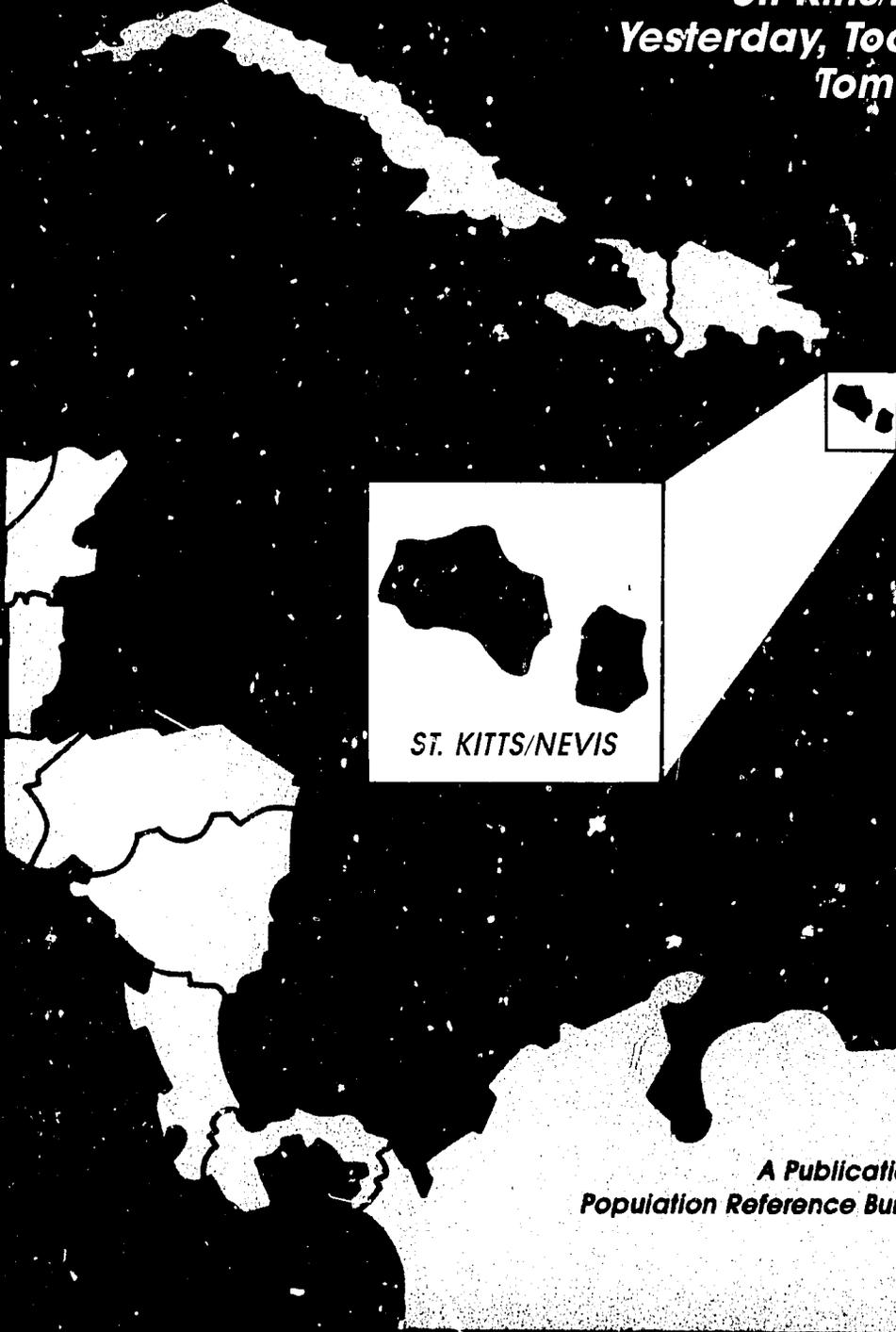


PN-AAT-540 411622

PRB OCCASIONAL SERIES:

THE CARIBBEAN

**St. Kitts/Nevis:
Yesterday, Today &
Tomorrow**



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St. Kitts/Nevis: Yesterday, Today & Tomorrow

**by Leon F. Bouvier
February 1984**

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St. Kitts/Nevis Yesterday, Today & Tomorrow

St. Kitts/Nevis Yesterday

St. Kitts/Nevis became an independent nation in September 1983. The two islands comprise the newest and one of the least populated of the world's independent countries. In examining its population history, it is important to specify precisely what islands are included in the various enumerations that have been taken since the first post-emancipation census of 1844.

That first census counted 34,927 persons living in three islands: St. Kitts, Nevis, and Anguilla (see Table 1). Until Anguilla broke away in the late 1960s (finally seceding officially in 1980), population totals for St. Kitts/Nevis were likely to include Anguilla. Since then, however, Anguilla's residents have generally been excluded from the official counts of the population of St. Kitts/Nevis. Insofar as possible, the historical statistics in this report will refer only to St. Kitts and Nevis, with Anguilla considered separately. Where this is not possible, the reader will be alerted to the variation.

