## Bermuda Government Department of Statistics

## The Changing Face of Bermuda's Seniors

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## Executive Summary

This report gives a thorough look at Bermuda's elderly population, highlighting significant changes that occurred between 1950 and 2004. The main areas of focus include the composition of the elderly population as it relates to age, sex, race, health, living accommodations and income. A brief profile is also presented on the institutional population.

## Highlights:

- Between 1950 and 2000, the number of individuals aged 65 years and older rose from 2,135 to 6,722.
- The elderly population has grown faster than the total population over the last 50 years.
- The median age of persons 65 years and older increased from 71 in 1950, to 72 in 2000.
- In 2000, there were 69 elderly men for every 100 elderly women.
- Seven out of 10 seniors owned their own homes in 2000.
- The median annual pension income was less than $\$ 11,000$ in 2000.
- High blood pressure, arthritis, and diabetes were the most common health conditions self-reported by the elderly in 2000.
- In $2000,59 \%$ of seniors had major medical insurance.
- In 2004, households headed by seniors spent about $\$ 6,000$ per year on health care.
- In $2000,5 \%$ of seniors lived in institutions.


## Note to readers

The statistics in this report include data extracted primarily from surveys of Bemuda's elderly population as well as Bermuda's Population and Housing Censuses. The reference period for the data ranges from 1950 to 2004. The target population for this report covers persons 65 years of age and older residing in private households and excludes overseas visitors.

Annex 1 presents selected social indicators for this population.

The last article, focuses on seniors living in institutions. Because there is limited historical and current data available, it is not possible to incorporate this segment of the population into the full analysis.

Throughout this report there is analysis by race because it is an important social indicator. The following racial categories were used:

- Black - black, black and white, and black and other
- White \& other - white, Asian, white and other, and other

Some percentage distributions in the tables may not add up to 100 per cent because the percentages have been rounded.

## A snapshot of Bermuda's seniors in 2000

Bermuda's typical senior citizen is a 72-yearold retiree residing in a home with a median household income of less than $\$ 36,000$ a year, which categorizes them as "poor". In many cases the Government pension is their primary source of income. Fortunately, most seniors are mortgage-free homeowners and therefore, do not have to pay for housing, which is the largest expense for most people in Bermuda.

Seniors generally suffer from one or more health conditions associated with old age. High blood pressure, arthritis and diabetes are the most commonly reported conditions. Since the rising cost of health care is a concern to many seniors, they are typically covered by major medical insurance.

At this stage of life, men tend to be married and living with their wives. In contrast, women, because of a significantly higher life expectancy, are more likely to be widowed. Consequently, an elderly woman would either be living alone or living with relatives.

Some seniors, however, have completely different living arrangements. Five per cent of Bermuda's elderly live in institutions. These individuals are on average 83 years and have usually outlived their spouses. Seniors who are institutionalized tend to have mobility difficulties or suffer from Alzheimer's disease. They may have little or no family who are able to provide the special care that they require.

## Bermuda's elderly: living longer, numbers soaring

As in many developed countries, Bermuda's population is getting greyer. Declining birth rates, lower death rates and the ageing of the Baby Boom generation - people born between 1946 and 1964 - are all working to raise the age of the population. Immigration during the 1900s has also been a major factor.
The elderly population in Bermuda is well documented. Pioneer research on this mature population began in the late 1970s and has continued until 2004. During the past 30 -years, studies of Bermuda's elderly have focused on the following topics:

- Institutional housing and the poor elderly, with some references to the need for home health care services (1979),
- Community health, social services and housing for the elderly (1991),
- General health care (1996),
- Integration of healthcare services for the ill elderly (1999),
- Housing, nursing homes, residential care, healthcare \& transport (1999),
- Long-term care - Housing and supportive services (2003), and
- Caregivers, services and partnerships (2004). ${ }^{1}$

This article examines the current demographic structure of Bermuda's elderly population and how it has changed over the last half a century.

## Most pensioners are 65 or older

The terms "elderly", "senior citizens" and the "aged" often are used interchangeably. The age at which these mature persons are categorized as elderly is often linked to the eligibility for retirement benefits which vary across cultures and within countries.

In Europe - including the United Kingdom, Ireland and all other European Economic Community countries - persons are classified as seniors at the age of 60 . In America, it is 60 for (some) women and 65 for men. In Bermuda, it is 65 for both men and women. ${ }^{2}$

In 2000, one out of every eight people in Bermuda were between 55 and 64 years old. Some 822 were pensioners. Nearly one-quarter of them were less than 60 , and more than half of them (55\%) continued working after receiving a pension. Many of these individuals were firefighters, police officers, and prison officers in non-managerial posts in which the mandatory retirement age is $55 .{ }^{3}$

Civil servants who started working for the Bermuda Government under the Public Service Superannuation Pension Act 1970, are also eligible to receive their full superannuation pension upon attaining the age of 55 . This option was not available to the Government industrial workers who joined the service during the same period. Government industrial workers and other civil servants who joined the public service are eligible for retirement, with full pension benefits, upon attaining the age of 60 years.

The mandatory retirement age for persons working for the Bermuda Government, the largest employer, is 65 . This is linked closely to the Contributory Pension Act 1970, which uses 65 as the age of eligibility for pensioners.

Despite this pensionable age, some banks, hotels, retail stores, construction businesses, and cleaning firms allow people to continue work-

[^0]ing after 65. Within the Government, some persons may be permitted to continue working at a later age with the Governor's consent. For the purposes of this report, however, the age 65 and older will be used to refer to the elderly.

Within this age group, there are biological and psychological differences, because a person's age does not necessarily reflect ability. As a result of these differences, the population aged 65 and over is often subdivided into three groups: "young-old" (aged 65 to 74), the "old" (aged 75 to 84 ) and the "old-old" (aged 85 and over).

## Elderly population growing twice as fast as total population

Bermuda's elderly population has grown faster than the total population in every decade except in 1950. (Figure 1) Between 1950 and 2000, the elderly population increased at an annual average growth rate of $11.5 \%$, more than twice the annual average growth rate of $5.0 \%$ for the entire population.

As a result, between the censuses of 1950 and 2000, the number of seniors aged 65 and over more than tripled from 2,135 to 6,722 . Their share of the total population nearly doubled from 6\% to $11 \%$. (Figure 2)

The elderly population is growing at such a pace because Bermuda, like most developed countries, has experienced three key developments: the ageing of immigrant children and young adults who arrived during the 1900s, as well as declining death rates and decreasing birth rates. (Figure 3)

The main factor in the greying population is that Bermuda women have had fewer than 2.1 children since the 1970s. This is below the socalled "replacement level" of 2.1 children, and it has the effect of increasing the proportion of Bermuda's seniors because there are fewer children being born to offset the trend of the ageing population.

## Bermuda's population: "expansive" to "constrictive"

Bermuda is undergoing a demographic shift at both ends of the age spectrum. While the proportion of Bermuda's population of seniors has almost doubled, the proportion of young people has declined sharply.

In 1950 , the island had 12,193 young people aged 15 and under who represented one-third of the population; by 2000, the number in this age group had declined to 11,847 , and they accounted for only $19 \%$ of the population.

As a result of these demographic shifts, the profile of Bermuda's population has changed. In 1950, it was an "expansive" population (Figure 4), with a large number of people in the young ages. However, by 2000, it had changed to a "constrictive" population, with a smaller number of people in the younger ages. (Figure 5)

In light of the ageing population and the accompanying social dynamics, it is essential to examine the impact of these changes on society. The "total dependency" ratio is one of the best known indicators that measures the burden of a changing demographic composition on those in the working population.

The "total dependency" ratio is the number of young people aged 15 and under, plus the number of people aged 65 and older, measured as a ratio for every 100 individuals aged 16 to 64 . These are the people who comprise the prime working-age population.

In 1950, for every 100 people in the prime work-ing-age population, there were 67 dependents - either younger or older - to support. By 2000, this had declined to 45 dependents for every 100 workers. (Figure 6) This means that every worker had fewer people to support, in theory.

However, the decline in the "total dependency" ratio was attributable to the drop in the dependency ratio for youth. For every 100 people in the working-age population in 1950, there were 57 individuals up to the age of 15 to support. By 2000, this had dropped to 29 for every 100 individuals.

In contrast, the dependency ratio among seniors actually soared. In 1950, there were only 10 dependents aged 65 and over for every 100 workers. By 2000, this had nearly doubled to 16 seniors for every 100 persons.

Figure 1
Elderly population is growing faster than total population


Source: Population and Housing Censuses, 1950 to 2000

Figure 2
Senior population grows steadily over the past 50 years


[^1]Figure 3
Five decades of declining birth and death rates


Source: Population and Housing Censuses, 1950 to 2000

Figure 4

## Expansive Bermuda population pyramid



Source: Population and Housing Census, 1950

Figure 5
Constrictive Bermuda population pyramid


[^2]Figure 6
Youth dependency ratio falls, old-age dependency ratio rises


Source: Population and Housing Censuses, 1950 to 2000

Figure 7
Median age reaches record high


Source: Population and Housing Censuses, 1950 to 2000

Figure 8
More persons 85 years and older in the last half century


Source: Population and Housing Censuses, 1950 to 2000

Among this "old-old" group, Bermuda's 2000 Census captured one white female centenarian (100 years of age and older) who resided in a private home. However, there were eight other centenarians who lived in institutions. (See Bermuda's institutionalized seniors on page 46.)

With the growing proportion of the "old-old" population, the "two-elderly-generation support" ratio should be monitored closely. This ratio is defined as the number of individuals
aged 85 and over supported by every 100 persons aged 65 to 69.

In 1950, there were 17 people aged 85 and over for every 100 persons aged 65 to 69 . The same trend was noted for whites and blacks. (Table 1)

Five decades later, the ratio had jumped to 24 , but it was higher for whites than for blacks. The increase in this ratio has implications for the "young-old" as more people aged 65 to 69 will be responsible for caring for the "old-old".

## Table 1

Whites are more likely to be supporting persons 85 years and older ${ }^{1}$

|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| :--- | ---: | ---: | ---: | ---: | ---: | ---: |
| Race | 1950 | 1960 | 1970 | 1980 | 1991 | 2000 |
| Total | 17 | 18 | 14 | 18 | 21 | 24 |
| Black | 17 | 19 | .. | 17 | 17 | 22 |
| White \& other | 17 | 17 | .. | 20 | 26 | 28 |

[^3]The physical condition of the "young-old" will be important as they help the "old-old" address increasing challenges such as mobility. This is particularly relevant given that an ageing study conducted in 2004 in Bermuda revealed that almost one-fifth of elderly care providers had only fair or poor health. ${ }^{4}$

In addition, close to two-thirds of caregivers reported that they experience a physical strain. ${ }^{5}$ The concerns of these caregivers highlight the need for respite and more support services to provide relief for care providers.

## Foreign-born seniors slightly older

The median age for foreign-born seniors in 2000 was 73 years, slightly older than the median of 72 for Bermuda-born seniors. This is due to a number of reasons. First, $85 \%$ of the foreignborn seniors were white who migrated primarily from the United Kingdom, United States,

Canada and Azores/Portugal.
On the other hand, $75 \%$ of Bermuda-born seniors were black. The racial composition of these populations is a contributing factor to the difference between the median ages since whites live longer than blacks world-wide. Second, after five decades, the life expectancy for black men increased marginally, by less than a third of a year, which lowered the median age of the black population in 2000.

## Women outnumber men

Because of the differential in life expectancy, the majority of elderly people are women.

In most countries, the overall ratio between men and women varies from 105 or 106 men to 100 women. In 1970, Bermuda's sex ratio was about one to one. That is, there were virtually as many men as there were women. However, by 2000 , there were only 92.4 men for every 100 women. (Figure 9)

## Figure 9

Bermuda's women are more likely to outnumber men
(Men per 100 women)


Source: Population and Housing Censuses, 1950 to 2000

[^4]The fluctuations were attributable primarily to the sex ratio among the Bermuda-born population, which ranged from 100.4 men for every 100 women in 1970 to only 92.0 men in 2000. The unusually high sex ratio in 1970 is attributable to the fact that Bermuda adopted a modified de facto census approach, which excluded students who were studying abroad during the reference period. ${ }^{6}$ As a result, there is a deficit of people aged 15 to 19 in the total population.

In 1980, the same census methodology was used but this trend was not as noticeable. Because Bermuda College opened in 1974, by September, 1979 there were 509 students enrolled. The attendance at Bermuda College, therefore, helped to offset the decline in the number of students aged 15 to 19 years captured by the 1980 census.

This decline is not as noticeable in the age group 20 to 24 because it is undoubtedly offset by immigrant workers. The extent that foreignborn people are compensating for the deficit of young adult residents studying overseas is unknown because the datum for the latter is unavailable.

It is evident, however, that this census methodology inflated the sex ratio. This is because in
the 1970 s, women had a greater opportunity to further their studies overseas than men, thus resulting in a high ratio of men to women.

