CYPRIOT MIGRATION AND SETTLEMENT

IN BRITAIN

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by

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ABSTRACT

This is a social scientific study of the extent, character and causes of Cypriot migration and settlement in Britain between the years 1945 and 1966. It is based largely on published sources, mainly statistical. Some 75,000 Cypriots, mostly young adults, emigrated from Cyprus to Britain during the period - numbers increasing up to around 1960, and then declining sharply. A variety of circumstances affecting the movement are considered, the most important of which are found to be economic conditions in Britain and Cyprus. Cypriot settlement in Britain amounted in all to more than 100,000 persons in 1966, and was highly concentrated in London. The demographic and economic characteristics of London Cypriots are analysed in detail, and the settlers are found to have developed a thriving and remarkably self-sufficient economic base for community life as an ethnic minority in modern Britain. While their migration has been roughly coincident with that of recent 'coloured' immigrants to Britain from other Commonwealth countries, the character of Cypriot settlement has more in common with that of Jewish immigrants to Britain over half a century previously.

CONTENTS

INTRODUCTION 1

PART 1: MIGRATION

1. POST-WAR MIGRATION FROM CYPRUS TO BRITAIN 13
   Sources
   From Cyprus to Britain
   Greek Cypriots and Turkish Cypriots
   Alternative Destinations
   Return Migration
   Net Migration

2. CHARACTERISTICS OF CYPRIOT MIGRANTS 54
   Sex Composition
   Age Composition
   Marital and Family Composition
   Occupational Composition

3. GOVERNMENT REGULATION AND ITS INFLUENCE 88
   Regulation of Emigration from Cyprus
   Regulation of Immigration into Britain

4. THE SOCIAL ORGANISATION OF MIGRATION 107
   Family, Kinship and Patronage
   Communications and Travel

5. THE INFLUENCE OF CONDITIONS IN CYPRUS I 124
   Political Factors
   Demographic Factors

6. THE INFLUENCE OF CONDITIONS IN CYPRUS II 141
   Economic Factors: Introduction
   Economic Conditions: Agriculture
   Economic Conditions: The Non-Agricultural Sector
   Economic Factors: Conclusion

7. THE INFLUENCE OF CONDITIONS IN BRITAIN 174
   Economic Conditions in Britain
   The Effect of the Commonwealth Immigrants Act
   Britain and Alternative Destinations

8. CYPRIOT MIGRATION TO BRITAIN: CONCLUSION 205

PART II: SETTLEMENT

9. THE SIZE AND DISTRIBUTION OF CYPRIOT SETTLEMENT IN BRITAIN 215
   Sources

The Size of Cypriot settlement in Britain
The Distribution of Cypriot Settlement in Britain

10. THE DISTRIBUTION OF CYPRIOT SETTLEMENT IN LONDON 241
Distribution of Settlement
Density of Settlement
Greek Cypriots and Turkish Cypriots

11. DEMOGRAPHIC CHARACTERISTICS OF CYPRIOTS IN LONDON 263
Sex Composition
Age Composition
Marital Composition
Family and Household Composition
Inter-marriage

12. THE EMPLOYMENT OF CYPRIOTS IN LONDON 296
The Pattern of Employment
The Catering Trade
The Clothing Industry
The Ethnic Economy

13. HOUSING CONDITIONS OF CYPRIOTS IN LONDON 328
Cyprus and Inner London: The Contrast
Housing Tenure
Household Amenities
Housing Density

14. CYPRIOT SETTLEMENT IN BRITAIN: CONCLUSION 354

APPENDIX: NON-CYPRIOT MIGRATION FROM CYPRUS TO BRITAIN 361
The British
The Armenians

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ABBREVIATIONS

C.I.C. 1961	General Register Office, Census 1961, England and Wales, Commonwealth Immigrants in the Conurbations, H.M.S.O. 1965
C.I.T. 1966	General Register Office, Sample Census 1966, Great Britain, Commonwealth Immigrant Tables, H.M.S.O. 1969.
C.P.A.1960	Republic of Cyprus, Ministry of Finance, Census of Population and Agriculture 1960, Nicosia.
D.R.	Republic of Cyprus, Ministry of Finance, Demographic Report, Nicosia.
G.R.O. 1961	Special tabulations for Cypriot immigrants derived from C.I.C.1961 and made available by the General Register Office.
G.R.O. 1966	Special tabulations for Cypriot immigrants in the Greater London Conurbation derived from the 1966 Sample Census and made available by the General Register Office.
Nearchou	Nearchou V., "The Assimilation of Cypriot Immigrants in London", M.A. Thesis, University of Nottingham, 1960.
V. & M.S.	Republic of Cyprus, Ministry of Finance, Vital and Migration Statistics, Nicosia.

INTRODUCTION

Recent studies of the field of immigration and minority groups in Britain have for the most part focussed on 'coloured' immigrants and their situation, and the circumstances of 'white' minorities have been relatively neglected. Popular opinion, moreover, tends to conceive of all recent immigration as having been 'coloured' immigration, to the extent that the term 'immigrant' in Britain has come to imply '<u>coloured</u> immigrant'.

While at one level values may provide good reason for this preoccupation with the 'racial' element in the situation, it is the task of social science to place this element in perspective. In the first place, it is a matter of fact that 'coloured' persons comprise only a modest proportion of the total immigrant population of Britain: just below 30 per cent according to an estimate based on the 1966 Census.[1] Secondly, their 'colour' is but one among a number of differentiating features of these groups, others being their ethnic identity and various additional features related to the different circumstances of their migration and settlement in Britain. It is for social science to disentangle these elements and to assess their relative importance as factors determing the situation of minority groups in society.

To achieve this, comparison is required, and in order to counter-

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1 Rose E.J.B. and associates, <u>Colour and Citizenship</u>, O.U.P. 1969, p.99, Table 10.1.

balance the emphasis on coloured minorities, studies of 'white' minorities in Britain are necessary. Some studies have already been carried out, among the Jewish[2], Polish[3] and Irish[4] minorities, but to date no full-scale study has been made of the largest non-coloured group of immigrants from the Commonwealth during the post-war period: the Cypriots.[5]

The present work aims to fill that gap to a certain extent, by examining Cypriot migration and settlement in Britain during the period from the end of Hitler's War in 1945 up to the year 1966. But besides this intention to contribute to knowledge of Britain's ethnic minorities generally, there is a further aim of analysing the character and causes of a particular migration in greater detail than has hitherto been done for any recent migratory movement to Britain.[6] This has been possible in

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2 Eg. Lipman V.D., Social History of the Jews in England, 1850-1950, Watts, 1954; Freedman M.(ed.), A Minority in Britain, Vallentine Mitchell, 1955; Krausz E., Leeds Jewry, Heffer, 1963.

3 Zubrzycki J, Polish Immigrants in Britain, Nijhoff, 1956; cf. Patterson S., "Polish London", in Centre for Urban Studies, London: Aspects of Change, McGibbon & Kee, 1964.

4 Jackson J.A., The Irish in Britain, Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1963.

5 Though see the M.A. Thesis by V. Nearchou, "The Assimilation of Cypriot Immigrants in London", Nottingham University, 1960. This was the basis of two articles: George V. (formerly Nearchou) and Millerson G. "The Cypriot Community in London". Race, Vol. VIII, No.3, January 1967; and George V. "The Assimilation of Cypriot Immigrants in London", Eugenics Review, Vol. 58, No. 4, December 1966. See also, Oakley R., "The Cypriots in Britain", Race Today, April 1970.

6 See Peach C., West Indian Migration to Britain, O.U.P. 1968, for the only other full-length study of such a movement, though one which was more concerned with the distribution of settlement.

the case of Cypriot migration on account of the statistical record of passenger movement in and out of Cyprus which covers much of the post-war period. The study hopes also to illustrate the extent to which existing, mainly official, sources of information can be utilised - without being supplemented by an independent survey - in order to provide a comprehensive account of a modern migration and settlement overseas.

Who are the Cypriots, and how do they come to be potential migrants to Britain in the middle of the twentieth century? The island of Cyprus has a complex history which, it could be said, begins with settlement by Greeks in the second millenium B.C.[7] In less distant times, for some three centuries prior to 1878, the island formed part of the Ottoman Empire, during which time it became settled also by Turks. In 1878 the island came under British Protection, and following Annexation at the outbreak of War in 1914, it eventually in 1925 became a British Crown Colony. From the end of the 19th century, however, Cyprus was in effect part of the British Imperial system, and its place in that not unchanging design determined the pattern of its modern development. Originally, its role was intended to be a strategic one, but Britain's subsequent access to Egyptian territory rendered Cyprus a virtually useless possession within the Empire for almost 70 years, during which the island's sole function was as a rest-home for Middle-Eastern servicemen on leave. Up to the time of Hitler's War, therefore, 19th-century conditions of social, economic

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7 On the history of Cyprus, see Hill, G., History of Cyprus, Vols I - IV, Cambridge, 1952, and Alastos D., Cyprus in History, Zeno, 1955.

and political backwardness were more or less perpetuated on the island.

Hitler's War, and certain political developments in the Middle East which followed it, brought a change in fortunes for the islanders. With the Palestinian War and Britain's departure from Egypt, Cyprus once again became of major strategic importance to Britain. A vast programme of construction of military installations was initiated, which greatly increased the islanders' income, both directly through the provision of employment, and indirectly through the expenditure of British personnel stationed on the island. In conjunction with the construction of military bases, a certain degree of social and economic development was introduced, mainly in the fields of health and welfare, cooperative marketing, and the provision of the basic infrastructure for a modern economy - transport, communications, power, etc.[8]

In spite of these various activities, methods of production and the social organisation of life on the island remained relatively unchanged: Cyprus continued as a typically 'peasant' economy and society. The British Administration did not introduce any proper development plan for the modernisation of the economy, for restructuring it with a view to self-sufficiency and economic growth. Such modernisation as was undertaken seems to have been aimed at providing only those conditions and services which were necessary to the efficient functioning of the island as a military outpost for Britain. Thus, when the construction work was

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8 On the economy of Cyprus during the post-war period, see especially Meyer A.J., The Economy of Cyprus, Harvard U.P., 1962.

mostly completed, and (with Independence in 1960) the British in large part due to depart, Cyprus faced something of an economic crisis as the long period of somewhat artificial prosperity ended. The economic problems thus revealed were in due course inherited by the new Republican Government, though this has been in no position to work any miracles.

During the post-war period, therefore, Cypriots have experienced a substantial improvement in their standard of living, but on the whole they have not found security either in jobs or in income, nor (in the absence of industrial towns and cities in Cyprus) have they been able to put behind them a predominantly peasant way of life. These circumstances - a direct outcome of British Colonial policy as regards Cyprus - have been especially germane to the extensive emigration of Cypriots during the 1950's and 1960's. This connection between Colonial policy and emigration from such territories indicates the need to perceive all such migrations of Commonwealth peoples to Britain in the context of the development (and decline) of the modern Imperial system.

Cypriots, as is well known, are not an undifferentiated people: ethnically they comprise both Greeks and Turks. Greek settlement on the island, as indicated earlier, dates from the dawn of the island's history, whereas the Turkish element arrived during the period of Ottoman rule. When Britain took over sovereignty, the Turkish population chose to stay on the island, preferring British protection to conditions on the Turkish mainland. The Greeks on the other hand have never been reconciled to alien rule, sharing - at least in theory - with their fellow-Hellenes the

'Great Idea' of one day creating a free and unified 'Greater Greece'. To this end they fought to liberate themselves of the British during the 1950s, and even if Enosis (Union) has not been the result, the inhabitants of Cyprus now comprise an independent State.

The issue of Independence, however, brought Greek and Turk once again into conflict with one another. Greeks constitute some four-fifths of the island's population and the Turks the remaining one-fifth, and this small Turkish minority has appeared to Greeks as the obstacle to so many of their designs. The escalation of tension between the two groups led to open fighting at the end of 1963, since when Turks have largely withdrawn into a small number of 'enclaves': a precarious 'peace' between the two groups being maintained subsequently only by a permanent United Nations presence on the island. Through most of the period of Independence, moreover, each group has administered its affairs independently of the other, so that Cyprus has become a truly divided society.[9]

Yet in spite of these political and administrative divisions, in several basic respects the culture of the two groups - for example, family and community life, and mode of livelihood - is closely similar. The difference between them is rooted principally in their different languages and religions, and in the long and well-remembered history of bitter antagonism between Greek and Turkish peoples generally. It is true that during much of the period of British rule the two groups lived side by

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9 For an account of the recent political history of Cyprus, with particular reference to the conflict between Greeks and Turks, see Stephens R., Cyprus: A Place of Arms, Pall Mall, 1966.

side in relative harmony. Socially, however, they remained separate, and this segregation together with their respective religions and autonomous school systems[10] were the vehicles of the maintenance of their distinct ethnic identities. Within Britain, as in Cyprus, the two groups are almost entirely segregated, although outside the competitive context of their home island there is little active opposition between them. Although this study focusses on Cypriots in Britain principally as a unitary group, this ethnic differentiation among them must always be borne in mind: wherever possible its relevance to the migration and settlement has been noted, as will be seen in the following Chapters.

The number of Cypriots in Britain at the end of 1966 is estimated to have been just over 100,000 (one for every six in Cyprus itself). Not all of these, however, have travelled to Britain during the post-war period (that to which this study is limited), for already before the 1939-45 war a small community of Cypriots had been established in London. The migration and settlement of these pre-war travellers is the subject of a separate (as yet uncompleted) study by the author, and is not referred to in detail in this work. The vast majority of Cypriot migrants have reached Britain subsequent to the war, and it is solely this post-war movement that is analysed here. Within Britain, at all times the immigrants have been highly concentrated in London, where they have formed an ethnic community that is close-knit, economically successful

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10 See Weir W.W., Education in Cyprus, Nicosia, 1952.

and remarkably self-sufficient.

This concentration of settlement and self-sufficiency are among the factors which have rendered the Cypriots - in spite of their numbers - a remarkably unnoticed minority in Britain. Preferring the company of fellow-Cypriots, and not needing to go beyond their community to obtain jobs and commercial services, they have made relatively little contact with outsiders. In addition to this social segregation there is their lack of physical distinctness from the native population of Britain: neither in this, nor in dress or other aspects of personal appearance are they visible as members of a 'stranger' group. Moreover, in not being perceived as 'coloured', they have escaped the unequal treatment that has been extensively accorded to immigrants to Britain from many other parts of the Commonwealth.[11] It seems probable, therefore, that the second generation of Cypriots, if they choose, will find it relatively easy to move freely within British society. How far they will do so will mainly depend on their relationship with parents and with the Cypriot community generally, for from this direction there are strong pressures on children to remain loyal to the traditional ideals.

This study is based extensively on statistical data, and as already pointed out, seeks to demonstrate how far published information may be utilised to provide an account of a modern migration to Britain. The official statistical sources, however, by no means answer all the questions

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11 See Racial Discrimination, Political and Economic Planning, 1967.

that might be put: at some points they have been supplemented by evidence from alternative sources, while at others the record leaves us regrettably ignorant. While this lack of control over the information available is an obvious disadvantage of relying on existing sources, against it must be set the substantial difficulties and costs of conducting a first-hand survey investigation into a modern migration, which would involve interviewing migrants across both space and time. The resources for such a study were not at the author's disposal.

A further difficulty of relying on the 'secondary analysis' of mainly statistical data is that of their interpretation - a problem that is more acute when the data relate to a culture which is not the investigator's own. To be able to interpret the data satisfactorily, a general background knowledge of Greek and Turkish Cypriot culture[12] was necessary, together with a more specific first-hand acquaintance with the circumstances relating to the migration both in Cyprus and in Britain. The necessary background knowledge was already to hand since the author had previously spent about one year in Greece and about six months in Turkey living and working mostly in villages (as an archaeologist), during which time he became closely familiar with Greek and Turkish culture, and learnt to

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12 On this, see Oakley R., "The Cypriot Background" in Oakley R. (ed.), New Backgrounds: The Immigrant Child at Home and at School, O.U.P. 1968. On Greek Cypriot village life, see Peristiany J.G., "Honour and Shame in a Cypriot Highland Village", in Peristiany J.G. (ed.) Honour and Shame, Weidenfeld and Nicholson, 1965. For comparable studies in Greece, see Campbell J.K., Honour, Family and Patronage, Clarendon Press, 1964, and Friedl E., Vasilika: A Village in Modern Greece, Holt, Rinehart and Winston 1962; and for Turkey, see Stirling P., Turkish Village, Weidenfeld and Nicholson, 1965.

speak Modern Greek fairly fluently. In addition, for the purpose of the present study, a month's visit to Cyprus was undertaken in order to appreciate the specifically Cypriot background, and also to interview officials and other persons on the subject of emigration from the island.

Following this, in order to gain direct personal knowledge of the circumstances and experience of Cypriots in Britain, the author lived for one year in Islington, the area of London in which Cypriot settlement is most concentrated. During this time, and through contact with Cypriots maintained afterwards, the author used informants and 'participant observation' as means of obtaining information about Cypriot migration and settlement. This information has been not only essential for the interpretation of statistical data (such as that derived from the Censuses), but also of value in itself - as demonstrating, for example, social processes involved in the migration (see especially Chapter 4, which is largely based on the author's own first-hand data).

Thus although this study is based primarily on published, mainly statistical sources, it has drawn as well on the author's own first-hand investigations, both in order to aid interpretation of statistical data and in order to supplement these. Inevitably, on account of both qualitative and quantitative limitations of the data used, the picture of the migration and settlement that is elicited falls short of what might ideally be desired. But since this particular chapter in emigration from Cyprus has now virtually terminated, no further evidence is likely to appear, and so (whether he likes it or not) the social scientist has

no choice but to confine his study to such evidence as is already extant. It must be pointed out, however, that concluding this study at the end of the year 1966 is to some extent arbitrary. The principal reason for ending it then was that 1966 was the year in which the most recent Population Census of Britain to be published was conducted. The selection of 1966 was therefore guided primarily by the availability of evidence: although by that year the annual number of migrants had returned to early post-war levels, the year itself does not represent any particular landmark in the migration as such.

The study is divided into two connected parts: the first of migration, the second of settlement. The first part begins by establishing the extent and character of Cypriot migration to Britain, and then proceeds to examine the various factors which have determined or influenced this movement from Cyprus to Britain. The second part likewise begins by establishing the extent of Cypriot settlement in Britain, and also its geographical distribution; following this, it examines in some detail the demographic and socio-economic characteristics of Cypriot settlement, mainly in London.

PART I

MIGRATION

CHAPTER 1

POST-WAR MIGRATION FROM CYPRUS TO BRITAIN

Sources

There are several sources of statistical information concerning Cypriot migration to Britain during the post-war period. The chief of these is based on the record of passengers moving through the ports of entry and departure in Cyprus: from the mid-1950s onwards this source provides an accurate and quite detailed picture of the pattern of Cypriot migration overseas. Other sources are more limited in these respects, but are important as supplements to the figures for passenger movement in and out of Cyprus.

The principal source of data on post-war Cypriot migration overseas is the annual official publication of the Republic of Cyprus: Demographic Report, the name of which prior to 1963 was Vital and Migration Statistics[1]. All data for passenger movement contained in these annual reports are derived from the embarkation and disembarkation cards which all travellers are required to complete on departing from or arriving on the island. From 1955 onwards in this publication, migrants were distinguished from other passengers. A 'migrant' for these purposes is any passenger who states that he is changing his country of residence permanently.

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1 Republic of Cyprus, Ministry of Finance, Demographic Report (D.R.), formerly Vital and Migration Statistics (V.&M.S.).

It is an important feature of these statistics for migration to and from Cyprus that migrants are classified by ethnic group. A significant minority of post-war migrants, mainly during the second half of the 1950s, have been other than Cypriot by ethnic group. By 'Cypriot', in the present study, is meant either Greek Cypriot or Turkish Cypriot. Non-Cypriot migrants have been mostly either Armenian or British persons, the latter being classified in the migration statistics within the category 'Anglo-American'. The migration of persons of each of these ethnic groups from Cyprus to Britain during the post-war period is examined in the Appendix to this study.

There need be no doubt that these migration statistics provide a closely accurate picture of Cypriot migration to Britain during the period for which they are available. This may be tested, and is confirmed, by considering Cypriot migration to Australia, for which country detailed migration statistics are also available over the same period[2]. The annual number of migrants recorded in each country from 1955 to 1966 is shown in Table 1.1.

It may be seen from this Table that in general the two series correlate quite closely. In certain years, however, there is a degree of discrepancy, but this may be accounted for by the duration of the journey which produces a substantial disparity between the dates of departure and arrival. It is significant that when the number of

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2 Commonwealth of Australia, Bureau of Census and Statistics, Demography (Annual Bulletins).

Table 1.1

MIGRATION FROM CYPRUS TO AUSTRALIA 1955-66

Year	Emigration from Cyprus	Immigration to Australia
1955	970	930
1956	730	743
1957	267	265
1958	328	311
1959	115	100
1960	270	174
1961	442	321
1962	553	558
1963	275	421
1964	392	471
1965	340	388
1966	542	590
1955-66	5,224	5,272

Note: Figures for Australia are for "permanent Movement", except for 1957-8 which are for "permanent and Long-term movement".

Sources: V. & M.S./D.R.; Commonwealth of Australia, Bureau of Census and Statistics, Demography (Annual Bulletins)

departures is notably higher, the number of migrants is increasing; whereas when arrivals are higher, the number of migrants is declining. Overall, the totals for the twelve-year period are extremely similar, and no doubt would be more exactly so had not the Australian figures for 1957-8 included a small amount of 'long-term movement'. The comparison therefore confirms the general accuracy of the Cyprus migration statistics, and suggests that, if anything, they may slightly underestimate the true totals.

A second source of statistical information concerning migration is the record of the issue of 'affidavits of support' to prospective Cypriot emigrants to Britain. This information is reported by Nearchou[3], who obtained it from the London Office of the Government of Cyprus shortly before the time of Independence.

Since before the war, the Government of Cyprus had attempted to regulate the emigration of Cypriots to Britain by means of its control over the issue of passports. Its principal aim in this was not to limit numbers, but to ensure that Cypriot immigrants to Britain would not fall destitute, and require support from public funds or repatriation. Before the Government would issue papers endorsed for travel to Britain, it required evidence of sufficient resources and a guarantee of private support, for each potential migrant.

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3 Nearchou V., The Assimilation of the Cypriot Community in London, M.A. Thesis, University of Nottingham, 1960 ('Nearchou'), p.24; cf. also Government of Cyprus, London Office, Reports.

Applicants were required (a) to have "an adequate knowledge of English", and (b) to possess "an affidavit of support from a well-established resident" in Britain[4]. The provider of this affidavit had to guarantee employment and lodging, and in theory was responsible to the complete welfare of the emigrant. Applications for affidavits were made by the guarantor to the Government of Cyprus' London Office, whose officials investigated their reliability. Once the application was approved, the affidavit was forwarded to Cyprus so that papers endorsed for travel to Britain could be issued as appropriate.

Up to 1959, when the affidavit requirement seems to have been discontinued, all Cypriot emigrants to Britain (themselves, or as a family group) should officially have been in possession of an affidavit of support. But how far may the issue of these affidavits be regarded as an accurate measure of the migration that actually took place?

Until the mid-1950s, the issue of affidavits of support may be regarded as a good approximation to the actual rate of departure to Britain. For up to 1954, according to Nearchou (later George)[5], the whole procedure worked smoothly and efficiently, and guarantor and beneficiary were mutually committed by this 'sponsorship' of the migration. Subsequently, however, the requirements were in practice loosened, and affidavits seem to have become much easier to obtain.

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4 Cyprus, Colonial Report, 1953, p.18; cf. Nearchou, p.12

5 Nearchou, p.26; cf. George V., "The Assimilation of Cypriot Immigrants in London", Eugenics Review, 1966, Vol. 58, No.4, p.188

Nearchou[6] reports that applications from intending guarantors passed uninvestigated; while for those aspiring migrants who could not arrange a sponsor personally, agencies emerged which offered to obtain affidavits for them on a commercial basis. For these later years, therefore, the issue of affidavits is unsuitable as a measure of actual migration, and substantially exceeded it as may be seen below.

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6 Nearchou, p.30; George, op.cit. p.188

One further source of inaccuracy, affecting both passenger and affidavit statistics likewise, must also be pointed out. During the period for which the affidavit system was in operation, it was from time to time reported by the London Office of the Government of Cyprus[7] that a number of migrants were evading the official regulations by travelling to Britain by indirect routes. This appears to have involved travelling first to one of the neighbouring Mediterranean countries, and from there making the second step to Britain. The only instance actually cited is that, in October 1953, 38 Cypriots arrived in England with a 'mass certificate of identity' valid only for a single journey to Lebanon and Syria[8]. There is little doubt, though, that this was exceptional. The overall extent to which the official controls were circumvented is entirely unknown, and there is no basis on which it can be estimated.

The third source of data on Cypriot migration are the statistics for passenger movement into and out of Britain made available by the British Home Office. Prior to 1962 no precise record of Cypriot immigration was kept, though from 1955 onwards estimates were compiled of the net inward movement of passengers whose passports had been issued in Cyprus[9]. The figures, along with those for holders of passports

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7 Government of Cyprus, London Office, Reports: e.g. 1953,4,6.

8 ibid., 1953, p.7.

9 Data supplied by Home Office; cf. Davison R.B., Black British, O.U.P. 1966, p.2.

issued in other Commonwealth countries, were aggregated from weekly records kept by Immigration Officers at the ports of entry and departure. The totals seem not to have been regarded as highly accurate, and were 'rounded' to the nearest fifty persons.

From mid-1962, when the first Commonwealth Immigrants Act came into operation in Britain, accurate figures for the movement of Commonwealth citizens into and out of Britain became for the first time available. These appeared annually in the Home Office publication: Commonwealth Immigrants Act 1962: Statistics[10]. All data included here are obtained by Immigration Officers, who are required by the Act to identify the purpose for which citizens of independent Commonwealth countries wish to enter Britain, and to admit them or otherwise in accordance with the Act's provisions.

These British statistics thus classify passengers into categories which have been defined for administrative purposes. Three of the ten categories may be regarded as distinguishing 'migrants' from other passengers:

(a) 'Holders of Ministry of Labour Vouchers', who are thereby entitled to take employment in Britain;

(b) 'Dependants', who have been for the most part wives and children of voucher-holders or persons already working in Britain; and

(c) 'Persons coming for settlement not included elsewhere' - for example, persons coming to marry and settle in Britain, or persons of

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10 Home Office, Commonwealth Immigrants Act 1962: Statistics.

'independent means'.

The aggregation of numbers in each of these categories for citizens of the Republic of Cyprus thus provides a measure of Cypriot immigration into Britain annually since mid-1962. The accuracy of this measure, however, depends entirely upon the assessment made by Immigration Officers of passengers' intentions. The evidence presented later in this chapter suggests that many emigrants from Cyprus were not officially assessed as such at the British end, and that the figures in question are therefore unreliable.

On the other hand, overall totals for net movement of Cyprus citizens, have since 1962 been recorded with exactitude. They therefore constitute a potentially valuable measure of net effective migration of Cypriots into Britain. But since the present study does not consider movement after 1966, they are relevant for only four full years, and can be used here as little more than a check on the accuracy of the figures collected in Cyprus.

The last source of data on Cypriot migration which needs to be considered is the record, such as it is, of the overall net passenger movement between the two countries. For Britain, in fact, there is no record. Early statistics for passenger movement to and from Britain referred only to the long-distance sea routes, while the current International Passenger Survey data have no category for movement to and from Cyprus.

For Cyprus, on the other hand, figures for overall passenger movement to and from Britain are available for part of the period, but

these do not distinguish between ethnic groups. Throughout the post-war period there has been much movement of British persons to and from Cyprus, and both civilian and military personnel have been liable to stay for medium to long periods. Furthermore, a certain amount of the amount of movement between the two countries is likely to have been indirect. Particularly for the first of these reasons, therefore, the figures for net passenger movement between the two countries as measured in Cyprus are not of use in assessing the net migration of Cypriots to Britain. Neither for Britain nor for Cyprus, then, is overall passenger movement a means of measuring migration to be used in the present study.

From Cyprus to Britain

The main source of information for Cypriot migration from Cyprus to Britain is the record for passenger movement out of the ports of Cyprus. Figures for the number of Cypriot migrants are given in the Vital and Migration Statistics from 1957 onwards, while those for four previous years have been obtained from other official sources.

Table 1.2 shows that annual rate of Cypriot migration from Cyprus to Britain over the period from 1953 to 1966, as measured from records of passenger movement. Around the middle of the decade, the rate appears to have risen to an average of some 4,000 emigrants a year during the later 1950s. At the end of the decade, the annual figure then rose sharply to between 12 and 13,000 at the beginning of the 1960s, and afterwards declined again in a similar manner. Following the Commonwealth Immigrants Act, introduced in 1962, the rate has been

Table 1.2

CYPRIOT EMIGRATION FROM CYPRUS TO BRITAIN 1953-1966

Year	Total	Year	Total
1953	1850	1960	12936
1954	3100	1961	12131
1955	4446	1962	4952
1956	3448	1963	2168
1957	3944	1964	3784
1958	3896	1965	1977
1959	5033	1966	1861
		1953-66	65526

Sources: 1953-4, Hansard, 27 October 1955; 1954-6, Colonial Report, 1956, p.16; 1956, V.& M.S., 1956, p.5; 1957-, V.& M.S./D.R..

Note: The figure for 1955 is a correction of that given in the Colonial Report, and is based on other figures given in that Report and in the Vital and Migration Statistics for the same year. The original figure (3466) given appears to be an error.

relatively low, having fallen by the end of the period to less than 2,000 annually. Overall during the fourteen-year period, more than 65,000 Cypriots emigrated from Cyprus to Britain.

For years prior to 1953, there are no figures for emigration from Cyprus as measured by passenger movement through the island's ports. For these early post-war years it is therefore necessary to adopt the figures for the issue of 'affidavits of support' as the best available measure of Cypriot migration to Britain.

The number of these 'affidavits of support' issued to prospective migrants in each post-war year up to 1958 is shown in Table 1.3. From immediately after the end of the war, some thousand affidavits were issued annually until the end of the 1940s. At that point the rate of issue began to increase, although the trend around that time was uneven. Then, during the 1950s, the number of affidavits issued increased substantially, reaching a peak level in the final year 1958.

It has already been pointed out that up to 1954 the issue of affidavits of support may be regarded as a quite accurate measure of Cypriot emigration to Britain. Subsequently, however, the requirements of the affidavit system were loosened, and far more affidavits seem to have been issued than were used. Affidavit figures for the later part of the decade are therefore likely to be well in excess of the actual rate of migration.

A comparison, in Table 1.4, of the two series of statistics for those years which they have in common shows how this is in fact the case. For 1953 and 1954 the respective figures correspond quite

Table 1.3

ISSUE OF AFFIDAVITS OF SUPPORT TO PROSPECTIVE EMIGRANTS FROM CYPRUS TO BRITAIN 1945-58

Year	Number	Year	Number
1945	743	1952	1413
1946	1100	1953	2032
1947	1139	1954	3121
1948	753	1955	4868
1949	1259	1956	6384
1950	1145	1957	4839
1951	1669	1958	7428

Source: Nearchou, p.24; Government of Cyprus' London Office, Reports.

Table 1.4

Affidavit Issue and Passenger Record of Cypriot Emigration to Britain 1951-58

Year	Issue of Affidavits	Passenger Record
1951	1669	(1700)
1952	1413	(1600)
1953	2032	1850
1954	3121	3100
1955	4868	4448
1956	6384	3448
1957	4839	3944
1958	7428	3896

Note: Figures for 1951 and 1952 are estimates of the number of Cypriot immigrants entering Britain, made by the Government of Cyprus' London Office.

