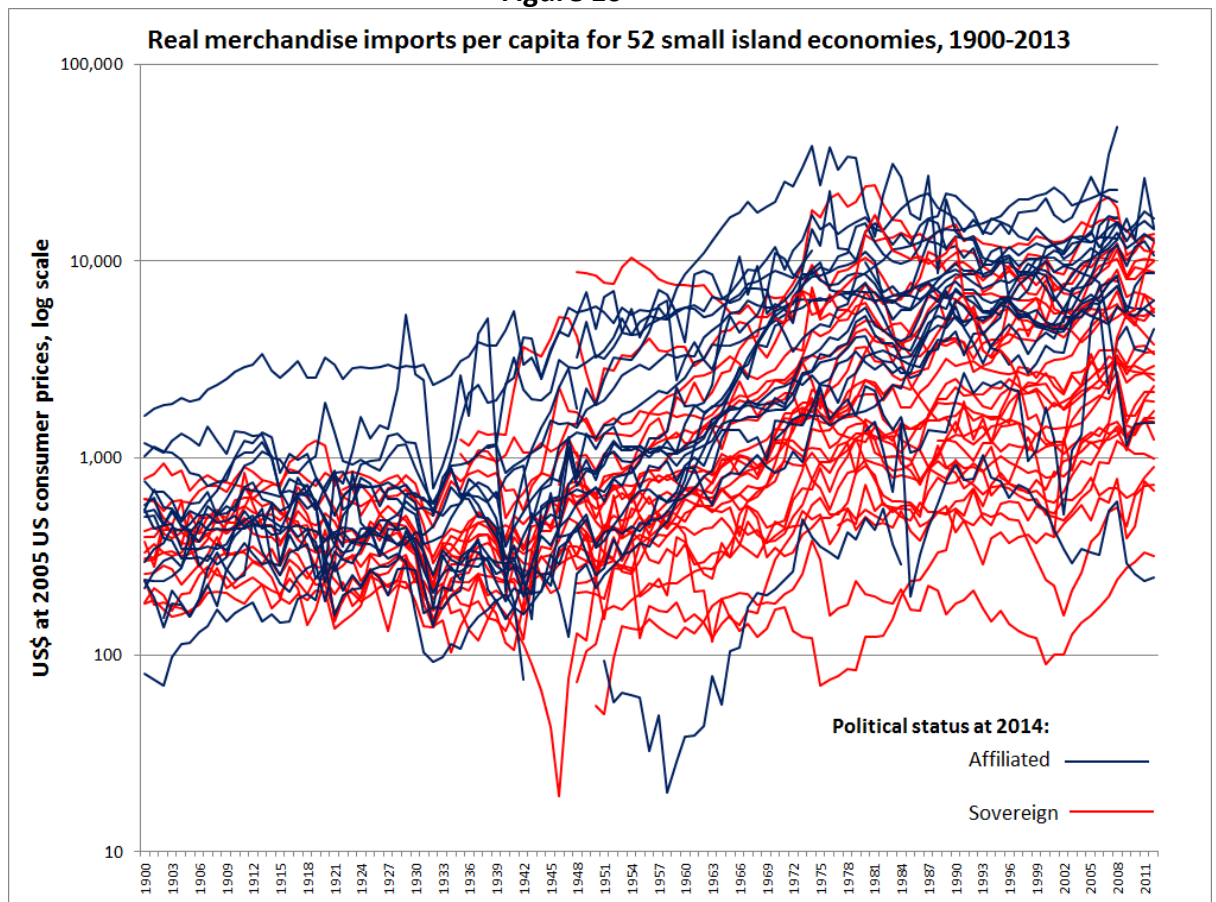


The first task was to collect trade data in current US dollars for as many island economies as possible from 1900 to 2013. A range of sources has been drawn upon for aggregate import

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/WsdbsExportZip.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.