Except for 1970, the sex ratio for the foreignborn population remained relatively constant around 93.0 men to 100 women. (Figure 9) In 1970, the ratio for the foreign-born population peaked at 102.5 men. This disproportionately high sex ratio occurred because $63 \%$ of immigrants were men. Half of them worked in the service industry where they were concentrated in three jobs: waiters (239), chefs (182), and police officers (182). ${ }^{7}$

In contrast, the sex ratio for the elderly population has shown fewer variations. In 1950, the sex ratio for senior citizens was 72.3 men for every 100 women. By 2000, it fell to 69.1. At the time of the last census, Bermuda had nearly 4,000 elderly women, 1,230 more than men.

The difference between the number of men and women increases with age. Between the ages of 65 and 69 , the sex ratio was 82.8 men to 100 women. By the age of 85 , the ratio had dropped to 45.4 men to 100 women. (Figure 10) The ratio for each of the old age groups illustrates the greater survival propensity among women.

Figure 10
Seniors sex ratio declines with increasing age
(Men per 100 women)


Source: Population and Housing Census, 2000

[^5]
## Women outlive men at every age

Women are on average older than men. This is because women have a lower incidence of deaths attributable to accidents, violence or, more recently, Acquired Immune Deficiency Syndrome (AIDS), as women participate in less risky behaviours than men.

Life expectancy at birth improved significantly for both sexes during the last 50 years, with women outpacing their male counterparts. In 1950, women were expected to live five years longer than men. However, by 2000 they were expected to outlive men by nearly six years.

Between 1950 and 2000, both had made signifcant gains in life expectancy, ( 12.96 years for women, 12.47 years for men) but women still lived longer. (Table 2)

In 2000, the life expectancy for a woman was 80.44 years, while a man was expected to reach 74.74 years. Significant differences were also noted by race, as whites, regardless of their sex, outlived blacks. During the 50-year period white men made greater strides than white women. Among the black community the situation was reversed.

Table 2
Life expectancy by race and sex continues to improve

| Sex and race | 1950 | 1960 | 1970 | 1980 | 1991 | 2000 | $\begin{array}{r} \text { Absolute } \\ \text { increase } \\ 2000-1950 \end{array}$ |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  | At birth |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| All races |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Total | 64.85 | 67.85 | 70.32 | 73.11 | 74.34 | 77.67 | 12.82 |
| Male | 62.27 | 64.80 | 68.33 | 69.27 | 71.06 | 74.74 | 12.47 |
| Female | 67.48 | 71.16 | 75.06 | 77.14 | 77.78 | 80.44 | 12.96 |
| Black |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Total | 63.03 | 65.25 | 68.50 | 72.26 | 72.43 | 76.59 | 13.56 |
| Male | 61.28 | 62.22 | 65.51 | 67.98 | 68.25 | 73.25 | 11.97 |
| Female | 64.84 | 68.68 | 72.70 | 76.98 | 76.81 | 79.69 | 14.85 |
| White \& Other |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Total | 68.04 | 71.78 | 72.60 | 74.11 | 77.25 | 80.37 | 12.33 |
| Male | 64.43 | 69.01 | 69.49 | 71.06 | 75.46 | 78.41 | 13.98 |
| Female | 72.06 | 74.83 | 76.00 | 77.52 | 78.90 | 82.17 | 10.11 |
|  | At age 65 |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| All races |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Total | 14.02 | 13.12 | 14.01 | 15.40 | 16.05 | 16.69 | 2.67 |
| Male | 12.89 | 11.51 | 14.39 | 13.67 | 14.37 | 14.57 | 1.68 |
| Female | 14.93 | 14.50 | 17.18 | 16.87 | 17.49 | 18.47 | 3.54 |
| Black |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Total | 13.81 | 12.12 | 13.55 | 15.27 | 15.50 | 16.25 | 2.44 |
| Male | 13.28 | 10.48 | 12.42 | 13.06 | 13.63 | 13.60 | 0.32 |
| Female | 14.24 | 13.63 | 15.83 | 17.32 | 17.03 | 18.32 | 4.08 |
| White \& Other |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Total | 14.31 | 14.20 | 14.45 | 15.46 | 16.81 | 18.09 | 3.78 |
| Male | 12.55 | 12.88 | 12.77 | 14.25 | 15.45 | 16.77 | 4.22 |
| Female | 15.77 | 15.13 | 15.85 | 16.47 | 18.11 | 19.09 | 3.32 |

Source: Department of Statistics

Among seniors aged 65 and over, women were expected to live on average 14.93 additional years in 1950, while their male counterparts were expected to live 12.89 years. By 2000, senior women had gained an additional 3.54 years, and were expected to live 18.47 years. (Table 2)

At the time of the 2000 census, senior men had gained 1.68 years, and were expected to live 14.57 years. In addition, white seniors continued to have a greater longevity than blacks, outsurviving them by 1.84 years.

## Elderly men more likely to be married

Men aged 65 and over were twice as likely as their female counterparts to be married. In 2000, $72 \%$ of senior men were married, compared with only $36 \%$ of senior women. On the other hand, $42 \%$ of elderly women were widowed, nearly four times the proportion of $12 \%$ among men. (Table 3)

The gender gap in life expectancy explains most of this difference. However, some of the disparity is due to the higher proportion of re-marriages among men. In 2000, 19\% of men aged 65 and older had re-married, three times the proportion of only $6 \%$ among women. (Table 3) The pattern was similar among elderly blacks and whites.

## Table 3

Women are more likely to be widowed or divorced

| Marital status and race | Total |  |  | 65-74 |  |  | 75 and over |  |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  | Total | Male Female |  | Total Male Female Percentage Distribution All races |  |  | Total | Male Female |  |
| Total | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 |
| Never married | 8 | 6 | 10 | 8 | 6 | 9 | 9 | 6 | 11 |
| Married first time | 40 | 53 | 30 | 46 | 56 | 38 | 30 | 49 | 19 |
| Re-married | 11 | 19 | 6 | 12 | 18 | 7 | 9 | 19 | 4 |
| Widowed | 30 | 12 | 42 | 20 | 8 | 30 | 45 | 21 | 58 |
| Divorced | 11 | 9 | 12 | 13 | 11 | 15 | 7 | 6 | 8 |
| Legally separated | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| Black |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Total | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 |
| Never married | 11 | 8 | 13 | 10 | 8 | 12 | 12 | 8 | 15 |
| Married first time | 36 | 50 | 27 | 42 | 52 | 34 | 26 | 43 | 18 |
| Re-married | 10 | 17 | 5 | 11 | 17 | 6 | 8 | 17 | 3 |
| Widowed | 29 | 13 | 40 | 21 | 9 | 30 | 44 | 23 | 55 |
| Divorced | 13 | 12 | 14 | 16 | 14 | 17 | 8 | 8 | 8 |
| Legally separated | 1 | 0 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 1 |
| White \& other |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Total | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 |
| Never married | 4 | 4 | 4 | 4 | 4 | 3 | 4 | 4 | 4 |
| Married first time | 45 | 59 | 35 | 52 | 61 | 45 | 34 | 56 | 22 |
| Re-married | 13 | 21 | 8 | 15 | 21 | 10 | 11 | 20 | 5 |
| Widowed | 30 | 10 | 44 | 19 | 6 | 30 | 45 | 18 | 62 |
| Divorced | 8 | 5 | 9 | 9 | 7 | 11 | 5 | 3 | 7 |
| Legally separated | 0 | 1 | 0 | 1 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 |

## 25\% of seniors live alone

Most seniors lived with their spouse or other relatives, but a significant number resided in one-person households. In 2000, one-quarter of seniors lived alone, down from $36 \%$ in 1980. In 2000, women were nearly twice as likely as men to be living alone ( $30 \%$ of women, compared with $17 \%$ of men).

While fewer women than men lived with a spouse, a larger proportion of women lived in extended family households with other relatives and no spouse. In $2000,36 \%$ of women aged 65 and older lived with relatives, compared with only $20 \%$ of men. (Table 4)

Table 4
Most seniors live with a spouse or relatives

| Living arrangements and age | Number |  |  | Percentage distribution |  |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  | Total | Male | Female | Total | Male | Female |
|  | 65 years and older |  |  |  |  |  |
| Total | 6,722 | 2,746 | 3,976 | 100 | 100 | 100 |
| Living alone | 1,665 | 466 | 1,199 | 25 | 17 | 30 |
| With spouse ${ }^{1}$ | 2,708 | 1,582 | 1,126 | 40 | 58 | 28 |
| With other relatives only | 1,965 | 542 | 1,423 | 29 | 20 | 36 |
| With non-relatives ${ }^{2}$ | 384 | 156 | 228 | 6 | 6 | 6 |
|  | 65 to 74 years |  |  |  |  |  |
| Total | 4,177 | 1,850 | 2,327 | 100 | 100 | 100 |
| Living alone | 833 | 280 | 553 | 20 | 15 | 24 |
| With spouse ${ }^{1}$ | 1,914 | 1,097 | 817 | 46 | 59 | 35 |
| With other relatives only | 1,187 | 365 | 822 | 28 | 20 | 35 |
| With non-relatives ${ }^{2}$ | 243 | 108 | 135 | 6 | 6 | 6 |
|  | 75 to 84 years |  |  |  |  |  |
| Total | 1,988 | 722 | 1,266 | 100 | 100 | 100 |
| Living alone | 621 | 130 | 491 | 31 | 18 | 39 |
| With spouse ${ }^{1}$ | 699 | 417 | 282 | 35 | 58 | 22 |
| With other relatives only | 570 | 138 | 432 | 29 | 19 | 34 |
| With non-relatives ${ }^{2}$ | 98 | 37 | 61 | 5 | 5 | 5 |
|  | 85 years and older |  |  |  |  |  |
| Total | 557 | 174 | 383 | 100 | 100 | 100 |
| Living alone | 211 | 56 | 155 | 38 | 32 | 40 |
| With spouse ${ }^{1}$ | 95 | 68 | 27 | 17 | 39 | 7 |
| With other relatives only | 208 | 39 | 169 | 37 | 22 | 44 |
| With non-relatives ${ }^{2}$ | 43 | 11 | 32 | 8 | 6 | 8 |

[^6]Source: Population and Housing Census, 2000

There were significant differences in the living arrangements of seniors, depending on their age and sex. At the age of 85 and older, women were less likely to be living with other relatives (including spouses) than men. In 2000, $51 \%$ of women lived with a relative, compared with $61 \%$ of men. (Table 4)

## Proportion of black seniors rising

Between 1950 and 2000, the racial composition of the total population has been fairly stable. Throughout this period, the black population has represented about $60 \%$, and the white population $40 \%$. An analysis of the population aged 65 and older, however, reveals a different profile.

During the 50 -year period, the proportion of black seniors rose from $53 \%$ to $60 \%$, while the proportion of white seniors fell from $47 \%$ to 40\%. (Figure 11)

Today the racial component of the elderly mirrors that of the total population. The increased proportion of black seniors is probably attributable to two factors: improved life expectancy, and increased immigration of blacks during the 1950s and 1960s, people who now make up part of the senior population.

Figure 11
Proportion of black seniors grows by 7 percentage points


Source: Population and Housing Censuses, 1950 and 2000

## Pembroke and Paget

 parishes comprised the oldest residentsAbout $13 \%$ of the population of Pembroke consisted of seniors aged 65 and over, the highest proportion of any parish. Paget was a close second, with $12 \%$ of its population aged 65 and older. (See Table 5 and Figure 12)

Pembroke's total population of 11,306 accounted for $18 \%$ of Bermuda's population in 2000. However, it had 1,419 seniors, who accounted for $21 \%$ of the island's total population of elderly.

In all the other parishes, the distribution of the elderly was similar to the distribution of the total population. (Table 5)

## Table 5

Oldest residents live in Pembroke and Paget

| Age Group To | Total | St. George | Hamilton | Smith's | Devonshire | Pembroke | Paget | Warwick | Southan | Sandys |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Total population 62 | 62,059 | 5,451 | 5,270 | 5,658 | 7,307 | 11,306 | 5,088 | 8,587 | 6,117 | 7,275 |
| Elderly |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| 65+ 6,7 | 6,722 | 545 | 487 | 568 | 774 | 1,419 | 622 | 886 | 615 | 806 |
| 65-74 | 4,177 | 330 | 330 | 367 | 488 | 828 | 341 | 579 | 392 | 522 |
| 75-84 | 1,988 | 177 | 121 | 150 | 229 | 447 | 221 | 240 | 181 | 222 |
| 85+ | 557 | 38 | 36 | 51 | 57 | 144 | 60 | 67 | 42 | 62 |
| Population as a \% of total population |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Total | 100 | 9 | 8 | 9 | 12 | 18 | 8 | 14 | 10 | 12 |
| Elderly | 100 | 8 | 7 | 8 | 12 | 21 | 9 | 13 | 9 | 12 |
| Elderly population as |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| a \% of total population | on 11 | 10 | 9 | 10 | 11 | 13 | 12 | 10 | 10 | 11 |

Source: Population and Housing Census, 2000

Figure 12

## Bermuda population age 65 and older by parish



Source: Population and Housing Census, 2000

## Traditional religions

## remain popular among

seniors

An individual's religious affiliation tends to increase with age. In 2000, $94 \%$ of seniors reported a religious affiliation, compared with $84 \%$ of people under the age of 65 .

More than one-third (38\%) of seniors reported an affiliation with the Anglican Church, the most popular choice. (Figure 13) A distant second were African Methodist Episcopal (12\%), and Catholic (9\%).