Sources: Affidavit Issue: as for Table 1.3. Passenger Record: for 1953-8, sources as in Table 1.1; for 1951-2, Government of Cyprus, London Office, Reports, 1951,1952.

closely, whereas from 1955 onwards they begin to diverge. Estimates for passenger movement into Britain for 1951 and 1952, made by the Government of Cyprus' London Office, are also included, since these further support the validity of the affidavit figures as a measure of migration in the early post-war years.

With the addition of the figures for the issue of affidavits for the year 1945 to 1952, we now have a complete set of figures for Cypriot migration from Cyprus to Britain in each year of the post-war period up to 1966. These are shown in Table 1.5 in summary form, and from this and the accompanying graph, the broad pattern of movement may be seen. After a slow start during the later 1940s, the migration increased substantially during the 1950s, to reach a peak in the years 1960 and 1961. Since that time it has declined sharply, and by the mid-1960s the rate was back at the level at which it had been in the early 1950s. To judge by statistics at least, one chapter in the history of Cypriot migration appears to have been complete. Over the 22 years as a whole, nearly 75,000 Cypriots emigrated to Britain, an average of 3,500 migrants per year.

Figures published by the British Government for the immigration of Cypriots into Britain relate only to the period since mid-1962. Since the introduction of the Commonwealth Immigrants Act in 1962, statistics have been compiled for various categories of passengers entering the United Kingdom. As outlined in the previous section, three of these categories may be regarded as 'migrants': holders of official work

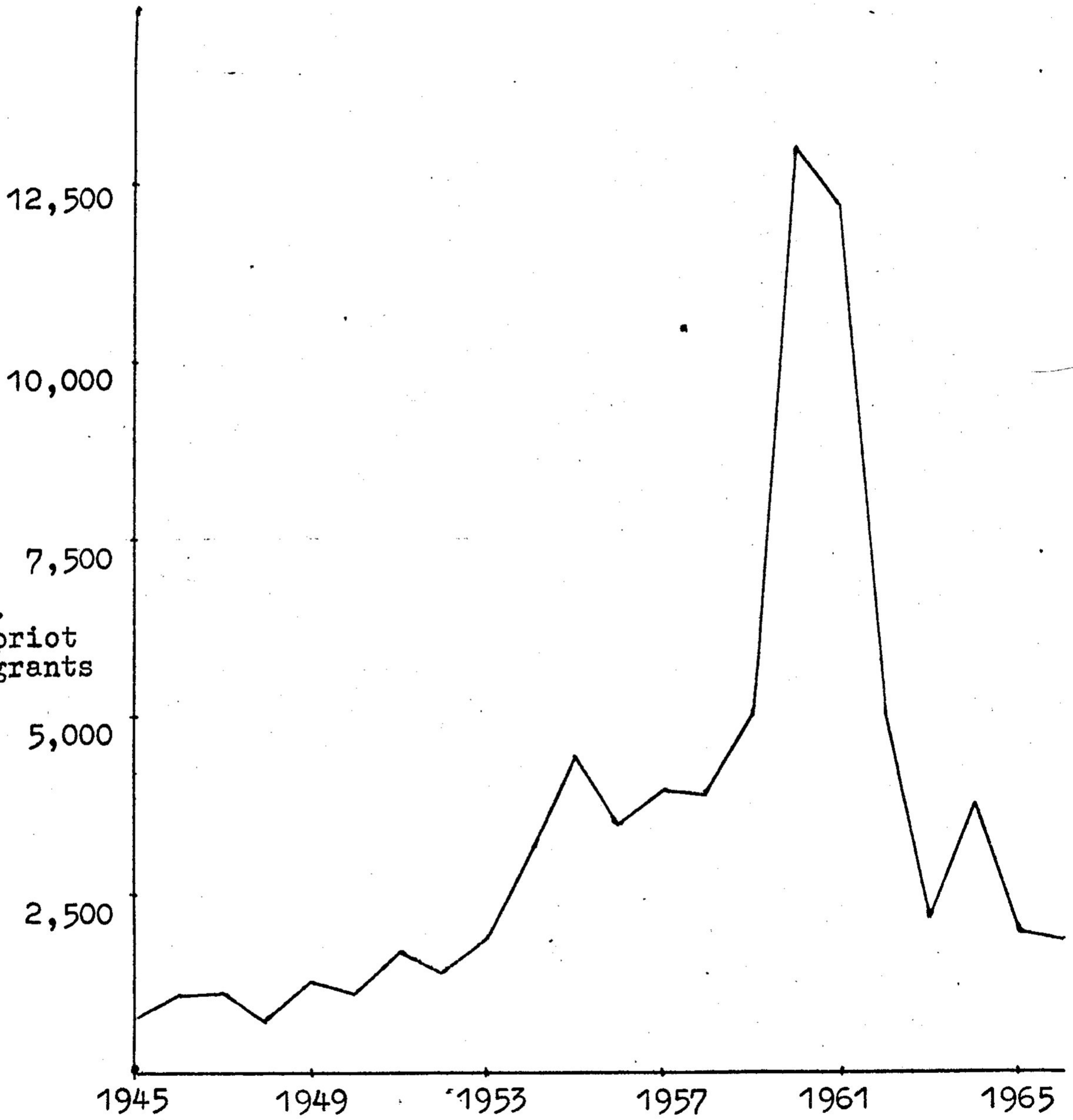
Table 1.5

Cypriot Emigration from Cyprus to Britain, 1945-1966

Year	Total	Year	Total	Year	Total
1945	743	1953	1850	1961	12131
1946	1100	1954	3100	1962	4952
1947	1139	1955	4446	1963	2168
1948	753	1956	3448	1964	3784
1949	1259	1957	3944	1965	1977
1950	1145	1958	3896	1966	1861
1951	1669	1959	5033		
1952	1413	1960	12936	1945-66	74747

Figure 1.1

CYPRIOT MIGRATION TO BRITAIN 1945-1966



Source: for figures, see Table 1.5.

permits, dependants of such persons, and other persons admitted for settlement in accordance with the provisions of the Act.

The numbers of Cypriot immigrants thus recorded in the British statistics are shown in Table 1.6. Compared with the Government of Cyprus' figures for Cypriot migration to Britain, they are distinctly on the low side. They suggest that only about two-thirds as many Cypriot migrants entered Britain between 1963 and 1966 as are recorded in the Cyprus figures.

The reason for this is by no means clear. Since the British statistics refer only to citizens of Commonwealth countries, it is possible that some Cypriot migrants were not included by virtue of their holding other categories of citizenship. Cyprus, however, has been Independent since 1960, and there is no evidence that citizenship of the United Kingdom and Colonies has been retained to any significant extent by Greek and Turkish Cypriots there. The citizenship factor is therefore insufficient to account for the discrepancy. The one alternative possibility is that many migrants have not presented themselves as such at the British ports, and have been admitted as visitors instead. Such 'evasion' (at the time, intended or unintended) appears to have been practised quite widely among Commonwealth immigrants, at least in the early years of the Commonwealth Immigrants Act's operation[11]. It is difficult to see how else the discrepancy can be

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11 cf. Sir Frank Soskice, in Hansard (Commons), 4 February 1965, and Lord Bowden, in Hansard (Lords), 23 March 1965; New Society, 21 October 1965, pp.3-4.

Table 1.6

BRITISH & CYPRIOT FIGURES FOR CYPRIOT MIGRATION TO BRITAIN 1962-66

	No. entering Britain	No. departing Cyprus
1962	933 (first half only)	4952
1963	1840	2168
1964	2429	3784
1965	1544	1977
1966	785	1861
1963-6	6598	9790

Sources: Home Office, Commonwealth Immigrants Act 1962: Statistics, H.M.S.O.; V.& M.S./D.R.

accounted for. If this supposition is correct, nearly half as many again of Cypriot immigrants entered Britain in the first four years of the Act as were recorded in the official statistics. The British statistics, it seems, thus provide an incomplete record of Cypriot migration to Britain during the four and a half years of the period to which they relate.

Greek Cypriots and Turkish Cypriots

In view of the relative autonomy of the Greek and Turkish communities in both Cyprus and Britain, and since different factors may affect the rate and manner of their respective migrations, it is important from the outset to distinguish the ethnic composition of Cypriot migration to Britain.

Table 1.7 shows the number of Greek and Turkish Cypriot emigrants from Cyprus to Britain in each year from 1955 to 1966. During this period more than 48,000 Greek Cypriots, and more than 12,000 Turkish Cypriots have emigrated from Cyprus to Britain. Exactly four-fifths of the total have been Greek Cypriot and one-fifth Turkish Cypriot: a ratio of four Greek migrants to each Turk. Since in Cyprus, at the 1960 Census, Greeks constituted 76.7% and Turks 18.1% of the population, the two groups appear to have had very similar propensities to migrate during this period, that of Turkish Cypriots having been marginally higher. Year by year there has been much variation in the ethnic composition of the total flow of migrants, the ratio varying between three and six Greeks to every Turk. Since 1962, though, the

Table 1.7

CYPRIOT MIGRATION FROM CYPRUS TO BRITAIN BY ETHNIC GROUP 1955-1966

	All Cypriots	Greek Cypriots	Turkish Cypriots
1955	4446	3644	802
1956	3448	2617	831
1957	3944	3067	877
1958	3896	3331	565
1959	5033	3804	1229
1960	12936	10752	2184
1961	12131	9605	2526
1962	4952	4119	833
1963	2168	1731	437
1964	3784	2878	906
1965	1977	1480	497
1966	1861	1379	482
1955-66	60576	48407	12169
%	100.0	80.0	20.0

Note: Figures for 1955 and 1956 for ethnic groups are estimates derived from other migration statistics.

Sources: V.& M.S./D.R..

proportion of Turkish Cypriots among the migrants has increased steadily, although overall numbers have been in general declining.

For prior to 1955, there are no passenger data which distinguish Greek and Turkish Cypriots separately. But the number of each group who were issued affidavits of support is known for the years 1951 to 1954, and these figures are given in Table 1.8. They suggest that in the early post-war years the proportion of Turkish Cypriots was relatively low, but that it increased towards the mid-1950s. This is supported by the recollections of early post-war and pre-war immigrants. In the absence of figures for the specific ethnic groups for 1950 and earlier, therefore, it has been assumed that the proportions for those years were the same as, on average, those for 1951-2. Thus, of 6,139 affidavits of support issued to prospective emigrants, it is assumed that 15 per cent, or 922, were issued to Turkish Cypriots, and the remaining 5,217 were issued to Greek Cypriots.

Furthermore, since passenger data for <u>all</u> Cypriot emigrants to Britain are available for 1953-4, these figures are to be preferred to those for the affidavit issue. It is assumed, therefore, that actual emigrants of each group were in the same proportion as the issue of affidavits to each group. Thus during those two years 1953-4, it is estimated that 4,045 Greek Cypriots and 905 Turkish Cypriots emigrated from Cyprus to Britain. And for the whole of the period up to 1954 when passenger figures for each ethnic group first become available, it is estimated that 11,985 Greek Cypriots and 2,186 Turkish Cypriots emigrated

Table 1.8

ISSUE OF AFFIDAVITS OF SUPPORT TO PROSPECTIVE CYPRIOT MIGRANTS BY ETHNIC GROUP 1951-54

	All Cypriots	Greek Cypriots	Turkish Cypriots
1951	1669	1503	166
1952	1413	1220	193
1953	2032	1766	266
1954	3121	2446	675

Source: Nearchou, p.45

to Britain.

To summarise, then, for the whole of the post-war period from 1945 to 1966, 60,392 Greek Cypriots and 14,355 Turkish Cypriots left the island of Cyprus to emigrate to Britain. Of all migrants, therefore, 80.8 per cent were Greek Cypriot, and 19.2 per cent Turkish Cypriot. Year by year this ethnic composition has tended to fluctuate - rather unevenly so during the years of greatest emigration. In the early post-war years, though, Greek Cypriots appear to have predominated, while during the 1960s the Turkish component, though still a minority, has increased steadily.

Alternative Destinations

What proportion of all Cypriot emigrants during the post-war period have been destined for Britain, and to what other countries do Cypriot migrants depart? A complete record of the destinations of Cypriot emigrants from Cyprus is available only from 1957. These figures are shown in Table 1.9.

Of some 62,000 Cypriot emigrants from Cyprus between 1957 and 1966, towards 53,000 have emigrated to the United Kingdom. That is to say, just over 85 per cent of all Cypriot emigrants during this period have been destined for Britain. During this twelve-year period no other single country was the destination of more than 6 per cent of the migrants. Cypriot emigrants have thus had a very high propensity to choose Britain as their country of settlement overseas.

This propensity to emigrate to Britain has not, however, been constant throughout the period. It has been highest when the overall

Table 1.9

Cypriot Emigrants from Cyprus by Destination: 1957-66

	All Destinations	United Kingdom	Australia	South Africa	Other Africa	U.S.A.	Canada	Greece	Turkey	Other Europe	Other Destinations
1957	4462	3944	260	51	66	100	8	7	13	7	6
1958	4505	3896	315	35	67	108	10	42	16	1	15
1959	5459	5033	114	37	109	101	9	37	7	2	10
1960	13984	12936	270	273	216	135	11	9	12	-	122
1961	13269	12131	436	107	222	107	10	9	1	5	17
1962	5926	4952	552	193	98	90	6	19	4	4	8
1963	2758	2168	275	133	67	49	32	8	-	20	6
1964	4987	3784	392	213	161	106	55	87	47	93	49
1965	2946	1977	339	120	91	62	202	63	36	37	19
1966	3393	1861	537	184	116	314	270	65	21	22	3
1957-66	61689	52682	3490	1570	1213	1172	613	346	157	191	255
%	100.0	85.4	5.7	2.5	2.0	1.9	1.0	0.5	0.3	0.3	0.4

Sources: V.& M.S./D.R.

numbers have been highest; 92 per cent of emigrants being destined for Britain in the peak year for migration of 1960. As may be seen from Figure 1.2, though, it had not been below 75 per cent since 1955, when the appropriate statistics first become available. Since 1960, however, the proportion travelling to Britain has declined markedly, and by 1966 had been reduced to 55 per cent of all emigrants from the island.

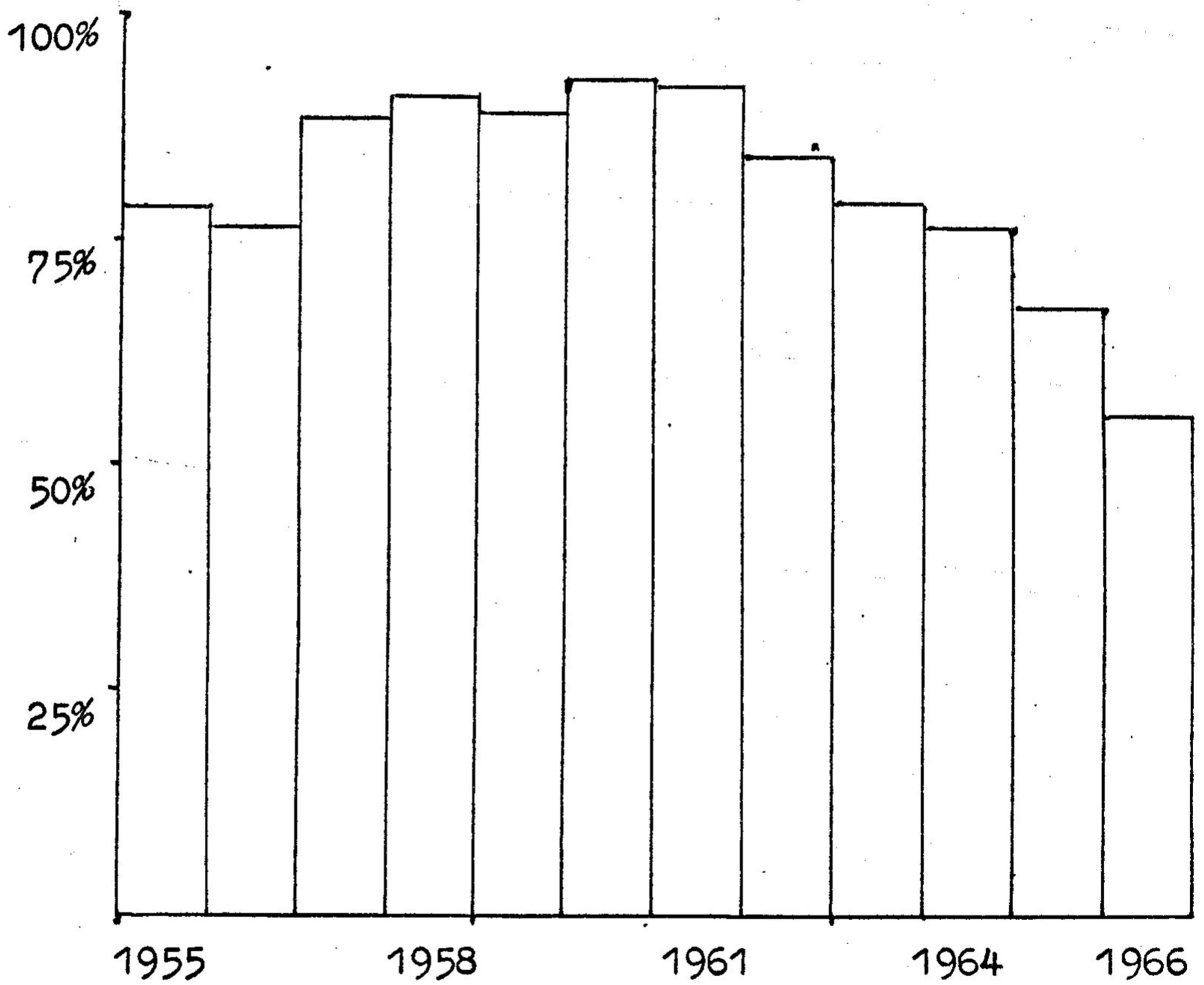
For the period prior to 1957, only a limited amount of information is available, as shown in Table 1.10. It is clear from this Table, though, that during the earlier post-war years, Britain did not play such a predominant role among the countries of destination of Cypriot emigrants. Figures for immigration into Australia indicate that only around half of Cypriot emigrants at that time were destined for Britain. There is no evidence that any country other than Australia received more than a very small number of Cypriot emigrants. Moreover, it is clear from the Table that between 1953 and 1956, the great majority of emigrants to Commonwealth countries generally were bound for Australia.

Taking the post-war period as a whole, then, Britain has without doubt been the major country of emigration for Cypriots, although at times Australia has been a quite popular alternative. It can be safely estimated that of nearly 100,000 post-war Cypriot emigrants from Cyprus, some 75 per cent have been destined for settlement in Britain.

The main alternative destination to Britain for Cypriot emigrants,

Figure 1.2

PROPORTION OF CYPRIOT EMIGRANTS DESTINED FOR BRITAIN 1955-66



Source: V.&M.S./D.R.; cf. Table 1.9.

Table 1.10

CYPRIOT MIGRATION BY DESTINATION 1945-56

	Cypriot Emigration from Cyprus to:						Immigration from Cyprus to:
	All Destinations	United Kingdom	Common-wealth	U.S.A.	Greece	Turkey	Australia
1945	..	743	..	..	..	..	..
1946	..	1100	..	..	..	..	..
1947	..	1139	..	..	..	..	188
1948	..	753	..	..	..	..	507
1949	..	1259	..	..	..	..	888
1950	..	1145	..	..	..	..	719
1951	..	1669	..	..	..	..	1636
1952	..	1413	..	..	..	..	1320
1953	..	1850	304	120	5	..	165
1954	..	3100	588	75	5	..	522
1955	5679	4446	1098	107	-	-	930
1956	4514	3448	864	103	68	5	745

Note: Figures for Australia are for "permanent arrivals last resident in Cyprus".

Sources: For emigration from Cyprus, as for Tables 1.2 and 1.3; for immigration to Australia: Commonwealth of Australia, Bureau of Census and Statistics, Demography (Annual Bulletins).

as has already been made clear, is Australia. Combining the information contained in the two previous Tables, it appears that 11,110 Cypriots migrated to Australia between 1947 and 1966. Since the figures for immigration into Australia may include a few persons last resident in Cyprus who were not Cypriot by ethnic group, this total may be fractionally on the high side. Allowing though for the passage of a small number of migrants immediately after the war, it may safely be assumed that close on 11,000 Cypriots emigrated to Australia during the post-war period as a whole up to 1966. This represents just over 11 per cent of Cypriot emigrants during the period. The majority of migrants to Australia travelled there during the first of the two decades, and at the beginning of the 1950s the scale of the movement to Australia rivalled that to Britain. As the numbers destined for Britain increased in the middle to late 1950s, the numbers destined for Australia declined. Since the early 1960s, however, the rate of movement to Australia has risen again, and this rise has been more or less sustained while numbers migrating to Britain have been substantially reduced.

Apart from Britain and Australia, no other country has received more than about 2 per cent of post-war Cypriot emigrants. A number of Cypriots emigrate annually to Africa, and within this continent chiefly to South Africa. Many other African countries, though, regularly receive a handful of Cypriot migrants each year - the Congo, and various Commonwealth countries of East and West Africa. North America is the fourth [redacted] continent to which Cypriots are at all attracted, and traditionally

it is the United States for which they have been destined. Throughout the post-war period, though, the immigration of Cypriots into the United States has been limited by the quota system, which from 1953 onwards allowed for 100 Cypriot immigrants per year[12]. Thus, for the period for which figures are available, the rate of Cypriot immigration to the United States has remained steady at around this low level. At the very end of the period under investigation, several hundred Cypriots have emigrated to Canada, and this may be the start of a new trend in Cypriot migration overseas. Continental Europe, on the other hand, seems to have no attraction for potential emigrants from Cyprus. Even Greece and Turkey, the mother countries of the respective ethnic groups of Cyprus, received no more than a fraction of 1 per cent of migrants between 1957 and 1966, and there is no reason to suppose that they received any higher proportion during the earlier part of the post-war period.

The directions of emigrants differ to some extent between the ethnic groups. Although Greek Cypriots by far predominate among the emigrants to Britain, it is Turkish Cypriots whose propensity to choose Britain is highest. Between 1957 and 1966, the years for which figures are available, 96 per cent of all Turkish Cypriot emigrants were destined for Britain, as compared with 83 per cent of all Greek Cypriot emigrants from the island. Out of just on 11,000 Turkish Cypriot emigrants

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12 N.b. up to 1968 only.

during this period, little more than 400 travelled to any other destinations. Out of these, some 150 voyaged to nearby Turkey, while another 150 were destined for Australia. Turkish Cypriots thus emigrate almost exclusively to Britain.

It is the Greek Cypriots, on the other hand, who supply virtually all of the emigrants to destinations other than Britain. These alternative countries of destination have already been mentioned, and in many of them there exist long-established Greek immigrant communities. This is true for the United States, Canada and Australia, while Greek traders have been long dispersed in networks spreading over much of the African continent. Although Australia has been the main recipient of Greek Cypriots emigrating elsewhere than Britain during the post-war period, over 4,000 Greek Cypriots have made for yet other destinations during 1957 to 1966 alone. Thus while both groups of Cypriots have made Britain their major country of emigration in post-war times, Greek Cypriots have in addition scattered in quite small numbers so as to be represented in a variety of countries in all corners of the globe.

Return Migration

The sole source of statistics relating to the return migration of Cypriots from Britain is the series of annual Demographic Reports published by the Cyprus Government, the data in which is derived from the passenger returns gathered at the ports. Precise statistics for Cypriot immigration from Britain are available only from 1957, as in the case of emigration.

Figures for the annual Cypriot immigration into Cyprus from Britain from 1957-1966 are given in Table 1.11. This indicates that 3930 Cypriot migrants have returned permanently between 1957 and 1966. It is noticeable that the highest numbers returned home at, or close to, the time of the island's achievement of Independence in August 1960.

Most of the migrants who returned to Cyprus during these ten years were Greek Cypriots. Indeed, the ratio of Greek to Turkish Cypriots among return migrants was virtually identical to that among outward migrants, 80 per cent being Greek and 20 per cent Turkish in each case. It appears that Turkish emigrants were slightly more disposed to return to Cyprus at the time of Independence, but have been disinclined to do so since the outbreak of ethnic strife in 1963.

For the return migration of Cypriots prior to 1957, estimates must be made. For the years 1955 and 1956 this may be done with reasonable accuracy, but for earlier years estimates must be somewhat arbitrary.

Table 1.12 indicates the number of immigrants of all ethnic groups to Cyprus in 1955 and 1956. The figure for 1956 includes a large number of families of service personnel. For both these years, immigrants are classified by ethnic group and country of origin, but separately rather than in combination. Greek and Turkish Cypriot immigrants, however, may safely be assumed to come from four countries only (with rare exceptions): Britain, Greece, Turkey and Egypt. And from the latter three countries, Greeks and Turks are likely to be the only ethnic groups represented. On this basis, the number of Cypriot

Table 1.11

CYPRIOT IMMIGRATION TO CYPRUS FROM BRITAIN 1957-1966

	All Cypriots	Greek Cypriots	Turkish Cypriots
1957	340	288	52
1958	266	225	41
1959	946	772	174
1960	919	670	249
1961	1037	835	202
1962	325	254	71
1963	24	22	2
1964	27	26	1
1965	46	46	-
1966	-	-	-
1957-66	3930	3138	792
%	100.0	79.8	20.2

Sources: V.& M.S./D.R.

Table 1.12

ALL IMMIGRANTS TO CYPRUS 1955-1956

	All Immigrants	Immigrants from Britain	Immigrants from Greece, Turkey & Egypt	Greek & Turkish only
1955	345	248	53	244
1956	5,126	4,724	211	297

Source: V.& M.S.

migrants from Britain may be estimated as the number of all Cypriot immigrants to Cyprus less the number of all immigrants from Greece, Turkey and Egypt. The return migration of Cypriots from Britain is thus estimated as 191 persons in 1955, and 86 persons in 1956.

For the period prior to 1955, the number of return migrants can be estimated only on a rather arbitrary basis. In order for it to be systematic, however, it is assumed that the ratio of return migrants to outward migrants during this ten year period is the same as during the four years 1955 to 1958. On this basis it is estimated that between 1945 and 1954 there were 808 Cypriot return migrants from Britain to Cyprus.

Over the whole post-war period from 1945 to 1966, therefore, it is estimated that 5,015 one-time Cypriot migrants to Britain have in due course returned to settle in Cyprus. This represents a return rate of 6.7 per cent. The great majority of the return migrants have been Greek Cypriots, but both ethnic groups seem to have had an equally low propensity to return to their native land.

Net Migration

As the number of Cypriot migrants moving each way between Cyprus and Britain has now been established, the most straightforward procedure for calculating net migration is to aggregate the two series of figures in question. As these figures are based on the movement of passengers in and out of the ports of Cyprus, what is being measured here is, to be precise, the net outward migration of Cypriots from Cyprus to Britain.

The annual net movement over the post-war period up to 1966 is presented in Table 1.13. Figures for the period 1945-54 have been aggregated in view of the fact that return migration during this first post-war decade can only be estimated somewhat arbitrarily. During the remaining twelve years, however, it appears that there was a net movement of more than 56,000 Cypriot migrants out of Cyprus to Britain. The trend of net migration accords closely with that for emigration as such, on account of the low rate of return migration on the part of Cypriots in Britain. Considering the post-war period as a whole, it is calculated that there has been a net migration of almost 70,000 Cypriots from Cyprus to Britain.

The net movement of members of each ethnic group can only be calculated exactly from 1957 onwards. These figures are given in Table 1.14. Between 1957 and 1966 there was a net outward migration from Cyprus to Britain of some 39,000 Greek Cypriots and towards 10,000 Turkish Cypriots. Again, in view of the low ratio of return migrants to outward migrants among the two ethnic groups, the trend of net migration is similar to that of outward migration in each case. Moreover, the trend for both Greek and Turkish Cypriot groups is similar to that for Cypriot migrants generally, as may be seen from Figure 1.3.

To obtain figures for the net movement on the part of each group over the post-war period as a whole, the numbers for years prior to 1957 must be estimated. In order to do this, it is assumed that, as over the period 1957 to 1966, the ratio of return to outward migration for each

Table 1.13

NET OUTWARD MIGRATION OF CYPRIOTS FROM CYPRUS TO BRITAIN 1955-1966

	Emigration to Britain	Immigration from Britain	Net Emigration
1945-54	14171	808	13363
1955	4446	191	4255
1956	3448	86	3362
1957	3944	340	3604
1958	3896	266	3630
1959	5033	946	4087
1960	12936	919	12017
1961	12131	1037	11094
1962	4952	325	4627
1963	2168	24	2144
1964	3784	27	3757
1965	1977	46	1931
1966	1861	-	1861
1955-66	60576	4207	56369
1945-66	74747	5015	69732

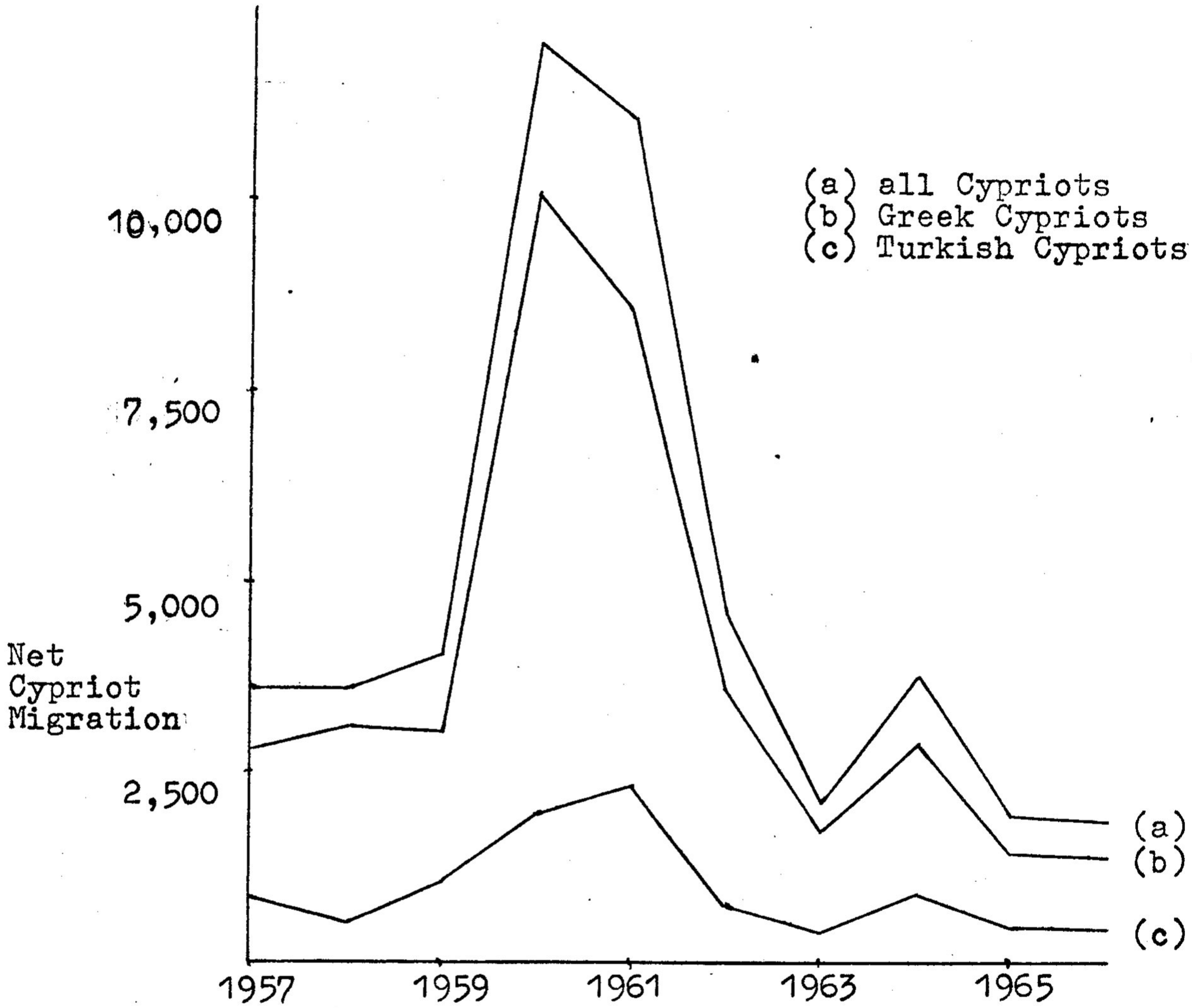
Table 1.14

NET OUTWARD MIGRATION OF CYPRIOTS FROM CYPRUS TO BRITAIN BY ETHNIC GROUP, 1957-1966

	All Cypriots	Greek-Cypriots	Turkish-Cypriots
1957	3,604	2,779	825
1958	3,630	3,106	524
1959	4,087	3,032	1,055
1960	12,017	10,082	1,935
1961	11,094	8,770	2,324
1962	4,627	3,865	762
1963	2,144	1,709	435
1964	3,757	2,852	905
1965	1,931	1,434	497
1966	1,861	1,379	482
1957-1966	48,752	39,008	9,744

Figure 1.3

NET CYPRIOT MIGRATION FROM CYPRUS TO BRITAIN 1957-66



Source: see Table 1,14.

ethnic group during the years 1945 to 1956 was the same. On this basis it is estimated that during those first twelve post-war years there was a net movement to Britain of 17,349 Greek Cypriots and 3,631 Turkish Cypriots. It follows from this that over the post-war period as a whole, up to 1966, there has taken place a net migration of 56,357 Greek Cypriots and 13,375 Turkish Cypriots from Cyprus to Britain.