The census of 1844 enumerated 32,748 people on St. Kitts/Nevis--23,177 on St. Kitts and 9,571 on Nevis. The population grew slowly for the next 50 years and peaked in 1891 at 43,963. This represented an average annual rate of growth of about 0.6 percent. After 1891, numbers began to fall and by 1921, the population of the two islands was 33,984. Thus over the three-quarters of a century after 1844, the population of St. Kitts/Nevis had only increased by 1,236--zero population growth for all practical purposes.

This was undoubtedly an era of high fertility and high, though declining, mortality. Crude birth rates were presumably in the high 40s and crude death rates in the middle 30s. Furthermore, emigration from the

two islands must have been significant, particularly after 1891, as the total population declined between that year and 1921 by about 23 percent.

This pattern of growth followed by decline occurred in both islands. Nevis's population peaked in 1891 at 13,087 as did St. Kitts's (30,876). The numbers then fell to 11,569 in Nevis and to 22,415 in St. Kitts by 1921. The latter population, incidentally, was lower than in 1844! As for Anguilla, its population exhibited steady growth between 1844 and 1921. Indeed, numbers doubled over the period--from 2,179 to 4,230.

During the next quarter of a century (1921--46), rates of population growth once again increased, and by the 1946 census, 41,206 people lived on the two islands (29,818 on St. Kitts and 11,388 on Nevis)--about the same as in 1881, before the decline set in. Nevertheless, annual growth was still well below 1 percent, again suggesting considerable emigration at the same time that both fertility and mortality fell.

Throughout the nineteenth century, as well as in the early portion of the twentieth century, emigration levels were high in most smaller East Caribbean islands. Following emancipation, many former slaves migrated to the larger islands in efforts to escape their former "masters." By the turn of the century, the enticements from Panama (where the canal was being constructed), from Bermuda (where a new dock was also being built), and from the cane plantations of Cuba and the Dominican Republic led to continued emigration from St. Kitts, Nevis, and other small islands. It was not until after 1921 that this heavy migration declined somewhat and the population began to increase faster.

For the years 1946 to 1960, a study by Caribbean demographers George

Table 1: Population of St. Kitts/Nevis, 1844–1946

Year	St. Kitts	Nevis	Total, Two Islands	Anguilla	Total, Three Islands
1844	23,177	9,571	32,748	2,179	34,927
1861	24,440	9,822	34,262	2,500	36,762
1871	28,619	11,703	40,322	2,704	43,026
1881	29,137	11,864	41,001	3,219	44,220
1891	30,876	13,087	43,963	3,699	47,662
1901	29,782	12,774	42,556	3,890	46,446
1911	26,283	12,945	39,228	4,075	43,303
1921	22,415	11,569	33,984	4,230	38,214
1946	29,818	11,388	41,206	5,037	46,243

Roberts and Jack Harewood serves as the source of this report's analysis.* They estimated the population and the vital statistics for each year for each East Caribbean Commonwealth nation. Unfortunately, in the case of St. Kitts/Nevis, they also included the Anguilla population. Thus, their figure for the 1946 population totals 46,243 rather than 41,206. In 1946, Anguilla's population was 5,037 and it approached 6,000 by 1960. To allow therefore for appropriate comparisons over time, both prior to 1946 and after 1960, between 5,000 and 6,000 persons will be deducted from the Roberts-Harewood estimate to yield an estimate of the population of St. Kitts and Nevis only.

From 1946, when it was 41,206, the population of St. Kitts/Nevis increased to about 51,300 in 1960, an average annual growth rate of 1.5 percent—the highest recorded since 1844. The period was marked by continued high levels of fertility. In 1946, women past their childbearing years had averaged close to five children each. The crude birth rate was still a high 43 per 1,000 in 1960. On the other hand, mortality fell quite rapidly after World War II, in large part the result of new medical discoveries

that prevented death from numerous infectious diseases. Thus, natural increase (that is, births minus deaths) was substantial.

Emigration, however, remained quite high. Roberts and Harewood estimated that it averaged around 550 per year, which was above 10 percent of the population over a decade. During the 1950s, emigration to the United Kingdom peaked. Indeed, it has been estimated that some 280,000 Caribbeans moved to the UK during that decade; a significant number undoubtedly came from St. Kitts/Nevis, as the smaller islands contributed the highest percentage of their total populations.

The spurt of population growth noted between 1946 and 1960 was of short duration. The next decade saw the number of Kittitians and Nevisians decline by some 13 percent—to 44,884. The rate of natural increase fell as birth rates declined while the already low death rates fluctuated only slightly. The crude birth rate, 43 in 1960, fell to 30 by 1970; the crude death rate, on the other hand, remained in the vicinity of 10 per 1,000.

The 1960s witnessed an incredibly large outmigration of the people of the nation—the rate has been estimated to be as high as 30 per 1,000 in some years, according to Guadalupan demographer Jean-Pierce Guengant. In 1960 and 1961, move-

* G.H. Roberts and Jack Harewood, *Estimates of Intercensal Population by Age and Sex and Revised Vital Rates for British Caribbean Countries, 1946–1960* (University of West Indies, 1964).

ments to the UK were particularly numerous, due perhaps to the anticipation of the passage of the Commonwealth Immigration Act, which would, for all practical purposes, bar further immigration from the Caribbean. After 1962 the migration stream shifted to Canada and in particular to the U.S. Virgin Islands. (As an Associate State in the Commonwealth, St. Kitts/Nevis did not benefit from the liberalization of U.S. immigration laws in 1965. Its annual quota was only 200, later raised to 600 in 1976.) The Virgin Islands' non-native population more than doubled between 1964 and 1969, many of them coming from St. Kitts/Nevis.