## Figure 13

Four out of 10 seniors are Anglican


[^7]
## Health status of Bermuda's elderly

The health of the elderly and their care, are becoming topics of greater concern in developed nations around the world. Improvements in lifestyles, technology, medicine and education have all resulted in increased longevity. As people live longer, they will inevitably face more illnesses and disabilities, which will increase the demand for health products and services. In 2003, the health sector accounted for $4.1 \%$ of Bermuda's Gross Domestic Product (GDP). This is higher than the $3.7 \%$ measured in 1996. In other words, the health sector produced a total
value of goods and services valued at roughly $\$ 164$ million in 2003 compared to $\$ 100$ million in 1996.

Bermuda's 2000 Census captured benchmark data on long-term health conditions of the population aged 65 and over, irrespective of whether the condition affected the activities of daily living. A total of 3,293 seniors reported a physical or mental health condition in 2000. The most commonly self-reported conditions were: high blood pressure, arthritis, diabetes, heart condition, impaired vision and mobility difficulties. (Table 1)

Table 1
High blood pressure is the leading health condition for all seniors

| Health conditions ${ }^{1}$ | Total |  |  | Male |  |  | Female |  |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  | Total | Black | White \& other | Total | Black | White \& other | Total |  | hite \& other |
| Total ${ }^{2}$ | 3,293 | 2,034 | 1,259 | 1,280 | 747 | 533 | 2,013 | 1,287 | 726 |
| High blood pressure | 1,201 | 830 | 371 | 365 | 237 | 128 | 836 | 593 | 243 |
| Arthritis | 883 | 539 | 344 | 226 | 119 | 107 | 657 | 420 | 237 |
| Diabetes | 752 | 539 | 213 | 310 | 217 | 93 | 442 | 322 | 120 |
| Heart condition | 692 | 358 | 334 | 347 | 163 | 184 | 345 | 195 | 150 |
| Impaired vision | 301 | 213 | 88 | 123 | 91 | 32 | 178 | 122 | 56 |
| Mobility difficulties | 271 | 155 | 116 | 93 | 53 | 40 | 178 | 102 | 76 |
| Hearing difficulty | 266 | 112 | 154 | 117 | 34 | 83 | 149 | 78 | 71 |
| Back/spine problem | 265 | 152 | 113 | 84 | 52 | 32 | 181 | 100 | 81 |
| Cancer | 237 | 119 | 118 | 127 | 68 | 59 | 110 | 51 | 59 |
| Asthma | 154 | 69 | 85 | 44 | 18 | 26 | 110 | 51 | 59 |
| Limited leg use | 135 | 90 | 45 | 67 | 40 | 27 | 68 | 50 | 18 |
| Stomach problem | 129 | 89 | 40 | 67 | 43 | 24 | 62 | 46 | 16 |
| Body movement difficulties | S 114 | 67 | 47 | 43 | 24 | 19 | 71 | 43 | 28 |
| Alzheimer's disease | 109 | 65 | 44 | 29 | 14 | 15 | 80 | 51 | 29 |
| Percentage distribution ${ }^{3}$ |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Total | 100 | 62 | 38 | 39 | 23 | 16 | 61 | 39 | 22 |
| High blood pressure | 37 | 25 | 11 | 11 | 7 | 4 | 25 | 18 | 7 |
| Arthritis | 27 | 16 | 10 | 7 | 4 | 3 | 20 | 13 | 7 |
| Diabetes | 23 | 16 | 7 | 9 | 7 | 3 | 13 | 10 | 4 |
| Heart condition | 21 | 11 | 10 | 11 | 5 | 6 | 11 | 6 | 5 |
| Impaired vision | 9 | 7 | 3 | 4 | 3 | 1 | 5 | 4 | 2 |
| Mobility difficulties | 8 | 5 | 4 | 3 | 2 | 1 | 5 | 3 | 2 |
| Hearing difficulty | 8 | 3 | 5 | 4 | 1 | 3 | 5 | 2 | 2 |
| Back/spine problem | 8 | 5 | 3 | 3 | 2 | 1 | 6 | 3 | 3 |
| Cancer | 7 | 4 | 4 | 4 | 2 | 2 | 3 | 2 | 2 |
| Asthma | 5 | 2 | 3 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 3 | 2 | 2 |
| Limited leg use | 4 | 3 | 1 | 2 | 1 | 1 | 2 | 2 | 1 |
| Stomach problem | 4 | 3 | 1 | 2 | 1 | 1 | 2 | 1 | 1 |
| Body movement difficulties | S 4 | 2 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 2 | 1 | 1 |
| Alzheimer's disease | 3 | 2 | 1 | 1 | 0 | 1 | 2 | 2 | 1 |

${ }^{1}$ Specific health conditions that were reported by more than 100 persons.
${ }^{2}$ The total number of persons reporting does not equal the total number of conditions reported because respondents were invited to report multiple responses.
${ }^{3}$ Persons reporting a health condition expressed as a percentage of total.
Source: Population and Housing Census, 2000

The biggest differences in race and sex for these conditions occurred in the area of high blood pressure. The proportion of blacks and women reporting this condition was more than twice the rate for whites and men. (Table 1)

## Fewer seniors with disabling health conditions

In 2000, a total of 1,040 individuals aged 65 and older self-reported a long-term health condition that affected some aspect of their daily lives. This was 176 fewer seniors than the 1,216 counted in 1991. The leading disabling health conditions that afflicted the elderly population remained unchanged from 1991. These were arthritis, heart condition, high blood pressure, diabetes, mobility difficulties and impaired vision. (Table 2)

During the last decade, the incidence of high blood pressure climbed by $22 \%$. The number of blacks reporting this condition grew nearly five times faster than the number of whites. Similarly, the number of cases of diabetes increased $10 \%$. Its occurrence among black seniors rose $14 \%$, seven times the rate of increase recorded by the white population. Significant increases were also noted among people reporting heart conditions. The increase in the occurrence of heart disease was almost twice as great in the black community as in any other racial group ( $11 \%$ of black versus $6 \%$ of white). There is a tendency for diabetes and heart disease to be correlated, hence the high incidence of blacks reporting both diseases. In 2000, $72 \%$ of seniors reporting both diabetes and heart conditions were black.

Table 2
Arthritis is the leading disabling health condition for seniors ${ }^{1}$

|  | 2000 |  |  | 1991 |  |  | Percentage change1991-2000 |  |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Health condition ${ }^{2}$ | Total | Black | White \& other | Total | Black | White \& other | Total | Black | White \& other |
| Total ${ }^{3}$ | 1,040 | 627 | 413 | 1,216 | 747 | 469 | -15\% | -16\% | -12\% |
| Arthritis | 347 | 219 | 128 | 387 | 243 | 144 | -10\% | -10\% | -11\% |
| Heart condition | 284 | 156 | 128 | 262 | 141 | 121 | +8\% | +11\% | +6\% |
| High blood pressure | 267 | 177 | 90 | 218 | 134 | 84 | +23\% | +32\% | +7\% |
| Mobility difficulties | 230 | 126 | 104 | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. |  |
| Diabetes | 201 | 144 | 57 | 182 | 126 | 56 | +10\% | +14\% | +2\% |
| Impaired vision | 138 | 94 | 44 | 201 | 121 | 80 | -31\% | -22\% | -45\% |
| Back/spine problem | 134 | 71 | 63 | 91 | 41 | 50 | +47\% | +73\% | +26\% |
| Hearing difficulty | 102 | 38 | 64 | 126 | 51 | 75 | -19\% | -26\% | -15\% |
| Limited leg use | 101 | 65 | 36 | 171 | 122 | 49 | -41\% | -47\% | -27\% |
| Percentage distribution ${ }^{4}$ |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Total | 100 | 60 | 40 | 100 | 61 | 39 |  |  |  |
| Arthritis | 33 | 21 | 12 | 32 | 20 | 12 |  |  |  |
| Heart condition | 27 | 15 | 12 | 22 | 12 | 10 |  |  |  |
| High blood pressure | 26 | 17 | 9 | 18 | 11 | 7 |  |  |  |
| Mobility difficulties | 22 | 12 | 10 | .. | .. | . |  |  |  |
| Diabetes | 19 | 14 | 6 | 15 | 10 | 5 |  |  |  |
| Impaired vision | 13 | 9 | 4 | 17 | 10 | 7 |  |  |  |
| Back/spine problem | 13 | 7 | 6 | 8 | 3 | 4 |  |  |  |
| Hearing difficulty | 10 | 4 | 6 | 10 | 4 | 6 |  |  |  |
| Limited leg use | 10 | 6 | 4 | 14 | 10 | 4 |  |  |  |

${ }^{1}$ Disabling health conditions affects activity of daily living for more than 6 months.
${ }^{2}$ Specific health conditions that were reported by more than 100 persons.
${ }^{3}$ The total number of persons reporting does not equal the total number of conditions reported because respondents were invited to report multiple responses.
${ }^{4}$ Persons reporting a health condition expressed as a percentage of total.
.. Not available
Source: Population and Housing Census, 2000 and 1991

In contrast, the number of seniors reporting impaired vision declined by $31 \%$. Whites experienced twice as much improvement as blacks between 1991 and 2000 (a decline of $45 \%$ for whites versus $22 \%$ among blacks). This improvement is in part attributable to the availability of laser eye surgery and also the lower incidence of diabetes, which affects vision, among senior citizens in the white community. In 2000 , there were 68 seniors with diabetes and impaired vision, only $19 \%$ of whom were white.

## Disabled elderly require more assistance attending to personal needs

In 2000, nine out of 10 disabled seniors were restricted in the activities that they were able to perform. Six out of 10 were prevented from working at a job. (Table 3) In both 1991 and 2000, women exhibited more of these limitations than men. By the end of the 1990s, the number of individuals, whose activities were limited, plunged by 77\%. This decline might have been due to the general improvement in the health of seniors.

Despite this improvement, the number of people who were unable to take care of their personal needs increased by $28 \%$. More (19\%) were prevented from leaving home alone in 2000 than in 1991, and more ( $22 \%$ ) were confined to a wheelchair.

Table 3
Seniors are more likely to require assistance with personal needs and mobility

| Type of activity | 2000 |  |  | 1991 |  |  | Percentage change1991-2000 |  |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  | Total | Male | Female | Total | Male | Female | Total | Male | Femal |
| Total | 1,040 | 400 | 640 | 1,216 | 477 | 739 | -15\% | -16\% | -13\% |
| Limit home activity | 903 | 342 | 561 | 884 | 334 | 550 | +2\% | +2\% | +2\% |
| Prevent leaving home alone | 505 | 144 | 361 | 423 | 134 | 289 | +19\% | +8\% | +25\% |
| Limits personal activities | 313 | 104 | 209 | 245 | 77 | 168 | +28\% | +35\% | +24\% |
| Confined to a wheel chair | 124 | 36 | 88 | 102 | 29 | 73 | +22\% | +24\% | +21\% |
| Prevents individual from working | 643 | 244 | 399 | 803 | 310 | 493 | -20\% | -21\% | -19\% |
| Limits type and amount of work | 230 | 94 | 136 | 992 | 406 | 586 | -77\% | -77\% | -77\% |
| Limited in some other way | 220 | 83 | 137 | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. |  |


|  | Percentage distribution |  |  |  |  |  |
| :--- | ---: | ---: | ---: | ---: | ---: | ---: |
| Total | 100 | 39 | 62 | 100 | 39 | 61 |
| Limit home activity | 87 | 33 | 54 | 73 | 28 | 45 |
| Prevent leaving home alone | 49 | 14 | 35 | 35 | 11 | 24 |
| Limits personal activities | 30 | 10 | 20 | 20 | 6 | 14 |
| Confined to a wheel chair | 12 | 4 | 9 | 8 | 2 | 6 |
| Prevents individual from working | 62 | 24 | 38 | 66 | 26 | 41 |
| Limits type and amount of work | 22 | 9 | 13 | 82 | 33 | 48 |
| Limited in some other way | 21 | 8 | 13 | .. | .. | .. |

[^8]The increase in the number of people requiring assistance highlights the importance of monitoring the utilization of support networks for seniors. In 1991, A Study of the Needs of Elderly People in Bermuda reported that just over onethird (34\%) of seniors were receiving substantial assistance from family and friends, that is, 10 hours or more a week.

Almost one-third (32\%) were receiving three to nine hours of assistance a week, while $18 \%$ were receiving one to two hours of help a week. About one-half (53\%) of seniors believed they were receiving as much help as they need. Nearly three in $10(27 \%)$ said they would like more help than they were receiving currently for one or two activities, while another $22 \%$ preferred more assistance on three or more activities. ${ }^{1}$

These seniors required mainly assistance in housekeeping and finances. Unfortunately, updated statistics are not available for the hours of assistance received nor for the adequacy of assistance received. These are topics that can be addressed in future studies of the elderly.

## Daughters are primary parent-care providers in adult-children households

With the growing number of seniors requiring personal assistance, it is important to measure the extent that elderly parents are living with their adult children. For the first time, Bermuda's 2000 Census collected benchmark data on this type of household. These heads of households were adult children who were not married, legally separated or living with a partner and were residing with a parent.

In 2000, about $10 \%$ or 169 households were headed by adult children aged 65 or older. Daughters headed $80 \%$ of these households. The large proportion of daughters in their par-ent-care years was attributable to increasing divorce rates, a higher proportion of widows and lower re-marriage rates among elderly women.