The second source of data for the net migration of Cypriots to Britain is the record of passenger movement in and out of Britain that has been kept and made available by the British Home Office. These figures, for Commonwealth citizens only, date from 1955 onwards, and are strictly speaking for net passenger movement rather than net migration into Britain. Up to 1962 they are available only in the form of rounded estimates, but since the middle of that year, due to the introduction of immigration controls, exact figures for net passenger movement have been recorded.

For Cypriot citizens, the Home Office figures for the net inward movement into Britain are shown in Table 1.15. Comparison with Table 1.14 preceding shows that as a measure of net Cypriot migration, these Home Office figures provide a very different picture to those based on passenger movement in and out of Cyprus.

The difference, however, is largely confined to the period up to 1962. Between 1955 and 1961, according to the Home Office figures, there was a net migration of 20,850 Cypriots into Britain, whereas according to the Cyprus Government's figures, the figure was 42,049.

Table 1.15

NET INWARD MOVEMENT OF CYPRIOT CITIZENS INTO THE UNITED KINGDOM

1955-1962

	Inward	Outward	Net Inward
1955	6,310	2,860	3,450
1956	5,110	2,340	2,770
1957	3,960	2,510	1,450
1958	5,640	2,920	2,720
1959	3,750	3,350	400
1960	7,740	4,540	3,200
1961	12,300	5,440	6,860
1962 (first half only)	6,640	3,480	3,160
1955-1962	51,450	27,440	24,010
1962 (second half only)	4,110	3,701	409
1963	8,422	6,796	1,626
1964	9,144	4,853	4,291
1965	8,252	6,372	1,880
1966	8,679	7,381	1,298
1962-1966	38,607	29,103	9,504

Sources: for 1955-62, Davison R.B., Black British, O.U.P. 1966, p.2;
for 1962-66, Home Office, Commonwealth Immigrants Act 1962: Statistics.

It has already been pointed out, though, that the Home Office did not regard its estimates as highly accurate ones. But in view of this discrepancy as regards Cypriot migration, it seems dubious whether they are of much value at all. It is particularly significant that in the years 1959 and 1960, the Home Office totals for all inward movement of Cypriots were far less than the Cyprus totals for emigrants alone. This especially suggests that, in the case of Cypriot citizens at least, the rough count of passenger movement kept by British Immigration Officers between 1955 and 1962 was far from adequate enough to produce a reliable record of the net inward movement of Commonwealth citizens.

For the period following the introduction of the Commonwealth Immigrants Act in 1962, the two series are not so seriously discrepant. Between 1963 and 1966, there was a net migration of 9,095 according to the Home Office figures, and of 9,693 according to the official figures for Cyprus. A difference of this order during such a short period of time is fully to be expected in view of the different phenomena which each series is measuring. As may be seen from the Home Office figures for inward and outward movement separately, Cypriots are heavy travellers to and from Britain, and it is common for those visiting relatives in either country to stay for quite long periods. To the extent that, arising out of these visits, a certain amount of 'invisible migration' occurs, the Home Office figures suggest that the balance of this may consist of one-time migrants to Britain having returned home. It may be, however, that net effective migration of Cypriots to Britain over

the post-war period is slightly lower than is indicated by aggregating the totals for migrants in and out of Cyprus. From the Home Office figures, however, the actual extent of any such overestimation cannot be estimated.

Summary

Figures for Cypriot migration from Cyprus to Britain are available for the whole of the post-war period. These relate mainly to the departure of emigrants from Cyprus.

Over the post-war period from 1945 to 1966, just short of 75,000 Cypriots have emigrated from Cyprus to Britain. The major part of this migration took place between the years 1955 and 1962. Four-fifths of the migrants were Greek Cypriot by ethnic group, and the balance was composed of Turkish Cypriots. Approximately three-quarters of all post-war emigrants from Cyprus have been destined for Britain, Australia being the principal alternative destination.

Only some 5,000 one-time migrants appear to have returned to Cyprus to settle there, representing a return rate among migrants of less than 7 per cent. The net migration of Cypriots to Britain thus totals approximately 70,000 persons during the twenty-two post-war years.

CHAPTER 2

CHARACTERISTICS OF CYPRIOT MIGRANTS

Sex Composition

Evidence indicating the sex composition of Cypriot migration to Britain is available from 1951. Figures for 1951-54 are for the issue of 'affidavits of support' to prospective Cypriot emigrants[1]. Those for 1955 onwards are for actual passenger movement out of Cyprus[2]. However, since Cypriot emigrants are not sub-classified by sex as well as by destination, the sex composition of all Cypriot emigrants has to be taken as indicator for that of movement destined solely to Britain.

The sex composition of the migration for the period 1951 to 1966 is shown in the form of a ratio of the number of male to female emigrants in Table 2.1. What is immediately striking about this Table is the near balance between the sexes that has prevailed over much of the period. The range of variation of the sex-ratio over the period has been from 0.72 to 1.36, and for the years 1955 to 1966 overall it was 1.10.

The accompanying graph (Figure 2.1) shows that the pattern of variation has been most uneven, and no linear trend can be detected. Male migrants have predominated in the mid-1950s, and more substantially during years 1958-62. Females predominated to a small extent in the

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1 Given in Nearchou, p.45.

2 V.& M.S./D.R.

Table 2.1

SEX-RATIO AMONG CYPRIOT MIGRANTS 1951-66

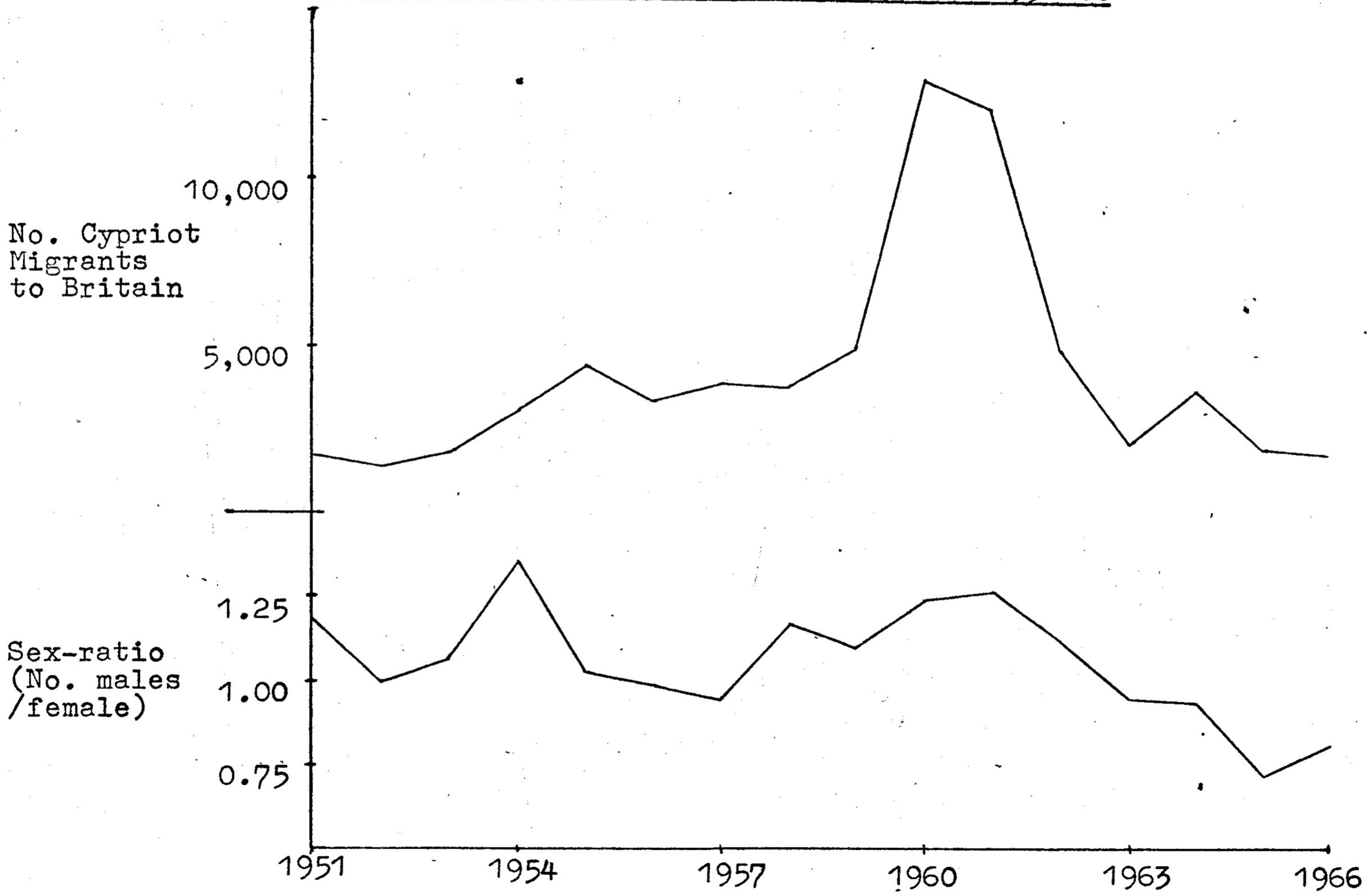
Year	Males per Female	Year	Males per Female
1951	1.18	1959	1.10
1952	1.00	1960	1.24
1953	1.07	1961	1.27
1954	1.36	1962	1.12
1955	1.03	1963	0.95
1956	0.99	1964	0.94
1957	0.95	1965	0.72
1958	1.17	1966	0.86
		1955-66	1.10

Note: Figures for 1951-4 derived from issue of 'affidavits of support'; those for 1955-66 are for all Cypriot emigrants from Cyprus, and are derived from passenger statistics.

Sources: for 1951-4, Nearchou, p.45; for 1955-66, V.& M.S./D.R.

Figure 2.1

CYPRIOT MIGRATION AND ITS SEX COMPOSITION 1951-66



Sources: Table 2.1 and, for migration, Chapter 1.

second half of the 1950s, and then especially after 1962. Comparison of these variations in sex composition with the annual rate of migration overall indicates a correlation between the two series. Male migrants have tended to predominate when migration was increasing or high, while females have predominated only when the rate has been steady or low. This may be explained in terms of the frequent time-disparity between the movement of male 'labour' migrants and their dependants[3].

To obtain a figure for the sex composition of post-war Cypriot migration as a whole, the sex-ratio among migrants travelling prior to 1951 must be estimated. This is estimated to have been the same as that during the period 1951-3; that is 1.08. Applying this ratio to the affidavit issue for those years, and for 1955 onwards applying the ratio for all Cypriot migrants to the number destined specifically for Britain, it is calculated that of 74747 Cypriot emigrants to Britain during the post-war period, some 52 per cent have been male and 48 per cent female persons. In numerical terms, there have been approximately 39,050 male migrants and 35,700 female migrants, at a sex-ratio of 1.10, during the whole period up to 1966.

The sex composition among Greek and Turkish Cypriot migrants, considered separately, is indicated in Table 2.2. This shows that throughout the 1950s the sex-ratio among Turkish migrants tended to be substantially higher than that among Greeks, particularly in the early

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3 V. & M.S./D.R.

Table 2.2.

SEX-RATIO OF CYPRIOT MIGRANTS BY ETHNIC GROUP 1951-1966

	Greek	Turkish		Greek	Turkish
1951	1.12	1.86	1959	1.03	1.40
1952	0.97	1.22	1960	1.21	1.40
1953	1.00	1.74	1961	1.28	1.23
1954	1.24	2.14	1962	1.13	1.06
1955	0.96	1.48	1963	0.98	0.84
1956	0.92	1.34	1964	0.94	0.95
1957	0.93	1.04	1965	0.74	0.67
1958	1.15	1.30	1966	0.86	0.82
			1955-66	1.07	1.20

Sources: as for Table 2.1

years of the decade. At this time, however, Greek Cypriot migration was already a well-established phenomenon, whereas Turkish Cypriot migrants were still relatively 'pioneers'. As Turkish Cypriot migration became more substantial, so the sex composition became more even, though at periods of increased migration - especially at the end of the decade - this trend was temporarily reversed. The sex-ratio among Greek Cypriot migrants, on the other hand, has been relatively balanced. Since 1960, the composition of the two ethnic groups has been quite similar. For the period as a whole, though, the sex-ratio among Turkish Cypriots has been significantly higher than among Greek Cypriots, at 1.20 as opposed to 1.07 males per female migrant. This discrepancy may in future be reduced, however, as during the 1960s there has been a tendency for the female component among Turkish migrants to be proportionately greater than among Greeks.

Age Composition

Figures for the age composition of Cypriot migrants are available from 1955 onwards, and for all Cypriot emigrants, regardless of destination[4]. It has already been shown in the previous chapter that the vast majority of emigrants during this period were destined for Britain, so that it is reasonable to regard these figures as approximate indicators of the age composition of migrants destined specifically for Britain.

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4 V.& M.S./D.R.

The age distribution of all Cypriot emigrants between 1955 and 1966 is shown by five-year age-group in Table 2.3. The migration is thus shown to consist predominantly of young persons, 70 per cent of all migrants having been under 30 years old. The largest age-groups were those of 15-19 years and 20-24 years, which between them comprised one-third of all the migrants. Few migrants were of the older age-groups, 9 per cent only being of 50 years or more. This age distribution of Cypriot migrants is shown graphically in Figure 2.2.

The youthfulness of Cypriot migration is to some extent due, no doubt, to the relatively high proportion of young adults and children in the population of Cyprus as a whole - compared, that is, to the age composition of advanced industrial societies. Comparison between the two distributions, set out in more summary form in Table 2.4, indicates that the emigrants are far from representative of even their home country as regards age structure. In particular, young adults (of ages 15 to 34 years) had by far the highest propensity to emigrate, constituting among migrants twice their proportion among the population of Cyprus as a whole. Children, and particularly elderly people, on the other hand, were notably underrepresented in the migration.

Taking those between 15 and 59 years as 'of working age', and those under 14 and over 60 as in economic terms 'dependents', it may be seen that the migration has drawn proportionately far more on the island's workers than its dependents. Over three-quarters of the emigrants were of working age, as compared with not much more than half of the

Table 2.3

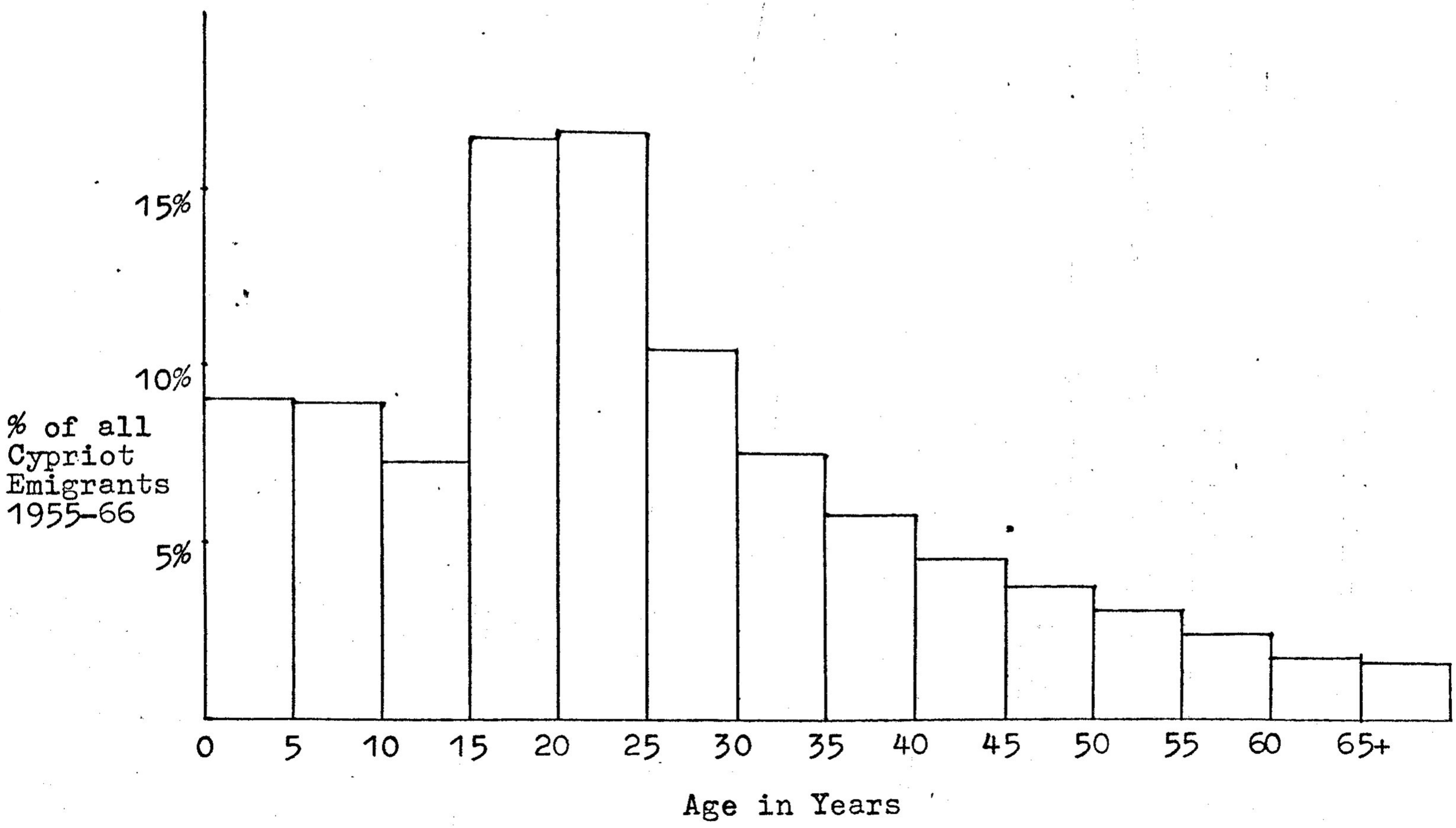
CYPRIOT MIGRANTS BY AGE-GROUP 1955-66

	Number	%
All Ages	71,882	100.0
0-4	6,532	9.1
5-9	6,477	9.0
10-14	5,213	7.3
15-19	11,858	16.5
20-24	12,029	16.7
25-29	7,553	10.5
30-34	5,496	7.6
35-39	4,163	5.8
40-44	3,273	4.6
45-49	2,757	3.8
50-54	2,266	3.2
55-59	1,787	2.5
60-64	1,306	1.8
65+	1,134	1.6

Source: V.& M.S./D.R.

Figure 2.2

AGE DISTRIBUTION OF CYPRIOT EMIGRANTS 1955-66



Source: V.&M.S./D.R.

Table 2.4

CYPRIOT MIGRANTS AND POPULATION OF CYPRUS BY AGE-GROUP 1955-66

%	Cypriot Migrants 1955-66	Population of Cyprus 1960
0-14	25.4	36.8
15-34	51.3	29.7
35-59	19.9	24.0
60 +	3.4	9.5
All Ages	100.0	100.0
N	71,882	573,566

Sources: V.& M.S./D.R.; C.P.A. 1960

population of the whole island. Moreover, more than three-quarters of the emigrant 'workers' had at least half of their expected working lives in front of them, and almost all of the 'dependents' (being children) had the whole of theirs ahead. It might be said, therefore, that Cypriot migrants have had a relatively high potential for economic activity in the future. By contrast only some 3 per cent of migrants were of ages which in Britain would be regarded as pensionable.

Children comprised one-quarter of all emigrants from Cyprus. Sixty-two per cent of these were between 5 and 14 years-old, and may thus be regarded as potentially of school-age when in Britain. The majority of these children were of primary-school age, but it is likely that between one-quarter and one-third were of ages at which in Britain they would be obliged to attend secondary-school. Since in Cyprus many children would have left school altogether by the end of primary-school at age 12, emigration will have required a fair number to return to school again [redacted] in their new country.

Differences between the sexes as regards age distribution among Cypriot migrants have been relatively slight, as may be seen from Table 2.5. Proportionately more males were young adult persons, especially in the age-groups 15-19 and 20-24 years, but females too tended to be concentrated in these age-ranges. In the senior age-groups however, women predominated, 10.1 per cent of females as opposed to 8.1 per cent of males being of 50 of more years old. The average age of female migrants was fractionally higher than that for males, though the median

Table 2.5

AGE-GROUP OF CYPRIOT MIGRANTS BY ETHNIC GROUP AND BY SEX 1955-66

%	All Cypriots	Greek Cypriots	Turkish Cypriots	Males	Females
0-14	25.4	24.3	29.9	24.5	26.2
15-34	51.3	51.4	50.3	53.4	49.4
35-59	19.9	20.4	17.4	19.0	20.7
60 +	3.4	3.6	2.4	3.1	3.7
All Ages	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
N	71,882	59,160	12,722	37,461	34,421

Source: V.& M.S./D.R.

age for both sexes was 22 years.

Ethnic differences in age distribution have been somewhat more marked, though among both Greek and Turkish migrants there has been the same concentration in the young adult age-groups. There have been fewer elderly persons among the Turkish Cypriots, however, and a substantially greater proportion of children. The difference in the proportion of children has been particularly great from 1963 onwards, and between 1963 and 1966 42 per cent of Turkish Cypriot migrants were under 15 as compared with 24 per cent of Greek Cypriots. During this period, in fact, Turkish Cypriot migrants have included proportionately almost twice as many school-age children as Greek Cypriot migrants.

Finally, over the period 1955 to 1966 as a whole, to what extent has the age composition of the migration varied? Table 2.6 provides figures for the years 1955, 1960 and 1966, and these indicate a tendency towards a more balanced age distribution among migrants during the period. In particular, the predominance of young adults among the migrants has been much reduced (especially among males). Even in 1966, however, by comparison with the age distribution of the overall population of Cyprus, the migration was still notably selective, chiefly of the young adult group at the expense of elderly people and children.

Marital and Family Composition

The statistics for passenger movement from Cyprus tell nothing of the marital and family composition of the migrants. Certain other sources of data, however, enable us to obtain indications of some of

Table 2.6

CYPRIOT MIGRANTS BY AGE-GROUP 1955, 1960 & 1966

%	1955-66	1955	1960	1966
0-14	25.4	25.4	22.5	31.6
15-34	51.3	57.0	51.3	42.9
35-59	19.9	15.8	22.4	21.2
60 +	3.4	1.8	3.8	4.3
All ages	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
N	71,882	5,679	13,984	3,393

Source : V.& M.S./D.R.

these aspects of Cypriot migration to Britain: marital composition, family size, and family structure.

The median age of marriage for brides in Cyprus in the mid-1960s (when figures first came available) was in the region of 21 years. That for men was in the region of 26 years[5]. If migrants were drawn randomly from the population of Cyprus in respect of marital status, then between 25 and 30 per cent of female emigrants of 15 years or more would have been unmarried. Likewise, between 55 and 60 per cent of male emigrants over 15 years would have been unmarried.

For male migrants, it is likely that this represents a fairly accurate estimate of their marital composition. For female migrants, though, the projection may underestimate the number of single young Cypriot women migrating to Britain. Those who had already married in Cyprus would probably have been less likely to migrate than those who had not; while for the latter, migration was often seen as a means to obtain a desirable spouse. This supposition is supported empirically by the evidence of Nearchou, who recorded the marital status of female immigrants arriving in Britain in 1957-8[6]. Of these, 20 per cent were 'girls' (presumably of school age), 38 per cent 'single' and 42 per cent 'married'. This suggests that almost half of female Cypriot migrants to Britain have not been married. This may well have been the case prior to the

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5 Estimated from figures for age-group of marriage, Republic of Cyprus, Census of Population and Agriculture, 1960 (C.P.A. 1960)

6 Nearchou, p.47

introduction of immigration controls in Britain, although a number of such 'single' females may have been already betrothed and have been travelling almost direct to their weddings. Since 1962, on the other hand, and particularly since further reductions in the admission of labour migrants as opposed to dependants, the proportion of single persons among women migrants from Cyprus may be expected to have fallen sharply.

In addition to the above, one further inference about the marital composition of the migration may be made. It has already been pointed out how women have predominated among the older age-groups, those of persons of 50 years or more. This is due to a substantial minority of elderly migrants being widowed persons, very largely widowed mothers travelling to join sons who are settled in Britain. The exact proportion of widowed persons among the migrants cannot be calculated, but it is significant that as many as 9.6 per cent of married persons in Cyprus in 1960 were widowed, four-fifths of them being women[7]. Widows particularly are highly dependent upon their children for their welfare: if when widowed their sons have already emigrated, there are strong pressures for them to follow too. Hence elderly widows constitute a small but socially significant minority among Cypriot migrants to Britain.

Family size is another characteristic of the migration which is not measured by the migration statistics. Of course, to the extent that

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7 C.P.A. 1960

the movement does involve families, these may be at any stage of the cycle of development, and so any simple measure of family size among the migrants is liable to be misleading.

Traditionally, large families (in the sense of having large numbers of children) have been quite commonplace in Cyprus, peasant parents valuing a large number of children for social and economic reasons. At the time of the 1960 Census, married women of ages 45 to 49 years in Cyprus had on average had 4.2 live children born to them, and had 3.6 children still living. Moreover, 31 per cent had had 6 or more live children born, and 21 per cent still had 6 or more children living.[8]

In view of the ages of Cypriot migrants, few such large families can have been among the emigrants to Britain, and it is entirely uncertain whether the traditionally high fertility of Cypriot women would persist in a different setting. Traditional family-building patterns, however, involve conception usually occurring soon after marriage, and births are expected to follow one another relatively quickly. Even among young married women in Cyprus in 1960, towards half of those in the age-group 20-24 years had already had two live births, and a similar proportion of those in the age-group 25-29 years had already had three[9]. Two or three children per migrant family may therefore have been not uncommon among Cypriot migrants to Britain.

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8 C.P.A. 1960

9 C.P.A. 1960

On the whole, though, the number of children per married woman migrant has probably been relatively low. This is indicated by the figures for Cypriot 'dependents' (of labour migrants or existing residents) admitted for settlement in Britain between mid-1962 and 1966[10]. Assuming that Cypriot wives and children travel simultaneously, and that all but 5 per cent (elderly widows etc) of women dependants are spouses rejoining their husbands, there were 1.4 child migrants admitted into Britain per married Cypriot woman during that period.

Further evidence points more clearly to a tendency for family migration to take place in the earlier stages of the developmental cycle of the family. The Cyprus migration statistics show that over the period 1955-66, and particularly up to 1961, the youngest children were the most numerous. Up to 1961, as is indicated in Table 2.7, the younger age-group the larger its size, though from 1962 onwards the 5-9 year-old was the largest. This greater age of children migrating since 1962 is presumably due to the fact that a higher proportion were following husbands/ fathers who had departed several years earlier.

During the main years of the migration, most families travelled to Britain either together or with one spouse following shortly after the other. This is indicated by the figures, in Table 2.8, obtained by Nearchou for Cypriot immigrants in London in 1957-8, though it should be

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10 Home Office, Commonwealth Immigrants Act 1962: Statistics

Table 2.7

AGE OF CHILDREN AMONG CYPRIOT MIGRANTS 1955-66

	1955-61	1962-66
0 - 4 years	39.0	30.6
5 - 9 years	33.9	40.1
10 - 14 years	27.1	29.3
ALL CHILDREN	12115	100.0
N	12115	5907

Source: V.& M.S./D.R.

Table 2.8

TIME DISPARITY OF ARRIVAL OF MARRIED COUPLES AMONG CYPRIOT IMMIGRANTS IN BRITAIN 1957-8

%	Total	1 month /1 year	1-2 years	2-5 years	5-10 years
Wife before Husband	3	3	..	..	..
Husband/wife together	40	..	..	..	..
Husband before Wife	57	20	17	13	7
TOTAL	100	23	17	13	7
N	150				

Note: Data obtained from Government of Cyprus' London Office, for Cypriot families resident in London in 1957-8 for whom this information was recorded.

Source: Nearchou, p.48

noted that this is not a 'random' sample of migrants. Nearchou's findings suggest that almost two-thirds of Cypriot spouses travelled simultaneously or within a year of one another. One-fifth, on the other hand, were separated for as long as two years or more.

The basic unit of migration is, in fact, either the young adult or the nuclear family. In Cyprus, it is the nuclear family that is the basis of the domestic or household group, although it is not uncommon for elderly parents to live with a married child. In the 1960 Census of Cyprus, all but 6 per cent of the members of households were either wives or children of heads of households, or of course heads of households themselves[11]. The autonomy and solidarity of nuclear family groups as regards migration does not, however, mean that kinship connexions are unimportant in this context. In the first place, as already pointed out, grandparents often migrate solely to join their childrens' families, so that a three-generation 'extended family' may be constituted. Secondly, Cypriot migrants commonly depend on the support of established relatives in Britain, without whom their migration might never have taken place. A survey conducted in 1961 indicated that two-thirds of Cypriot immigrants had at least one sibling in Britain, and almost half had at least two[12]. Thus although Cypriot migration involves basically autonomous nuclear families, it is a common characteristic among migrants

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11 C.P.A. 1960

12 Unpublished data made available by Mass Observation: cf. Chapter 4

to have close and supportive kinship connexions among those who have gone before.