Thus the 1960s—and, as discussed in the next section, the 1970s—were marked by massive movements away from the two islands, first to the United Kingdom and then to the U.S. Virgin Islands. As a result of these changes in demographic behaviour, including declining fertility, the population of St. Kitts/Nevis in 1970 (at 44,884) was approximately the same as in 1891.

St. Kitts/Nevis Today

According to the 1980 census, the population of St. Kitts/Nevis was 43,309. Thus the nation's long-time stability in numbers continues. Over the previous decade, the population fell by 1,575, which is about 3.5 percent.

This slight decline reflects the historical pattern of positive natural increase (that is, more births than deaths) being equaled and in some years exceeded by net emigration, when more people leave the country than enter it on a permanent basis. According to official government estimates, for example, natural increase for the three years from 1978 through 1980 totaled 1,952 while net emigration amounted to 1,901.

For this report, net emigration has been estimated to have been 8,000 during the decade. This is based on a reverse projec-

tion of the population from the 1980 census back to the one taken in 1970.* Admittedly, this is an estimate, and any variation in the completion rate of the censuses could affect the count. Yet given the fact that natural increase for the decade amounted to about 6,500 and that the nation's population fell by 1,575, it seems that 8,000 is a reasonable estimate of net emigration for the 1970s. This translates into the rate of 18 persons per 1,000.

Fertility fell during the 1970s. In 1970 the total fertility rate (TFR), which is the number of live births per woman according to the age-specific rates of that year, approximated 5.0. By 1980, it had fallen to about 3.6. This represents a crude birth rate of 27—somewhat lower than the 30 per 1,000 noted around 1970. The fall in the total fertility rate is quite remarkable and suggests that family planning programs are achieving some success. On the other hand, a total fertility rate of 3.6 is relatively high for such a geographically small nation. It means that St. Kitts/Nevis must rely on continued high levels of emigration to ensure that population growth does not get out of hand.

Changes in mortality were minor over the decade. The crude death rate actually rose slightly—from 9.7 to 11.0 per 1,000—but that reflects an aging population: 7.8 percent of the 1970 population were 65 or older; by 1980, 9.5 percent were that age. Age-standardization yields a lower adjusted death rate in 1980 than in 1970. It is assumed that life expectancy

*The reverse projection method "survives" the population by age and sex backward in five-year intervals. By using appropriate survival rates, a population (males aged 45-49 in 1980, for example) can be restored to the number who would have been 40-44 in 1975 and 35-39 in 1970. Assuming relatively complete censuses in both 1970 and 1980, any differences in the age-sex distribution in 1970 between the restored and the actual enumerated population must be accounted for by either immigration or emigration. This yields only a rough estimate of the level of net migration over a decade, nonetheless it is the best available, short of actual data on migration itself.

Table 2: Permanent St. Kitts/Nevis-Born Immigrants Admitted to the United States, 1960-79

Year	Number
1960-64	853
1965-69	2,991
1970-74	1,884
1975	419
1976	650
1977	896
1978	1,014
1979	786

increased a bit during the decade, to about 64 years at birth by 1980.

As noted above, net emigration continued throughout the 1970s. According to official government statistics, the negative balance for the ten years beginning in 1967 was about 6,500. Between 1970 and 1979, a total of 5,903 persons born in St. Kitts/Nevis emigrated legally to the United States (see Table 2). A significant number also moved to the U.S. Virgin Islands or Canada.

The aging of the population of St. Kitts/Nevis was quite marked during the 1970s. Median age increased from 16 to 20 and the proportion under 15 fell from 48.7 percent in 1970 to 37 percent in 1980. Together, emigration of young people and low fertility contributed to this shift in the age structure. In addition, increases in longevity among the elderly and the return migration of older Kittitians and Nevisians led to higher proportions of older people and a higher median age.

As a result of these changes, the dependency ratio (the number of persons under 15 and over 64 per 100 persons aged 15-64) fell from 126 to 88. In 1980, therefore, there were 88 dependents per 100 working-age individuals. This remarkable decline in the dependency ratio over such a brief period shows that the burden of de-

pendency fell because of the fertility decline and, to some extent, the continued high level of emigration. (Figure 1 illustrates these changes in age distribution between 1970 and 1980.)