This situation has implications for the provi-
sion of support services for senior adult children. The prevalence of this dilemma is reinforced by the results of the 2004 report, Ageing in Bermuda: Meeting the Needs of Seniors, which highlighted the fact that two-thirds of caregivers were providing care to their parents. The report also noted the following:

- Four out of 10 of the seniors who were receiving care lived with the caregiver.
- Eight out of 10 caregivers were providing care for more than one year.
- Over one out of three caregivers worked more than 40 hours per week.


## Families providing more support to seniors

Familial support ratios such as the "parent support" ratio and the "sandwich generation" ratio are good indicators of the impact of ageing on families. The "parent support" ratio measures the number of parents aged 85 and older supported by every 100 people aged 50 to 64 .

Since 1970, the "parent support" ratio increased steadily, and whites recorded a higher ratio than blacks. (Table 4) This reflects the greater life expectancy of whites.

Another indicator assessing the impact of ageing on families is the "sandwich generation" ratio. This is the ratio of individuals aged 18 to 22 enrolled in college, plus people aged 65 to 79, supported by the number of people aged 45 to 49. Since 1970, the "sandwich generation" ratio has risen from 100 to 154 in 1991. (Table 4)
${ }^{1}$ Chappell, N. and Marshall, V. A Study of the Needs of Elderly People in Bermuda. p. 66.

Table 4
Blacks are more likely to be supporting parents and college students

| Selected ratios and race | 1950 | 1960 | 1970 | 1980 | 1991 | 2000 |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Parent support ratio ${ }^{1}$ |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Total | 4 | 3 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 |
| Black | 4 | 3 | . | 4 | 4 | 5 |
| White \& other | 3 | 4 | . . | 5 | 6 | 6 |
| Sandwich generation ratio ${ }^{2}$ |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Total | . | . | $100^{3}$ | $130^{3}$ | 154 | 142 |
| Black | . . | . . | . | $116^{3}$ | 155 | 148 |
| White \& other | . . | . . | . . | $153{ }^{3}$ | 153 | 133 |

${ }^{1}$ Parent support ratio is the ratio of persons 85 years and older to persons 50-64 years old.
${ }^{2}$ Sandwich generation ratio is the ratio of persons aged 18-22 enrolled in college plus persons aged 65 to 79 to persons aged 45 to 49 years.
${ }^{3}$ Excludes students studying overseas.
Source: Population and Housing Censuses, 1950 to 2000

Table 5
Seniors are more likely to use private health care services

| Type of hired care | Total | Total | Male |  |  |  |  | Female | White |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  |  |  | White | White |  |  |  |  |  |
|  |  | Black | \& other | Total | Black | \& other | Total | Black | \& other |
| Total | 340 | 202 | 138 | 116 | 69 | 47 | 224 | 133 | 91 |
| Private | 201 | 101 | 100 | 63 | 29 | 34 | 138 | 72 | 66 |
| Public | 106 | 80 | 26 | 41 | 33 | 8 | 65 | 47 | 18 |
| Both | 33 | 21 | 12 | 12 | 7 | 5 | 21 | 14 | 7 |
| Percentage distribution |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Total | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 |
| Private | 59 | 50 | 73 | 54 | 42 | 72 | 62 | 54 | 73 |
| Public | 31 | 40 | 19 | 35 | 48 | 17 | 29 | 35 | 20 |
| Both | 10 | 10 | 9 | 10 | 10 | 11 | 9 | 11 | 8 |

Source: Population and Housing Census, 2000

This ratio demonstrates clearly the growing challenge for middle-aged people in balancing the responsibilities of financing children enrolled in college on one hand, and parents requiring assistance on the other. Since 1991, the ratio was higher for blacks than it was for whites. This shift is primarily a reflection of greater improvements in life expectancy among blacks than whites. Between 1950 and 2000 blacks improved their life expectancy at birth by 13.56 years while whites increased by 12.33 years.

## Racial disparity in health care services for disabled seniors

Of seniors who reported a disability, one-third received hired care for their health conditions. Six out of 10 of these people hired health professionals from the private sector, while three out of 10 used public sector health services. Whites utilized services from the private sector roughly three-quarters of the time; blacks selected this option half of the time. (Table 5)

A review of private hired care by race and sex shows minimal differences between the type of health care services and hiring practices used by white men and women. This is probably attributable to the fact that a disproportionately higher percentage of whites than blacks have major medical coverage, which would subsidize many of the health care services needed. At the time of the 2000 census, major medical insurance coverage may have included:

- Doctor's office visits
- Prescription medication
- Eye and dental care
- Overseas expenses
- Air transportation/air ambulance
- Hearing aids
- Private nurse

In contrast, five out of 10 black women and four
out of 10 black men opted for private health care services. (Table 5)

## Vast majority of seniors have health insurance

In 2000, $95 \%$ of Bermuda's elderly population had health insurance coverage. This represented a total of 6,375 seniors, of whom $62 \%$ had major medical coverage. Nearly seven out of 10 whites had major medical insurance, while only five out of 10 blacks had similar coverage. (Table 6) More men had major medical coverage than women. This is an indication of the higher labour force participation rate of men, which would have made them more eligible for health insurance coverage after retirement through their employer-sponsored health plans.

## Table 6

Most seniors have major medical insurance

| Type of health insurance coverage | Total |  |  | Male |  |  | Female |  |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  | Total | Black | White \& other | Total | Black | White \& other | Total | Black | White \& other |
| Total | 6,722 | 4,035 | 2,687 | 2,746 | 1,601 | 1,145 | 3,976 | 2,434 | 1,542 |
| Major medical | 3,964 | 2,040 | 1,924 | 1,765 | 902 | 863 | 2,199 | 1,138 | 1,061 |
| Basic ${ }^{1}$ | 2,411 | 1,734 | 677 | 832 | 587 | 245 | 1,579 | 1,147 | 432 |
| None | 307 | 234 | 73 | 134 | 103 | 31 | 173 | 131 | 42 |
| Not stated | 40 | 27 | 13 | 15 | 9 | 6 | 25 | 18 | 7 |

Percentage distribution

|  |  | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 |
| :--- | ---: | ---: | ---: | ---: | ---: | ---: | ---: | ---: | ---: |
| Total | 59 | 51 | 72 | 64 | 56 | 75 | 55 | 47 | 69 |
| Major medical | 36 | 43 | 25 | 30 | 37 | 21 | 40 | 47 | 28 |
| Basic $^{1}$ | 5 | 6 | 3 | 5 | 6 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 3 |
| None | 1 | 1 | $* *$ | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | $* *$ |
| Not stated |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |

[^9]Source: Population and Housing Census, 2000

In $2000,75 \%$ of white men had major medical insurance compared with only $56 \%$ of black men. This inequality can be explained by Bermuda's historical legacy where whites had a disproportionately higher percentage of whitecollar jobs.

In $1980,46 \%$ of white men over the age of 44 held professional, technical, administrative or managerial positions. By 2000, many of these retired employees who had worked for the Government and banks, for example, and were allowed to remain on their employers' health insurance plan after retirement.

In contrast, $70 \%$ of black men over the age of 44 years held service or production, transport and related jobs (blue-collar jobs) in the construction, hospitality and transport and storage industries in 1980. Many of these industries, however, did not offer health benefits after these men had completed their years of service.

The occupational difference, is not entirely owing to academic achievement as only one-third of administrators and managers over the age of 65 had college degrees in 2000. In fact, Dr. Newman reported the following in her report, "even by 1991, a goodly number of Bermudian administrators and professionals were not college graduates, and this was more the case among whites than blacks." ${ }^{3}$

However, apart from this factor, white men are generally in a better position economically than blacks, and therefore, are able to afford the higher premiums for major medical insurance.

Elderly black women, when compared with white women, were less likely to have major medical coverage despite their higher labour force participation rate during their primeworking years. This reflects historical employment where black women dominated blue-collar jobs in the hospitality industry.

In 1980, $55 \%$ of maids, holding blue-collar jobs, were over the age of 44 . Twenty years later, these women were retirees. Many of them did not receive an attractive retirement package that included remaining on the company's comprehensive health-care scheme after completing their working careers; hence, the high percentage of black women with basic health insurance. (See information on Hospital Insurance Plan Benefits)

[^10]
## Health Insurance Plan Benefits

For your information: With effect from April 1, 2000 the Health Insurance Plan provides Insurance coverage for the following medical and hospital benefits:

| Amount |  |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  |  | (approximate) |
| Benefits | Maximum | \$ |
| Hospital - inpatient (public-ward) | Unlimited | - |
| Hospital - outpatient services | Unlimited | - |
| Psychiatry hospital |  |  |
| St. Brendan's only |  |  |
| Inpatient | 40 days per year | - |
| Outpatient | Unlimited | - |
| Surgery - in hospital | 90 units per admission | 1,350.00 |
| Anaethetist - in hospital | 30 units per admission | 597.00 |
| Medical |  |  |
| Doctor's in-hospital visit | 30 units | 715.00 |
| Doctor's home visit | 4 units per visit |  |
| (not more than 4 per month) | 75.00 |  |
| Doctor's pre-admission |  |  |
| Consultation | 1 visit per hospital admission | 95.00 |
| Artificial limbs and appliances | Lifetime | 15,000.00 |
| Approved Treatment in Doctor's Office: |  |  |
| (i) Laser Opthalmic Treatment |  | - |
| (ii) Trans Rectal Ultrasound |  | - |
| Approved Home Health Care |  | - |

Since April 1, 2001, some of the benefits listed above have been adjusted, and the following benefits have been included:

## Home Health Care Benefits

- Medical administration/management
- Ulcer wound care
- Dressing change
- Stump care
- Ostomy care
- Stroke rehabilitation


## Hospital Services

- Wound management
- Bone density tests
- Cardiac care programme
- Stereo tactic breast biopsy
- Interventional radiology

Note:
For medical services the amount payable to your doctor will be based on approved rates for the specialist and non-specialist doctors at the time of treatment.

In contrast, white women, over the aged of 44, in 1980 were employed as clerical ( $40 \%$ ) or professional workers (24\%), and would probably have received better health insurance packages upon retirement.

Alternatively, white wives who were unemployed and married to white men were more likely to remain as a dependent on their husband's health insurance policy after he retired than black wives married to black men.

For the $5 \%$ of uninsured seniors in 2000, the Bermuda Government provided an indigent clinic and subsidized $80 \%$ of the hospital cost for persons who qualify based on a means-tested assessment.

Despite the high percentage of seniors who were insured and the Government's hospitalization subsidy, the working population would have to supplement the increased medical expenses incurred as a result of people living longer.

In addition to health care services and medical insurance coverage, another factor that needs to be considered is health care expenditure. According to Bermuda's Health Care Review Final Report, during the 1980s the cost of health care more than doubled. Over the same period, the cost of living increased by $65 \%$. In 1993, the average household spent about $\$ 2,700$ a year on health care, more than double the figure in 1982. Health insurance premiums accounted for $63 \%$ of this figure. The report also noted the following:
"It is anticipated that health care costs and the demand for health services will continue to rise at a higher rate than the economy, which is predicted to mature and grow more steadily.

Medical expenses will continue to absorb an increasing share of household expenditure." ${ }^{4}$

The results of the 2004 Household Expenditure Survey tend to support the above prediction. During the last decade, the cost of health care continued to more than double, while the cost
of living increased by only $32 \%$. In 2004, the average household spent about $\$ 5,600$ a year on health care - more than twice the amount spent in 1993. Health insurance premiums accounted for $70 \%$ of this figure. ${ }^{5}$

In 2004, households headed by seniors spent $\$ 6,000$ per year on health care, up from $\$ 3,000$ in 1993. Nearly two-thirds ( $65 \%$ ) of that expenditure was comprised of health insurance. Seniors spent just over $\$ 900$ on prescriptions and medicinal drugs in 2004, up from \$300 in 1993. This represented $17 \%$ of their health-care expenditure.

As people live longer, there are more demands placed on the health care system. Issues such as quality of life, access to health care and health care costs become increasingly important. According to the Health Care Review Final Report, ". . . there is a limit to the financial burden that families and government can bear. It is essential, therefore, that guiding principles and policies be established to manage the health care system and control health care costs." ${ }^{6}$

## House rich, cash poor

Seven of 10 seniors live in their own homes. A much higher proportion of Bermuda's senior citizens lived in their own homes at the beginning of the 21st Century. In 2000, $71 \%$ of Bermuda's elderly householders were owneroccupiers, up from $69 \%$ in 1980. (Table 1) In contrast, the owner-occupancy rate for the total population was only $44 \%$ in 2000 , up from $40 \%$ in 1980.
The higher proportion of homeowners among the elderly is to be expected because the likelihood of owning a home increases with age.

During the past 20 years, the median age of elderly owner-occupiers remained at 72 years. That is, half were above this age, and half below. At the same time the proportion of black and Bermudian homeowners increased. (Table 1) In 2000, elderly whites were slightly more likely to be owner-occupiers than blacks ( $73 \%$ of whites compared with $70 \%$ of blacks).