Occupational Composition

Figures for the previous occupations of emigrants from Cyprus are available from 1955 onwards[13]. Although these are given for males and females separately, there is no breakdown by ethnic group, and it is therefore not possible to determine with complete accuracy the occupations of 'Cypriot' migrants alone. The other ethnic groups included are Armenians and 'Anglo-Americans'. As may be seen from the Appendix to this study, the number of Armenian migrants has been always small, while that of 'Anglo-Americans' has varied in scale during the period. However, as a proportion of the total number of emigrants from the island, the Anglo-American movement is only large between 1956 and 1959, during which period it constituted around one-fifth of the total. For 1960, the proportion of Anglo-Americans was only 2.3 per cent, and subsequently it has been certainly negligible. For these reasons, only the tables relating to the period 1960-66 are used here as indicators of the structure of the previous occupations of Cypriot migrants. During this six-year period, only 3.0 per cent of all emigrants were other than Greek or Turkish Cypriot: since these were almost all either Armenian or Anglo-American, a small bias in favour of non-manual occupations is likely. During the previous four years, however, a major bias in favour

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13 V.& M.S./D.R.

of these occupations would be certain. In 1955, though, the year which all but preceded the State of Emergency (proclaimed on 26 November 1955), only 0.9 per cent of emigrants were other than Greek or Turkish Cypriot, and the figures for this year will therefore be used for the purpose of longitudinal comparisons. Before analysing the occupations of the migrants as such, it is appropriate first to consider the proportion who have been previously 'economically active'. Table 2.9 thus gives details of the level of previous 'economic activity' among emigrants from Cyprus for the years from 1960 to 1966.

Over the whole of this period, some 48 per cent of emigrants from Cyprus had been economically active prior to their departures. Among the population of the island as a whole, on the other hand, 42 per cent were economically active at the 1960 Census.[14] Migrants from Cyprus therefore appear to be recruited from among the more active of the island's population, economically speaking. After 1962, however, it appears that there has been a marked decline in the proportion of economically active persons among the migrants. This is connected with the higher proportion of women and children travelling during these years. The equivalent figures for the period prior to 1960 were probably at the higher level, that for previously economically active migrants in 1955 being 51 per cent. Over the post-war period as a whole, therefore, probably more than half of Cypriot migrants have been economically active

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14 C.P.A. 1960

Table 2.9

Economic Activity among Emigrants from Cyprus 1960-66

	1960	1961	1962	1963	1964	1965	1966
%							
Economically Active	52	53	49	39	39	36	36
Economically Inactive	48	47	51	61	61	64	64
Children	..	26	29	37	41	36	37
Housewives	19	19	21	23	18	27	25
All Migrants	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
N	14589	13489	6277	2933	5081	2967	3408

Source: V.& M.S./D.R.

prior to their departure overseas.

The occupations of all male Cypriot emigrants who were economically active are classified into major occupational groups in Table 2.10. About half were recorded as craftsmen or production workers employed outside the primary sector, while a further sixth were working previously in service occupations or in transport and communications. Only 8 per cent are recorded as being previously employed in primary production. The remainder, nearly a quarter of the total, had held white-collar or higher status occupations, though only 5 per cent had been in professional or managerial positions.

As may also be seen from Table 2.10, the migrants have not been drawn evenly from the male Cypriot population as a whole. The Table suggests that workers in primary production have been greatly underrepresented, with the corresponding overrepresentation occurring mainly among those in the secondary sector. Also overrepresented among the migrants have been service and white-collar workers.

The most notably underrepresented occupation among the migrants is that of farming, with only 8 per cent representation among migrants as opposed to 27 per cent among the Cypriot population generally. But the figures here may be misleading, for many Cypriots may be occupied both in peasant-style farming and in wage employment simultaneously. Some may be mainly engaged in farming, with occasional employment in alternative spheres; while others have full-time urban employment during the week and commute to their villages at the weekends. In view of this flexibility, which is also seasonal, there is inevitable imprecision about

Table 2.10

Distribution of Previous Occupations of Male Emigrants from Cyprus: 1960-66

%	Male Emigrants 1960-66	Male Population of Cyprus, 1960
Professional, Technical and related workers	3.8	3.9
Administrators and Managers	1.4	1.6
Clerical Workers	9.4	6.5
Sales Workers	8.7	6.7
Service, Sport and Recreation workers	12.5	8.4
Transport and Communications workers	4.4	5.7
Craftsmen, Production Process workers & Labourers n.e.c.	49.0	33.4
Farmers, Fishermen and Foresters	7.9	26.6
Miners, Quarrymen and related workers	0.0	2.0
Not classifiable	2.9	5.2
Total Economically Active	100.0	100.0
N	17,188	161,628

Sources: V.& M.S./D.R.; C.P.A. 1960

any measure of the proportion of the Cypriot population engaged in farming. On the other hand, the majority of persons stating their occupations as farmers are of the senior age-groups of 40 years or more,[15] and these age-groups are especially underrepresented among the migrants. Particularly on account of this age differential, therefore, persons previously in full-time farming occupations are relatively few among Cypriot emigrants.

Among other specific occupations of the migrants, those which are particularly well-represented are construction work, catering, and a number of traditional craft occupations such as tailoring, woodworking, hairdressing and shoemaking. (see Table 2.11). Construction has been one of the major industries in Cyprus during the post-war period: at first with the construction of military bases and of housing for military personnel, and more recently with the development of tourism on the island. Although numerous, construction workers have been somewhat underrepresented among the migrants, due no doubt to the persistence of opportunities in this industry. Workers in traditional craft industries and in catering, on the other hand, have been overrepresented among the migrants. This may be due partly to the more limited opportunities in these fields available in Cyprus, but an additional factor may be that it is in these occupations that Cypriot settlers in Britain have been particularly successful. Prospects in Britain may thus be among the

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15 D.R. 1964-6

Table 2.11

Some Specific Occupations of Male Emigrants from Cyprus

1960-66

	Male Emigrants 1960-66	Male Population of Cyprus, 1960
Tailors, dressmakers, etc.	7.3	1.7
Shoemakers, etc.	2.6	1.6
Construction, painting and decorating	7.5	9.8
Woodworkers	6.1	4.4
Waiters, cooks, cafe proprietors, etc.	4.8	2.9
Hairdressers, etc.	4.7	0.9

Source: V.& M.S./D.R.; C.P.A. 1960

determinants of the occupational composition of the migration, in addition to the occupational structure and economic conditions in Cyprus.

In the preceding paragraphs, data for the period 1960-66 has been taken as indicative of the occupations of Cypriot migrants as a whole. The figures for 1955 (when few migrants were ethnically other than 'Cypriot') may be used to check on the accuracy of this, and they may be used also to detect any major trend of change in the distribution of occupations among migrants. In Table 2.12 they are compared for this purpose with the figures for 1960 and 1966.

From this Table it appears that there have been no very radical changes in the occupational composition of male emigrants from Cyprus between 1955 and 1966. Certain trends are apparent, however, the most notable of which is the decline from 15 per cent to 6 per cent in the proportion of farmers among the migrants. This change must be understood against the background of recent economic development on the island, with villagers either leaving the land, or taking seasonal or other part-time employment to a greater extent.

Another trend is for the proportion of white-collar and higher status workers among the migrants to increase. This is especially notable among professional and other highly skilled grades, whose proportion among the migrants during the 1960s has been around double that of the previous decade. Lastly, there is the increase in the proportion of 'service' workers, a product no doubt of the expansion of this sector on the island itself and of the prospects for immigrants in similar work in Britain.

Table 2.12

Occupational Distribution of Male Emigrants from Cyprus:
1955, 1960, 1966

%	1955	1960	1966
Professional, Technical and related workers	2.1	4.4	3.7
Administrators and Managers	0.6	1.9	0.2
Clerical Workers	9.3	9.5	10.5
Sales Workers	4.1	11.2	5.1
Service, Sport and Recreation workers	10.0	15.2	15.8
Transport and Communications workers	3.9	4.0	5.5
Craftsmen, Production Process workers & Labourers n.e.c.	55.0	46.2	49.8
Farmers, Fishermen and Foresters	14.8	7.6	6.4
Miners, Quarrymen and related workers	0.2	0.0	0.3
Not classifiable	0.0	0.0	2.7
Total Economically Active	100.0	100.0	100.0
N	1,948	5,759	860

Source: V.& M.S./D.R.

The distribution of occupations among female migrants presents a rather different picture. In the first place, the level of 'economic activity' is low, averaging 26 per cent among emigrants during the period 1960-66. This figure, however, excludes housewives, whose proportion among all female migrants has averaged 42 per cent over the same period, with only slight variation from year to year. Only younger women are likely to have had previous occupations outside the domestic sphere. Of migrants departing in 1964-6 (sub-classification by age not being available for earlier years), less than half of those in their 20's were previously housewives, compared with three-quarters of those in their 30's and more than four-fifths in higher age-groups.

The major occupational groups of 'economically active' female migrants between 1960 and 1966 are set out in Table 2.13. The vast majority of these migrants stated previous occupations which have been categorised under 'craft and production process' work. Ten per cent worked previously in white-collar or higher status jobs, mainly clerical and professional work. Scarcely any gave their previous occupation as in agriculture.

In two major respects, this distribution of previous occupations among the migrants contrasts very sharply with the occupational distribution of female Cypriots as a whole, as indicated by the 1960 Census. Here almost two-thirds of Cypriot women were recorded as working in agriculture, and less than one-fifth as employed in craft and production process work.

The lack of representativeness of migrants, in relation to all

Table 2.13

Previous Occupations of Female Emigrants from Cyprus 1960-66

%	Female Emigrants 1960-66	Female Population of Cyprus, 1960
Professional, Technical and related workers	3.3	3.9
Administrators and Managers	0.2	0.1
Clerical Workers	5.7	3.4
Sales Workers	0.8	2.1
Service, Sport and Recreation workers	3.6	7.6
Transport and Communications workers	0.1	0.3
Craftsmen, Production Process workers & Labourers n.e.c.	82.3	18.6
Farmers, Fishermen and Foresters	0.3	63.2
Miners, Quarrymen and related workers	-	0.1
Not classifiable	3.7	0.7
Total Economically Active	100.0	100.0
N	6,085	80,195

Sources: V.& M.S./D.R.; C.P.A. 1960

economically active Cypriot women, may not be quite as great as these tabulations would imply. Census returns are generally made by men, who, if villagers, record the participation of 'dependant' members of their households in what they regard as its principal economic activity, i.e. farming. Migration data, however, is compiled from embarkation cards which are likely to be completed by women themselves. It is to be expected, therefore, that these returns would record what women see as their own distinctive occupations, such as seamstress or dressmaker, especially since they will be expecting to take up such work on arrival in Britain. The tabulated figures disguise the fact that many women may be engaged in both categories of occupation to some extent, each series emphasising a different component of women's work.

On the other hand, this could not account for more than part of the discrepancy. Workers in agriculture are certain to be underrespresented among the migrants since the majority of these are young persons, and may already have moved within Cyprus from village to town. Thus a substantial proportion, though by no means all, of the women migrants recorded as 'craft and production process' workers may be assumed to have been employed regularly or full-time in this category of work.

As implied earlier, the manufacture of clothing is the main previous occupation of women migrants, 80 per cent of 'economically active' women having been engaged in this work. Many women do dressmaking and similar work in their own homes, either on their own account, or as outwork for small manufacturing businesses or retailers. Some, mostly the unmarried

ones, are employed in workshops in the towns. Apart from this, no one occupation involved more than a tiny minority of migrants. As with clothing workers, a number of these were trades which it would be possible to practise on settlement in Britain, such as hairdressing, sales work and nursing. Scarcely any women, though, had previously been employed in the catering trade as cooks, waiters, etc..

How accurate a guide to the degree of skill possessed by the various categories of migrant is this occupational classification? This is a difficult question to answer, and one for which the various trades cannot be treated as an undifferentiated whole. In some industries, such as construction, much of the labour may be unskilled or semi-skilled. Particularly in the craft trades, however, the more experienced workers become highly skilled over the years. Until very recently there has been no formal training for those entering occupations in Cyprus other than teaching, and in most trades an informal apprenticeship system still operates, often within the family group. Very few businesses have more than about a dozen employees, the vast majority having four employees or less[16]. Other than in farming, therefore, Cypriot economic experience tends to be predominantly in general labouring or in skilled craft work, undertaken in small family-type businesses. With few exceptions, therefore, Cypriot immigrants have not had experience of skilled or semi-skilled work characteristic of modern factory technology, nor of the work

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16 cf. Government of Cyprus, Census of Industry, 1954.

conditions and routines that usually accompany it. Such skills as they have, though, are no less specialised, but are geared instead to traditional craft technology, and to the conditions and routines of small informally-organised workshops. However, that these kinds of methods of production and provision of services still have their place in a modern industrial society is well demonstrated by the efficacy with which the Cypriot migrants in Britain have been able to apply them - as is evident from Part II of this study.

CHAPTER 3

GOVERNMENT REGULATION AND ITS INFLUENCE

Regulation of Emigration from Cyprus

The emigration of Cypriots from Cyprus to Britain has been subject to regulation by the Government of Cyprus since before the war. The means of regulation has been principally the Government's control over the issue of passports to Cypriots, and this has been supplemented by regulation of passenger movement in and out of the country at the island's ports of entry and departure.

Any Cypriot possessing a valid passport endorsed for travel to his destination has, in normal circumstances, been free to depart Cyprus at will. Applicants for passports have been required to state their reasons for wanting travel documents, and it is on account of this procedure that the Government has been able to identify and thus regulate Cypriot migration overseas.

The regulation of Cypriot migration to Britain was initiated in 1937, on account of the Cyprus* Government's concern over the conditions of Cypriot immigrants in London.[1] An inquiry undertaken in 1935/6 reported on the difficult economic circumstances of Cypriots in London, and found that many immigrants were dependent upon Public Assistance.

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1 Evidence for the history of Government regulation of emigration from Cyprus is drawn from Nearchou ("The Assimilation of Cypriots in London", M.A. Thesis, Nottingham University, 1960), Chapter 1. Nearchou had access to files at the Government of Cyprus' London Office which are no longer available.

The Government consequently appointed to its London Office (which had hitherto been concerned mainly with trade and commerce) a Liaison Officer, whose task was to promote the welfare of Cypriot immigrants in London, and to report on conditions among them to the Government in Cyprus.

Then in the following year, 1937, more direct measures to control the migration were introduced. Before prospective migrants were issued with appropriate travel documents, they had to meet three requirements. The first was that they could speak an adequate amount of English. The second was they should be able to deposit the sum of £30, against themselves or their dependants becoming destitute and requiring financial aid. The third was that they should have a job awaiting them on arrival in Britain, and that a guarantee of support should have been made on their behalf by relative or friend who was an 'established resident' in Britain. It was the duty of the Liaison Officer at the Government's London Office to investigate such offers of support: to enquire into their bona fides, and to satisfy himself that there was no unemployment in the trade in question. If the outcome of his investigation was positive, an 'affidavit of support' could then be issued and forwarded to Cyprus.

After the war, the regulation of Cypriot emigration continued along essentially the same lines. During the 1950s, more careful investigation came to be made into the welfare of families of prospective migrants. On the other hand, the 'affidavit system' seems to have become less effectively administered, and by the end of the decade this and the language test had been discontinued.

Up to 1954, according to Nearchou, the 'affidavit system' worked relatively smoothly. For the most part it limited migration to those who could find a relative or friend in Britain to act as guarantor, and bound the two persons together in a relationship of mutual obligation. Moreover, "the number of affidavits was reviewed annually by the Cyprus Government London Office in consultation with certain local and central government departments to take account of the employment situation, the housing problem and the absorbing capacity of the English and Cypriot communities".[2]

Around the mid-1950s, however, it seems that a certain amount of abuse of 'affidavit system' began to take place. A fee for the issue of an affidavit was introduced, but investigations to establish the bona fides of guarantors became less thorough, and seem eventually to have ceased altogether. Bribery is alleged to have been a common occurrence, and agencies offered their services to prospective migrants and employers at fees ranging from £10 to £30, even advertising openly in the Cyprus press. The ease with which affidavits, and thus passports for emigration, could be obtained from 1955 onwards was in George's view the outcome of "a politically motivated policy aimed at draining away from Cyprus the young who formed the rank and file of the EOKA (Cypriot Fighters' United Front)".[3] Certainly, allegations of political purpose

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2 George V. (formerly Nearchou), "The Assimilation of Cypriot Immigrants in London", Eugenics Review, Vol. 58, No.4, December 1966, p.188.

3 George, loc. cit.

abounded both in the press and among Cypriots at large, and both left and right wing political groups saw migration as drawing off much of their potentially militant support. Eventually, in 1959, the 'affidavit system' was discontinued and Cypriots were henceforth able to obtain passports for emigration without meeting any conditions of this kind.

The second aspect of Government control over Cypriot emigration during the post-war period concerns the welfare of migrants and their families.[4] From the early 1950s onwards, the Department of Social Welfare Services in Cyprus has enquired into the welfare situation of the families of prospective migrants, and no issue of a passport to an applicant is normally made until the District Welfare Officer's report has been received and considered. From 1956 onwards, investigations were made only where dependant children were involved. Under the Children's Law, the Welfare Department is enabled "to object to the issue of a passport to an applicant who intends to leave Cyprus without taking his child or children with him, if it appears that such child or children are likely to become a charge on public funds or to be exposed to moral danger or neglect by reason of lack of care or maintenance".[5]

The number of cases investigated by the District Welfare Officer and his Field Officers were in the years 1963, 1964 and 1965 in the region of

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4 Information concerning the work of the Welfare Department is drawn from the Republic of Cyprus, Reports of the Department of Social Welfare Services, Nicosia (annual reports); and from interviews conducted by the author with Officers of the Department in 1965.

5 Report of the Department of Social Welfare Services, 1963.

700 in each instance. In 1964 objections were made in 35 cases, and in 1963 in 54 cases (no figure being given for 1963, or any other year). This involved enquiring of the income, dwellings and other property of the family, and of ascertaining what support for the children might be forthcoming from relatives. Where these were found inadequate, and passport issue objected to, the intending migrant was sometimes deterred. Those who were more determined to migrate, on the other hand, were less likely to be put off, and usually made the arrangements required by the Welfare Officer sooner or later. These were often financial in nature, involving the provision of adequate security for the family while the father was away. Sometimes the Department's objections might be met by the father saving from earnings during a few months wage employment, or alternatively a relative might be found to give an undertaking to care for the family if they were in difficulty.

To what extent has Cypriot emigration to Britain been restricted in its rate and character by the regulations imposed on the issue of passports by the Cyprus Government? The Welfare Department's investigations of the family circumstances of prospective migrants do not appear to have resulted in the deterring of more than a small number of prospective migrants, and the impact of this regulation on the overall rate of migration may be regarded as negligible. As regards the character of the migration, however, the Welfare Department's activities have been more significant, especially insofar as they have tended to enforce the family responsibilities of potential migrants.

The tendency for Cypriot migration to be family migration has already been noted[6], and the Welfare Department's role has been to provide legal support and sanctions, especially in cases where father and children are separated for a period of time. Not only does the Department require adequate provision to be made for dependants by the migrants before his departure: if the husband defaults once in Britain, then the Department seeks to obtain the necessary aid for his dependants from him through the Welfare Officer of the Government's London Office (or, since 1960, High Commission), using the British Courts to obtain a Maintenance Order if necessary. An additional task of the Welfare Department has been to reunite children left behind in Cyprus with one or more parents in Britain. In 1957 and 1958, 24 and 15 children respectively were reunited with their parents: in 1965 and 1966, the only other years for which figures are available, the numbers were 8 and 3 children respectively. The Welfare Department also concerns itself with marital separation due to migration: in 1965 and 1966 it handled 153 and 118 cases respectively involving the reconciliation of spouses in Britain with those in Cyprus. In these various respects, therefore, the Welfare Department endeavours to promote family and marital stability among Cypriot migrants to Britain.

The 'affidavit system', on the other hand, while it operated as originally intended, had a greater influence on the character of Cypriot migration to Britain. This was the case up to 1954, after which its

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6 See Chapter 2.

influence declined up to 1959, when the procedure was discontinued. There is no evidence as to what extent the issue of affidavits may have been restricted for social and economic reasons by the Government of Cyprus London Office. However, the increase in the number of migrants from 1954 onwards does suggest that - at least in effect - the affidavit system was restrictive of migration up to that time. This may simply have been due, though, to the limitation of migration opportunities for the most part to those who already had close relatives or co-villagers in Britain who were in a position to provide the necessary guarantees. Indeed, up to the mid-1950s, migration opportunities did tend to be confined to those who had established relatives in Britain: this was reflected in the predominance among earlier migrants of those from certain districts of the island, such as the Lefkara area and the Karpass Peninsula, while other parts were scarcely represented. Simultaneously with this limitation of opportunity came an emphasis on kinship ties among the migrants, affecting its social composition and the structure of the accumulated settlement in Britain.

During the later 1950s these influences declined with the relaxation of the 'affidavit system', and in due course were removed altogether. Thus by 1960 and 1961, Cypriot emigration to Britain was entirely free of the 'affidavit' regulation, and was able to reach by far the highest levels of the post-war period. The tendency for the migration to follow kinship links, though, has continued just as it no doubt preceded the introduction of the 'affidavit system', which did not cause it but merely

exaggerated it. The general importance of kinship as a context of migration is considered in the following Chapter.

The efficacy of the Cyprus Government's regulation of Cypriot migration was dependent upon how, if at all, feasible it was for Cypriots to reach Britain without being in possession of a passport endorsed for travel to that country. In the early post-war years few Cypriots would have been in possession of a passport for reasons other than migration, and throughout the period migrants have tended to be drawn from those among the population who are unlikely to have previous occasion to have travelled overseas. For the most part, therefore, prospective migrants would have needed to apply for the first time for a passport, and would not have been able to use one in their possession already. Even those who did already possess travel documents of one kind or another would have been required to have them appropriately endorsed for travel to Britain. In view of the fact that all passengers departing Cyprus at the ports would have their passports inspected, there would be no opportunity to travel direct to Britain other than by complying with the official regulations.

There is evidence, however, that a small number of migrants travelled to Britain by indirect routes, and were thereby able to evade the regulations.[7] Instead of declaring their intention to emigrate to Britain, they would obtain documents for travel to a nearby country, usually another Middle Eastern one, and would take ship for a port such

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[7] See Chapter 1.

as Beirut, Port Said or Alexandria. Once in another territory, being British Subjects they would be able to obtain British passports from the British Consulate or other relevant office, whereupon they would be free to proceed to and enter Britain itself (so long as entry to Britain remained unrestricted). As has been pointed out in Chapter 1, there is no evidence that the extent of this evasion of the Government's migration controls was on more than a small scale, and it is likely to have occurred only during the first post-war decade while the 'affidavit system' was being operated strictly. However, it allowed an opportunity for migration to some of the more determined Cypriots who did not have relatives in Britain to provide 'affidavits of support' on their behalf.

Regulation of Immigration into Britain

Whereas emigration from Cyprus was subject to Government regulation from before the war, the immigration of Cypriots into the United Kingdom remained entirely uncontrolled until 1962. Cypriots, as natives of a British Crown Colony, held 'Citizenship of the United Kingdom and Colonies' up to the time of the Independence of Cyprus in 1960, after which those resident in Cyprus normally became 'Citizens of the Republic of Cyprus'. In either case, however, they held the status of 'British Subject' (or 'Commonwealth Citizen') in accordance with the provisions of the British Nationality Act 1948. Throughout the post-war period up to 1962, all 'British Subjects' were free to enter the United Kingdom at will, only the immigration of 'Aliens' being regulated by the Government at that time.

On the 1st July 1962, the British Government introduced the Commonwealth Immigrants Act 1962, which provided for the regulation of immigration of all 'British Subjects' who were citizens of countries within the British Commonwealth other than Britain. Citizens of the United Kingdom and Colonies who held passports issued by the British Government, and also those born in Britain, were excluded from control under the Act. Cypriots as citizens of an Independent Republic within the British Commonwealth of two years' standing now became in the normal instance subject to British Government control so far as immigration into the United Kingdom was concerned.

In order to gain admission for settlement in Britain, in accordance with the Act's provisions, Cyprus citizens were required to satisfy an immigration officer that he or she either "wishes to enter the United Kingdom for the purposes of employment there, and is the person described in a current voucher issued for (this) purpose by or on behalf of the Ministry of Labour"; or that he or she "is the wife, or a child under sixteen years of age, of a Commonwealth citizen who is resident in the United Kingdom or ... with whom she or he enters ... the United Kingdom."[8] That is to say, only holders of employment vouchers and dependants of these or of earlier immigrants have been admitted to Britain for settlement since 1962.

Applications for employment vouchers were initially dealt with in

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8 Commonwealth Immigrants Act 1962, p.2.

three categories as follows:

Category A: "In respect of Commonwealth citizens who have a specific job to come to in this country";

Category B: "Applicants who possess certain skills or qualifications";

and Category C: "Applicants not included in Categories A or B".[9] Priority was given to applications in Categories A and B, vouchers being issued to the remaining Category C applicants on a 'first come, first served' basis. Applications for Category A vouchers were made by prospective employers direct to their local office of the Ministry of Labour. Applicants in Categories B and C on the other hand made their own applications through the British High Commission in their Commonwealth territories. The issue of vouchers of all three categories was likewise made through British High Commissions overseas, although for a brief initial period Category A vouchers were issued directly to employers. Vouchers were to remain valid for six months from their date of issue, though an extension of a further six months would be possible "if good cause is shown".

The number of vouchers to be issued was not laid down in the Act, but was fixed by the Government in consultation with the Ministry of Labour. Initially, vouchers were issued at a rate of around 40,000 per annum, but in 1964 the rate of issue was halved, and in the following year the

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9 This and subsequent information concerning the administration of the issue of employment vouchers is either drawn from Home Office, Commonwealth Immigrants Act 1962: Statistics, H.M.S.O. (annual publication, 1963-6), or obtained from interviews conducted by the author with Officers of the Ministry of Labour in 1967.

Government White Paper "Immigration from the Commonwealth" announced that the rate of issue was to be fixed at 8,500 a year (1,000 of these specifically for citizens of Malta) with effect from that August.[10] Already in 1964 the Ministry had ceased to accept applications for Category C vouchers from some countries, in view of a waiting-list of over 300,000 applicants. At the same time Category A vouchers, having been initially available more or less without restriction, became subject to the principle of 'first come, first served'. The 1965 White Paper announced the discontinuation of Category C, and specified under Category B a number of professional qualifications and skills whose bearers were to be given priority of admission (doctors, dentists, nurses, teachers, science and technology graduates, and certain other professionally qualified persons). By 1966, Category B vouchers were being issued at a rate of around 5,500 per annum, leaving some 2,000 per annum for issue to Category A applicants (other than those from Malta). At the end of that year a waiting-list of at least one year's duration had built up for applicants in Category A.

Although the number of employment vouchers received by prospective Cypriot migrants was affected by these various changes in overall provision, the extent of the influence of these controls on Cypriot migration was probably less than might be supposed. To assess the degree

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10 Immigration from the Commonwealth, Cmnd. 2739, H.M.S.O. 1965.

of influence it is necessary to examine the figures for the issue and use of employment vouchers during the years from 1962 up to 1966, the year with which the present study concludes. These figures are given in Table 3.1.

Cypriot applicants are only a very small proportion of the total number of applicants for labour vouchers, but their experience in this matter has certain characteristic features. Between 1962 and 1966, Cypriot applicants comprised 1.1 per cent of all applicants for employment vouchers: 5,652 out of over half a million Commonwealth citizens. 2,663 vouchers were issued to Cypriots (2.4 per cent of the total), and 1,665 of these had by the end of the period been used (likewise 2.4 per cent of all those used). Nearly half (47 per cent) of the applicants had therefore been so far successful, though many more no doubt were still awaiting their turn in the queue. Towards two-thirds (63 per cent) had by this time made use of their vouchers, a similar proportion to that among voucher-holders generally.

The most striking feature of Cypriot applications for employment vouchers is that the vast majority fell into Category A. Approximately 90 per cent of applications received by the Ministry during the period fell into this Category, as did 90 per cent of those subsequently issued to Cypriots for entry into Britain. Among Commonwealth citizens as a whole, only 13 per cent of applications fell into Category A, and 30 per cent of vouchers issued. As far as other Categories were concerned less than 1 per cent of Cypriot applications were in Category B, for special

Table 3.1

ISSUE OF MINISTRY OF LABOUR VOUCHERS TO CYPRUS CITIZENS 1962-6

	CATEGORY A		CATEGORY B		CATEGORY C		ALL CATEGORIES		
	Applications Received	Vouchers Issued	Applications Received	Vouchers Issued	Applications Received	Vouchers Issued	Applications Received	Vouchers Issued	Vouchers Used
1962 (July/Dec)	425	333	7	7	182	80	614	420	162
1963	1,369	829	13	13	255	124	1,637	966	610
1964	1,507	766	9	7	67	14	1,583	787	539
1965	1,106	349	6	4	18	-	1,130	353	274
1966	674	134	14	3	-	-	688	137	80
Cyprus Citizens 1962-6	5,081	2,411	49	34	522	218	5,652	2,663	1,665
All Commonwealth 1962-6	67,197	32,953	46,825	36,341	389,392	42,367	503,414	111,661	68,292

Source: Home Office, Commonwealth Immigrants Act 1962, Statistics.

skills and qualifications, and 9 per cent in Category C, the residual category which was in due course discontinued.

Why should applications from Cypriots fall so preponderantly into one category rather than the two others? So far as Category B is concerned the answer is relatively straightforward, for the small relatively undeveloped island of Cyprus contains few persons having the types of skill and professional qualification that are required by applicants for vouchers within this category. As regards Category C, part of the reason for its low proportion is simply its discontinuation as a category from 1965 onwards. A further reason is that Cypriots were probably dissuaded from applying in large numbers for vouchers of this Category on account of the known length of the waiting-list. Of the 218 Category C vouchers issued to Cypriots, about 180 were issued during the first 12 months of the Act's operation - these being for the most part the applications received within 1962. In general, the Ministry of Labour had hardly begun considering applications received in 1963 (let alone afterwards) when the Category C was eventually discontinued. Although, with only 300 applications for which vouchers were not issued, the number of Cypriots on the Ministry's waiting-list was small, it was not this but the overall number of applicants that determined the chances of Cypriots obtaining an employment voucher in this Category.

The main reason for the high proportion of Cypriot applicants in one category (Category A), however, is more likely to be that the procedure required by this category is that which Cypriots would tend to adopt

independently of the 1962 Act. It has already been implied (in the previous section) that the Cyprus Government's 'affidavit system' as much reflected the migration procedure of Cypriots as determined it, in that Cypriots anyway were inclined to fix up work and housing through relatives in advance. The same is true for the Category A procedure, under which a voucher was only issued at the request of an employer in Britain offering the prospective migrant a job. In most cases, one may be sure, the request was made on behalf of a relative or friend, as in the case of the 'affidavit system'. To a large extent, therefore, the official procedure merely formalised a social process which would have occurred anyway, and did not alter the character of the migration in any radical way. Such affect as it had would have been, as with the Cyprus Government's controls, to reinforce the advantage of potential migrants who already possessed relatives or friends in Britain, who could meet the necessary requirements on their behalf. Conversely, after the Category C issue was discontinued, it became well-nigh impossible for Cypriots without such contacts to gain entry to Britain for settlement in accordance with the Act.

The main effect of the procedure for issuing employment vouchers which was adopted in administering the Act was therefore to reinforce the tendency for Cypriot migration to take place along village or kinship lines. The proportion of socially 'unattached' migrants, which was probably relatively high during the period of unrestricted migration between 1959 and 1962, would have been correspondingly reduced,

particularly following the discontinuation of issue of Category C vouchers. Up to mid-1965, however, Category A vouchers were normally available without delay for those intending migrants whose prospective employers satisfied the Ministry of Labour inspector's enquiry into their circumstances and bona fides. Until that time, therefore, the Act did not restrict the entry of those Cypriots who were in a position to arrange jobs for themselves in advance. Following the reduction in the overall number of employment vouchers in August 1965, Category A became residual, and the issue of vouchers to Cypriot applicants became subject to increasing delay. Thus it may not have been so much from 1962, but more from 1965 onwards, that Cypriot migration to Britain became subject to major influence on the part of the British Government's immigration controls. Certainly the rate of issue of Category A employment vouchers to Cypriots remained relatively steady until into 1965, as is indicated by the figures in Table 3.1, after which the rate of application and (even more so) the rate of issue declined sharply.