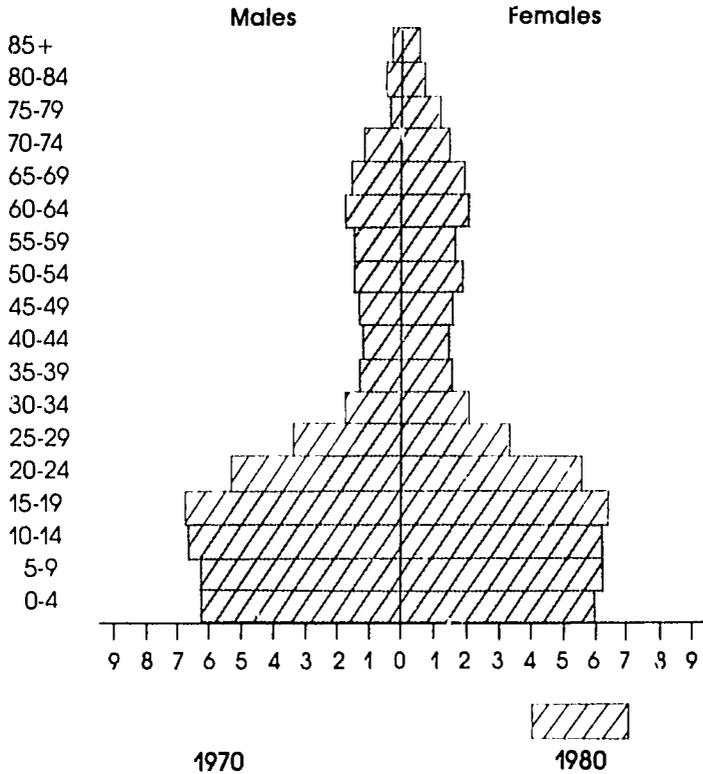
As St. Kitts/Nevis faces the future—in particular, in light of its September 1983 establishment as the world's newest independent nation—its population size is fairly stable. Indeed it is one of the few nations in the world where population size has not varied by more than 10-15 percent in either direction over the past 100 years. Such stability is important, even necessary, when population density is already high and further growth is not considered desirable. To maintain such stability, however, future demographic behaviour will have to be monitored very closely to note any change in population size or structure.

St. Kitts/Nevis Tomorrow

No attempt is made in this report to predict the future size and composition of the St. Kitts/Nevis population. Rather, alternative scenarios are created based on different assumptions concerning future fertility, mortality, and migration patterns. Policymakers are then better able to determine the impacts of variations in these variables on the future size and composition of the islands' population and, if they so desire, act accordingly.

Demographic Assumptions: Three models of fertility have been selected. One assumes that fertility remains at its current level of 3.6. Another assumes the TFR declines to 2.5 by 1990, with the age-specific fertility rates that would then prevail remaining constant thereafter. Either of these patterns could occur. On the one hand, fertility has already fallen considerably and no further decline may take place. On the other hand, with increased awareness and use of contraceptives, further declines are indeed quite possible. The third model is based on a replace-

Figure 1: Age-Sex Distribution of St. Kitts/Nevis, 1970 and 1980



ment-fertility figure of 2.1. Such low fertility would be necessary for all growth to eventually end (in the absence of migration). It is used solely to illustrate the momentum of population growth.

Only one model of mortality trends is used. Life expectancy is assumed to increase from 63.6 for males and 67.5 for females in 1980 to 71 and 75, respectively, in 2030. Such progress seems quite likely, given the evidence of recent improvement not only in St. Kitts/Nevis but in other East Caribbean nations as well.

Three possible patterns of migration are postulated. One constitutes a maintenance of the 1970-80 level of 800 emigrants net per year; the second reduces that figure to 400 per year; the third, strictly

for illustrative purposes, assumes no net movement into or out of the islands, in order to demonstrate the impact that an end of emigration would have on the islands.

A continuation of present migration levels is quite plausible. Whether these numbers will fall in the future is of course problematic, but it must be considered since the United Kingdom already restricts immigration and both the United States and Canada are presently reexamining their migration policies. This could also affect movements to the U.S. Virgin Islands.

On the other hand, the country's new independent status will result in a larger number of possible legal entries into the United States, at least under current U.S.

law. As a colony, only 600 "slots" per year were reserved for St. Kitts/Nevis. As an independent nation, it will qualify for up to 20,000 "slots" per year. This is not to say that they will be used; Kittitians and Nevisians would compete with others under the various preference levels of U.S. legislation. It can nevertheless be assumed that emigration to the United States will rise, albeit temporarily, before leveling off at some later date. Given the volatility of this temporary movement, however, this report does not consider it.

Based on various combinations of the above assumptions, four scenarios of population growth in St. Kitts/Nevis have been constructed (see Figure 2; for supporting data, see Appendix Table A):

Scenario A—current fertility (3.6) and current net emigration (800 per year)

Scenario B—declining fertility (2.5) and declining net emigration (400 per year)

Scenario C—current fertility (3.6) and net migration of zero

Scenario D—declining fertility (2.1) and net migration of zero.

The implications of these four possible patterns of fertility and migration are discussed in the remainder of this paper.

Population Projections: A continuation of current demographic behaviour in St. Kitts/Nevis (Scenario A) would result in a slight decline in population size over the next 20 years. By the year 2000 the population would be 42,022, some 3 percent below the 1980 total. In 50 years, the total population would have fallen to nearly 27,800. However, it is unrealistic to assume a constant numerical level of net emigration when the overall population itself is declining. For example, the net annual emigration level of 800 yields a migration rate for 1980–85 of 18.6 per 1,000, but by 2025–30 it would yield a rate of 27.1 per 1,000. More likely, net emigration would decline somewhat after 2000 and perhaps remain at a rate of around 20 per 1,000. (This would still yield a population

decline to somewhere in the vicinity of 35,000 by the year 2030.)