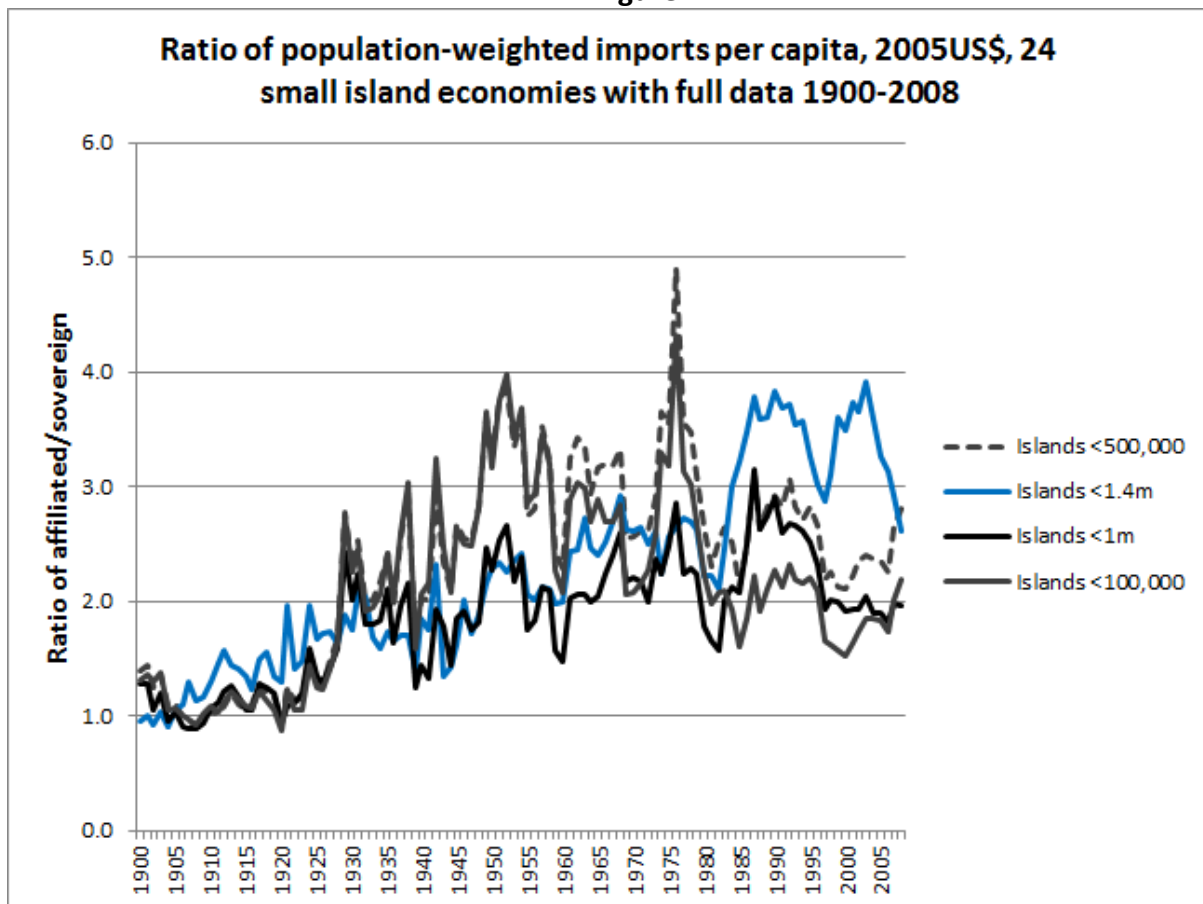
The emergence of the now-affiliated islands' lead over the sovereigns therefore began before decolonisation got underway, and proceeded through the first decade or so of decolonisation. This looks consistent basically with Model 2 (divergence preceded decolonisation) but potentially also with a third 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

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	81.0	
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	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	72.2
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

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

References

- Armstrong, H. and R. Read, 2000. Comparing the economic performance of dependent territories and sovereign micro-states, *Economic Development and Cultural Change*, 48(2):285–306.
- Armstrong, H.W. and R. Read, 2002. The phantom of liberty? Economic growth and the vulnerability of small states. *Journal of international development* 14(3): 435–458.
- Armstrong, H., R.J. De Kervenoael, X. Li, and R. Read, 1998. A comparison of the economic performance of different microstates and between microstates and larger countries. *World Development* 26(4):639–656.
- Baldacchino, G., 2004. Autonomous but not sovereign? A review of island sub-nationalism, *Canadian Review of Studies in Nationalism*, 31(1-2): 77-90.
- Baldacchino, G., 2006. Innovative development strategies from non-sovereign island jurisdictions? A global review of economic policy and governance practices. *World development* 34(5): 852–867.
- Baldacchino, G., 2010. *Island Enclaves: Offshoring strategies, creative governance, and subnational island jurisdictions*, Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press.
- Baldacchino, G. and Bertram, G., 2009. The beak of the finch: insights into the economic development of small, often island, economies, *The Round Table* 98(401): 141-160.
- Baldacchino, G. and Greenwood, R., 1998. *Competing Strategies of socio-economic development for small islands*, Charlottetown, PEI: Institute of Island Studies, University of Prince Edward Island.
- Baldacchino, G. and Milne, D. (eds), 2000. *Lessons from the political economy of small islands: the resourcefulness of jurisdiction*. Basingstoke: Macmillan.
- Baldacchino, G. and Milne, D., 2006. Exploring sub-national island jurisdictions, *The Round Table* 95(386): 487-502.
- Baldacchino, G. and Milne, D. (eds), 2009. *The case for non-sovereignty: lessons from sub-national island jurisdictions*, London: Routledge.
- Bertram, G. 1987. Decolonisation and Nationhood in Small South Pacific Societies, in A. Hooper, S. Britton, R. Crocombe, J. Hunstman, and C. Macpherson (eds), *Class and Culture in the South Pacific*, pages 16-31. Auckland: Centre for Pacific Studies, University of Auckland, and Suva: Institute of Pacific Studies.
- Bertram, G. 1993. Sustainability, aid, and material welfare in small South Pacific island economies, 1900–1990. *World Development* 21(2):247–258.