But what of the immediate impact of the Commonwealth Immigrants Act on Cypriot migration at the time of its inception in 1962? Without doubt, the overall rate of Cypriot migration to Britain fell sharply around that time; from 12,131 in 1961, to 4,952 in 1962, and to 2,168 in 1963. However, a close examination of the monthly migration figures for 1961 and 1962 indicates that the rate of Cypriot migration to Britain had already declined substantially prior to the introduction of immigration controls at the British ports. This indicates that part at least of the

decline in the migration figures at that time was caused by a factor or factors other than the British Government's legislation. This question is considered further in Chapter 7, in relation to evidence of changes in the economic situation at the time. The extent to which the British regulations have been responsible for the relatively low rate of Cypriot migration since 1962, by comparison with that during the late 1950s and early 1960s, and for the changes in the sex and age composition of the migrants, cannot be determined until the further evidence has been assessed.

Lastly, to what extent have the British Government's measures to regulate Commonwealth immigration provided an efficient means of control over Cypriot migration? Evidence on this point has already been presented in Chapter 1, indicating that a substantial number of Cypriot migrants entered Britain between 1962 and 1966 without revealing their intentions of settling permanently. Such 'evasion' occurred among all groups of Commonwealth immigrants, and appears to have reached a peak in 1964, after which closer scrutiny of the bona fides of Commonwealth entrants was undertaken by immigration officers at the ports. Not all 'evaders' did so deliberately, but in the case of Cypriots, the discrepancy between the Cyprus emigration figures and those for immigrants only into Britain, and the correspondence between the Cyprus figures and those for net admissions to Britain, in combination indicate that much of the 'excess' settlement in Britain was due to persons concealing their intentions from British immigration officers. Since during those years, from 1962 to

1966, Cypriots once admitted on whatever ground could not normally be removed from Britain, all those who gained entry as visitors or students were in effect free to stay if they wished. In some cases, it is true, settlement may have followed a genuine change of mind. However, in the earliest years (at least) of the Act's operation, it appears to have been possible for Cypriots to deliberately evade the British regulations without great difficulty, and migrants did so to an extent well in excess of the number officially admitted for settlement by the British authorities. The efficacy of the Act was therefore somewhat limited by this opportunity for evasion, and Cypriots seem to have remained somewhat freer to migrate to Britain than the British legislators had intended.

CHAPTER 4

THE SOCIAL ORGANISATION OF MIGRATION

Family, Kinship and Patronage

Cypriot migration, as has already been pointed out, is commonly family migration. Families of parents and children tend to move as units, or else the dependants follow the breadwinner at a fairly short interval. Even when single persons migrate, usually as young adults, it is in a sense as a prelude to family life: young men to establish themselves and perhaps to bring over a bride from Cyprus, young women to earn for their dowries and perhaps to marry a wealthier and better educated groom than they would have found at home. Individual migrants, therefore, may be temporarily separated from their families, or they may be at a transitional phase in their life cycle as far as family membership is concerned; yet for the majority, in one way or another, close-knit corporate family life is never far from their experience.[1]

But what is the significance of the wider ties of kinship in the process of migration from Cyprus to Britain? To give any precise answer to this question would be very difficult since, as the enquirer among Cypriots quickly learns, there are various degrees and kinds of assistance that may be given by kinsmen and others in the process of migration. We

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1 Unless stated otherwise, evidence in this chapter has been obtained by the author from participant observation and from informants among Cypriots in Britain and in Cyprus.

may begin, however, by noting how common it is among Cypriots in Britain to have siblings here as well. A survey among Commonwealth Immigrants in Britain conducted in 1961[2] indicated that two-thirds of Cypriot immigrants had one or more siblings living here, and almost half had at least two other siblings in Britain. As one would have expected, brothers were more common than sisters, three-fifths having brothers in Britain and rather less than two-fifths sisters. However, as many who had brothers in Britain had brothers also in Cyprus, indicating that it is unusual for all the siblings of a family to leave by emigrating overseas.

Statistics for siblings alone, however, considerably underestimate the number of significant relatives that a migrant may have in Britain. Cousins, in-laws and uncles and aunts may often play important roles in respect of migration and settlement. During a month's visit to Cyprus, during which the author travelled widely and talked with all classes of persons on the island, it was exceedingly rare to find a person who could not quote some relative of his acquaintance who was already living in Britain. Indeed, <u>not</u> to have such a contact to quote was more what required explanation. From this finding and the statistical evidence cited above, together with widespread personal enquiry among Cypriots in Britain itself, one gains the clear impression that siblings and other close relatives are in the vast majority of cases of major instrumental importance in Cypriot migration: particularly in matters of finance and

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2 Unpublished data made available by Mass Observation.

and the provision of guarantees for permits, and also in the arrangement of employment and housing in the initial period of settlement. An illustration is provided by the following case-history.

Mr. N. came to Britain in 1950 when he was 20 years old, and he now runs a shoe-mending business in a busy area of north London. He was one of seven children, and one of his elder brothers had been in England since before the war. His only sister, too, was already in London by 1950. After he left school at the age of 14 towards the end of the war, he had for some time a good job in the building trade, but by the end of the decade it had become difficult to find regular work outside his village. He therefore arranged with this brother in London, who was himself a shoemaker by trade, to take him on temporarily as an assistant in his shop. His brother provided the necessary guarantees for the issue of a passport, and in due course Mr. N. arrived in London. He lived with his brother and worked in his shop for the best part of a year, so as to learn the trade and to save up some money. He then took the lease on a shop elsewhere, and set up in business on his own. In 1953, at his parents' suggestion, he returned to Cyprus to marry a girl from his home village, and they returned together soon afterwards. She already had a number of cousins who collectively run one of the most successful Cypriot clothing businesses in London; in addition she had an elder sister who runs a smaller dressmaking factory quite close to where they were living where two other cousins are also employed. On arrival she worked there for a couple of months, but after she had

settled down she preferred to remain at home with her husband, doing piece-work on her own machine at her convenience. Nowadays, with their business well-established, she helps her husband in the shop, and only uses her machine to meet her own needs and those of the children.

This example is fairly typical of the role of kinsmen in the migration of Cypriots to Britain. A young man, speaking next to no English, possessing no particular skill, and largely ignorant of city life, would have negligible chance of success unless he could rely on someone to provide both security and some framework for his own personal adjustment in the initial period of settlement. The requirement of an "affidavit of support" prior to the issue of a passport merely formalised the link between migrant and established resident which would have prevailed anyway. In the example, both the man and his new wife are reliant on their respective siblings at the start of their lives in Britain. In the wife's case, there was the additional factor of adjusting to her new husband (whom at the time she was barely acquainted with): if she had come as a wife of several years standing, she would no doubt have had less need of recourse to her own relatives. On the other hand, when unmarried girls emigrate to Britain they would rarely come except to join a brother, or possibly a married sister: indeed, unless such protection were assured, the parents or guardians would be most unlikely to permit departure.

Siblings, as has already been pointed out, are by no means the only relatives who may give each other assistance over migration. Cousins,

in-laws, and uncles may also provide this necessary context for the remove. These are more likely to participate either if there are no siblings already in Britain, or if they can offer much more in the way of economic opportunities than the siblings - for instance, being managers of restaurants or of small factories. Among siblings, the obligation to help, if one can, goes without saying, and one doesn't stop to count the cost. Outside this immediate circle of first-degree kin, the degree of obligation is not so complete. On the one hand, assistance can be expected, but on the other, some reckoning of mutual advantage is likely to be made, especially where any considerable burden or risk is involved. First cousins and in-laws are sometimes very close, but as one moves further away from the centre, the commitment is weaker, and the more it needs to be buttressed by some kind of unwritten contractual arrangement. One is given a job, but one works hard for a wage: one is provided with a room, yet one pays the rent. The competitiveness inherent in the Greek character tends to keep such cooperative relationships evenly balanced, or else it destroys them. However, where the kin relationship concerned crosses a generation, such as with uncle and nephew, this reciprocity is not always apparent. Aid might be given regardlessly, simply because the nephew is the son of one's brother. Even so, whatever the motive, the senior man expects to receive the respect of the junior in return, and in fact will generally enhance his own prestige in the eyes of the community.

This element of deference and prestige in social relationships is

the basis of another kind of institutionalised relationship, distinct from kinship properly speaking, which is of some importance in the social context of Cypriot migration. This is the relationship of patronage. Just as with kinship, patronage may manifest itself in a number of different forms, and may connote a variety of different roles. Essentially, however, patronage implies an inequality of status, and a flow of favours from the superior partner which cannot be matched by the junior, who in turn gives recognition to the prestige and influence of his patron. Moreover, it provides a framework within which a man, who has needs which cannot be met within his kinship network, can ask and obtain favours of others without losing his own self-respect, and in accordance with an accepted set of norms as to how this is to be done. Sometimes, in fact, patronage and kinship relationships overlap, as suggested, for instance, in the preceding paragraph in talking of uncles and nephews. However, where there is no pre-existent kin tie between the two parties involved in a relationship of patronage, Greeks generally like to create the next best thing: a relationship of pseudo-kinship. This involves the dependent party inviting the patron to be among the wedding-sponsors (koumbari) at the marriage of one of the family, and then subsequently (or, alternatively, initially) 'baptising' one or more of the children of the couple. The tie that is thereby set up between families, and particularly between godparent and godchild, lasts for life and is almost as important as the ties of kinship proper. Ceremonially, it is regarded as a relationship of consanguinity. The priveleges and

responsibilities which are associated with it are treated with great seriousness, for a well-chosen godfather or marriage sponsor can provide or arrange important favours, while he in turn can be assured of much prestige and support in any political pursuits.

A relationship of patronage tends to be established with the act of migration rather than being a previous condition for this act. Sometimes a man may already stand in some recognised relationship of patronage (such as being koumbaros) to another before migration, in which case the latter might be in a position to request the privelege of assistance over his own migration. Generally, though, this is less likely to occur, since the patron has presumably become so by virtue of his successful establishment in Cyprus. Patrons in Britain are generally those who on settlement began 'at the bottom' and who have gradually built up for themselves a successful business. Having brought over first of all their closest kin, they then recruit from a wider circle of relatives and co-villagers; they may recruit also from the families of friends in Britain, or of employees to whom they now stand in a relationship of patronage. As far as the actual migrant and his patron are concerned, however, it is the personal favour of facilitating migration which creates the bond. Over time, therefore, a successful businessman can build up a ramifying structure of patronage which amounts to a considerable personal following. What use he makes of this following is of course another matter: this depends on a variety a factors. Nonetheless, patronage is an important feature of the social organisation of Cypriot

life in Britain, and it is simultaneously a significant element in the social context of the migration between the two islands. Its presence in any relationship, though, is not often visible to the casual acquaintance and its workings are subtle: often it is concealed and formalised in the idiom of kinship or its ceremonial counterpart. The following example illustrates clearly how over time an enterprising individual can build up a substantial structure of patronage by arranging for migration.

Mr. T. was one of the earliest Cypriot migrants to arrive in Britain, and he now runs a successful restaurant in the West End of London. Like most other early migrants who arrived in the inter-war period, he started off by working in the kitchens of London hotels, but by the 1930s he had worked his way up to the position of banqueting manager at one well-known West End hotel. Shortly before the war he opened his present restaurant, and in the post-war years has expanded it so that he now has a staff of between 35 and 40 persons, almost all Cypriots. To use his own words: "When I could help my family I brought over one brother, then a second, then a third: then two sisters. Then a cousin, and then another one - then two nephews, and some second cousins and about 50 or more people who I was asked from time to time to help. I am glad to say they all, with almost no exceptions, did exceedingly well. My brothers run two hotels in (a town on the south coast) - small affairs but enough to keep them independent, my nephews have two bigger hotels, a restaurant and a club (in the same town) and some of the others I helped are in their own

businesses and doing very well thank you!" The first brother Mr. T. helped to come over in 1928, when he could already arrange for him a job through his own position of responsibility, and other family members followed during the 1930s. However, it was when he opened a restaurant of his own, and the size of his staff grew, that he was able to bring over larger numbers of people. All these were personally indebted to him since under the 'affidavit' system, in operation from 1937 onwards, they were dependent on Mr. T's guarantee of a job and of their general security without which they could not have made the journey. In due course, many have moved on to other jobs leaving more vacancies to be filled, some setting up restaurants of their own in which the same process of recruitment along kinship and patronage lines is repeated.

Mr. T. is one of those Cypriots whose success in business has not been matched by a desire for influence or by aspiration for political office within the Cypriot community. His interest is confined to the running of this one high-class restaurant, and in many ways he stands outside the Cypriot community properly speaking. In marked contrast is the following example of a man who has been the architect of a small but flourishing Cypriot community in a large provincial city.

Mr. K. arrived in London shortly before the war in the role of lace-merchant, being brought over by his brother-in-law who was already established in the trade. At first he worked in London hotels, but during the war he ran several businesses of his own, one after the other, landing up in 1945 with a basement cafe in his present place of residence. As he

began with the company of just his own family, subsequently adding one or two new staff from time to time, Cypriot settlement in the city grew slowly at first. But Mr. K. moved to a larger cafe, opening a second and then a third business, all the time bringing over more and more relatives and villagers from Cyprus for work in the kitchens and as waiters. By the time his three daughters were ready to be married, Mr. K. was in a position to provide his sons-in-law with a cafe each to run: "as dowries?" - "sort of", he acknowledges, with a smile. In the last five to ten years, the growth of Cypriot enterprise in this town has been rapid, rising from just a few businesses in the late 1950's to around twenty in 1966. Some are run by those who had previously experienced Mr. K.'s patronage, while others were started by outsiders. However, as Mr. K. points out, it is today financially much more difficult to start up on one's own than it was around the wartime, unless, that is, one has the patronage of some wealthy relative, as do his own sons-in-law. On the whole, though, he reckons that he now has well over 100 relatives within the city itself and many more in the district around, his sister, cousins and other relatives owning restaurants and coffee-bars in the neighbouring towns. About half the thousand-odd Cypriot population of the city derives from either his small mountain village or from the two other villages close by, while more come from his wife's home village further off. In fact, almost all come from this overall region of Cyprus, and have some kind of personal connection, if indirect, with Mr. K. In this way, he has built up a large personal following within this Cypriot

'colony'. Now that a formally organised 'community' has been established by the Greeks in the town, with committee, church, priest and school, Mr. K. is naturally the respected and influential President. His wealth, the prestige gained from his beneficent patronage, and his own personal character are the crucial factors behind this success, though he relies increasingly on his sons-in-law for cooperation in running this flourishing Greek community.

This example needs little further comment for it shows again how patronage operates in regard to migration and settlement, and how at the same time it can give rise to an informal pyramid of prestige and influence which can be transformed into formal structure of authority. Within London, as opposed to outside in the provinces, such self-contained political units are less likely to occur in view of the size of the settlement, the interconnectedness of its separate parts, and the greater job opportunities and mobility of its members. Nonetheless, the patronage element, often expressed in the koumbaros relationship if not operating within the kinship system proper, is an important feature generally of the framework within which Cypriot migration takes place and Cypriot settlement is organised.

Communications and Travel

Letters and visits both ways are the important means of communications between the home country and the settlement overseas. With long-distance migration visiting is more difficult, on account of the higher cost and the duration of the journey, but in the case of Cyprus and Britain these

factors are relatively minimised. Letters provide for a continuous and very rapid exchange of information between settlers and their kin at home. These tend to be brief, and to contain little in the way of 'news': their function is rather to reassure as to the health and welfare of the family and relatives, and to provide a context for the arrangement of any important matters such as concerning property or mutual visits. Among members of the immediate family there is great trust, so that quite important decisions and arrangements can be undertaken with a minimum of correspondence. A close relative in Britain will be fully trusted to make all the necessary arrangements for a new migrants passage and initial needs on arrival. More generally, of course, a single letter may be quite widely circulated and so can provide information for a large number of people. Further information can be obtained from the press. Greek men are traditionally avid readers of newspapers, and in recent times Cyprus dailies have carried weekly supplements with "News of Cypriots in Britain".

Visiting is a regular feature of communications between the two communities, and passenger statistics testify to its scale. The number of Cypriot visitors to Cyprus from Britain averaged about 4,000 a year during the 1960s up to 1966, the figure reaching approximately 9,000 in the most latter year.[3] This latter figure approaches one tenth of the total estimated Cypriot population in Britain. Almost all of these

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[3] V.& M.S./D.R.

Cypriots returning to Cyprus on temporary visits gave 'holidays' as the purpose for their visit, and would in fact have been visiting relatives on the island. Figures for visitors moving in the reverse direction, from Cyprus to Britain, show a similar average rate of visiting of around 4,000 per year.[4] Most of these Cypriots, too, were visiting relatives, only this time it would be the immigrants who played host. A small proportion of visitors between the two countries travel for other reasons, such as business purposes or for medical treatment. Those visiting relatives may also be considering the possibility of a permanent move, as outward or return migrants; a visit of this kind is an opportunity for them to assess the prospects, as was the case in the following example:

> Mr. L., a small shop-keeper in north London, had a good friend in Cyprus who he encouraged to visit Britain to see what life here might offer him. Mr. L. already stood as <u>koumbaros</u> to him. The friend came over early in summer and stayed for some months with relatives, during which time Mr. L. showed him all round London and other parts of Britain. They had a marvellous time, but the friend did not change his mind as to returning to Cyprus and continuing to live there. However, he was extremely thankful to Mr. L. for all that he had done on his behalf, and Mr. L.'s family now regularly receive huge parcels of fresh Cyprus produce from him.

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4 Home Office, <u>Commonwealth Immigrants Act 1962: Statistics</u>, H.M.S.O. (annually).

Many instances such as this could no doubt be gathered together, some with the same outcome, others with the opposite, and yet more rather inconclusive. This particular case shows again the significance and potentiality of the koumbaros relationship, as well as illustrating the closeness of contact which is possible between the two countries. Mr. L. himself has not been back to Cyprus for several years chiefly because of the expense of taking the whole family along, though also because of the difficulty of leaving his work. His wife's unmarried sister, however, has recently been back for several months staying with her married brother at his house in the town. His two elder children were currently spending the summer in Cyprus, chiefly with their grandparents in the parents' own village, though also with other relatives in the district town.

The financing of the journey is obviously an important factor for the prospective migrant, just as for the visitor. To travel alone cheaply as a young man is one thing, but to bring a whole family is another. This is one of the main reasons why a father will often go on ahead, and if he cannot raise the money otherwise, then save up from his wages to bring over the rest of the family later. Often, however, relatives or employer-patrons will help to make sufficient money available immediately, repayment being out of wages or by some other form of agreement. Again, relatives or employers in Britain often make all the necessary arrangements for travel themselves, perhaps operating through one of the various Cypriot travel agencies which have been established in

north London. These agencies, often with branches in Cyprus, advertise regularly in the Cypriot press, and also in the immigrant weeklies published in London. Some handle by themselves all the arrangements necessary for travel, including obtaining the appropriate official documents needed by the traveller.

During the 1960s, the number of Cypriot travel agencies has increased considerably, and by the end of 1966 there were at least 10 such agencies distributed throughout north London. Much of their business now involves making travel arrangements for Cypriot visitors travelling to and from between Cyprus and Britain, since these are far more numerous than migrants proper. Cypriots have become wiser as to the standards and problems of travel, and the more affluent demand comfortable conditions. The agents' advertisements extol the virtues and facilities of their ships (which are mostly of Greek-owned Lines), and companies vie with each other to offer cheaper and more convenient journeys.

Early post-war fares, around 1950, are reported to have been in the region of £22. Advertisements in the Cypriot press in the mid-1950s give prices varying between £26 and £30 for one-way trips by boat and rail between Britain and Cyprus. During the 1960s fares rose higher, up to £32.50 or £35, but around 1965 one agency began operating with a boat of its own, and cut fares to the level of £25 (and at one time even to £22.50). The fare covers both stages of the journey to and from Cyprus: the first stage being the train journey between London and an Italian port - usually Venice or Brindisi; and the second stage the sea voyage

between Italy and Cyprus, via Piraeus in Greece. The journey as a whole might take anything between four and a half and almost seven days. The boats are small and sometimes little more than oversized coastal steamers: only in the more expensive passenger classes on the larger boats do the conditions of travel really meet the impressions given by the agents' glamorous brochures. The cheapest passage on a smaller boat generally involves experiencing the most unpleasant conditions, especially if the weather is bad, and in the holiday season such sections of the boats are often extremely crowded. However, by comparison, say, with the duration and character of the steerage passage of long-sea passengers in the nineteenth-century, the conditions are relatively favourable. Moreover, the sound of the bouzouki and some song and dance are more than sufficient to while away many of the dreariest hours. This and the exciting prospect of a new life ahead, of meeting relatives or of returning home altogether ensure that for most Cypriot passengers the boat-trip is something to remember rather than to forget.

In recent years, though, more and more Cypriot migrants have been travelling by air. Indeed, between 1964 and 1966, as many migrants departed Cyprus by air as by sea.[5] To a large extent this pattern of transportation is due to the majority of recent migrants being dependents of husbands or fathers already established in Britain. The one-way air fare is considerably more than its rail-and-boat equivalent, being £65 as

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5 D.R.

advertised by the agencies, but the inclusive return air fare which they offer of £85 compares well with the cost of travel across land and sea. Perhaps for this reason visitors tend to travel by air to a far greater extent than the migrants themselves, four-fifths of the Cypriots departing Cyprus for visits overseas during 1964-6 using this means of transport.[6] Corresponding figures for Cypriot visitors to Cyprus from Britain are not available. Another innovation has been a compromise between sea and air travel, which cuts out the rail journey across Europe and substitutes for it a short flight. The cost of this alternative method was usually £36, though it was sometimes as low as £32.

The availability of these various modes of travel to and from Cyprus, at relatively moderate prices, means that Cypriot migrants are in effect far less socially isolated from their homeland than most Commonwealth immigrants to Britain. Even in arranging and carrying out the journey, they are able to remain within an entirely Cypriot social context.

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6 D.R.

CHAPTER 5

THE INFLUENCE OF CONDITIONS IN CYPRUS I

Political Factors

Political conflicts of one kind or another have racked the island of Cyprus throughout much of the post-war period. Greeks have opposed British, Turks have opposed Greeks, and within each Cypriot group specific factions have opposed one another (usually along the lines of left-wing versus right-wing). Although these political circumstances have influenced Cypriot migration overseas, they have not in the main been the cause of it - not, at least, in any direct way. Cypriot migrants to Britain cannot on the whole be classed as 'refugees', for example. They have in almost all cases chosen to leave their country freely, even though in doing so they may have taken account of certain political or politically-determined circumstances. In a survey of Commonwealth immigrants carried out in 1961, Cypriot immigrants in London were asked why they had departed their homeland, and only 3 per cent gave reasons which were classed as 'political'.[1] The influence of political factors upon the migration is not therefore a direct one by and large, but for the most part has operated in a more or less indirect manner.

To a considerable extent, the influence of the political situation in Cyprus on migration has been by way of the economic circumstances and

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1 Economist Intelligence Unit, Studies on Immigration from the Commonwealth, London, 1962, Vol. II, p.11.

prospects of Cypriot people. Details of such economic factors are considered in the following chapter. Many broad features of the economic situation on the island, however, have been direct outcomes of political decisions, such as the economic consequences of Military Base construction on the island and of the establishment of the independent Republic of Cyprus. Indeed, economic conditions in post-war Cyprus have been so closely bound up with the international and domestic political situation that it is difficult to analyse them apart. The broad political situation has therefore tended to be an important factor as regards migration, but one whose precise role cannot be measured until that of economic factors has been properly explored.

Political circumstances and decisions have had a more direct influence, however, in several instances. The first, chronologically speaking, was the decision to disband the 'Cyprus Regiment' in 1950. This regiment had been formed during the 1939-45 War for Cypriots to fight with the Allied Forces. With its disbandment, many thousands of Cypriots were suddenly without jobs, and with them many more thousands of dependants. The absence of opportunities for them to make an alternative living of a similar standard led a large number to emigrate, and this raised the rate of emigration sharply at the beginning of the 1950s (although at first, most seem to have gone to Australia rather than Britain[2]).

Later on in the decade, the political circumstances of the Emergency

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2 See Chapter 7.

Period helped contribute to the movement overseas. On the one hand, the political atmosphere generally presented all Cypriots with a variety of difficulties. Curfews were a regular occurrence, schools were liable to be closed, and, as a United Nations report put it, "the Emergency was not conducive to lonely work in the fields".[3] In view of the uncertainty of the situation, it was difficult to make any kind of plans ahead - for children, business, or whatever. Cypriots who were engaged in business or trade in a small way were especially hard-hit, not only because of this uncertainty, but also because of the depressing effect the curfews and other circumstances had upon trade. Many Cypriots, especially if they were not politically involved, felt these were conditions from which they needed to escape.

On the other hand, political involvement too led to circumstances in which emigration became necessary or a suitable way out of trouble. Rivalries between factions led to pressures being put on individuals and their families: threats, houses burnt down, and in some cases persons being shot. Such hostilities arose especially in villages which were divided politically between left- and right-wing, and later between Greeks and Turks (i.e. in 'mixed' villages). Some minority factions were forced to move out of their villages, leaving homes and land behind them. It was sometimes those who were least willing to become involved who received the harshest treatment. A wide range of people were liable

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3 United Nations: Programme of Technical Assistance, Cyprus-Suggestions for a Development Programme, United Nations, New York, 1961, p.4.

to be arrested and detained as suspects by the British, and hundreds of Cypriots - even thousands - were held in this way. Jobs were lost too by dismissal of those employed by the Government, over 3,000 Greek-Cypriots working on the Air Bases and on NAAFI premises being dismissed at the end of 1958. Those in the Police also lost their jobs at the height of the Emergency: it is claimed that some of these were helped by the Authorities to emigrate owing to their fears of reprisals on the part of erstwhile victims.

The opposition between Greeks and Turks on the island had further impact upon the migration after inter-communal fighting broke out at Christmas 1963. After that time, the Turkish proportion among Cypriot emigrants was substantially higher than in the previous years.[4] The Secretary-General of the United Nations estimated that by the end of 1964, the Greeks controlled 98 per cent of the territory of the Republic, and the Turks a mere 2 per cent. Most of this consisted of some 55 square miles of fairly barren land stretching north from Nicosia: here some 59,000 Turks (about half of the total Turkish population) were located, more than twice as many as before the fighting began. Other Turkish 'enclaves' were comparatively small in size, but they included some 25,000 Turkish Cypriots drawn from 94 Turkish villages and suburbs (4,000 of them in refugee camps).[5] Although some Turkish Cypriots returned to their

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4 See Chapter 1.

5 United Nations, Security Council, Report by the Secretary-General on the United Nations Operations in Cyprus (for the period 10th September to 12th December 1964) (S/6102, 12 December 1964), p.19.

homes subsequently, thousands of Turkish Cypriot families have probably lost their land and dwellings permanently, and have little hope of returning to their villages in the forseeable future. Jobs for them are scarce, and many have been dependant upon relief supplies from Turkey and elsewhere. Emigration is an obvious solution, but few can afford the fares, let alone obtain employment vouchers for entry to Britain.

Loss of property due to the hostilities was not entirely confined to the Turks. In Nicosia and elsewhere, houses and other buildings were damaged or destroyed, or simply sequestrated if they lay within the territory of the other ethnic group. A number of Greeks thus also suffered losses. So too did members of the small but wealthy Armenian community on the island, a number of whom owned residential property in Nicosia which they lost to the Turks when Nicosia became divided by the 'Green Line'. As is indicated in the Appendix, towards half of the Armenian community in Cyprus departed for Britain on account of misfortunes such as these, and because of the effects of the political situation on trade and commerce.

Political factors, then, have been of varying degrees of importance in relation to the migration, but it would be impossible to make any precise quantitative statement as to their overall influence. Political motives, as such, appear to be in a very small minority among the motives of migrants. Rather more migrants, probably, have been influenced by the political situation through loss of property, the decline of trade and

general uncertainty about the future. Over and above the incidence of these particular factors, however, it can be argued that the whole course of post-war social and economic history in Cyprus has been largely determined by the political interests and strategies of the British Authorities (and by those of the Cypriots opposing them): therefore, in an analysis of the causes of emigration, the political and other factors can be separated out only somewhat artificially.

Demographic Factors

In this section the influence on the migration of certain demographic factors is considered. Demographic factors in themselves cannot be held to be a sufficient cause of migration: rather, their effect can only be measured in relation to economic factors, for it is chiefly the impact of population pressures upon resources and desired standards of living that may give rise to motivation to emigrate. The first task, therefore, is to examine the growth of the population of Cyprus in modern times, so as to be able to relate change in its character and distribution to the flow of Cypriot migration to Britain. In so far as demographic and economic factors can be separated out, the latter will be considered in the following Chapter.

The population of Cyprus almost doubled in size between the Census years 1921 and 1960, from 310,715 to 573,566 persons.[6] If an estimate of the total number of emigrants during the period (not including their

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6 Statistical data presented in this section are derived from Population Censuses of Cyprus and the annual Demographic Reports (D.R.) unless otherwise stated.

children) were added to the figure for the latter year, the resultant total would be considerably more than twice that which the island bore at the end of the 1914-18 war. During this modern period there has undoubtedly been economic development, but the effect of this and Britain's colonial and military activity has perhaps been more to raise Cypriot aspirations than to produce any fundamental or enduring transformation of the economy sufficient to support such a rapidly growing population in the mid-twentieth century. Generally speaking, therefore, population growth has considerably outstripped the country's capacity to produce both jobs and the desired standard of living, and this fact is clearly a major feature of the background to post-war emigration from Cyprus.

Turning now to the details of this pattern of population growth, we find that according to the annual Population Estimates the rate of growth of population began to rise significantly during the late 1930s, between the world depression and the outbreak of the 1939-45 war. Thus there was an average annual rate of growth of 1.1 per cent for the intercensal period 1921-31, but a rate of 1.7 per cent for both 1931-46 and 1946-60. Of these last two periods, the figure for the former conceals a higher rate of growth during the late thirties and early forties, while the figure for the latter period would undoubtedly have been higher but for the large-scale post-war emigration. The picture perhaps becomes clearer if one speaks in terms of the rate of natural increase, which rose dramatically, if erratically, in the middle and late 1930s. Although it continued to perform rather erratically throughout

the duration of the war, it has maintained over the last three decades as a whole an average in the region of 1.9 per cent, almost twice the equivalent rate for the period 1921-31.

This change has been less an outcome of changes in fertility than in mortality, and particularly in infant mortality. As far as mortality in general is concerned, the death rate stood at an average of 14.0 per thousand during the period 1921-30, but by the end of the 1939-45 war it had fallen below ten per thousand. Since the mid-1950s Cyprus has had one of the lowest of death rates throughout the world, the figure remaining in the region of 6.0 per thousand. The main cause of this decline in mortality generally has been the remarkable reduction in infant mortality over the period. From an infant mortality rate in the region of 150 per thousand in the decade 1921-30, there has been a drop to the region of 30 per thousand which had been achieved by the middle of the 1950s. This can only be due to the improvements in the field of public health which were effected in the years on either side and during the 1939-45 war by the colonial administration. A significant result of this single change has been the emergence of an unusually youthful population; as a result the mortality figures present the illusion of a relatively "death free" population. In fact, the expectation of life, generally speaking, has not increased particularly greatly over this period, as far as one can tell from the published statistics.

The crude birth rate has also declined over the modern period as a whole, but this decline has been relatively small, and movement was

erratic in the region of the wartime. The average rate for 1921-30 was 30.4 per thousand, while during the 1930s the average remained similar. The early post-war years saw a 'baby boom' of a rather mild degree but the rate soon fell away again, and since the mid-1950s it has remained noticeably stable within a point of 25 per thousand.