Nevertheless, a continuation of current fertility and migration levels combined with some improvement in life expectancy will result in a small decrease in numbers over the next few decades, with that decrease becoming larger later in the twenty-first century. Such a likelihood may well be perceived as favourable though it involves much of the youth leaving the islands. However, it seems quite unlikely that the migration rate will remain at 18 or 20 percent for very long. Although it may actually increase in the short run, declines are entirely possible in the twenty-first century.

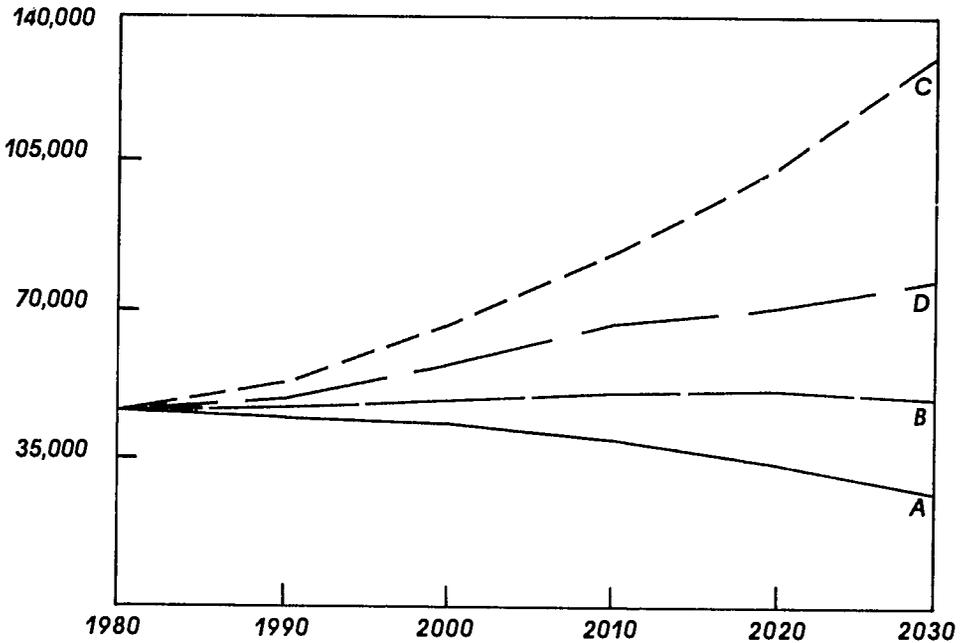
To illustrate the impact of current fertility levels on the future size of the population, Scenario C was developed. It assumes that fertility remains at 3.6 and that net migration is zero after 1980. The resulting population growth is awesome. By the end of this century the population of St. Kitts/Nevis would surpass 66,000, and by 2030 it would have almost tripled to 129,000—a clearly impossible situation. Emigration from the islands will undoubtedly continue at some level in the future as it has in the past, though the number of people leaving may vary.

The question thus becomes: if net emigration is reduced, though not eliminated, what level of fertility would assure a relatively stable population of 45,000–50,000? Scenario B is one possibility. It assumes net emigration of 400 per year (half the current level) and a fertility level that falls to 2.5 by the year 1990 and remains constant thereafter. Population size would grow, albeit quite slowly, to 47,683 by the year 2000 and to 50,000 by 2015 before beginning a very slow decrease thereafter. This then appears to be the level of fertility to opt for if net emigration is halved. Any higher fertility would yield what would certainly be viewed as unacceptably large populations in the next century.

These scenarios illustrate migration's role in determining the future size of the islands' population. Yet fertility levels are also ex-

Figure 2: Population of St. Kitts/Nevis, 1980–2030

Population



A: TFR of 3.6, net emigration of 800
 B: TFR of 2.5, net emigration of 400

C: TFR of 3.6, net migration of zero
 D: TFR of 2.2, net migration of zero

remely important to consider when planning for the future. Scenario D shows what would happen if emigration were eliminated and fertility were reduced to 2.1—the level needed to replace any population in the long run without migration. The population of the islands would increase to 56,460 by 2000 and then to over 77,000 by 2030. In fact it would reach 82,000 before leveling off by 2050!

How can a population double in size when its fertility rate is at replacement level? There is a built-in momentum for growth in a young population. As indicated earlier, St. Kitts/Nevis has such an age distribution. Thus, the number of young people having smaller families is itself so large that the level of natural increase remains quite high for many years

before it stabilizes as the society itself ages.

Variations in fertility and migration do not only affect population size, of course. Their impact on the age distribution of the population is also an important policy consideration.

Declines in fertility contribute to the aging of a population. Whenever fewer children are born, the median age rises simply because the proportion of young people in the population falls while that of the elderly goes up. Declines in emigration also contribute to some aging, as the large majority of those who leave are children and young adults. Furthermore, there is evidence of some return migration to St. Kitts/Nevis of older people.