- Bertram, G., 1999. Economy, Chapter 28 in M. Rapaport (ed) *The Pacific Islands: Environment and Society*, Honolulu: Bess Press.
- Bertram, G., 2004. On the convergence of small island economies with their metropolitan patrons. *World Development* 32(2): 343–364.
- Bertram, G. 2006. Introduction: the MIRAB model in the twenty-first century. *Asia Pacific Viewpoint*, 47(1): 1–14.
- Bertram, G., 2007. Reappraising the Legacy of Colonialism: A Response to Feyrer and Sacerdote, *Island Studies Journal* 2(2): 239-254, November.
- Bertram, G., 2011, *Assessing the Structure of Small Welfare States*, Commonwealth Secretariat and UNRISD, Social Policies in Small States Series No 4, 2011.
- Bertram, G., 2013. Pacific Island economies, Chapter 27 in Moshe Rapaport (ed) *The Pacific Islands: Environment and Society*, revised edition, Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, pp.325-340.
- Bertram, G., 2014. A response to McElroy and Lucas, *Island Studies Journal* 9(2): 377-382, November.
- Bertram, G. and B. Poirine, 2007. Island Political Economy. Chapter 10 in G. Baldacchino (ed.) *A World of Islands*. Charlottetown: Institute of Island Studies, University of Prince Edward Island, pp.325–377.
- Bertram, G., 2015 forthcoming. Sovereignty and material welfare in small island jurisdictions, in A. Holz, M. Kowasch, M. and O. Hasenkamp (eds), *Eine region im wandel: Politik & macht in den pazifischen inselstaaten*, Saarbrücken: Saarland University Press
- Briguglio, L., 1995. Small island developing states and their vulnerabilities, *World Development* 23(9): 1615-1632.
- Briguglio, L. and Kisanga, E.J. (eds), 2004. *Economic vulnerability and resilience of small states*, Malta: Formatek.
- Bulmer-Thomas, V., 2001, The wider Caribbean in the twentieth century: a long run development perspective, *Integration and Trade Journal* 5: 5-56, reprinted as Chapter 13 in in Denis Pantin (ed) *The Caribbean economy: a reader*, Kingston and Miami: Ian Randle Publishers, 2005.
- Drezner, D., 2001. Sovereignty for Sale, *Foreign Policy* 126: 76-77, September.
- Easterly, W. and A. Kraay, 2002 "Small states, small problems? Income, growth, and volatility in small states" *World Development* 28(11): 2013-2027, November.
- Feyrer, J. and B. Sacerdote, 2009,. Colonialism and Modern Income: Islands as Natural Experiments, *Review of Economics and Statistics*, May, 91(2): 245–262. Bertram, G., 2014, Sovereignty and material welfare in small island jurisdictions. In A. Holz(ed.),

- Gibson, J. and K. Nero, 2008. Why don't Pacific economies grow faster?, in A. Bisley (ed) *Pacific interactions: Pasifika in New Zealand, New Zealand in Pasifika*, Wellington: Institute for Policy Studies e-book, <http://igps.victoria.ac.nz/publications/files/1fb71b51d69.pdf>.
- Heinlein, F., 2002. *British Government policy and decolonisation 1945-1963: scrutinising the official mind*, London: Frank Cass.
- McElroy, J.L., 2014. A note on the significance of geographic location in island studies, *Island Studies Journal* 9(2): 363-366, November.
- McElroy, J. L., and K. de Albuquerque, 1995. "The social and economic propensity for political dependence in the insular Caribbean", *Social and Economic Studies*, 44(1), 167-193.
- McElroy, J.L., and C.E. Parry 2012. "The long-term propensity for political affiliation in island Microstates", *Commonwealth and Comparative Politics*, 50(4), 403-421.
- McElroy, J.L., and K. Pearce, 2006. "The advantage of political affiliation: dependent and independent small island profiles", *The Round Table: Commonwealth Journal of International Affairs*, 95(386), 529-539.
- Mitchell, B.R., 2005. *International Historical Statistics: Africa, Asia and Oceania 1750-2005*, 5 ed, Palgrave.
- Mitchell, B.R., 2007. *International Historical Statistics: The Americas, 1750-2005*, 6 ed, Palgrave Macmillan.
- Sampson, T., 2005. *Notes on the economic performance of small states 1995–2003*, Working Paper No. 2, Asian Development Bank-Commonwealth Secretariat Joint Report to the Pacific Islands Forum Secretariat. Suva: Forum Secretariat. (<http://www.adb.org/Documents/Reports/Pacific-Regionalism/vol3/wp02.pdf>)
- Schmitt, Robert C., *Historical Statistics of Hawai'i*, Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press.
- Shaxson, N., 2011. *Treasure islands: uncovering the damage of offshore banking and tax havens*, New York: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Streeten, P.P., 1993. The special problems of small countries, *World Development* 21(2): 197-202.
- United Nations Department of Economic and Social Affairs 2013, *World Population Prospects: the 2012 revision* June, <http://esa.un.org/wpp/> .