Change or continuity in the overall crude birth rate, however, may be the outcome of several different factors, and we must first distinguish between the fertility rate for women of reproductive age (taken as from 15 to 44 years) and changes in the overall age and sex structure of the population. Unfortunately no age- and sex-specific fertility figures are available for the period prior to 1950 with the exception of Census years, and the probability of year-to-year variation especially during wartime renders such isolated data unreliable. However, the data for the more recent period which are available present a similar picture as do the crude birth rate figures: a decline from the post-war level of fertility evening out in the early 1950s, and there being subsequently stability as far as the overall fertility of women of reproductive age is concerned. Indeed, this is as would be expected, since it is largely in the earlier decades that the decline in infant mortality would have altered the general age structure and thus caused the crude birth rate to move independently of the specific fertility rate.

Even by considering the age-specific fertility rate we have not yet reached the actual causes of changes in population patterns. For fertility is the outcome principally of size and spacing of family, and

of age and popularity of marriage. Some of these factors, particularly the first two, are not easy to determine in this case. Any substantial change in either of these features is likely to involve the practice of birth control techniques. The Orthodox Church in theory prohibits artificial control, but little is known about actual practice. The smaller number of live births per completed family in the towns strongly indicates that at least in some sectors birth control is practiced. Moreover there is definite evidence for a decline in the size of completed families in the overall population in that the average number of live births to married women in their sixties at the time of the 1960 Census was 4.8, whereas the average for those in their fifties was 4.3. As far as spacing of families concerned there is no equivalent evidence to this. Greeks place a high value on a wife's immediate bearing of children: this is partly to prove her fecundity, and partly because until she has done so, she is not considered to be fully a wife.

To producing the stable fertility rate, the apparent decline in family size has been offset by a decline in the age of marriage, particularly that for women. The picture here, though, is by no means simple. While on the one hand the Census data show an increasing proportion of younger marriages among women, there has also been the inevitability of delay for some due to the shortage of men arising from the latter's greater propensity to emigrate. Marriage continued to be regarded as essential for a woman, Cypriot society offering no respectable status for the unmarried woman. Thus although earlier marriage is

becoming increasingly popular, no doubt due to the increasing economic and social independence of young people on the island, the shortage of men due to emigration prevents it from becoming universally practical.

Fertility, then, in spite of a certain post-war decline, has not contributed so greatly to population growth in modern times as has mortality, and especially here the rapid decline in infant mortality between the mid-thirties and the mid-fifties. As far as the overall structure of the population is concerned, the chief outcome of these changes has been a heavy weighting in the direction of youth, complementing an excess of women over men on account of external migration. The growth of population, however, has not been evenly distributed in all areas, though, for the most rapid increases in numbers have tended to come about in the District Towns.

Towns are no new phenomena in Cyprus, each administrative District having long had its adminstrative and market centre.[7] Prior to the 1914-18 War, however, the urban population grew roughly in proportion with the population as a whole, and it is only in the subsequent period that we can speak of a process of urbanisation taking place. In fact, from the 1914-18 War onwards the urban population has grown increasingly rapidly, almost doubling in size between the Census years 1946 and 1960 (see Table 5.1).

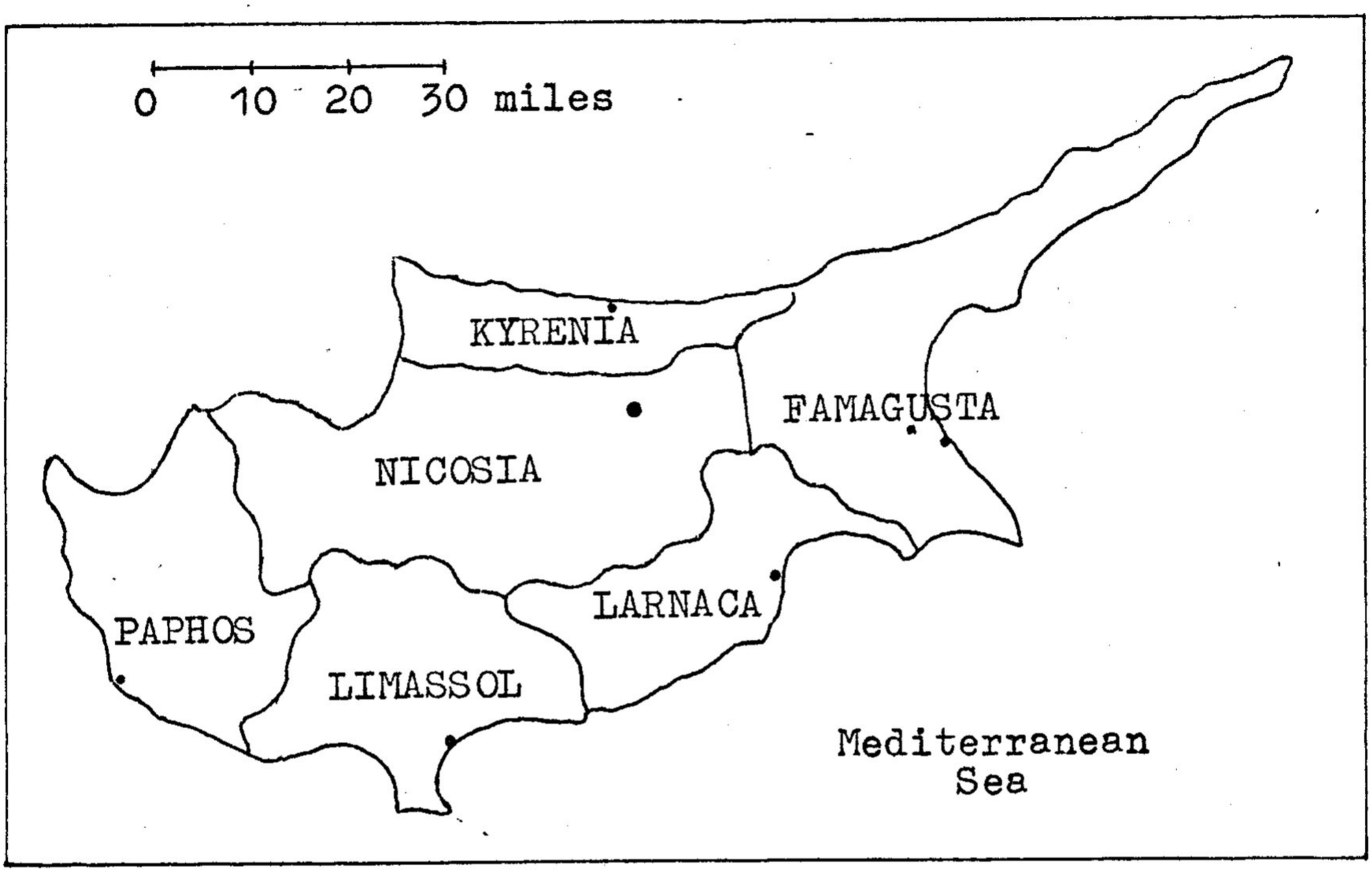
Still, even in 1960, the proportion of the population living in the towns and suburbs (as opposed to the rural areas) was not much more than one-third. Thus, although (as may be seen from Table 5.2) the average

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7 Nicosia, Limassol, Famagusta, Larnaca, Paphos, Kyrenia.

Figure 5.1

MAP OF CYPRUS



showing Administrative Districts and Towns.

Table 5.1

RURAL AND URBAN POPULATION OF CYPRUS 1911-60

	All Cyprus	Urban Area	Rural Area
1911	274,108	51,973	222,135
1921	310,715	61,512	249,203
1931	347,959	76,351	115,808
1946	450,114	115,808	334,306
1960	573,566	205,983	367,583

Source: Population Censuses.

Table 5.2

AVERAGE ANNUAL PERCENTAGE POPULATION GROWTH 1881-1960

		Actual Increase		
	Natural Increase*	All Cyprus	Urban	Rural
1881-91	..	1.2	1.0	1.2
1891-01	..	1.3	1.3	1.3
1901-11	1.4	1.5	1.6	1.4
1911-21	1.2	1.3	1.7	1.2
1921-31	1.2	1.1	2.2	0.9
1931-46	1.7	1.7	2.8	1.4
1946-60	2.1	1.7	4.2	0.7

Source: D.R. 1966

* Figures are for years 1881-90, 1891-1900, etc: other figures cover intercensal periods.

annual growth of population in the villages was only, on average, 1.4 per cent from 1931-46 and 0.7 per cent from 1946-60, this still represents a very considerable increase in numbers, and a continuing increase in the pressure on rural resources. In the earlier period the growth was evenly spread among the six main Districts of the island. In the post-war era, however, this has not been so, two areas (Nicosia and Limassol) in which agricultural development has been more successful showing an annual increase of the previous order, and the remainder showing little increase at all. None of these figures, though, reveal the true pressure of population upon resources, for migration has removed much of the 'natural increase' of population in the rural areas. As was mentioned earlier in this section, the 'rate of natural increase' in the population of the island as a whole has been in the region of 1.9 per cent in recent decades. Assuming this to be approximately the rate for both urban and rural areas, it follows that in all rural areas pressure has been relieved by quite substantial migration. Moreover, in four of the six administrative areas, almost all of the increase has been matched by migration. It should be noted, though, that in no area up to 1960 had there taken place actual depopulation.

Population growth in the urban area of modern Cyprus presents a much more variegated picture than in the rural areas. This is the outcome largely of subsuming under one heading 'urban' a number of towns of various social and economic character. The rise of industry and the growth of trade have affected these towns differently, and the rapid

expansion of the centralised administrative apparatus has been a further factor involved. All three factors have played their part in the case of Nicosia, the capital, which (including its suburbs) has quadrupled its size since the end of the 1914-18 War, and has currently a population in the region of 100,000. Famagusta, the main commercial port, has grown fivefold over the same period, reaching a total of almost 35,000 in 1960, the vast majority living in the Greek residential area Varosha. Limassol, the second largest town and another major port, has grown more slowly, though in 1960 it had a population of about 43,500. All the other three district towns are likewise ports, but only Larnaca is of comparable size (almost 20,000 inhabitants in 1960), and it is of importance principally on account of its current development as an industrial centre.

The relative rapidity of population growth in the urban areas can perhaps be better appreciated if it is expressed in terms of an average annual increase. The near doubling of the population between 1946 and 1960 represented an average annual increase of 4.2 per cent - more than twice the average rate of 'natural increase' of population during the period. The fastest post-war growth occurred in the Nicosia suburbs (as opposed to the smaller central town area) which increased at an annual average rate of 7.2 per cent. The ports of Famagusta and Limassol have also had high growth rates, of 5.6 per cent and 4.7 per cent respectively. In the earlier period 1931-46, largely pre-war, the overall rate of annual increase was substantially lower at an average of

2.8 per cent. Even so, this was considerably in excess of 'natural increase' during the period, and it is only when we move back into the earlier decades of the century that we find these two rates of increase to be of a similar order and similar to those for the rural areas as well. As was pointed out earlier, it was after the 1914-18 War that the several rates began to diverge radically for the first time, the towns drawing substantially on the rural population. However, the simultaneous divergence between the overall rate of population growth (1.1 per cent in 1921-30) and the rate of natural increase (1.6 per cent) suggests that external migration was already a significant factor. Moreover, the major part of this must have been direct from the villages, since with their low rate of annual increase of 0.9 per cent in that decade, far more must have left the rural areas than could have made up the increased settlement in the towns. From the beginning of this modern period, therefore, both internal and external migration have proceeded hand in hand as avenues of relief for overpopulation on the land.

Without more detailed information as to the origins of both internal and external migrants no more specific conclusions can be drawn. However, this documentation of population change on Cyprus leaves little doubt as to the connection between demographic change and external migration. But the precise role of demographic factors in influencing the migration cannot be measured until economic factors too have been considered.

CHAPTER 6

THE INFLUENCE OF CONDITIONS IN CYPRUS II

Economic Factors: Introduction

In this Chapter we are concerned with the influence of economic conditions in Cyprus upon Cypriot migration to Britain. We must therefore enquire into the availability of opportunities for gaining a living on the island, whether in cash or in kind, into the degree of security which these opportunities provide, and into the standard of living to which the population is accustomed or to which it aspires.

There is evidence that conditions of this sort motivated the great majority of Cypriot emigrants to Britain. The survey of Commonwealth immigrants in Britain conducted in 1961 for the Economist Intelligence Unit[1] found that most Cypriots had departed Cyprus for economic reasons of one kind or another. Of those interviewed, 62 per cent gave reasons for leaving Cyprus which were categorised under the heading of 'unemployment or lack of career opportunities', and a further 15 per cent gave other economic or 'financial' reasons for having departed. Not all respondents provided reasons for specifically 'leaving Cyprus', some giving reasons only for 'coming to Britain': of those who did give reasons for leaving Cyprus as such, only 8 per cent gave ones which were other than economic. Although these interviews were retrospective, they

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1 Studies on Immigration from the Commonwealth, Economist Intelligence Unit, Vol. 2, p.11.

are nonetheless impressive as indicators of the importance of economic motives among Cypriot migrants to Britain.

As such, however, they do not constitute in themselves an explanation of the role of economic factors in the migration: they merely point to the significance of such factors. What these factors are, and their relative importance, now has to be considered in detail. Since around half of the population of Cyprus is engaged in agriculture, and a good deal more are dependent on it, it is appropriate to begin by examining the agricultural sector of the Cypriot economy. The following section will examine the non-agricultural sector - industry, trade and services of one kind or another - in which the remainder of Cypriots find wage (or in a small proportion of cases, salaried) employment.[2]

Economic Conditions: Agriculture

The marked increase in pressure of population upon resources in the rural areas has been demonstrated in the previous Chapter. What factors have caused the failure of the agricultural sector to absorb the major part of this increase of population? By the time of Independence, agricultural production as a whole was estimated to have risen about 40 per cent above pre-war levels - a rate approximately equal to that of population increase. Significantly, however, there was no clear improvement in output after 1953 until the years subsequent to the

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2 Evidence of economic conditions in Cyprus which is presented in this Chapter, unless indicated otherwise, is drawn from either Meyer A.J., The Economy of Cyprus, Harvard U.P., 1962 or United Nations: Programme for Technical Assistance, Cyprus: Suggestions for a Development Programme, New York, 1961.

to the achievement of Independence in 1960. Since then, production has risen substantially, as can be seen from Table 6.1.

That the trend in agricultural production is significant in relation to emigration is quite clearly indicated by the juxtaposition of the two annual series of statistics in graphical form in Figure 6.1. Although its overall significance in relation to other factors cannot be assessed until later on, the trend in agricultural production (and especially that of cereal production) appears to be sufficiently correlated with emigration to warrant further investigation into the character and development of this sector. In general, it seems that a rise in agricultural production is associated with a decline or check in emigration, and a fall in production with the reverse (as in Table 6.1a). Moreover, taking a longer view instead of a year-by-year analysis, we see that the period of substantial growth in emigration coincides exactly with the period of stagnation in agricultural production, while the recent decline in the outflow corresponds with the post-Independence agricultural expansion.

Why did the trend in agricultural output proceed in this manner, and how exactly did it affect the rural population? The early post-war rise in agricultural production (for which no precise figures are obtainable) was in large part a response to the agricultural development policy of the Administration. One of the more effective of the measures introduced was that providing for an increase in the ratio of irrigated to dry land for farming. Dams were built in an attempt to preserve and distribute the

Table 6.1

INDEX OF AGRICULTURAL PRODUCTION IN CYPRUS 1950-66

(1950=100)

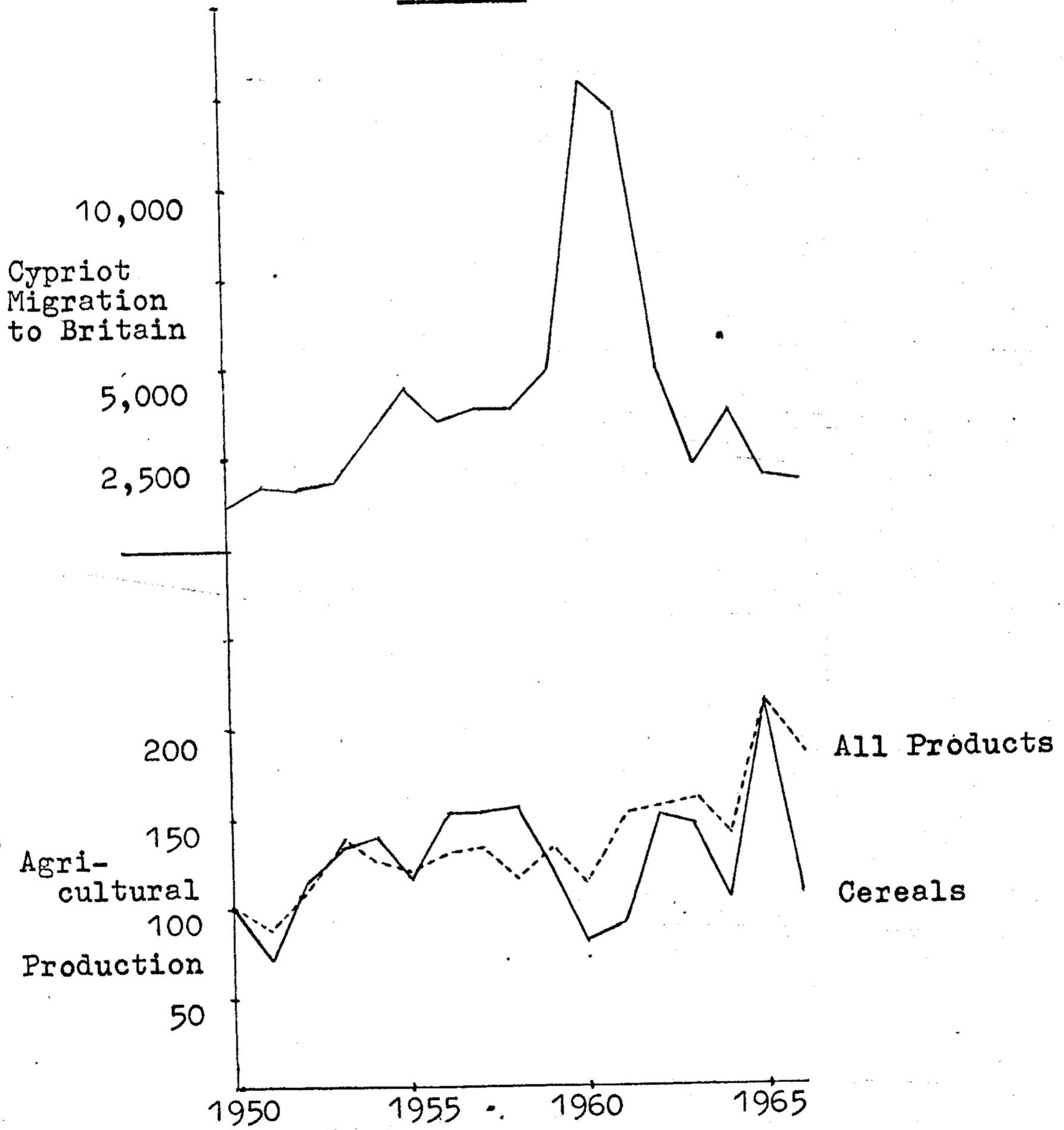
	Cereals	All Products
1950	100.0	100.0
1951	71.2	90.0
1952	112.9	107.1
1953	135.0	139.7
1954	141.1	126.6
1955	117.1	119.6
1956	151.4	130.2
1957	152.0	133.6
1958	154.7	117.9
1959	121.2	132.5
1960	81.2	114.0
1961	91.1	151.5
1962	149.8	155.7
1963	145.9	160.0
1964	105.4	140.1
1965	214.3	213.2
1966	105.8	187.3

Source: Republic of Cyprus, Economic Reviews.

Figure 6.1

EMIGRATION FROM CYPRUS AND AGRICULTURAL PRODUCTION

1950-66



Sources: For Cypriot Migration, see Chapter 1; For agricultural production, see Table 6.1.

Table 6.1a

COMPARISON OF ANNUAL TREND IN AGRICULTURAL PRODUCTION AND EMIGRATION FROM CYPRUS 1951-66

	Trend in Migration	Trend in Production		Trend in Migration	Trend in Production
1951	up	down	1959	up	down
1952	level	up	1960	up	down
1953	level	up	1961	level	level
1954	up	level	1962	down	up
1955	up	down	1963	down	level
1956	down	up	1964	up	down
1957	level	level	1965	down	up
1958	level	level	1966	level	down

Note: Production trend for cereals only.

Source: based on Figure 6.1.

winter rainfall that runs so rapidly off the land, and pump wells were drilled to raise water stored naturally far below the surface. Even so, all but about 15 per cent of the island's farmland is dependent on watering by rain alone; and of this 15 per cent, only about 6 per cent is irrigable all the year round as opposed to being dependent on the flood controls. Cereal, the staple crop for much of the rural population, is almost everywhere dependent on the annual rains for its production.

But in spite of the further improvements in the agricultural sector put in hand by the Colonial Administration after 1950, output as we have seen showed little improvement throughout most of the decade. A variety of factors were responsible for this failure, including to some extent no doubt the disturbed atmosphere prevailing during the Emergency Period. Particularly important, though, were certain radical problems inherent in the organisation of agriculture on the island - features which have so far tended to frustrate the attempts at long-term development of this sector in Cyprus.

Chief among these obstacles is the extreme fragmentation of land-holdings. According to the 1946 Census, the average holding per farmer was a mere 19 acres. Moreover, 70 per cent of farm-holdings were below this average in size, while only about 3 per cent were of 60 acres or more. By the time of the 1960 Census, the average had fallen to 15 acres per holding. When one considers that the average number of pieces held per farmer at this time was 9.5[3], and that these would be widely scattered

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3 C.P.A. 1946, 1960.

throughout the territory surrounding his village, it is clear that the likelihood of improving the yield of the land and the productivity per man-hour is rather small.

Paradoxically enough, the reform of this situation might have been easier to carry out if Cyprus were still ensnared in a feudal system of land-ownership and tenancy. As it is, the bulk of the land is owned free-hold by the villagers, and its almost irretrievable fragmentation follows from the application of the inheritance laws, according to which property is to be divided equally among the owner's children. The only large landowner renting out property on the island is the autocephalous Greek Orthodox Church, which is estimated to control some 8 to 10 per cent of the farmland, having acquired it either by outright purchase of by bequest from the populace. However, tenure (which is sold by auction in the villages) is granted for only two years at a time, so there is little incentive for tenants to make improvements. In fact, the only effective post-war developments in agriculture have come from a very small number of large capitalist farmers, based on the towns. But since these have mechanised and rationalised production to an impressive degree, there is little they can offer the rural population in the way of direct benefit except for short periods of seasonal employment.

Faced with the traditional system of agriculture in the villages, the Colonial Administration chose not to transform it, but merely to support it so that it might become better integrated into the large-scale network of buying and selling. Rural cooperatives were introduced, with

marketing functions, and also as channels for investment and savings, for which purpose they operated in conjunction with the banks. In some respects these have been extremely successful, but in themselves they could not overcome the structural problems that have already been referred to. Moreover, they could do little on their own to combat the chronic degree of indebtedness to usurers that shackled villagers and their families in many parts of the island. Where crops were lost, they could provide seed for the next year, and between them and the social insurance agencies they could prevent the starvation in times of drought which in the previous decades and centuries had sent so many thousands of Cypriots fleeing desparately overseas. But this was merely patchwork on a system which was already rotten to the core, not least in the minds of most of those subject to it. Underemployment remained a basic problem, alleviated only spasmodically by Government works. In a villager's working day, much of his time is spent in moving from plot to plot. With the dry-land cereal cultivation that occupies so many of the island's farmers, there are long periods of idleness between ploughing and sowing in late autumn and the harvest which follows in early summer. Even allowing for alternative forms of employment, it has been estimated that as many as 30 per cent of the rural labour force are underemployed.

But perhaps the most critical difficulty of all, which the reform of all these organisational problems could not overcome, is that deriving from Cypriot dependence on a rainfall that is both unpredictable and almost unharnessable. Drought is endemic in Cyprus. Not only does it

effect the rural population directly, but in a country as a whole so dependent on primary production it effects wages, prices and almost everything else in consequence, so that there can be little solace for the villagers if they turn in other directions than that of the land. It is hardly surprising, therefore, that the two periods of most serious drought in post-war times coincide with the periods of most rapid increase in emigration from the island - the early 1950s, and the very end of the same decade.

In order to appreciate more clearly just how changes in agricultural conditions may affect the rate of emigration, it is necessary to look again at Figure 6.1, and at the same time to employ more detailed information as to the conditions prevailing in agriculture than a single production index can convey.[4] We must consider not merely agricultural production in general, but also the output of staple foodstuffs such as cereal, and as well as these we must take into account the level of prices and of subsidies.

The early post-war years were a period of considerable prosperity in Cyprus: there was no serious drought during this time, and although there was a partial failure of the wheat crop in 1948, this is not markedly (if at all) correlated with any movement in the rate of emigration to Britain. It so happens that the few years from 1948 onwards were the only part of the post-war period in which emigration to any other destination was

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4 Figures for conditions in specific years are drawn from the Government of Cyprus' Colonial Reports and Economic Reviews (both published annually).

relatively substantial in scale. The Australian Immigration statistics record a marked rise in immigration from Cyprus during the years 1948 and 1949,[5] and one would expect the increase to be spread over into the year after the crop failure on account of the making of plans for, and time spent in such long distance travel. In this immediately post-war instance, therefore, we can definitely note a correlation between agricultural conditions and emigration as a whole: though why this should have affected the movement to Australia rather than that to Britain is something which will be investigated in the following Chapter.

1949 was, according to the Colonial Report, an "exceptionally good" year from the point of view of the harvest. In 1950, however, floods followed by drought caused a poor harvest, and the continuation of drought into the following year caused an exceptionally bad harvest from agriculture - especially from cereal crops. Yet although we find the rate of emigration to Britain increasingly substantially during this period, it is still the movement to Australia which is most marked in its attendant fluctuations. After 1952, however, the Australian movement became increasingly insignificant against the flow of migrants to Britain, though it too registered a peak in the year 1955, the only year of the mid-1950s in which cereal was adversely affected.

At the end of the decade, the situation in agriculture became somewhat more complicated than earlier. In 1957 the harvest was good,

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5 See Table 7.4 for actual figures.

but prices for some products were lower, and the Government subsidised farmers for their losses on cereals and grapes. For reasons to be discussed later on, the long inflationary boom that had built up during the fifties was beginning to collapse, and the Government was attempting to cushion the farmers against the blow. In 1958, bad weather conditions produced a poor performance in most sections of agriculture (though significantly not in cereal production), and once again the Government stepped in to maintain receipts. Average weekly earnings in agriculture reached new peaks (almost twice the level of four years earlier) in spite of general stagnation in production. 1959, though, brought agreement on Independence, and with it uncertainty about the future and a substantial cut-back in employment on the part of the Administration. Many thousands of ex-employees returned to the land, but there they could find little to satisfy them. Although, agricultural production in general was fair, the output of cereals was much reduced: prices, too, fell back considerably, and both receipts and earnings were much reduced on previous years. In 1960, things continued from bad to worse, with the weather and harvest at its worst since the beginning of the decade. All of agriculture was was hard hit, but especially cereal production, and unlike most other products this did not pick up again until 1962. Bad weather conditions therefore coincided with a general period of economic depression to create a most serious situation for all those dependent on agriculture in Cyprus. Since from 1959 onwards this included many people previously employed in other sectors, it is not difficult to appreciate that the agricultural

situation was of considerable significance in relation to the increased outflow of emigrants that began in 1959 and reached a uniquely high level in the years 1960 and 1961.

In the most recent years agricultural production in Cyprus has improved substantially, though it is difficult to determine precisely what effect this has had on migration. It may be noted that the 1964 peak in the number of emigrants to Britain (a peak too in the series for all destinations) coincides neatly with the single set-back, which, incidentally, was particularly marked in cereal production. Although several other factors operative during this period have yet to be discussed, it can be said that here again the correlation between agricultural conditions and emigration appears to be significant.

Agriculture, it would appear then, has not been developed sufficiently in post-war Cyprus to provide secure and substantial opportunities for a rapidly increasing rural population. In spite of attempts at improvement, production has been hampered by short-run difficulties as well as a number of long-run obstacles. Insecurity is another problem, due to periodic drought and an uncertainty about price levels. Moreover, income levels among the rural population are remarkably low: £67 being the average per capita income in 1959 of persons directly dependent on agriculture, as opposed to £196 for the non-agricultural population. Even this degree of income would not have been so high were it not for the Administration's policy of subsidising wheat production on the island, thus enabling farmers to meet the competition of substantially cheaper imported grain.

Of course, on closer enquiry one finds much variation in the standard of living and extent of property-ownership among the rural population - from poor landless shepherds through to the successful entrepreneurs among village farmers. Even so, and in spite of such variations (which it is not possible to investigate here), what has been said of agriculture in general is broadly accurate for the vast majority of the rural population - which is, in turn, a clear majority of the population of the island as a whole. For making a satisfactory living, therefore, they must inevitably rely to some extent on taking jobs outside their villages and in the towns, and as an alternative (especially for the younger generation) on the possibility of uprooting themselves and emigrating overseas.

Economic Conditions: The Non-Agricultural Sector

We must now turn to consider the opportunities for employment and wage-earning outside the sector of agriculture. This is not simply a question of distinguishing urban from rural employment patterns. For a start, many villages on this small island are near enough to the military bases and to other employment opportunities for the villagers to travel to work each day. Job opportunities such as road or other communications work may come to the villagers from time to time. Quite commonly, too, villagers go out to work on a weekly basis, returning to their village homes at weekends. Those with stable jobs and good wages may bring their families into the towns and set up homes there, but many do not have such security and, though they are urban workers, they are not urban residents

properly speaking. Labour mobility is therefore remarkably fluid in Cyprus and it is far from easy to define the employment situation at any one time.

Nor is it easy to say just who is an agricultural worker and who is not. Asked in the 1960 Census to report any subsidiary occupations, over a quarter of male non-agricultural workers reported subsidiary occupation in agriculture; and from agriculture itself the equivalent proportion was not much lower.[6] Given the seasonal nature of much subsidiary work, these figures are likely to underestimate quite considerably the total proportion who at some time or other during the year become involved in work in the alternative sector.

What we seek in general here is some measure of the capacity of the remainder of the Cyprus economy to absorb that proportion of the population which could not be satisfactorily supported by agriculture. We may begin with an examination of the extent of unemployment in post-war times. The available statistics are by no means satisfactory, but since they constitute the best overall index that is available they are presented in Table 6.2 and will provide a basis for further discussion and an examination of more detailed evidence.