Table 3: Percent Distribution of Population by Age-Group in St. Kitts/Nevis, 1980–2030

Scenario	1980	1990	2000	2010	2020	2030
Scenario A						
Under 15	37	35	35	29	25	20
15–64	53	56	56	53	64	55
65 or older	10	9	9	8	11	25
Scenario B						
Under 15	37	32	28	26	22	20
15–64	53	59	65	68	70	63
65 or older	10	9	7	6	8	17
Scenario C						
Under 15	37	36	38	35	34	34
15–64	53	57	57	61	62	59
65 or older	10	7	5	4	4	7
Scenario D						
Under 15	37	32	27	26	23	22
15–64	53	60	67	69	71	66
65 or older	10	8	6	5	6	12

Table 3 illustrates the changes that could take place in the age composition in future years. Looking first at the dependency ratio, if current fertility and migration patterns remain unchanged (Scenario A), dependency ratios would fall from 80 per 100 working-age persons in 1980 to 53 per 100 by 2015. A sharp rise would then follow, reflecting both the retirement of large cohorts born during the high-fertility decade of 1960–70 and the increased proportional contribution of older returning migrants. More important, however, is the short-run positive effect of fewer individuals being supported by the active population.

Variations in the dependency ratio would follow roughly the same pattern if fertility and net emigration were both reduced (Scenario B). The dependency ratio would fall even more, to 43 by 2020, and would not rise again to the level noted in Scenario A. Without any emigration whatsoever and with a continuation of the current fertility level (Scenario C), the

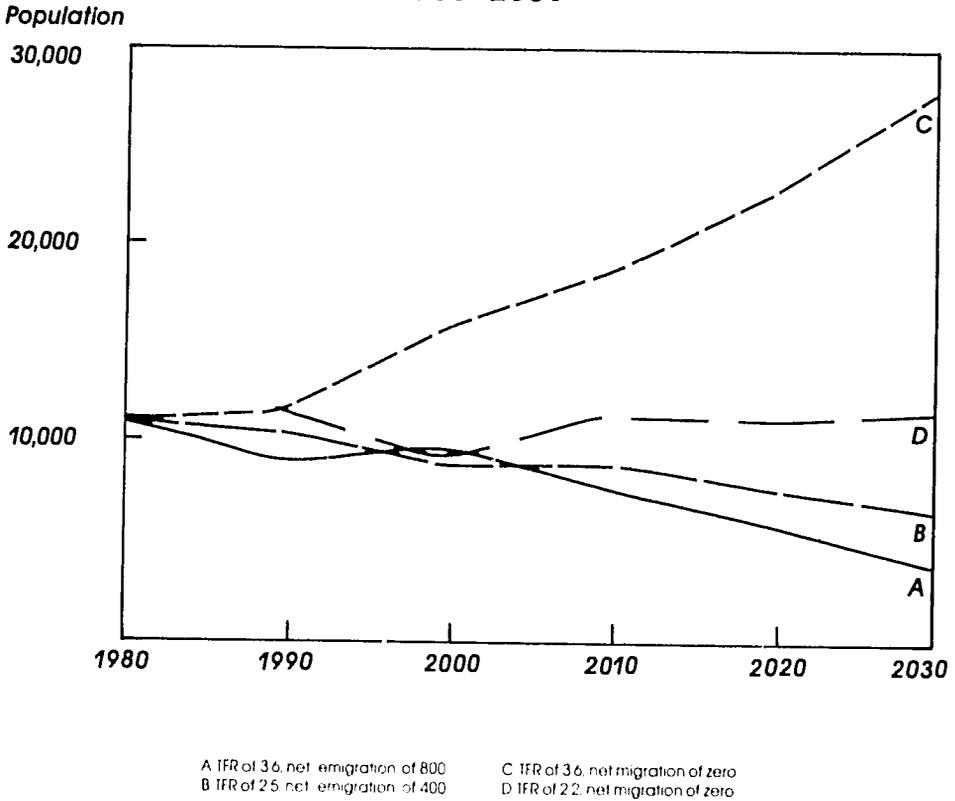
dependency ratio would fall only to 61 by 2020 before rising once again.

Looking in more detail at the three major age categories, in both Scenarios A and B the proportion of youth in the total population falls over time, though somewhat more quickly with lower levels of fertility and net emigration (Scenario B). Except for the rapid increase in the number of elderly after 2020, changes in their proportion in the population are very slight. It is the active population, between 15 and 64, that increases—mostly in relation to the young group. This is true of Scenarios A and B, but, again, particularly so for Scenario B.

The pattern noted in Scenario C, when there would be no migration, is somewhat different. Although the group aged 15–64 increases, it does so more at the expense of the elderly than of the young.

These projections suggest that were it possible to select the best demographic

Figure 3: School-Age Population (5–14) in St. Kitts/Nevis, 1980–2030



behaviour economically speaking, lower levels of both fertility and emigration would be the ideal path to follow. Not only would the total population remain around 45,000-50,000, but the age distribution would be particularly advantageous.

Changes in age distribution are demographically interesting, yet their real-world value lies in what they mean for the social and economic situation of a nation. For policymakers, the numbers behind the growth rates are more meaningful. In other words, what do changes in age distribution mean for future levels of school enrollment? How many more jobs will have to be found in the future? How many dependent elderly will there be?