Eight out of 10 elderly owner-occupiers lived in accommodations without a mortgage or loan. The vast majority of whites $(92 \%)$ were in this type of living arrangement, well above the proportion of blacks ( $78 \%$ ). Of those that had a mortgage and/or loan, the median monthly outlay was $\$ 1,609$ in 2000 . (Table 1)

The high percentage of blacks who own homes is perhaps attributable to key socio-economic factors. After Emancipation, many black men started working in the construction industry at an early age, and applied artisan skills that they used during slavery to build their own homes. Also, prior to the 1970s through cooperative economics, black men formed work "rallies" whereby families and friends assisted each other in building their homes.

These two strategies were instrumental in reducing building costs and debt repayment for black homeowners. Additionally, since the 1950s, banks and lending agencies adopted more liberal financial policies and offered more
mortgages and loans, which made it easier for black wage earners to borrow money.

In 2000, most elderly owner-occupiers lived in residences that were more than 31 years old. On average, these houses had 5.5 rooms and 2.5 bedrooms in 2000 , slightly less than the average of 5.6 rooms and 2.6 bedrooms in 1980 . (Table 1)

The reduction in the number of rooms can be explained partly by a decline in the average household size from 2.9 in 1980 to 2.5 persons in 2000, a result of families having fewer children. Even though the average number of rooms declined, the rooms in 2000 may have been more spacious than they were in 1980.

By the 2000 Census, senior homeowners were more likely to be living in a multiple apartment complex ( $57 \%$ ) than a detached cottage( $42 \%$ ), as was the case in 1980. In 2000, just under twothirds (64\%) of black owner-occupiers resided in apartment buildings, compared with only $45 \%$ of whites.

This shift during the 20 -year period suggests that seniors were converting their homes to apartment complexes. In $2000,6 \%$ of senior owner-occupiers lived in condominiums, up from $4 \%$ in 1991. Condominium developments tend to have cluster housing and provisions for the maintenance of the exterior buildings and properties.

Alternatively, seniors may be adding apartments to supplement their income, or children extending their parents' home in order to have their own accommodations.

These options are preferred in Bermuda for a variety of reasons: the scarcity and cost of land for development purposes; zoning regulations; rental demand from non-Bermudians because of restrictions on work-permit holders owning residences; and the high cost of building homes. Between 2003 and 2005, the estimated building cost for a new residential unit ranged from $\$ 220$ to $\$ 280$ a square foot. In addition, labour costs tend to be high in Bermuda, as the bulk of building materials are imported.

Table 1

## Seven out of 10 seniors are owner-occupiers

|  | 2000 | 1991 | 1980 |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Owner-occupiers | 3,154 | 2,571 | 1,978 |
| Median age | 72 | 72 | 72 |
| Race | \% | \% | \% |
| Black | 59 | 56 | 53 |
| White \& other | 41 | 44 | 47 |
| Bermudian status |  |  |  |
| Bermudian | 96 | 93 | 91 |
| Non-Bermudian | 4 | 7 | 9 |
| Owner-occupiers | 71 | 71 | 69 |
| Black | 70 | 71 | 53 |
| With mortgage/loan | 22 | 30 | . |
| No mortgage/loan | 78 | 70 | .. |
| White | 73 | 72 | 47 |
| With mortgage/loan | 8 | 15 | .. |
| No mortgage/loan | 92 | 85 | .. |
| Condominimum development | 6 | 4 | . |
| Own another residence in Bermuda | 25 | 27 | . |
| Dwelling type |  |  |  |
| Cottage | 43 | 60 | 63 |
| Two to three apartments | 48 | 33 | 33 |
| Four or more apartments | 9 | 6 | 3 |
| Other | ** | 1 | ** |
| Not stated | ** | ** | ** |
| Rooms |  |  |  |
| One room | ** | ** | 1 |
| Two rooms | 1 | 1 | 4 |
| Three rooms | 5 | 4 | 16 |
| Four rooms | 18 | 17 | 28 |
| Five rooms | 30 | 30 | 25 |
| Six or more rooms | 45 | 48 | 23 |
| Not stated | ** | ** | ** |
| Average number of rooms | 5.5 | 5.6 | 4.6 |
| Number of bedrooms |  |  |  |
| Studio | ** | ** | .. |
| One bedroom | 8 | 9 | .. |
| Two bedrooms | 42 | 40 | .. |
| Three bedrooms | 41 | 39 | .. |
| Four or more bedrooms | 8 | 11 | .. |
| Not stated | ** | ** | .. |
| Average number of bedrooms | 2.5 | 2.6 | . |
| Expected selling price | \$512,223 | .. | .. |
| Median monthly mortgage/loan | \$1,609 | .. | . |

[^11]Table 2
Elderly renters are more likely to pay less for their accommodations

| Year | Number of bedrooms |  |  |  |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  | Total \$ | Studio apartment \$ | One | $\begin{gathered} \text { Two } \\ \$ \end{gathered}$ | Three or more \$ |
| Median monthly rent for elderly households |  |  |  |  |  |
| 2000 | 768 | 590 | 713 | 892 | 1,172 |
| 1991 | 454 | 290 | 399 | 583 | 768 |
| Median monthly rent for all households |  |  |  |  |  |
| 2000 | 1,021 | 716 | 872 | 1,185 | 1,841 |
| 1991 | 797 | 608 | 726 | 899 | 1,173 |

Source: Population and Housing Censuses, 2000 and 1991

In 2000, senior owner-occupiers estimated that the median selling price of their homesteads was over half a million dollars. This indicates clearly that many of Bermuda's seniors are "house rich."

Of 3,154 senior owner-occupiers in 2000, onequarter owned another residential property elsewhere in Bermuda, down from $27 \%$ in 1991. (Table 1)

Some 1,258 seniors, $28 \%$ of the total, rented their accommodations in 2000. They paid a median monthly rent of $\$ 768$, compared with a median of $\$ 1,021$ for the entire population. (Table 2) A number of factors are behind the be-low-market rent for Bermuda's seniors.

One factor is that seniors could be renting a family-owned apartment at a reasonable rent. Another factor is that $65 \%$ of seniors were renting dwelling units that were more than 31 years old, which had the second lowest median monthly rent of $\$ 751$ in 2000. Alternatively, seniors may be renting an apartment at one of the following Housing Trust Properties (independent seniors' colonies) managed by the Bermuda Housing Corporation:

## Housing Trust properties

Senior cottage colony Parish of location
Elizabeth Hills
Purvis Park
Heydon Trust
Fergusson Park ${ }^{1}$

Pembroke
Devonshire
Sandys
St. George's

At the time of the 2000 Census, there were about 60 units declared as Housing Trust properties. The monthly rent for a studio or one-bedroom apartment ranged from $\$ 300$ to $\$ 500$. In contrast, the median monthly rent for all studios or one-bedroom apartments ranged from $\$ 716$ to $\$ 872$ for the same period. (Table 2) As of January 1, 2005 there were 81 Housing Trusts Properties (mixture of studio and one-bedroom apartments) and the monthly rent ranged from $\$ 500$ to $\$ 800$.

Just over 300 senior households, about $18 \%$ of the total, received a rental subsidy in 2000, and $86 \%$ were government-assisted. Almost threequarters of those who received assistance were black.

Of those that rented, 66 elderly householders, $7 \%$ of the total, owned a home elsewhere in Bermuda, down from 9\% in 1991.

Figure 1
Seniors reduce their labour force participation over the past 20 years


Source: Population and Housing Censuses, 1980 and 2000

## Fewer seniors working

Bermuda's elderly population is healthier and living longer, but seniors are less likely to be in the labour force. In 1980, individuals aged 65 and older represented $5 \%$ of adult workers; by 2000 , the proportion had edged down to $4 \%$.

Just over one-third (34\%) of elderly men and about $17 \%$ of elderly women were labour force participants in 2000. The equivalent proportions in 1980 were $50 \%$ for men and $25 \%$ for women.

The labour force participation rate for white men fell by 18 percentage points during the 20 year period. This was followed by black men whose participation declined by 17 percentage points. The smallest decrease in labour force participation was recorded by black women, a decline of eight percentage points. (Figure 1)

The decreased share of workers over the age of 65 may be a result of key factors, such as attrition of older workers through business downsizing; reassessment of the need to continue working; and the introduction of Social Insurance pension.

The introduction of the Bermuda Government's Social Insurance Pension in August 1968, provided a greater safety net for seniors who wanted to stop working. (See Social Insurance Contributions and Benefits box for guidelines.) The Bermuda pension arrived late in comparison with the United States where the equivalent began in 1935.

This means that if employees had worked from August 1968 and the employers had made the required contributions to the Bermuda Government, retirees would have had a total of 31 years of Social Insurance contributions by May 2000.

In contrast, their contemporaries who retired in 1980 had only 11 years of contributions to the Government pension plan. This means that, if we exclude the Government budgetary increases, people who retired from the labour force in 2000 received a higher Social Insurance monthly pension than their counterparts did in 1980 because they paid into the system longer.

## Social Insurance Contributions and Benefits

## Social Insurance contributions and benefits guidelines for senior citizens

1. As a general rule, every person over the age of 16 who is employed in Bermuda for a period of more than 4 hours per week is required to pay Social Insurance contributions. If, however, a person earns less than $\$ 58.00$ per week, he or she may apply for exemption from liability for weekly contributions.
2. Persons over the age of 65 are exempted from paying Social Insurance contributions, but the employer is required to pay on the person's behalf. As at August 2, 2004 the weekly rate of contributions for employers was $\$ 24.19$.

## Contributory Pension

## If you:

- are age 65 or over
- have paid or been credited with a specified number of contributions paid and/or credited between 25 and 50 a year.

You are entitled to a Contributory Pension. The amount received is contingent on the total contributions and number of years a person has put into the scheme, you may qualify whether you stop work or not.

## Non-Contributory

If you

- do not qualify for a contributory pension
- are 65 and living in Bermuda
- are Bermudian and have been ordinarily resident here for a period of not less than 10 years during the 20 years prior to your application, you qualify for non-contributory pension.


## SOCIAL INSURANCE BENEFITS

BENEFIT RATES with effect from August 16, 2004

| Type of benefit | Basic rate payable |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Contributory Pension and Widow's or Widower's Allowance |  |  |
|  |  |  |
| Avg. conts. $\quad$ Percentage per yr. | Weekly \$ | $\begin{gathered} \text { Monthly } \\ \$ \end{gathered}$ |
| $50+100 \%$ | 177.10 | 767.43 |
| 45-49 90\% | 159.39 | 690.69 |
| 40-44 80\% | 141.68 | 613.94 |
| 35-39 70\% | 123.97 | 537.20 |
| 30-34 60\% | 106.26 | 460.46 |
| $\underline{25-29} 50 \%$ | 88.55 | 383.72 |
| Contribution pension increment |  |  |
| For each 26 contributions in excess of 484 | 1.04 | 4.51 |
|  | \$ | \$ |
| Non-Contributory Pension | 81.28 | 352.21 |
| (* NOTE: Rate payable if pensioner's income is Less than $\$ 4,000$ per year) | 83.64 | 362.44 |

Source: Department of Social Insurance

## Seniors are dominant in blue-collar jobs

In 2000, half of the seniors who worked held production, transport or service jobs.

Black men were dominant ( $60 \%$ ) in production, transport and related jobs, while their white counterparts ( $34 \%$ ) held these same positions as well as administrative and managerial jobs (24\%). Half of black women (56\%) held service jobs, while white women were concentrated in clerical (30\%) and sales jobs (25\%). (Table 3)

The racial disparity in seniors' occupations can be explained primarily by limited educational and job opportunities for blacks prior to 1970. Another contributing factor was job shifts after individuals reach retirement age. Although occupational changes after retirement affect both races, blacks are probably more likely to have experienced a downward shift in occupation type rather than a lateral shift.

Table 3
Elderly men are most likely to be production and transport workers

|  | Total |  |  | Male |  |  | Female |  |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Major occupational group | Total | Black | White | Total | Black | White | Total | Black | White |
| Total | 1,591 | 1,102 | 489 | 926 | 615 | 311 | 665 | 487 | 178 |
| Professional \& technical | 154 | 71 | 83 | 100 | 39 | 61 | 54 | 32 | 22 |
| Administrative \& managerial | 145 | 51 | 94 | 99 | 25 | 74 | 46 | 26 | 20 |
| Clerical | 160 | 87 | 73 | 51 | 32 | 19 | 109 | 55 | 54 |
| Sales | 184 | 109 | 75 | 69 | 39 | 30 | 115 | 70 | 45 |
| Service | 438 | 382 | 56 | 133 | 111 | 22 | 305 | 271 | 34 |
| Production, transport \& related | 510 | 402 | 108 | 474 | 369 | 105 | 36 | 33 | 3 |
| Percentage distribution |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Total | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 |
| Professional \& technical | 10 | 6 | 17 | 11 | 6 | 20 | 8 | 7 | 12 |
| Administrative \& managerial | 9 | 5 | 19 | 11 | 4 | 24 | 7 | 5 | 11 |
| Clerical | 10 | 8 | 15 | 6 | 5 | 6 | 16 | 11 | 30 |
| Sales | 12 | 10 | 15 | 8 | 6 | 10 | 17 | 14 | 25 |
| Service | 28 | 35 | 12 | 14 | 18 | 7 | 46 | 56 | 19 |
| Production, transport \& related | 32 | 37 | 22 | 51 | 60 | 34 | 5 | 7 | 2 |

Source: Population and Housing Census, 2000

For example, if a black man retired in 1991 from the Police Service as a Superintendent at the mandatory retirement age of 60, and chooses to become a taxi driver, he would have had a different occupation at the time of the 2000 Census. During the 1991 Census, he would have been classified as a professional and technical employee; by 2000, his occupational category would have been production and transport worker. (Occupational shifts of this type are more prevalent for black seniors.)