The series of statistics for registered unemployed have been represented graphically in Figure 6.2 so that their trend may be compared with that of annual Cypriot emigration to Britain. The correlation of the periods of maximum unemployment and emigration in post-war times is immediately obvious, but it is also noticeable that during the early and

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6 C.P.A. 1960

Table 6.2

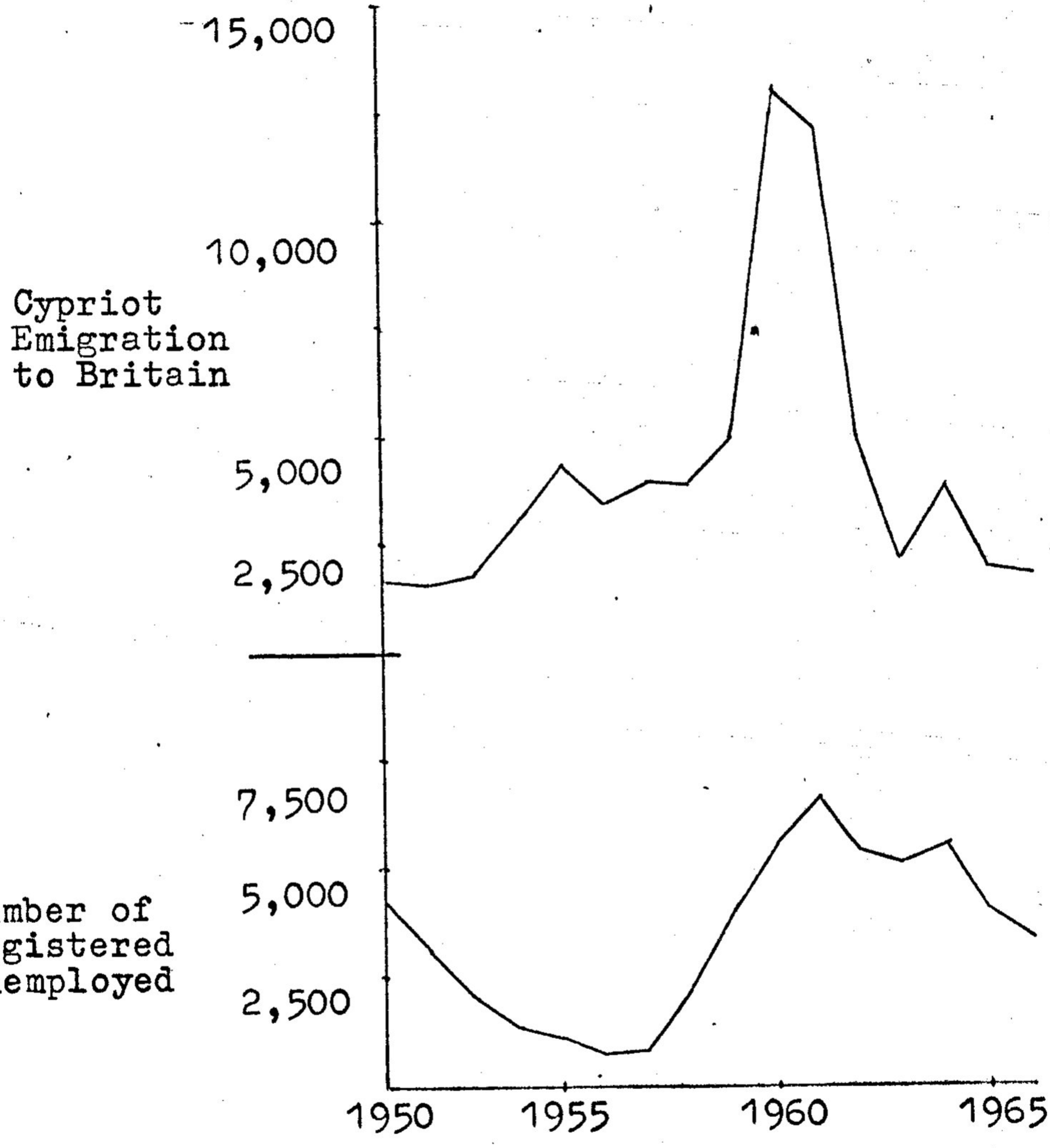
REGISTERED UNEMPLOYMENT IN CYPRUS 1951-66

	No. Registered Unemployed	% of potential working population
1951	4283	1.5
1952	3103	1.1
1953	1999	0.7
1954	1345	0.4
1955	1155	0.4
1956	829	0.3
1957	921	0.3
1958	2252	0.7
1959	4033	1.2
1960	5606	1.7
1961	6725	2.0
1962	5483	1.6
1963	5194	1.5
1964	5636	1.7
1965	4030	1.2
1966	3484	1.0

Sources: Republic of Cyprus, Economic Reviews and Statistical Abstracts.

Figure 6.2

EMIGRATION FROM CYPRUS AND UNEMPLOYMENT 1950-66



Sources: For Cypriot migration, see Chapter 1; for unemployment, see Table 6.2.

middle 1950s the two series show divergent trends. However, we must be extremely cautious in our interpretation of these data, especially the series which has been proposed to indicate the employment situation. As far as the emigration statistics are concerned, we must note what has been pointed out earlier: that if migration to the only other major post-war destination, Australia, were included, the graph would appear to rise rather more smoothly over the first post-war decade, and would thus lose the marked rise in the mid-fifties that contrasts so sharply with the trend in employment.

It must be said outright that the statistics for "registered unemployed" are not a satisfactory measure of the extent of unemployment in Cyprus. Registration for the unemployed is a voluntary matter, and for this reason the figures are likely to underestimate substantially the true level of unemployment in the economy. Moreover, in view of the prevalence of varying degrees of underemployment and the taking of subsidiary occupations, "unemployment" in Cyprus is a state which is far from easy to define. The registration statistics are therefore used here, not to indicate the absolute numbers of unemployed in Cyprus, but merely as an approximation to the trend in unemployment in the economy. Nonetheless, we must still attempt to establish what unemployment, and these unemployment statistics, mean in relation to the overall economic situation.

Non-agricultural employment is concentrated principally in craft and light manufacturing businesses, in building and construction, and in the

services sector. With much of the manufacturing being of food and drink products, with many services devoted to tourism and with construction to some extent subject to the weather, it is inevitable that much of this employment is seasonal in character. Moreover, non-agricultural employment is predominantly in small-scale enterprises. At the time of the 1954 Industrial Census, 26,000 workers were employed in manufacturing, with more than 11,000 enterprises in operation. Two-fifths were one-man establishments, and 93 per cent employed no more than four persons. Only nine establishments employed more than a hundred workers. In building and construction the picture was almost identical. Here again, two-fifths of the enterprises were of one-man only, while 82 per cent employed not more than four workers. The subsequent Census of industry carried out in 1962 found no significant change in the manufacturing sector; and in the construction industry the amount of casual labour was such that no meaningful data on the size of establishments could be collected.[7]

Clearly, Cyprus is still far from possessing an industrialised economy. With only the rare instance of large-scale mechanised factory production, the predominant characteristic of her non-agricultural sector is the small establishment - often a one-man enterprise, and if not, a small business employing family members or others with personal ties connecting them with their employers. When trade is bad, or the work

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7 Government of Cyprus, Census of Industry 1954; Republic of Cyprus, Census of Industrial Production 1962.

out of season, such small enterprises tend to keep going as best they can, or else lay off workers temporarily so that they can return to their homes or villages. Such workers retain a personal attachment to the enterprise, and expect to be re-employed by the manager as soon as the opportunity arises. To take a different job would be betrayal of the original employer, and anyway such vacancies are generally far fewer than the number of applicants seeking them. The villagers, lacking information and isolated from the urban registry offices, are for these reasons too, unlikely to appear in the counting, preferring to wait till the wage season returns or till work comes out to meet them in their villages - or at least reasonably nearby to their homes.

The official registers, therefore, will definitely underestimate the extent of unemployment among the population, to a degree varying according to the situation. They can be expected to reflect more accurately the position among permanent urban residents, who are committed to continuously paying their rents and maintaining their families, than to temporary urban residents and village residents who have other resources to fall back on. Moreover, they can be expected to reflect short-term fluctuations in the economy less than long-term ones, and to reflect conditions affecting small establishments (organised on a personal basis) less than those affecting the large employers of labour. A dismissal of employees by the latter may be expected to result in an immediate rise in registered unemployed: though, if such events were widespread and there was little demand for labour, a sense of hopelessness would set in and ex-employees

would seek alternative solutions. On the other hand, in times of expansion and a continued demand for labour, one would find the registry offices much more active than usual, with new workers seeking out new and better opportunities in the employment field. For such reasons, therefore, we must allow that the statistics for registered unemployed will underestimate the extent, though not the immediacy, of a major reduction in the demand for labour, and they will underestimate both the extent and the speed of an improvement in the labour situation.

In the light of this overview and interpretation of the employment situation during the post-war period as portrayed by the official statistics, we may now turn to look more closely at the conditions in the non-agricultural sector, charting their variation chronologically from the war-time onwards.[8]

From its status as economic back-water throughout the 1930s and earlier, the island of Cyprus was transformed during the war into a country of development and minor prosperity. Defence work after the fall of Crete brought wages for thousands of employees, the spending money of thousands of soldiers, and dramatic improvements in communications and public health. As Meyer has put it: "Some privation was felt by upper-income Cypriots as German torpedoes made luxury goods from abroad scarce, but to most Cypriots the war meant more jobs, much better income, and relief from the drab monotony of life in the island's villages."[9]

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8 Figures for conditions in specific years are drawn from the Government of Cyprus', Colonial Reports and Economic Reviews.

9 Meyer, op.cit., p.10.

For the early post-war years in Cyprus, no statistics for unemployment comparable to those already cited are available. The Colonial Reports confirm, though, what one would be inclined to expect in view of the general prosperity of Cyprus immediately after the war - that is, that employment was well-maintained in those years. In 1949, however, the Colonial Report recorded "the emergence of unemployment for the first time on any scale since the early days of the war", and cited figures to show that even in the peak harvest period there was still a substantial number out of work. It would seem that around the turn of the decade, with the poor performance of agriculture during these years, there was considerable unemployment in the non-agricultural sector of the economy. Prices and wages had moved up to high levels since the early years of the war, and a moderate recession now set in. It is not surprising, then, that in these years the rate of emigration to Britain began to move ahead, and the movement to Australia increased substantially.

Although this set-back gave something of a jolt to the sense of prosperity in Cyprus, it was merely a temporary phenomenon and far from a basic collapse. Prevention of the latter was ensured by Britain's reactions to a number of international events of the period - chiefly the Palestine settlement and the subsequent developments in the Arab world, culminating in the withdrawal from Suez in 1952. The strategic importance of the island was greatly enhanced, and investment in military bases on the island was steadily increased from the beginning of the decade. This development, and the drawing off of some 5,000 workers for civilian labour

in the Suez Canal Zone in late 1951, provided relief for many of the island's unemployed. The improvement in the labour situation is reflected in the official statistics, available from 1951 onwards, in the form of a steady decline in the number of registered unemployed. As is evident from Figure 6.2, registered unemployment remained relatively low for a number of years, during which Cyprus' general prosperity showed little sign of abating.

In spite of the outbreak of the struggle for Independence, the boom conditions in the Cypriot economy continued past the middle of the decade through into 1957. In that year a number of new factors came into play, and by 1958 their effects had become noticeable - not least in the rise in unemployment. Some of the details of the economic crisis which followed have already been given in the discussion of the agricultural sector. What were the causes of this crisis which, as we shall see, is closely correlated with changes in the rate of emigration, and how did it develop in and affect the non-agricultural sector of the economy?

The boom in the Cyprus economy which lasted from 1950 to 1957 was of unusual magnitude. The Gross national product increased on the average by 11.9 per cent per annum, as measured in terms of current prices, while the figure was still as high as 5.8 per cent when in terms of constant prices. Particularly important in this development was the extensive investment on the part of the Military Authorities, already mentioned, and also the very favourable trend in the prices obtainable for the island's export goods - especially citrus fruits and copper. Imports,

however, continued to run at an extremely high level, almost doubling in value between 1954 and 1957, at which time more than half the average Cyprus pound was being spent on imported goods. The cost of living had risen by 55 per cent over the seven-year period, though average weekly earnings in real terms were still up by 38 per cent on their equivalent 1950 level. Yet agricultural output failed to achieve any increase after 1953, and throughout the period manufacturing was losing ground to other sectors in its contribution to the national product. Investment did increase, drawing on savings and on greatly extended credit facilities provided by banks, but for the most part it was directed into unproductive forms of capital such as in building and construction, usually designed to meet the needs of military personnel and of tourists. This development, therefore, was not creating the conditions for its own continuance; on the contrary it was almost wholly dependent on external factors, uncontrollable by the Cypriot people themselves. Sooner or later the external supports were bound to fail. It so happened that in 1957 several of them began to weaken simultaneously, and although there was in no sense a sudden collapse, the adverse effects became increasingly felt in the subsequent years throughout the economy.

Apart from the Emergency, which considerably disrupted economic life on the island in general, as well as cutting out tourism in particular, there were two other changes of major significance: the fall in export prices, and reduction in investment on the part of the Military Authorities. The fall in the price of copper in 1957 was particularly serious for Cyprus

since about half of the island's export revenue is derived from this one source. Employment in this sector, however, is small both in relation to its financial importance and to other sectors, and so the change affected Cypriot workers in a diffuse rather than in any particular way. With the Military Authorities, by contrast, the impact was of both kinds: general, through a substantial cut in overall expenditure, and particular, through a direct laying-off of workers, beginning early in the following year. In order to appreciate the significance of the economic activity of the Military and Government at this time, it is necessary to take a closer look at the statistics for their expenditure. These are given in Table 6.3.

From this table of Military and Government expenditure from 1950 to 1960 it can be seen how the economic activity of the authorities was increased through most of the decade, especially in the years 1951 and 1952, and after the year 1955. Military expenditure in particular, became reduced by towards a quarter in 1957, by comparison with 1956, and Government Development Expenditure fell as well in the following year. Emergency expenditure, however, rose dramatically at the end of the decade, falling away to nothing immediately prior to Independence. As far as direct employment by the Authorities is concerned, the most significant figures are those for Military Authority expenditure. By 1957, much of the construction work, earlier accelerated, was reaching completion, and less workers were now required. With the political uncertainty, ordinary Government expenditure was reduced in some directions, and

Table 6.3

EXPENDITURE IN CYPRUS OF U.K. AUTHORITIES 1951-60

	Military Authority Expenditure (1950 = 100)	Government Development Expenditure (£1,000's)	Government Emergency Expenditure (£1,000's)
1951	110	653	..
1952	306	944	..
1953	315	619	..
1954	449	689	..
1955	702	939	..
1956	1,420	2,853	3,625
1957	1,112	3,600	8,352
1958	1,087	2,450	10,543
1959	1,046	1,677	9,612
1960	1,217	1,114	..

Source: Republic of Cyprus, Economic Review, 1960

employment here too fell slightly. Moreover, several thousand Greek Cypriot employees on the air bases and on NAAFI premises were dismissed for political reasons in late 1958. Exactly how much unemployment overall was created by the action of the Authorities in these years is uncertain, principally because the large amount of spending money passing into the economy, especially through the hands of military personnel, created or maintained many jobs that were not directly dependent on the Authorities. Meyer has estimated for 1957 that at least 8,000 Cypriots were employed in direct labour on the bases; while a further 8-10,000 were employed in work indirectly associated with the bases, especially in construction. Allowing for the multiplier effect of the funds thus loosed into the economy, he estimates that as many as 20,000 jobs were involved, accounting for almost two-fifths of the island's non-agricultural labour force. Clearly, the policy of the U.K. Authorities was of major importance as far as the employment situation on the island was concerned, and also in relation to the economy in general. The cut-back in employment did much to aggravate an already extremely unstable economic situation, and its impact was only temporarily delayed by the continued pumping of purchasing power into the economy through Emergency expenditures.

As will already be clear, it was the construction industry that showed the most remarkable expansion during the 1950s. Employment in this industry rose from 8,830 in 1950 to around 16,500 in 1954, and during the period 1956-8 was estimated to be in excess of 20,000. The following year it was estimated to have fallen back to around 16,000. The pattern

of this growth was one of a mushrooming of small-scale enterprises: in 1954, as has already been pointed out, 84 per cent of workers were in establishments employing four or less persons. In the heyday of the 'boom' wages were extremely good, with average weekly earnings in real terms rising by over a third between 1954 and 1957. Not that earnings fell very markedly after that year: rather, it seems that given the highly fragmented organisation of the industry a certain proportion of workers simply dropped out, and either returned to agriculture or emigrated. With so much employment in the non-agricultural sector in Cyprus being engaged in small-scale independent enterprises, there is a certain fluidity in the reaction of labour to an economic recession.

The ease with which labour will adapt to such changes in the employment situation, however, depends on the availability of alternative opportunities. With Government employment being reduced, the mining industry under pressure, manufacturing showing only limited expansion, and tourism at a standstill, there was little, if anything, on offer in the non-agricultural sector. Moreover, many of the workers with urban jobs had supposed them secure and had therefore to a considerable extent severed their ties with their villages. This was particularly true of young men who had left their villages in their teens, and who in adulthood had known only the life in the towns. Such persons often found the prospect of return to village life too tedious and alien to be acceptable. Furthermore, they had become accustomed to a standard of living far above anything that could possibly be achieved in village agriculture.

Furthermore, even to those who had remained in the villages, the prospects were poor. Prices for some agricultural products were lower from 1957, and in 1958 poor weather conditions were only compensated for by continued Government subsidisation. In 1959 the situation of most farmers worsened, with falling prices and cereal production down by towards a quarter. Finally, 1960 brought the worst weather conditions since the beginning of the decade, and a disastrous year for agriculture in almost every respect. Clearly for those who wished to find secure jobs and to maintain their previous standard of living, agriculture at this time could provide neither sound hopes norillusions. Many in fact did return to agriculture in 1958 and 1959, but in view of the events in the economy as a whole, it is hardly surprising that emigration to Britain began to rise rapidly from its already substantial level towards the end of 1959 and in 1960.

The inadequacy of the statistics for registered unemployment, as a measure to be correlated with emigration, will by now be fully apparent. As was pointed out earlier, the <u>trend</u> they reveal is broadly accurate for this period, but the <u>extent</u> of unemployment is not. According to the official figures for mid-1960, unemployment stood in the region of 6,000. However, informed Trade Union estimates place the level of unemployment at that time in the region of 15,000 - more than twice as high. This figure represents a substantial minority of the non-agricultural male working population. Given the lack of opportunities in Cyprus, and the openings available in Britain, the number of emigrants who left at this

time seems relatively modest.

A considerable economic recovery and expansion has followed since Independence in 1960. Planned development, with financial support from Britain under a five-year agreement, indirect aid through the maintenance of the Base Areas, and with technical assistance from various sources, has given rise to considerable economic success in the early years of nationhood. Prices have remained stable, while real wages have continued to rise. Agriculture, after only a partial recovery in 1961, has shown a substantial improvement in productivity. The construction industry has maintained high levels of activity, though without the dramatic increase of the previous decade. The figures for registered unemployed have decreased considerably, but they substantially underestimate the extent of the improvement in the labour situation - from the very high levels of unemployment in 1960 and 1961, to subsequent years in which the apparently maintained levels reflect in part merely the raised hopes and aspirations of the workers of Independent Cyprus, and their seeking out of further opportunities.

The sudden drop in emigration to Britain in 1962 can be explained to some extent by relating it to this improvement in the economic situation in the early 1960s. However, on this point, we must also examine the economic situation in Britain at that time, and the effect of the 1962 Commonwealth Immigrants Act. This matter will be discussed in the following Chapter. The year 1964, though, illustrates again the sensitivity of emigration from Cyprus to the externally stimulated

fluctuations in the Cyprus economy. The outbreak of civil strife at the end of 1963 brought disruption in some sectors and a lack of confidence: the construction sector in 1964 showed a contraction of output of 35 per cent on the previous year, though it picked up again in 1965 with a 32 per cent rise. For agriculture, too, 1964 was a poor year, with cereal production especially reduced. Unemployment rose, and so did emigration - back to the substantial levels of departure during the later 1950s. Improvements continued, however, in 1965, the employment situation being helped by the enrolment of a large number of young people in the Cypriot National Guard.

Economic Factors: Conclusion

In spite of these improvements in performance during the early years of Independence, the future is by no means optimistic. The basic structural problems remain. Primary production, anyway so dependent for its fortunes on the vagaries of the weather and of the international market, is still largely organised on a peasant basis, and in this respect presents major obstacles to modernisation and development. Manufacturing continues to operate mainly on a small-scale craft basis, lacking capital for investment, unable to compete with imported goods, and almost exclusively consumption-oriented anyway. The mines, a major source of income, are coming near to exhausting the known mineral resources of the island. Tourism was long at a standstill on account of the political situation. Capital investment remains directed primarily into unproductive building and construction, while a high proportion of consumption expenditure is

lost on goods imported from abroad. The persistent high level of spending in the economy is due to the continued, though diminishing, presence of the British Military, to the United Nations peace-keeping force, and to the substantial numbers of regular Greek and Turkish soldiers unofficially stationed on the island. Moreover, the Military Authorities still, at the end of 1966, provided employment for some 7,000 Cypriots on the British Bases.[10] The departure of all these alien elements on the island will induce a considerable deflation in the economy, other things being equal, and will give rise to much unemployment or underemployment. Once again there will be more and more people finding that emigration is the only solution.

The conclusion of this examination of the influence of economic factors upon emigration is not simply that, on account of its under-developed nature, the Cyprus economy has been unable to absorb a quickly growing and youthful population. For the fact is, that given the powers and resources at the disposal of the Colonial Administration, much could probably have been done in the post-war period to initiate more radical changes in the economy than were actually achieved. As it happened, Britain's political interests were the main determinants of colonial economic policy, and the long-run economic interests of the Cypriot people were largely eclipsed. Although a valuable 'infrastructure' was established, industry and agriculture did not in themselves develop, but were merely improved as a mode of peasant and craft production. Obviously, it suited Britain's interests to keep Cyprus backward in these respects.

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[10] The Times, 25 February 1967.

Nationalist feeling was deep-rooted, but the peasantry was dispersed, and organised labour, though active, was still on a modest scale in the early post-war years. Yet no one had allowed for Grivas and his guerilla tactics in pursuit of Britain's departure. Thus throughout the 1950s, for reasons of both internal and external strategy, Britain pumped in spending money and created more jobs, giving rise to a precarious affluence among Cypriots. When the boom burst, after 1957, there were no alternative opportunities available; some had the option of returning to peasant poverty, but for many, emigration was the only solution. Thus throughout the post-war period of mounting emigration, the search for causes takes us back by various routes to the British Colonial Authorities, whose post-war policies in Cyprus established standards and raised aspirations among the Cypriots, only later to remove the foundations beneath them without having created anything solid by means of economic development as a replacement. In such circumstances one can hardly blame Cypriots for claiming their right to come to Britain itself in order to gain the security and prosperity that had eluded them.

CHAPTER 7

THE INFLUENCE OF CONDITIONS IN BRITAIN

Economic Conditions in Britain

As has already been pointed out, Cypriot immigrants to Britain are for the most part economically motivated, seeking better jobs and a higher standard of living. In considering the influence of economic conditions in Britain upon the migration, we begin by examining the employment situation in Britain during the post-war period.

But what kinds of employment in Britain do Cypriot migrants seek on arrival? The first point to note is that Cypriot migration is such that most migrants come to pre-arranged jobs within the Cypriot community, jobs which have been fixed up with or by close relatives as part of their general role in managing the migrant's journey and settlement. It has already been argued that, while the "affidavit system" and the Commonwealth Immigrants Act have been in operation, few indeed would have come independently.[1] However, in the intervening period of the later 1950s and the beginning of the 1960s, no such controls were effectively operating, and some migrants were arriving with few or no arrangements having been made in advance. Even so, it can be said with confidence that for the most part Cypriot immigrants take up employment within their community, or else in work outside the community in which Cypriots have traditionally been employed.

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1 See Chapter 3.

The industries in which Cypriot immigrants thus seek and find employment in Britain are those of principally, catering, and to a lesser extent a variety of craft manufacturing or retail businesses, particularly some sections of the clothing industry.[2] A certain amount of general information concerning the economic conditions prevailing in these industries (or rather, sectors of industries) in the post-war period is available, but there are no precise statistical indicators for the employment situation in them from year to year. Since they are largely consumption-oriented, and have been subject to no extraordinary influences of magnitude during this period, it is appropriate to use indicators for the economy as a whole instead. New jobs may be created either by expansion or by previous employees departing, and both these eventualities will be largely influenced by the general economic climate at the time - expansion by future business prospects and the availability of credit, and labour loss by the existing demand for labour elsewhere and by opportunities for employees to leave to start up in business on their own. It seems reasonable therefore to employ the overall index of employment here, even though the opportunities to be measured lie within a very narrow range of jobs relative to the economy as a whole.

In Figure 7.1, based on Table 7.1, the trend in Cypriot migration to Britain is compared with the percentage of persons registered as unemployed in Britain for the whole of the post-war period. Given the tendency

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2 See Chapter 12.

Table 7.1

REGISTERED UNEMPLOYMENT IN BRITAIN AND CYPRIOT MIGRATION 1945-66

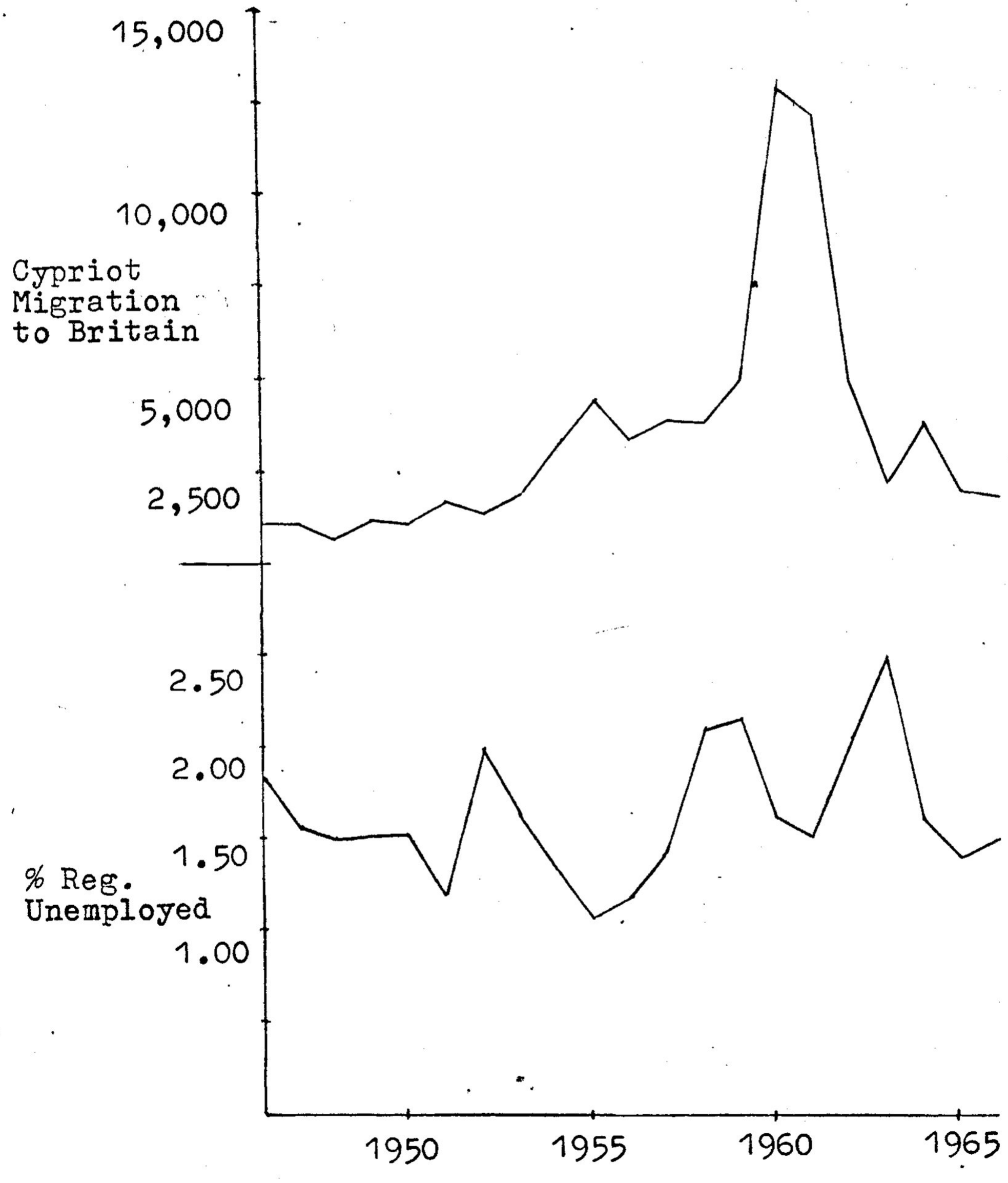
	No. Cypriot Migrants	% Reg. Unemployed		No. Cypriot Migrants	% Reg. Unemployed
1945	743	..	1956	3,448	1.2
1946	1,100	1.8	1957	3,944	1.4
1947	1,139	1.6	1958	3,896	2.1
1948	753	1.5	1959	5,033	2.2
1949	1,259	1.5	1960	12,936	1.6
1950	1,145	1.5	1961	12,131	1.5
1951	1,669	1.2	1962	4,952	2.0
1952	1,413	2.0	1963	2,168	2.5
1953	1,850	1.6	1964	3,784	1.6
1954	3,100	1.3	1965	1,977	1.4
1955	4,446	1.1	1966	1,861	1.5

Note: Number registered as unemployed expressed as a percentage of the estimated total number of employees.

Sources: for migration, see Chapter 1; for unemployment, Monthly Digest of Statistics, and Dow & Dicks-Mireaux, "The Excess Demand for Labour: A Study of Conditions in Britain 1946-56", Oxford Economic Papers, Vol.10, No.3.

Figure 7.1

CYPRIOT MIGRATION AND UNEMPLOYMENT IN BRITAIN 1946-66



Source: See Table 7.1

throughout the period for a steady rise in Cypriot migration, there is here a correlation immediately apparent between troughs of unemployment and peaks of migration, and also the reverse. Once again, though, we must beware of reading too much into such comparisons without discussing the meaning of such statistical indicators further. We must be cautious, for instance, in interpreting the immediately post-war experience of emigration from Cyprus without including some discussion of the simultaneous movement to Australia: the relation between the two movements will be discussed in the following section.

The post-war period in Britain had of course begun with Government policy being influenced by many of the proposals set out in the Beveridge Report. Among these was the proposal that unemployment should be kept below an upper limit of 3 per cent - involving a major change from the conditions of pre-war years, when around 10 per cent was the lowest annual average on record. As it happened, the virtual elimination of unemployment was not that difficult in the immediately post-war years, chiefly on account of the reconstruction programme which remained in operation until the end of the decade. Unemployment averaged only 1½ per cent during these years. Along with full employment, however, there came also rationing and other controls, so that for the potential immigrant the prospect of available jobs was to some extent offset by the limitations of other economic freedoms. Most of all immigrants settling in Britain in the second half of the 1940s were not voluntary migrants, but political refugees entering in accordance with Government schemes.

By the end of the decade some relaxation of domestic controls had begun, and the Conservative government which took office in 1951 was committed to extensive liberalisation in the consumer sector. The boom conditions generated by the Korean war helped to maintain the impetus of the home economy, and it is in association with a further decline in the level of Cypriot migration to Britain. The increase in the number of migrants was checked, however, at the same time as there occurred the slump which followed the end of the Korean war, but as boom conditions returned to the domestic economy in 1954 and 1955, the rate of migration again increased to reach a peak in the latter year. In this way, the economic cycle, as indicated by the statistics for the level of unemployment, set the pattern for the trend of the increase in migration from Cyprus to Britain. The close correlation between the demand for labour in Britain and the rate of increase in Cypriot migration was continued through the latter half of the decade as well. The rate of migration was steady during the relatively depressed period around 1957-8, but then increased dramatically at the end of the decade as the economy picked up and returned once more to boom conditions. Thus from the end of the post-war reconstruction period up to 1962, the year of the implementation of the Commonwealth Immigrants Act, there appears a close correspondence between the stop-go cycle of the British economy and the trend in Cypriot migration. This suggests that economic conditions in Britain have had considerable influence on the pattern of Cypriot migration during the post-war period. As we have already seen in the previous

Chapter, however, there have been other important factors as well, and the relative weight of each has yet to be assessed.