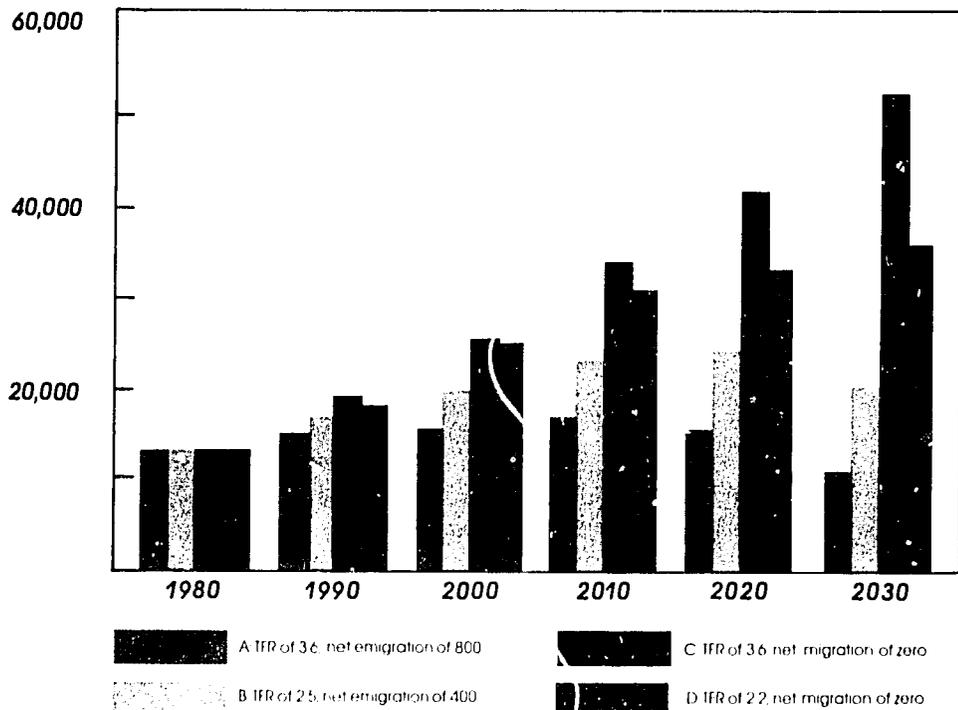
School Enrollment: In this report it is assumed that everyone between the ages

of 5 and 14 attends school. Admittedly, not all do and many above age 14 are still in school. Yet the 5–14 year olds serve as an adequate surrogate for school enrollment figures. From the picture painted in Figure 3 (see Appendix Table B for supporting data), it is clear that under Scenarios A and B the number of children will fall in future years. If the present levels of fertility and emigration continue (Scenario A) the number would fall from 10,886 in 1980 to 8,968 by 1990. It would then increase somewhat before declining steadily after the turn of the century. Under Scenario B the decrease would be less dramatic but steadier, falling from 10,142 by 1990 to 8,519 by the year 2000.

The situation without any emigration (Scenario C) would, however, be disastrous. The number of children aged 5–14

Figure 4: Labour Force in St. Kitts/Nevis, 1980–2030

Labour Force



would grow to 15,784 by the turn of the century and would almost double in the following 30 years to nearly 28,000—a clear impossibility!

Overall, and speaking only numerically, the school situation in St. Kitts/Nevis appears quite favourable for the foreseeable future. Enrollments should decline slightly and if there are no changes in enrollment rates, this should allow for both improvements in quality as well as increases in enrollments among older youth, particularly those over age 14.

Labour Force: In this report, the International Labour Organization's projections for the Leeward Islands' rates of labour force participation have been used. Furthermore, all persons working or looking for work are included. Regardless of sce-

nario, more jobs will have to be created for at least the next 40 years (see Figure 4; for supporting data, see Appendix Table C).

Looking first at Scenario A, in which the current high levels of net emigration are assumed to continue, over 1,600 new jobs would have to be available by 1990 and another 270 between 1990 and 2000 just to maintain the current levels of employment. (Lower fertility is irrelevant for at least the next 15 years as newborns and the very young are not part of the labour force.)

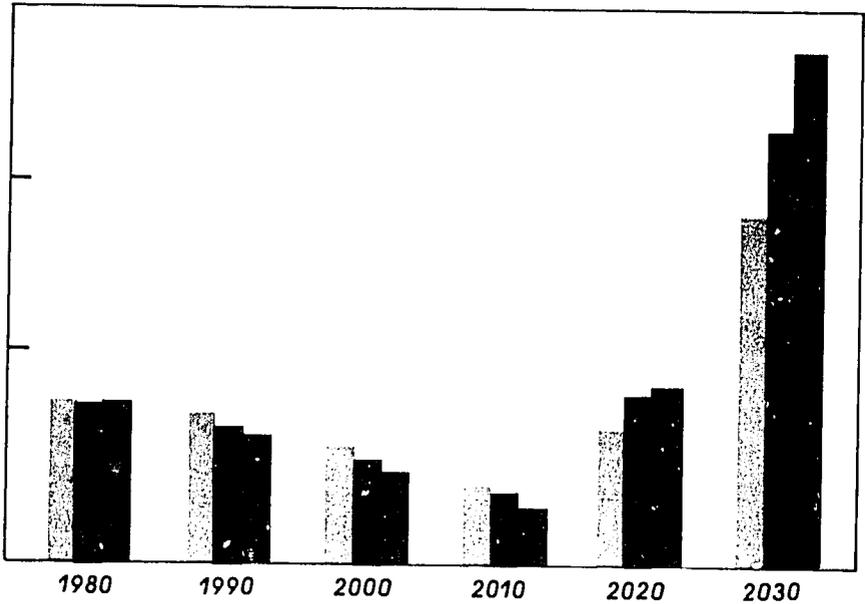
The powerful impact emigration has on the economy is exemplified in Scenario B, which assumes a halving of net emigration. Over the next 20 years some 6,600 jobs would have to be developed—about 4,700 more jobs than if net emigra-