Unfortunately, we are unable to determine the extent to which either of these factors accounts for the racial inequality because the data are not available.

## White seniors earn more than black seniors

Among seniors who worked, the median annual personal income from their main job was $\$ 23,261$ in 2000 . The income distribution by race shows a higher median annual personal income for whites across all occupations, except for clerical and production and transport workers. In 2000, white seniors earned $23 \%$ more on average than blacks, that is, $\$ 27,293$ compared to $\$ 22,147$.

## Table 4

Administrators and managers earned the highest median annual personal income from main job

|  |  |  |  |
| :--- | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  | Total | Race |  |
| Major occupational group | $\$$ | Black | White \& other |
| Total | 23,261 | $\$$ | $\$$ |
| $\quad$ Professional \& technical | 34,285 | 22,147 | 27,293 |
| Administrative \& managerial | 44,603 | 28,199 | 39,817 |
| Clerical | 23,703 | 38,525 | 47,999 |
| Sales | 18,050 | 26,570 | 20,856 |
| Service | 16,677 | 17,440 | 19,090 |
| $\quad$ Production, transport \& related | 28,151 | 16,669 | 16,736 |

Source: Population and Housing Census, 2000

## Income higher for households headed by men

During the last decade, the median annual household income for households headed by seniors rose by $81 \%$ from $\$ 27,713$ to $\$ 50,192$. That is, half were above this income level, and half below. Household income includes money from the following sources: wages, salaries, commissions, pensions, bonuses, alimony, child support, social assistance, dividends, interest, annuities, net rents, scholarships and rental subsidies, etc.

In 2000, the average household headed by elderly men earned $48 \%$ more than those headed by women. In contrast, white households earned $4 \%$ more than black households. The greater
sex differential can be explained by men being higher earners than women.

A break down by household type, shows that seniors who live in two-parent households have the highest median annual household income, over $\$ 92,000$. (Table 5) With the exception of one-parent households and extended-family households, white seniors earn more than black seniors in every other household-type category.

Table 5
Two-parent households earned the highest median annual household income (\$)

| $\begin{array}{l}\text { Household type } \\ \text { and race }\end{array}$ | Sex |  |  |
| :--- | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  | Total | $\begin{array}{c}\text { Male } \\ \text { Total }\end{array}$ |  |
| One person races |  |  |  |$]$ Female

[^12]
## Decline in the proportion of poor elderly

In 1991, the poor were those whose total income was less than $\$ 24,264$. By 2000 , the total income for the poor was less than $\$ 35,851$ a year. Between 1991 and 2000, the relative economic position of senior householders improved, even though they continued to comprise the largest percentage of the poor. The proportion of senior households that were poor declined from $45 \%$ in 1991 to $40 \%$ in 2000.

The definition of "poor" used in this analysis was developed by Professor Timothy M. Smeeding of Dalhousie University, and presented in his paper "Cross-National Comparisons of Inequality and Poverty Position," in Lars Osberg's Economic Inequality and Poverty (1991). Dr. Smeeding's methodology was applied to the 1991 and 2000 census data. The adjustment for demographic data performed by Dr. Smeeding is not possible for this analysis.

Dr. Smeeding's definition of "poor" were households that were defined as those earning less that half the median household income.

At the time of the 2000 census, seniors living alone as well as women were more likely to be living in poverty than men and seniors living in other household arrangements.

About $40 \%$ of blacks were "cash poor", only slightly higher than the proportion of whites (39\%). (Table 6) An analysis by age shows that a disproportionately higher percentage of the poor were very old. Six out of 10 people aged 85 and older fell into this category in 2000, compared with three out of 10 seniors aged 65 to 74.

The higher percentage of poor among the "oldold" is associated partly with their lower labour force participation rates.

## Definition of Relative Economic Position

Poor - households earning less than half the median household income

Near poor - households earning half to $62.5 \%$ of the median household income

Middle class - households earning 62.5\% to $150 \%$ of the median household income

Well-to-do - households earning over 150\% of the median household income

Table 6
Seniors are most likely to be poor, black, female, very old and living alone

| Characteristics of household reference person |  | Relative economic position |  |  |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  | Total | Poor <br> (Less than $\$ 35,851$ ) | Near poor (\$35,831$\$ 44,789)$ | $\begin{gathered} \text { Middle class } \\ (\$ 44,790- \\ \$ 107,493) \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} \text { Well-to-do } \\ \text { (\$107,494 \& } \\ \text { over) } \end{gathered}$ |
|  |  | All households |  |  |  |
| Total | 100 | 40 | 10 | 34 | 16 |
| Black | 100 | 40 | 10 | 35 | 16 |
| White \& other | 100 | 39 | 11 | 34 | 17 |
|  |  | Sex |  |  |  |
| Total | 100 | 40 | 10 | 34 | 16 |
| Male | 100 | 32 | 9 | 39 | 21 |
| Female | 100 | 47 | 11 | 30 | 12 |
|  |  | Age group |  |  |  |
| Total | 100 | 40 | 10 | 34 | 16 |
| 65-74 (young-old) | 100 | 32 | 9 | 39 | 19 |
| 75-84 (old) | 100 | 51 | 11 | 27 | 11 |
| 85+ (old-old) | 100 | 59 | 12 | 22 | 8 |
|  |  | Household type |  |  |  |
| Total | 100 | 40 | 10 | 34 | 16 |
| One person | 100 | 69 | 13 | 15 | 4 |
| Adult couple | 100 | 31 | 9 | 43 | 17 |
| Two parents | 100 | 8 | 5 | 50 | 37 |
| One parent | 100 | 22 | 10 | 53 | 15 |
| Extended family | 100 | 16 | 8 | 45 | 31 |
| Other | 100 | 22 | 10 | 42 | 26 |

Source: Population and Housing Census, 2000

## Senior's primary source of income is old age pension

According to A Study of the Needs of the Elderly People in Bermuda in 1991, the primary source of income for one-third of Bermuda's elderly was the old age pension.

Of those who stated the pension was their primary source of income, $43 \%$ indicated it was their only source of income. The major source was contributory pensions for $13 \%$. Almost one-quarter ( $24 \%$ ) listed wages as their primary source of income. ${ }^{1}$

In 2004, the Ageing in Bermuda Meeting the Needs of Seniors study showed striking similarities with the 1991 findings. The government pen-
sion continued to be the main source of income for seniors. Seniors over 80 years old were far more dependent on the government pension than those aged 65-79. One-quarter of the younger seniors supplemented their pension with wages.

## Vast majority of seniors were pension recipients

In 2000, approximately $94 \%$, or 6,310 seniors were pension recipients. Because of the high percentage of pensioners, it is important to monitor the number of working-age people to the number of pension-age people aged 65 and over. This is commonly known as the "pension-

[^13]er support" ratio, and it is used as a gauge to ensure adequate pensions for future generations. During the past five decades, the number of pensioners has been rising faster than the number of workers because fewer children are born, which means fewer future workers.

As a result, between 1950 and 2000, Bermuda's "pensioner support" ratio fell from 9.2 to 5.9 . (Table 7) An analysis by race shows that for the first time there were proportionately few-
significant tax support as part of the solution or some combination of remedial measures to reduce CPF outlays". ${ }^{\text {. }}$

The social implication of an inadequate pension fund could have profound consequences because about half of the 16,500 workforce in 1995 did not participate in an occupational retirement scheme. ${ }^{3}$

Another aspect of the "pension challenge" in Bermuda was expressed by the Auditor General,

Table 7
Ratio of workers supporting pensioners is declining ${ }^{1}$

| Race | 1950 | 1960 | 1970 | 1980 | 1991 | 2000 |
| :--- | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Total | 9.2 | 9.3 | 8.8 | 7.3 | 7.0 | 5.9 |
| Black | 9.7 | 10.5 | $\ldots$ | 7.9 | 7.2 | 5.6 |
| White | 8.7 | 8.2 | $\cdots$ | 6.6 | 6.9 | 6.4 |

${ }^{1}$ Based on pensioner support ratio which is the ratio of the number of people at working age (20-64) by the number of people over the pension age $(65+)$

Source: Population and Housing Censuses, 1950 to 2000
er black workers supporting black pensioners in 2000 than was the case among whites. The higher ratio for whites was probably a reflection of the level of immigration of white workers, which is compensating for the low fertility level of white Bermudian women.

The decline in the number of births mentioned above, has far-reaching consequences for a pay-as-you-go type pension such as the Bermuda Government's Contributory Pension Fund (CPF). This is because the contributions that are paid into the fund in a given year by workers are generally paid out as benefits in the same year.

The financial viability of this type of pension scheme can be problematic if the number of pensioners is rising at a faster rate than the number of workers. In fact, actuarial evaluations have indicated that ". . . if there are no adjustments to counteract the anticipated deficits between 2001 and 2030, then the CPF may face a condition of insolvency which could require
who wrote that "the slow and non-collection of significant amounts of pension contributions and payroll and land taxes continues to be a major concern." ${ }^{4}$

During the fiscal year 2002/03, 61 employers owed more than $\$ 40,000$ to the CPF in respect of pension contributions more than 90 days in arrears. Twelve of the 61 employers were in receivership or have gone out of business. ${ }^{5}$ The following table illustrates the pension contributions (at July 31, 2003) that were past due more than 90 days. (Table 8)

According to the Auditor General,
"For the Government and its pension fund to be owed more than $\$ 31$ million of taxes and pension contributions more than three months in arrears is, in my view, intolerable. Not only should this amount be in the Government's bank accounts, but some of it will inevitably not be collected at all." ${ }^{6}$

[^14]Table 8
Outstanding pension contributions decline to less than $\$ 10$ million

| Year | 1998 | 1999 | 2000 <br> Millions of dollars | 2001 | 2002 | 2003 |
| :--- | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Pension contributions | $\$ 10.6$ | $\$ 11.6$ | $\$ 10.7$ | $\$ 11.0$ | $\$ 13.1$ | $\$ 9.2$ |

Source: Auditor General Report for the Financial Year 2002/03

An additional challenge that was outlined in the 1995 Green Paper A National Pensions Scheme, is the safety and security of pension assets of some employer-sponsored pension plans. These types of plans are at risk if there is co-mingling of pension assets with the business assets. If the business is unsuccessful the pension assets and benefits will cease. ${ }^{7}$

Bermuda is not alone in facing these challenges. According to the World Bank Policy Research Report,
"as we grow old we work, produce and earn less, and therefore need a secure source of income to see us through life. Societies and governments have developed mechanisms to provide income security for their older citizens as part of the social safety net for reducing poverty. Today, as the world's population ages old age security systems are in trouble worldwide. Income security in old age is a worldwide problem." ${ }^{8}$

Due to these concerns, it is essential to regulate not only the Bermuda Government pensions; but private pension plans as well.

As a result, the Pension Commission was established by the National Pension Scheme (Occupational Pensions) Act 1998. On January 1, 2000 the Bermuda Government introduced mandatory, private-occupational retirement schemes in response to concerns about the inadequacy of pension income and the long-term viability of Bermuda's CPF. (See Eligibility for pension plan membership box, overleaf, for more information.)

[^15]
## Eligibility for pension plan membership

Effective January 1, 2000, as an Employee you are eligible to be a member of your Employer's pension plan if you...

■ are Bermudian or the husband or wife of a Bermudian; and

- are 23 years old or more; and

■ have completed 720 or more hours of employment with your Employer in any calendar year prior to membership in the pension plan

A pension plan may specifically permit membership eligibility on an earlier basis. Once eligible, an Employee must become a member of the pension plan, membership must continue even if you work less than 720 hours in subsequent years.

Once an Employee has become a member of the pension plan, membership continues until normal retirement age, unless the Employee retires before that time or ceases to be employed (subject to the provisions of the Act).

Where an Employee is employed by more than one Employer, that employee must be a member of each pension plan for which the criteria for eligibility have been met.

## Self-employed Persons

As a self-employed person you must apply for registration of a self-employment Pension Plan in accordance with the Act and the Regulations, if you . . .

■ are Bermudian or the husband or wife of a Bermudian; and

- are between the age of 23 and 65; and

■ have pensionable earnings from self-employment exceeding $\$ 20,000$, in a calendar year.

This is merely a summary; a comprehensive statement of the Legislative requirements are contained in the National Pension Scheme (Occupational Pensions) Act 1998 and its respective Amendments and Regulations.

## Pension income under \$11,000

In 2000, the median annual pension income for seniors was $\$ 10,928$. For whites, it was $\$ 11,309$, while for blacks it was $\$ 10,702$. The differential between the sexes was greater than the differential between the races.

While the median income for whites was $6 \%$ higher than for blacks, the median for men was $14 \%$ higher than that for women. White men led with an annual pension income of $\$ 12,755$ followed by black men with $\$ 11,307$. White women received a higher pension than black women ( $\$ 10,420$ in comparison to $\$ 10,350$ ). (Table 9)

Housing is major portion of seniors' expenditures
In addition to examining senior citizens' assets and income, it is essential to analyse the expenditure patterns of this segment of the population. At the time of the 2004 Household Expenditure Survey, the average senior citizen's household spent on average a total of $\$ 1,210$ a week on a broad range of goods and services. This represents a $64 \%$ increase in weekly expenditure from 1993 when seniors spent $\$ 736$ per week.
In 2004, the three largest weekly expenditures for seniors were housing (47\%); household goods, services and supplies (13\%); and medical, health and personal care (11\%). (See de-

Table 9
Men earned the highest median annual pension income

|  |  | Sex |  |
| :--- | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Race | Total | Male | Female |
|  | $\$$ | $\$$ | $\$$ |
| Total | 10,928 | 11,857 | 10,376 |
| Black | 10,702 | 11,307 | 10,350 |
| White \& other | 11,309 | 12,755 | 10,420 |

Source: Population and Housing Census, 2000

The pension income differences can be linked to a number of factors such as the:

- period of inclusion in Social Insurance pension and/or a private-occupational retirement plan,
- type of pension plan, for example, defined benefit pension or defined contribution pension,
- amount of contributions, and

■ hours and months worked.
tailed descriptions box highlighting the leading weekly expenditure items for seniors). This means that for every $\$ 1$ of spending each week, a senior spends 47 cents on housing, 13 cents on household goods and 11 cents on medical and personal care. (Table 10)

When compared to the 1993 Household Expenditure Survey, seniors are now spending a higher proportion of their weekly income on housing, foreign travel and medical, health and personal care.

Table 10
Seniors spent 47 cents out of every dollar for housing

|  | Average weekly expenditure |  | Percentage of total |  |
| :--- | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Item | 2004 | 1993 | 2004 | 1993 |
|  | $\$$ | $\$$ | $\%$ | $\%$ |
| Average weekly household expenditure | 1,210 | 736 | 100 | 100 |
| Food \& nonalcoholic beverages | 97 | 85 | 8 | 12 |
| Alcohol drink \& tobacco | 16 | 16 | 1 | 2 |
| Clothing \& footware | 16 | 16 | 1 | 2 |
| Housing ${ }^{1}$ | 570 | 280 | 47 | 38 |
| Fuel \& power | 43 | 32 | 4 | 4 |
| Household goods, services \& supplies | 160 | 121 | 13 | 16 |
| Transportation | 75 | 49 | 6 | 7 |
| Education | 7 | 11 | 1 | 2 |
| Foreign travel | 55 | 24 | 5 | 3 |
| Medical, health \& personal care | 134 | 60 | 11 | 8 |
| Entertainment \& recreation | 21 | 31 | 2 | 4 |
| Miscellaneous | 16 | 10 | 1 | 1 |

${ }^{1}$ Includes rent paid, imputed rent for owner-occupiers and cost of repairs and maintenance
Source: 1993 and 2004 Household Expenditure Surveys

## Leading weekly expenditure items for seniors

## Housing

Housing consists of expenditure for rental payments which includes an imputed rental equivalent value for heads of households who were owner-occupiers; repair and maintenance of the home; insurance of the home; and land tax.

Household goods, services and supplies
Household goods, services and supplies represents spending on various household goods, such as furniture, appliances and entertainment equipment; household services such as child care, cable television, water, telephone, and utilities; and household supplies, which include cleaning liquids, detergents, cleaning utensils and paper supplies.

## Medical, health and personal care

Medical, health and personal care includes expenditures on health insurance, for doctor and or dental coverage; medical services such as net doctor bills, laboratory tests, hospital fees, and any other medical service provided by specialists such as nurses and therapists; medical supplies, including hearing aids, artificial limbs, eye wear and contact lenses; and, both prescribed and over-the-counter drugs and medicines; personal care services, men's hair cuts and styling, salon services for ladies and other services such as massages and slenderizing.

## Bermuda's institutionalized seniors - the facts!

In general, most persons 65 years and older would rather live in their own homes for as long as possible. However, with increasing age, more seniors are progressively less able to manage their households. In addition, they are more likely to face physical and mental health challenges that may require the assistance of another person to get through the activities of daily living. For some, the need may be minimal, such as assistance with eating, toileting, bathing, dressing or transferring from a chair to a bed. For others, nursing care or skilled nursing care may be required.

As a result, seniors may need to be confined to an institution, at some point in their lives. This can be expected because, as persons get older, the more likely they will experience situations that may make it unsafe for them to live alone.

The decision to place a family member in an in-
stitution can be a difficult one. It is often the last resort for the family members who find they can no longer meet the needs of their loved ones. In these cases, there is usually no other alternative and the decision is made with the best interest of the senior at heart.

Highlights from the 2000 census:
■ There were 901 institutionalized persons
■ Of the 901 persons institutionalized, four out of 10 , or 360 , were seniors
■ As in the United States of America, 5\% of Bermuda's seniors resided in institutions

- More than two-thirds of institutionalized seniors lived in rest homes

■ The rest home population rose by $34 \%$ since 1991.

- Almost one-third of seniors in institutions were confined to hospitals. (Table 1)
- The population in hospitals increased by $11 \%$ in the last decade.

Table 1
Seniors are more likely to reside in rest homes

| Type of institution | 2000 |  |  | 1991 |  |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  | Total | Male | Female | Total | Male | Female |
| Total | 360 | 139 | 221 | 295 | 107 | 188 |
| Rest home | 244 | 87 | 157 | 182 | 55 | 127 |
| Hospital ${ }^{1}$ | 110 | 47 | 63 | 99 | 40 | 59 |
| Other | 6 | 5 | 1 | 14 | 12 | 2 |
| Percentage distribution |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Total | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 |
| Rest home | 68 | 63 | 71 | 62 | 51 | 68 |
| Hospital ${ }^{1}$ | 31 | 34 | 29 | 34 | 37 | 31 |
| Other | 2 | 4 | 1 | 5 | 11 | 1 |

[^16]Source: Population and Housing Censuses, 2000 and 1991

## Definition of institution

Institutions are facilities in which individuals will remain for generally more than one year. Examples include nursing homes, rest homes, children's homes, homes for the physically challenged, hospitals, hospices and correctional facilities. The accommodations and daily needs are provided by a third party on a professional basis.

## Demand for care of the elderly rises

As the number of seniors increases, there will undoubtedly be a demand for more purposebuilt facilities with trained staff to care for the aged.

Between 1991 and 2005, the number of government and private rest homes (including nursing homes and the Continuing Care Unit) increased from 15 to 22.

In 2005, Bermuda's stock of institutions for the elderly included:

- 12 independent "residential" care housing facilities (rest homes),
- Six intermediate "residential" care housing facilities (nursing homes), and
- Four skilled nursing homes. (see Elder Care Information box)

Some of these facilities provide multiple services such as more than one type of elder care, adult day-care services and respite care.

Presently there are plans to open an additional mixed-level care facility in St. George's parish.

In 2005 , the monthly cost of residing in one of these facilities ranges from $\$ 2,500$ to $\$ 7,588$. The cost of living in these facilities can place a financial strain on families.

## Elder care information

## Independent "residential" care housing (rest home)

Provides long-term and/or short-term care for seniors who are ambulant or independently mobile, may have decreased physical or mental faculties and require minimum supervision or assistance with activities of daily living. The cost can range between $\$ 2,500$ to $\$ 3,500$ per month.

| Institution | Parish | Number of beds |
| :--- | :--- | :---: |
| Bendicion | Sandys | 8 |
| Lorraine Rest Home | Warwick | 18 |
| Herb Garden | Southampton | 12 |
| Mon Reve | Sandys | 11 |
| Monte Cristo Gardens | Sandys | 10 |
| Sunset Gardens | Southampton | 5 |
| Swan Chateau | St. George's | 6 |
| Sunny Vale | Paget | 8 |
| Yellow Roses | St. George's | 7 |
| Twilight | Southampton | 4 |
| Westmeath Residential and Rest Home | Pembroke | 29 |
| Elder Home Care | Devonshire | 12 |

Intermediate "residential" care housing (nursing home)
Provides long-term and/or short-term care for seniors who have a relatively stabilized chronic disease (physical or mental), or functional disability and may require the availability of personal care on a 24 hour basis, as well as supervision or assistance with activities of daily living. The cost can range between $\$ 3,000$ to $\$ 4,000$ per month.

| Institution | Parish | Number of beds |
| :--- | :--- | :---: |
| Matilda Smith Williams Home | Devonshire | 24 |
| Pembroke Nursing Home | Pembroke | 25 |
| Easter Lily | Hamilton | 10 |
| Packwood Home | Sandys | 30 |
| Pleasantville | Paget | 11 |
| Westmeath Nursing Wing | Pembroke | 18 |
| Mixed Level of Care | St. George's | under construction |

## Skilled nursing homes

Provides long-term and/or short-term care for seniors who are chronically ill or have a functional disability, have a limited rehabilitation and may require personal care on a 24 -hour basis as well as nursing supervision and medical support. The cost can range between $\$ 1,395$ and \$7,588 per month.

| Institution | Parish | Number of beds |
| :--- | :--- | :---: |
| Continuing Care Unit | Paget | 39 |
| Lefroy House | Sandys | 40 |
| Westmeath Skilled Wing | Pembroke | 16 |
| St. Brendan's Reid Ward | Devonshire | 25 |
| Adult day care | $\$ 10-\$ 100$ per day |  |
| Respite care | $\$ 45-\$ 150$ per day |  |
| Weekly care | $\$ 315-\$ 1,050$ per week |  |

A review of statistical information collected by the King Edward VIIth Memorial Hospital's Continuing Care Unit revealed the following output changes in hospital output measures between fiscal year 1980/81 and 2002/03:

- Bed count increased 12\%, from 92 to 103

■ Patient days rose $6 \%$ from 32,706 days to 34,611 days

- Length of stay climbed by 340 days, from 177 to 517 days
- Per cent occupancy declined from 97\% to 92\%.

These upward shifts are a clear indication that the demand for health care is rising. In addition, ageing seniors will also add to the demand for more health care professionals and support staff. Between 1991 and 2000, the number of nurse's aides or orderlies increased by $58 \%$. At the same time, the number of medical doctors and nurses rose by $22 \%$ and $10 \%$, respectively.

## Elderly institutional population is greying

Bermuda's elderly institutional population is ageing. The proportions of persons aged 75 years and older rose from $65 \%$ in 1980 to $77 \%$ in 2000 . During the 20 -year period, the proportion of the population aged 85 years and older climbed from $25 \%$ to $45 \%$. (Figure 1)

In fact, in 2000 there were eight centenarians (100 years of age and older), six of whom were women, residing in institutions. As a result of the growth of the oldest population, the median age of the elderly institutional population increased from 78 in 1980 to 83 in 2000. (Table 2) This means that half of this population group was older, and half was younger. Women had a median age of 86 years in 2000, nine years older than men.

Six out of every 10 people aged 65 and older, residing in institutions, were women. Two out of 10 institutionalized men were 85 and older, as were six out of 10 women, the highest proportions among the five age groups.

Figure 1
Majority of seniors continue to be found in the 'old-old' age group


Source: Population and Housing Censuses, 1980 to 2000

## Table 2

Median age of seniors climbs steadily

| Age group | 2000 |  |  | 1991 |  |  | 1980 |  |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  | Total | Male | Female | Total | Male | Female | Total | Male | Female |
| Total | 360 | 139 | 221 | 295 | 107 | 188 | 201 | 65 | 136 |
| 65-69 | 35 | 24 | 11 | 38 | 25 | 13 | 33 | 12 | 21 |
| 70-74 | 51 | 29 | 22 | 37 | 21 | 16 | 36 | 16 | 20 |
| 75-79 | 45 | 24 | 21 | 59 | 25 | 34 | 46 | 14 | 32 |
| 80-84 | 67 | 30 | 37 | 57 | 16 | 41 | 35 | 9 | 26 |
| 85+ | 162 | 32 | 130 | 104 | 20 | 84 | 51 | 14 | 37 |
| Median age | 83 | 77 | 86 | 80 | 76 | 83 | 78 | 77 | 79 |
| Percentage distribution |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Total | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 |
| 65-69 | 10 | 17 | 5 | 13 | 23 | 7 | 16 | 19 | 15 |
| 70-74 | 14 | 21 | 10 | 13 | 20 | 9 | 18 | 25 | 15 |
| 75-79 | 13 | 17 | 10 | 20 | 23 | 18 | 23 | 22 | 24 |
| 80-84 | 19 | 22 | 17 | 19 | 15 | 22 | 17 | 14 | 19 |
| 85+ | 45 | 23 | 59 | 35 | 19 | 45 | 25 | 22 | 27 |

[^17]
## Majority of seniors are widowed

In 2000, one-half of the individuals aged 65 years and older residing in institutions were widowed. As expected, there were more widows (63.3\%) than widowers (28.1\%). (Figure 2)

Women often outlive their spouses, and men are more likely to re-marry. Only $12 \%$ of persons 65 years and older residing in institutions were married.