Figure 5: Elderly Population (65 or Older) in St. Kitts/Nevis, 1980–2030

Population

10,000

5,000



net emigration of 800



net emigration of 400



net emigration of zero

tion remained at its current level. Without any migration whatsoever (Scenario C), nearly 11,000 additional jobs would need to be created by the year 2000.

Unemployment in the two islands is currently around 15 percent. If it remains at that level, under Scenario A there would be almost 2,500 people out of work but looking for jobs by 1990, and over 2,500 unemployed by the year 2000. Under Scenario B the respective figures would be close to 2,800 and over 3,200.

Thus the overall advantages that Scenario B appears to have do not apply when examining labour force needs for the immediate future. The high level of emigration has definitely made it possible to keep the size of the labour force down; any reduction in the number of people

leaving the islands will result in increased demands for jobs in St. Kitts/Nevis.

The Elderly: At the time of the most recent census there were 4,131 persons 65 or older in St. Kitts/Nevis, representing 9.5 percent of the islands' population (see Figure 5; for supporting data, see Appendix Table D). Under Scenario A the number of elderly would fall gradually until the year 2010, when it would start growing again. Similarly, under Scenario B the number of elderly would fall to about 3,000 by 2010, at which point growth would once again occur. Under the unlikely occurrence of either Scenario C or D, the number of people 65 or older would decline somewhat before increasing to over 9,000 by 2030.

The situation from 2020 onwards warrants explanation. Under all these sce-

narios the number of elderly would almost double between 2020 and 2030 and then remain quite large for some time thereafter. This unexpected growth reflects the large number of people born between 1955 and 1965. A glance at the 1980 population illustrates the size of that cohort. Despite significant emigration of this group after they reached the age of 10, and especially after age 15, the number of people aged 15–24 in the 1980 population (that is, those born between 1955 and 1964) is extraordinarily large—as large as the group of children under 10, a group that has not been strongly affected by emigration as yet.

Despite continued losses through emigration, and later through death, this cohort will pose special problems for St. Kitts Nevis as it goes through with each phase of the life cycle. Prior to 1980 the schools undoubtedly felt its impact; the next ten years will see these individuals trying to enter the labour force, causing the previously noted need for additional jobs. Fi-

nally, after 2020 the individuals in that cohort will start entering their retirement years and will present other difficult problems for the nation's resources.

Conclusion: St. Kitts/Nevis is entering a new phase in its development as a nation. Politically, it is now independent; demographically, it is maintaining its no-growth population. Both politically and demographically the future is uncertain. As a result of independence, emigration from the island could actually increase, at least in the short run. On the other hand, the United States and Canada could restrict such movements under new legislation.

The new nation is among that very small group of countries that has not experienced any meaningful growth for over a century. Clearly, it cannot support many more people. Both low fertility and some emigration are needed if St. Kitts/Nevis is to remain a zero population growth nation.

Appendices

**Table A: Current and Projected Population
of St. Kitts/Nevis, 1980–2030**

Scenario	1980	1990	2000	2010	2020	2030
A	43,309	42,838	42,022	39,213	34,938	27,845
B	43,309	45,670	47,683	49,283	49,754	48,165
C	43,309	52,630	66,119	82,736	103,776	128,819
D	43,309	49,721	56,460	64,082	71,397	77,241

A: TFR of 3.6, net emigration of 800
 B: TFR of 2.5, net emigration of 400
 C: TFR of 3.6, net migration of zero
 D: TFR of 2.1, net migration of zero

**Table B: Current and Projected School-Age Population
(5–14) in St. Kitts/Nevis, 1980–2030**

Scenario	1980	1990	2000	2010	2020	2030
A	10,886	8,968	9,679	7,577	5,509	3,878
B	10,886	10,142	8,519	8,541	7,314	6,383
C	10,886	11,308	15,784	18,621	22,236	27,629
D	10,886	11,308	9,646	11,114	11,015	11,070

**Table C: Current and Projected Labour Force
in St. Kitts/Nevis, 1980–2030**

Scenario	1980	1990	2000	2010	2020	2030
A	14,915	16,556	16,829	17,305	15,561	11,786
B	14,915	18,446	21,527	23,681	24,066	20,433
C	14,915	20,376	25,588	34,412	43,404	52,247
D	14,915	20,200	25,578	31,280	33,942	36,169

**Table D: Current and Projected Elderly Population
(65 or Older) in St. Kitts/Nevis, 1980–2030**

Scenario	1980	1990	2000	2010	2020	2030
A	4,131	4,035	3,600	3,073	3,897	6,975
B	4,131	3,940	3,432	3,002	4,145	8,105
C and D	4,131	3,845	3,267	2,931	4,394	9,235

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