## Seniors are challenged by mobility difficulties

Chronic illnesses and permanent disability can limit the ability of older people to function independently. The leading health condition reported for seniors in 2000 involved difficulties in mobility. In second place was Alzheimer's disease, followed by high blood pressure. The top five conditions in 1991 and 2000 are summarized below:

## Table 1

Leading health conditions of institutionalised seniors

| 2000 | 165 | Limited use or absence of leg(s) | 92 |
| :--- | ---: | :--- | :--- |
| Mobility difficulties | 111 | Alzheimer's disease | 89 |
| Alzheimer's disease | 80 | Poor vision or blindness | 64 |
| High blood pressure | 75 | Limited use or absence of arm(s) | 48 |
| Limited use or absence of leg(s) | Arthritis | 46 |  |

Figure 2
More widows than widowers


Source: Population and Housing Census 2000

## Conclusion

When does someone become 'old' or 'elderly'? A number of terms are used to describe people considered old, but there is an increasing awareness that the terms used should acknowledge the tremendous diversity inherent in a group of people whose ages can span a range of 40 or more years.

This report has provided the factual data and information key on ageing in Bermuda. It provides the basis for a greater understanding of the evolving demographic changes for the elderly. As seniors live longer and increase in numbers, a greater 'burden' is being placed upon the younger population who will have to support them.

The change in the complexion of Bermuda's elderly population brings both challenges and opportunities for the private and public sectors. An ageing population has serious implications for outlays on pensions, housing, public
transportation, health care services, home care and community support services.

Bermuda's greying population provides a wealth of experience to draw upon and comprises persons who have worked hard, contributed to business and community, and have helped to bring Bermuda to a level of economic and social prosperity enjoyed today. Strategic planning promoting supportive environments for successful aging of the elderly, recognizes that seniors as a collective group are as diverse as younger members of society. As such, a collective approach to ageing and older people will ultimately determine how we and our children and grandchildren experience life in later years.

Annex 1

| Selected social indicators | 1950 |  |  |  | 1960 |  |  |  | 1970 |  |  |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  | Total | Male | Female | Sex <br> ratio | Total | Male | Female | Sex ratio | Total | Male | Female | Sex <br> ratio |
| Total population | 37,403 | 18,148 | 19,255 | 94.3 | 42,640 | 21,233 | 21,407 | 99.2 | 52,330 | 26,293 | 26,037 | 101.0 |
| Bermuda born 2 | 28,749 | .. | .. | .. | 33,887 | .. | .. | .. | 37,834 | 18,955 | 18,879 | 100.4 |
| Foreign born | 8,654 | .. | .. | .. | 8,753 | .. | .. | .. | 14,496 | 7,338 | 7,158 | 102.5 |
| Not stated | .. | .. | .. |  | .. | .. | .. |  | .. | .. | .. |  |
| Elderly population |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Ages 65+ | 2,135 | 896 | 1,239 | 72.3 | 2,421 | 993 | 1,428 | 69.5 | 3,342 | 1,404 | 1,938 | 72.4 |
| 65-69 | 798 | 357 | 441 | 81.0 | 926 | 412 | 514 | 80.2 | 1,393 | 645 | 748 | 86.2 |
| 70-74 | 585 | 243 | 342 | 71.1 | 647 | 281 | 366 | 76.8 | 898 | 367 | 531 | 69.1 |
| 75-79 | 401 | 173 | 228 | 75.9 | 424 | 165 | 259 | 63.7 | 573 | 225 | 348 | 64.7 |
| 80-84 | 215 | 91 | 124 | 73.4 | 258 | 89 | 169 | 52.7 | 289 | 102 | 187 | 54.5 |
| 85+ | 136 | 32 | 104 | 30.8 | 166 | 46 | 120 | 38.3 | 189 | 65 | 124 | 52.4 |
| Black | 1,130 | 486 | 644 | 75.5 | 1,213 | 515 | 698 | 73.8 | 1,516 | 609 | 907 | 67.1 |
| White \& other | 1,005 | 412 | 593 | 69.5 | 1,208 | 478 | 730 | 65.5 | 1,820 | 791 | 1,029 | 76.9 |
| Not stated | .. | .. | .. |  | .. | .. | .. |  | 6 | 4 | 2 |  |
| \% of elderly population |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Ages 65+ | 100 | 100 | 100 |  | 100 | 100 | 100 |  | 100 | 100 | 100 |  |
| 65-69 | 37 | 40 | 36 |  | 38 | 41 | 36 |  | 42 | 46 | 39 |  |
| 70-74 | 27 | 27 | 28 |  | 27 | 28 | 26 |  | 27 | 26 | 27 |  |
| 75-79 | 19 | 19 | 18 |  | 18 | 17 | 18 |  | 17 | 16 | 18 |  |
| 80-84 | 10 | 10 | 10 |  | 11 | 9 | 12 |  | 9 | 7 | 10 |  |
| 85+ | 6 | 4 | 8 |  | 7 | 5 | 8 |  | 6 | 5 | 6 |  |
| Median age (years) |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Total population | 25 | 24 | 25 |  | 25 | 25 | 26 |  | 26 | 26 | 27 |  |
| Bermuda born | .. | .. | .. |  | .. | .. | .. |  | .. | .. | .. |  |
| Foreign born | . | .. | .. |  | -• | .. | .. |  | .. | .. | .. |  |
| Ages 65+ | 71 | 71 | 72 |  | 71 | 71 | 72 |  | 71 | 70 | 72 |  |
| Bermuda born | .. | .. | .. |  | .. | .. | .. |  | .. | .. | .. |  |
| Foreign born | .. | .. | .. |  | .. | .. | .. |  | .. | .. | .. |  |
| Intercensal growth rate |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| \% Total population |  | .. | .. |  | 1.31 | 1.56 | 1.06 |  | 2.05 | 2.14 | 1.96 |  |
| \% Ages 65+ | .. | - | .. |  | 1.25 | 1.02 | 1.41 |  | 3.23 | 3.46 | 3.06 |  |
| $\%$ of ages $65+$ in total population | 6 | 5 | 6 |  | 6 | 5 | 7 |  | 6 | 5 | 7 |  |

[^18]| Selected social indicators | 1980 |  |  |  | 1991 |  |  |  | 2000 |  |  |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  | Total | Male | Female | $\begin{gathered} \text { Sex } \\ \text { ratio } \end{gathered}$ | Total | Male | Female | Sex <br> ratio | Total | Male | Female | Sex <br> ratio |
| Total population | 54,050 | 26,350 | 27,700 | 95.1 | 58,460 | 28,345 | 30,115 | 94.1 | 62,059 | 29,802 | 32,257 | 92.4 |
| Bermuda born | 39,920 | 19,612 | 20,308 | 96.6 | 42,634 | 20,712 | 21,922 | 94.5 | 44,290 | 21,221 | 23,069 | 92.0 |
| Foreign born | 14,130 | 6,738 | 7,392 | 91.2 | 15,823 | 7,632 | 8,191 | 93.2 | 17,675 | 8,534 | 9,141 | 93.4 |
| Not Stated | .. | .. | .. |  | 3 | 1 | 2 |  | 47 | 47 | 0 |  |
| Elderly populatio | -4,471 | 1,823 | 2,648 | 68.8 | 5,396 | 2,199 | 3,197 | 68.8 | 6,722 | 2,746 | 3,976 | 69.1 |
| 65-69 | 1,699 | 739 | 960 | 77.0 | 1,945 | 855 | 1,090 | 78.4 | 2,332 | 1,056 | 1,276 | 82.8 |
| 70-74 | 1,211 | 489 | 722 | 67.7 | 1,366 | 568 | 798 | 71.2 | 1,845 | 794 | 1,051 | 75.5 |
| 75-79 | 847 | 364 | 483 | 75.4 | 1,054 | 401 | 653 | 61.4 | 1,275 | 473 | 802 | 59.0 |
| 80-84 | 402 | 135 | 267 | 50.6 | 627 | 238 | 389 | 61.2 | 713 | 249 | 464 | 53.7 |
| 85+ | 312 | 96 | 216 | 44.4 | 404 | 137 | 267 | 51.3 | 557 | 174 | 383 | 45.4 |
| Black | 2,403 | 968 | 1,435 | 67.5 | 3,095 | 1,224 | 1,871 | 65.4 | 4,035 | 1,601 | 2,434 | 65.8 |
| White \& other | 2,068 | 855 | 1,213 | 70.5 | 2,287 | 967 | 1,320 | 73.3 | 2,641 | 1,126 | 1,515 | 74.3 |
| Not stated | . | .. | .. |  | 14 | 8 | 6 |  | 46 | 19 | 27 |  |
| \% of elderly population |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Ages 65+ | 100 | 100 | 100 |  | 100 | 100 | 100 |  | 100 | 100 | 100 |  |
| 65-69 | 38 | 41 | 36 |  | 36 | 39 | 34 |  | 35 | 38 | 32 |  |
| 70-74 | 27 | 27 | 27 |  | 25 | 26 | 25 |  | 27 | 29 | 26 |  |
| 75-79 | 19 | 20 | 18 |  | 20 | 18 | 20 |  | 19 | 17 | 20 |  |
| 80-84 | 9 | 7 | 10 |  | 12 | 11 | 12 |  | 11 | 9 | 12 |  |
| 85+ | 7 | 5 | 8 |  | 7 | 6 | 8 |  | 8 | 6 | 10 |  |
| Median age (years) |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Total population | 29 | 29 | 30 |  | 33 | 32 | 33 |  | 37 | 36 | 37 |  |
| Bermuda born | 26 | 26 | 27 |  | 31 | 30 | 31 |  | 35 | 34 | 36 |  |
| Foreign born | 35 | 34 | 36 |  | 36 | 35 | 37 |  | 39 | 38 | 39 |  |
| Ages 65+ | 72 | 71 | 72 |  | 72 | 71 | 73 |  | 72 | 71 | 73 |  |
| Bermuda born | 71 | 71 | 72 |  | 72 | 71 | 72 |  | 72 | 71 | 73 |  |
| Foreign born | 72 | 71 | 73 |  | 72 | 72 | 73 |  | 73 | 72 | 73 |  |
| Intercensal growth rate |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| \% Total population | n 0.35 | 0.02 | 0.04 |  | 0.71 | 0.66 | 0.76 |  | 0.66 | 0.56 | 0.76 |  |
| \% Ages 65+ | 3.11 | 2.79 | 3.33 |  | 1.71 | 1.70 | 1.71 |  | 2.44 | 2.47 | 2.42 |  |
| $\%$ of ages 65+ in total population | 8 | 7 | 10 |  | 9 | 8 | 11 |  | 11 | 9 | 12 |  |

[^19]
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[^0]:    ${ }^{1}$ Fleming, Claudette, A Work under Construction. pp. 1-11.
    ${ }^{2}$ www.bermuda-online.org/seniorcitizens.htm. p.2.
    ${ }^{3}$ Public Service Superannuation Act 1981, available at www.bermudalaws.bm

[^1]:    Source: Population and Housing Censuses, 1950 to 2000

[^2]:    Source: Population and Housing Census, 2000

[^3]:    ${ }^{1}$ Based on the two-elderly-generation support ratio which is the ratio of persons aged 85 years and over to persons aged 65-69 years.

[^4]:    ${ }^{4}$ Gutheil, I. and Chenesky, R. Ageing in Bermuda Meeting the Needs of Seniors. p. 27
    ${ }^{5}$ Ibid., p. 31

[^5]:    ${ }^{6}$ Bermuda Government, Report of the Population Census 1970. p. 12
    ${ }^{7}$ Ibid., pp. 255-256

[^6]:    ${ }^{1}$ May include children
    ${ }^{2}$ May also include relatives

[^7]:    Source: Population and Housing Census, 2000

[^8]:    .. Not available
    Source: Population and Housing Census, 2000 and 1991

[^9]:    ${ }^{1}$ Includes Bermuda Government's Hospital Insurance Plan
    ${ }^{* *}$ Less than 1 \%

[^10]:    ${ }^{3}$ Newman, D. Bermuda's Stride Toward the Twenty-first Century. pp. 10-11.

[^11]:    .. Not available
    ** Less than 1\%

[^12]:    Source: Population and Housing Census, 2000

[^13]:    ${ }^{1}$ Chappell, N. and Marshall, V. A Study of the Needs of Elderly People in Bermuda. p. 18.

[^14]:    ${ }^{2}$ Government of Bermuda. A Green Paper. A National Pensions Scheme for Bermuda. p. 5.
    ${ }^{3}$ Ibid., p. 6.
    ${ }^{4}$ Government of Bermuda. Report of the Auditor General on the Work of the Office of the Auditor General and on the Ac counts of the Government of Bermuda for the Financial Year April, 2002 to March 31, 2003. p. 16.
    ${ }^{5}$ Ibid., p. 136.
    ${ }^{6}$ Ibid., p. 16.

[^15]:    ${ }^{7}$ Government of Bermuda. A Green Paper A National Pensions Scheme for Bermuda. p. 6.
    ${ }^{8}$ Stewart, R. Bermuda An Economy Which Works. p. 260.

[^16]:    ${ }^{1}$ Includes Continuing Care Unit, St. Brendans Hospital and the Hospice

[^17]:    Source: Population and Housing Censuses, 1980 to 2000

[^18]:    Source: Population and Housing Censuses, 1950 to 2000

[^19]:    Source: Population and Housing Censuses, 1950 to 2000