One interesting feature of the post-war pattern of Cypriot migration up to 1962 is the fact that in no year was the number of migrants ever greatly less than the previous year. Thus in spite of temporary recessions in the British economy, and rising unemployment, Cypriots seem to have been able to continue obtaining (and maintaining) employment in substantial numbers. This is confirmed by the annual reports of the London Office of the Government of Cyprus during the 1950's.[3] According to the London Office, which had special responsibilities for the welfare of Cypriots in London and so was particularly concerned with the question of employment, there was little or no unemployment among the Cypriot community in these years. This is to be explained largely by the capacity of the growing internal economy of the Cypriot community in Britain to absorb new migrants at a substantial rate - principally in catering and in other small craft and service businesses. From the middle of the decade, according to the same reports, Cypriots were also beginning to find employment in factories and in the nationalised services (Post Office, British Railways, London Transport). By the time of the 1961 Census, Cypriots could be found in almost every type of job in light industry or services, although the majority remained in those occupations which had been traditionally taken up by Cypriots in Britain.[4] However, the fact that Cypriots were evidently

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[3] Government of Cyprus, London Office, Reports (to 1958)

[4] See Chapter 12 for details

prepared to take on new kinds of jobs outside their own community enabled many more to emigrate to Britain than would otherwise have been possible.

The Effect of the Commonwealth Immigrants Act

The long-run upward trend in Cypriot migration came to an abrupt end in 1962, the year in which the British Government first imposed controls on immigration from Commonwealth countries. The year after also brought a further fall in the number of Cypriot migrants - again the number being more than halved. Faced with this dramatic drop in numbers, it would be easy to conclude that the cause of the decline was the imposition of controls, and that this alone was responsible for the change. However, a closer look at the migration statistics, month by month, and a test of other possibly significant factors, reveals that the mechanism of change is rather more complicated than the seemingly obvious conclusion suggests.

One may begin by looking beyond the annual figures for migration, with their steep decline from 1961 to 1963, to the quarterly figures for this period. From Figure 7.2, based on Table 7.2, it becomes immediately clear that there is not the almost complete cut-back in the flow of migration from its peak levels that one would expect to see if the controls of July 1962 were the one and only agency of change. Already by the end of the previous year it appears that the level of migration was reduced by comparison with the equivalent quarters in 1961. Moreover, the decline seems to have been accelerated in the first quarter of 1962. Only the figure for the second quarter of that year, the last before the implementation of the Act, does not accord with the usual quarterly trend

Table 7.2

QUARTERLY EMIGRATION FROM CYPRUS 1958-63

(a) Actual Numbers

	Quarters			
	First	Second	Third	Fourth
1958	852	1,085	1,384	1,952
1959	952	717	1,919	2,662
1960	2,168	2,277	5,509	4,635
1961	3,163	2,537	5,049	2,740
1962	1,541	2,846	654	1,136
1963	518	584	907	924

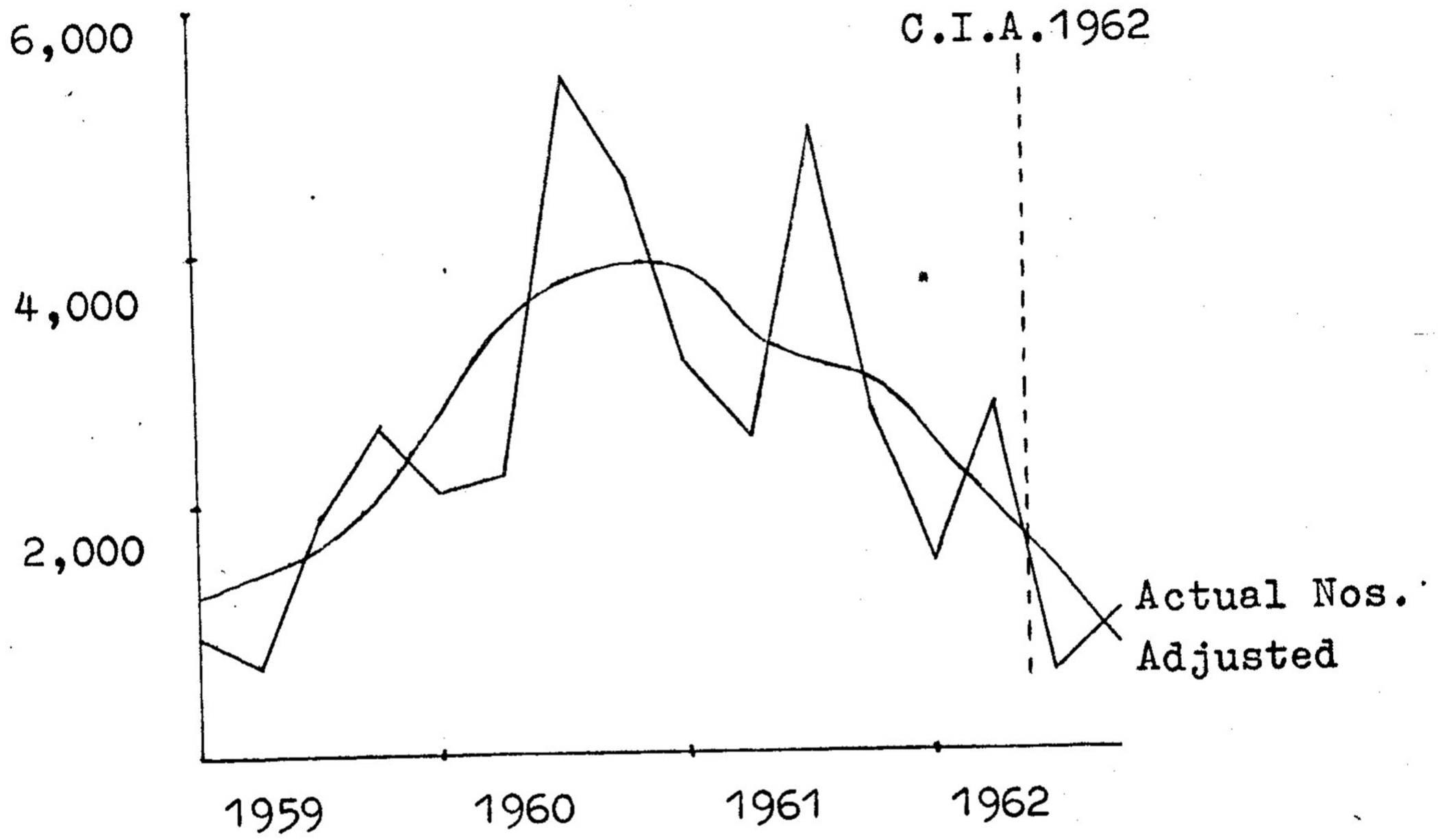
(b) Seasonally Adjusted ('moving average')

	Quarters			
	First	Second	Third	Fourth
1959	1,318	1,474	1,715	2,062
1960	2,705	3,401	3,772	3,929
1961	3,904	3,609	3,170	3,005
1962	2,495	1,995	1,416	1,031

Source: V.&M.S./D.R.

Figure 7.2

QUARTERLY EMIGRATION FROM CYPRUS 1959-62



Source: See Table 7.2

and general decline in the rate of migration.

This trend becomes more apparent if one eliminates the quarterly variations in the migration figures by taking a 'moving average' of the quarterly rate for the year centering on each successive quarter. Such figures, also presented in Table 7.2 and represented graphically in Figure 7.2, indicate that the peak of the migration had been reached at the end of 1960, and that the decline had already begun at the beginning of 1961. Obviously enough, it cannot be the 1962 controls which are the reason for this. We must therefore turn to see whether economic conditions in Britain had any bearing on the trend in Cypriot migration.

Once again using the level of registered unemployment as an indicator of economic conditions and the demand for labour in Britain, it can be seen from Figure 7.3 that there is a close correlation between quarterly emigration and economic conditions in the country of destination. The trend in migration appears to lag slightly behind that in unemployment, though not by as much as a full quarter. This is as one would expect if economic conditions in the receiving country were a factor in the situation, since the communication of these conditions to prospective migrants takes time - as does the preparation for departure and the journey itself. Hence it would seem that the rise and fall in the rate of migration during the period 1959 to 1962 is as closely adjusted to the changes in economic conditions as could be expected. Moreover, it was established in the previous Chapter that economic conditions in Cyprus were also such as to promote a rising and falling in emigration in a

Table 7.3

QUARTERLY UNEMPLOYMENT IN BRITAIN 1959-63

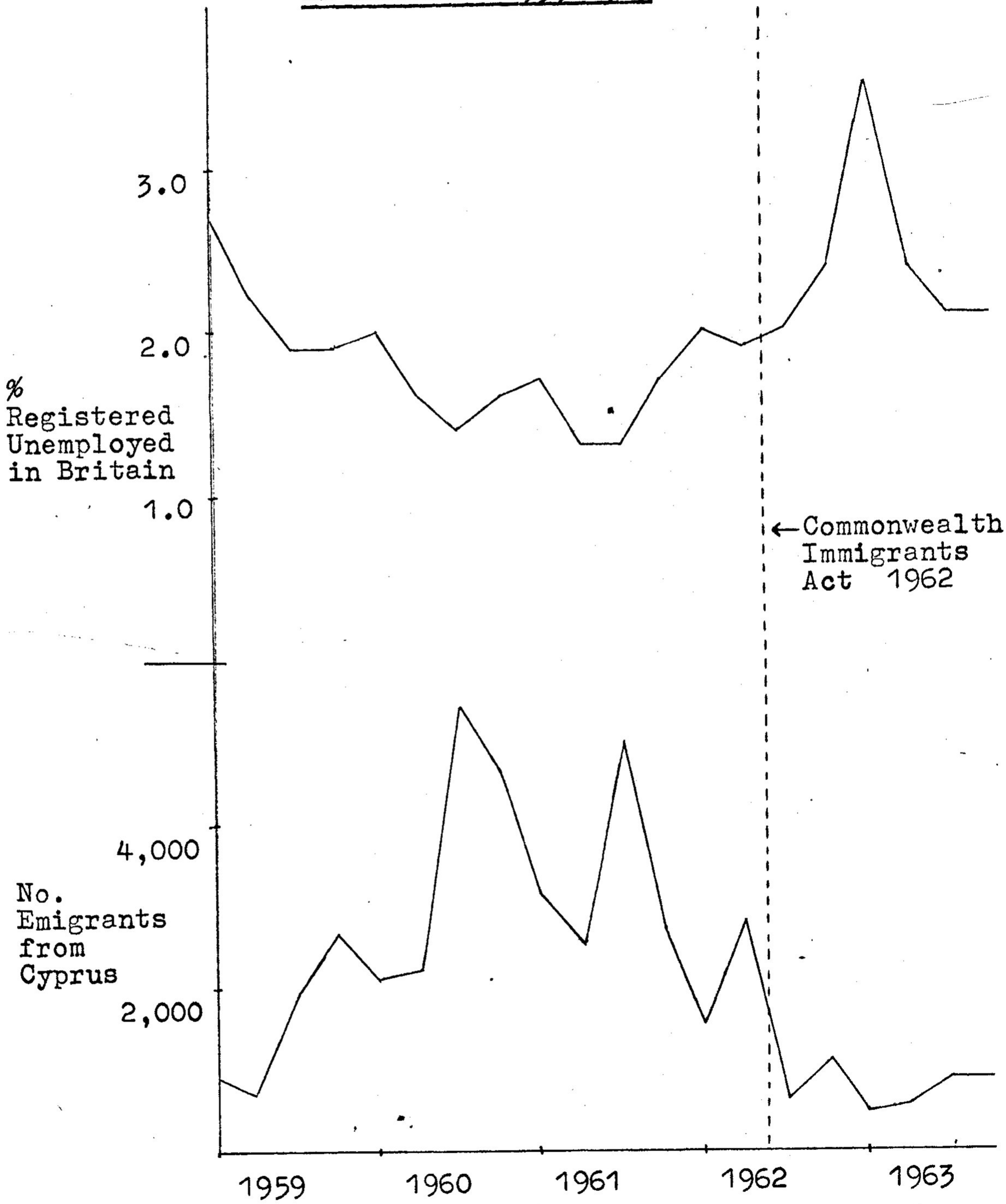
	% Registered Unemployed by Quarter			
	First	Second	Third	Fourth
1959	2.7	2.2	1.9	1.9
1960	2.0	1.6	1.4	1.6
1961	1.7	1.3	1.3	1.7
1962	2.0	1.9	2.0	2.4
1963	3.5	2.4	2.1	2.1

Note: Number registered as unemployed expressed as a percentage of the estimated total number of employees.

Source: Monthly Digest of Statistics.

Figure 7.3

EMIGRATION FROM CYPRUS AND QUARTERLY UNEMPLOYMENT IN BRITAIN 1959-1963



Sources: Tables 7.2, 7.3.

similar way during this period, so much so that the labour situations in the two countries were almost perfect complements. In this picture the immigration controls imposed in 1962 play only a minimal part, for the general trend in Cypriot migration to Britain appears to have been determined principally by economic factors alone.[5] Cypriot migration had already been reduced substantially by the time that the impact of legislation could be felt, and this leads one to suppose that migration would anyway have remained at a low level through 1962 and 1963 at least. Moreover, the low levels that did obtain during this period were probably only to a minor extent caused by the imposition of controls, since as has been shown in Chapter 3, the system of employment voucher allocation operated so as to produce little hindrance for prospective Cypriot migrants until 1965. Thus it is not surprising to find that until that year, variation in the rate of Cypriot migration continued to be correlated closely with changes in the employment situation in Britain and Cyprus. Hence it seems that the imposition of entry controls in Britain in 1962, in the form of the Commonwealth Immigrants Act, was unnecessary so far as the reduction in numbers of Cypriot immigration was concerned, since changed economic conditions in Britain would have achieved this effect anyway, and had already done so to a substantial extent by the time the Act was introduced.

Moreover, there is little evidence that the prospect of controls on

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5 cf. Peach C., West Indian Migration to Britain, O.U.P. 1968, Ch.5.

migration, in advance of their imposition, had any important effect on the flow of Cypriot migrants to Britain. To the extent that this did impel Cypriots to rush to 'beat the ban', it would only add emphasis to the preceding conclusion, that in the short run at least the controls were inapposite. But by contrast with immigration to Britain from India and Pakistan, no such rush on the part of Cypriots appears to have taken place, migration declining over the year and half prior to the implementation of the Act.

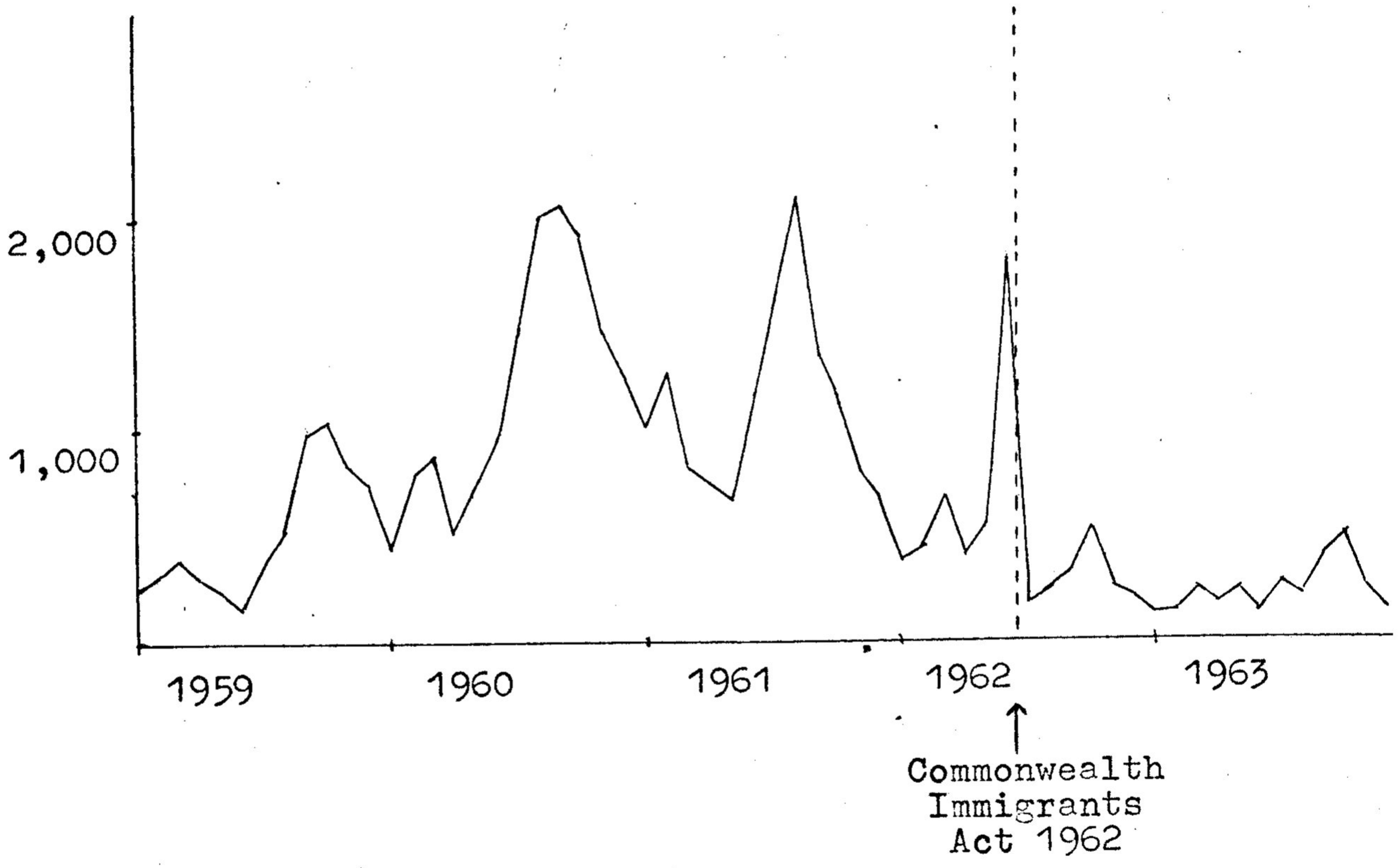
The only such increase on the part of Cypriots occurred in the final month of June, as may be seen from Figure 7.4. In this month the number of migrants rose dramatically to over 1800, as compared with an average in the region of 500 for the previous months of 1962. Even then the rush seems to have been largely confined to the last few days before the Act came into operation. Little more than a week before the appointed date the Nicosia Passport Office was reporting that there was no increase in applications for travel to Britain.[6] However, just three days before the deadline it was reported from Nicosia that "unusually heavy air-bookings this week indicate a last-minute rush by Cypriot emigrants to Britain before the enforcement at the weekend of the Commonwealth Immigrants Act. Hitherto there has been no abnormal movement, but two aircraft which left Nicosia on Monday carried a total of 170 Cypriots and a further 64 left yesterday. The demand for air passages has suddenly become so heavy that

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6 The Times, 22 June 1962

Figure 7.4

MONTHLY EMIGRATION FROM CYPRUS 1959-63



Source: V.&M.S./D.R.

extra services are being arranged by one carrier. Total departures this week appear likely to exceed the total for the whole month of April."[7] Thus it was only this almost literally 'last-minute' rush of emigrants aiming to beat the Act that altered a picture that otherwise shows variation in the rate of Cypriot migration to be closely correlated with changes in economic conditions in Britain.

Only in the final two years of our period, 1965 and 1966, does the correlation of migration with economic conditions cease to hold (see again Figure 7.1). Although the improvement in the labour situation in 1964 continued in the following year, the rise in Cypriot migration to Britain of 1964 was not likewise maintained. As we have already seen, however, it was in 1965 that further restrictions on immigration to Britain under the Commonwealth Immigrants Act began to have a marked effect on Cypriot prospects for entry, due to limitations on the issue of Category A employment vouchers. Government regulation, it seems, overrode the market mechanism at this point, and for the first time during the post-war period Cypriot migration failed to respond to the change in economic circumstances in Britain. Until 1965, however, Cypriot migration had shown a very marked sensitivity to economic conditions in Britain, as indicated by the unemployment rate.

Britain and Alternative Destinations

In the first Chapter of this study it was shown that of all Cypriot

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7 The Times, 29 June 1962.

emigrants from Cyprus, the vast majority were destined for settlement in Britain. Nonetheless, between 1957 and 1966, some 15 per cent of all Cypriot emigrants travelled to other destinations, many of these to Australia, and others to a wide variety of destinations throughout the world. At some points during the post-war period, moreover, the scale of movement to other countries has rivalled that to Britain, though at other times it has been relatively extremely small. Why has it been that the vast majority of Cypriot emigrants chose Britain as their country of future settlement, and why has the proportion varied from time to time?

In answering the first part of this question, it is not enough to point merely to the existence of Cypriot settlement in London in pre-war times, and then invoke the 'snowball effect' of chain migration, supposing that this sufficiently explains the pattern of growth of Cypriot settlement in Britain. It is certainly true that the prior existence of a small but established community in London provided both opportunities and attractions for the prospective emigrant, just as family and patronage ties provided opportunities and security at the individual level. But in other countries too there were already Cypriot settlements of a similar kind, and in some cases also the door was open to any who wished to come. Moreover, up to 1952, there were nearly as many migrants travelling to Australia as to Britain, and throughout the post-war period there has been variation in the proportion of emigrant Cypriots who have chosen Britain as their destination. It therefore follows that there are a number of questions which have yet to be asked in consequence of the statistical

analysis of emigrant destinations that was carried out earlier in Chapter 1.

The only country apart from Britain to which emigrants from Cyprus have travelled in substantial numbers during the post-war period has been Australia. According to the Australian migration statistics, more than 11,000 Cypriots arrived in Australia as permanent or long-term migrants between 1946 and 1966.[8] Although during this period the rate of migration to Australia has fluctuated considerably, it was only during the period up to 1952 that it attained similar proportions to the equivalent rate for Britain (see Table 7.4). Indeed, given the relative speed of the increase in the movement to Australia between 1947 and 1951, one might have supposed at the time that it would be Australia rather than Britain that would become the principal destination for Cypriots emigrating overseas. However, this was not to happen, for after a slight decline in 1952, the annual number of emigrants to Australia fell sharply, and has remained subsequently only a minor proportion of the number travelling annually to Britain.

Why was it so that after 1952 emigrants from Cyprus chose to travel increasingly to Britain rather than to Australia? There was no imposition of restrictions by Australia on the number of entrants from Cyprus at that time, as had occurred in the case of the United States of America during the 1920's. The reasons it would appear were primarily economic ones.

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8 Commonwealth of Australia, Bureau of Census and Statistics, Demography (Annual Bulletins)

Table 7.4

CYPRIOT MIGRATION TO BRITAIN & AUSTRALIA 1945-57

	Britain	Australia		Britain	Australia
1945	743	..	1951	1669	1636
1946	1100	30	1952	1413	1320
1947	1139	188	1953	1850	165
1948	753	507	1954	3100	522
1949	1259	888	1955	4446	930
1950	1145	719	1956	3448	743
			1957	3944	265

Sources: for emigration to Britain, see Chapter 1; for immigration to Australia, Commonwealth of Australia, Bureau of Census and and Statistics, Demography (Annual Bulletins)

On the one hand, in Britain, 1953 was the beginning of a period of boom conditions in the economy, with unemployment low and with a persistent excess demand for labour which reached its maximum in 1955. On the other hand, in Australia, where unemployment had barely existed up to and including 1951, the following two years saw a marked rise in the level of unemployment, largely on account of the slump in the world markets for primary products which followed the Korean War. As may be seen from Figure 7.5, the correlation between unemployment and Cypriot immigration for Australia has been remarkably close, with the trend in migration continuously lagging very slightly behind that in unemployment. This suggests, once again, that Cypriots as migrants have been highly sensitive to economic conditions prevailing in the country in which they intend to settle, and that the principal factor influencing the switch in direction from Australia to Britain was the condition of the labour market at the receiving end. Although the response to the improvement in conditions in Australia led to a renewed flow of emigrants with a peak in 1955, the impetus had apparently been lost, and at least until the mid-1960's Australia has played only a minimal role in relation to Britain in receiving the island's emigrants.

Of the destinations other than Australia, there are several that might have been expected to attract the emigrants from Cyprus. The United States of America had received Cypriot emigrants from early times onward, but the number travelling in post-war times continued to be limited by the

Table 7.5

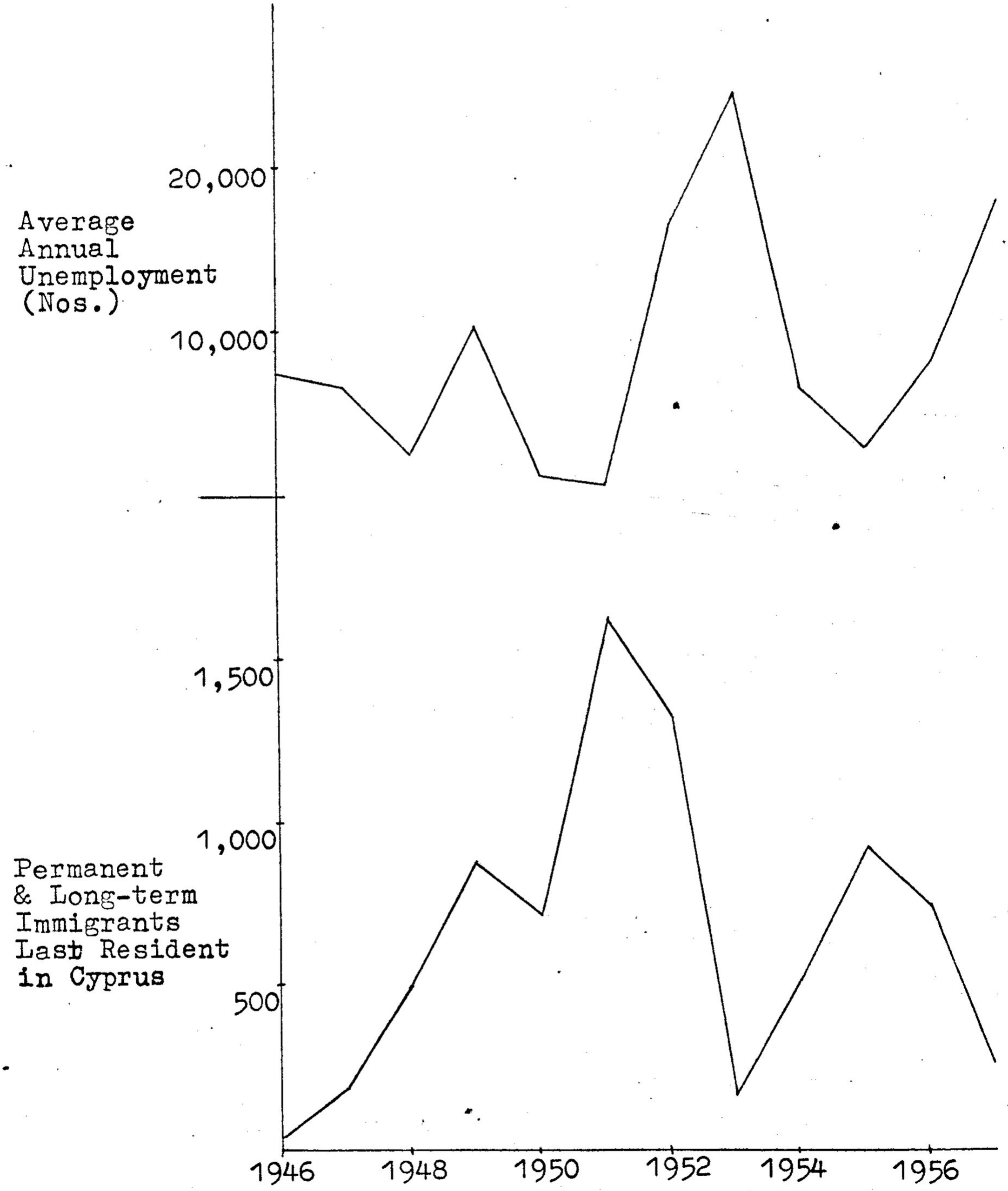
UNEMPLOYMENT IN AUSTRALIA 1946-57

Year	No. Unemployed	Year	No. Unemployed
1946	7,602	1952	16,601
1947	6,684	1953	24,268
1948	2,629	1954	6,524
1949	10,332	1955	2,861
1950	1,224	1956	8,054
1951	791	1957	17,775

Source: International Labour Organization, Yearbook of Statistics (Social Security Benefit Figures)

Figure 7.5

CYPRIOT IMMIGRATION AND UNEMPLOYMENT IN AUSTRALIA 1946-57



Sources: see Tables 7.4, 7.5.

'quota system'.[9] Thus only a slow and even growth in Cypriot settlement in the United States was possible. The two other traditional 'white settler' countries, Canada and South Africa, have also been in receipt of immigrants from Cyprus, but only in the 1960s has the number of Cypriots migrating annually to each country entered the hundreds. Through most of the post-war period, therefore, Cypriot settlement in Canada and South Africa remained in the pioneer stage, and there existed no basis on which large-scale voluntary settlement could develop.

Rather closer to home was the traditional destination of Cypriots during the 19th and early 20th centuries - northern Egypt. Here was a thriving network of Cypriot and Greek communities, which were both cosmopolitan and readily accessible.[10] Politics, however, have ruled out Egypt as a country of settlement since the early 1950s, since Cypriots, as British subjects, were subject to the anti-British hostility that prevailed at that time. Cypriots have departed from, rather than emigrated to, Egypt during the post-war period, and few remained after the reprisals following the Suez invasion in 1956.

Greece and Turkey, it might be thought, would be the obvious countries to which Cypriots would emigrate, particularly during the second post-war decade when ethnic identity has been so emphasised among the minorities on

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9 See Chapter 1.

10 See particularly Politis A.G. L'Hellenisme et L'Egypte Moderne, 2 vols, Paris, 1928-30, esp. Vol. I, ch.6.

the island. The emigration statistics show, however, that the numbers intending to settle in both these countries have been extremely small (0.5 per cent and 0.3 per cent of all emigrants between 1957 and 1966 travelling to Greece and Turkey respectively). In spite of the ethnic affinity, both 'mother countries' impose firm restrictions on the immigration of Cypriots since the latter are British subjects, and therefore of alien nationality in the eyes of the state. They are subject to the same restrictions on permanent settlement as any other persons who are not Greek or Turkish nationals respectively. Moreover, neither Greeks nor Turks on the island have any great wish to settle in their 'mother country'. Cyprus is their homeland, and if they wish to be among others of their own culture and religion, they prefer to be among Cypriot Greeks or Cypriot Turks, as the case may be, rather than among any other variety of their group. Also, when they emigrate, they are seeking primarily better jobs and a higher standard of living. None of these would it be easy for them to obtain in Greece or Turkey, even if they were permitted entry.

It was often difficult for the native British, at the time of the struggle for Independence during the middle and late fifties, to understand why the Greek Cypriots should be fighting the British Army in Cyprus, yet at the same time emigrating to Britain by the thousand. Why, it was asked, if they were so enthusiastic about being Greek, did they not go to live in Greece rather than in the land of the enemy?[11] However contradictory their

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[11] On this, see the interesting correspondence, involving among others a former Governor of Cyprus and the Chairman of the Greek Cypriot Brotherhood in London, in The Times in 1956, especially 9,14 and 16 March.

action may have seemed to the benevolent imperial Briton, it did not seem at all so to the Greek Cypriot. For a start, as we have seen, settlement in Greece was only possible in exceptional cases - and anyway it was not generally desired. Moreover, emigration to Greece would not have solved either of the two problems that were uppermost in almost every Greek Cypriot mind - those of liberating his homeland and of earning a satisfactory living for his family. The fact was that while Britain was, in a sense, the cause of both the problems, she alone offered the solutions. On the one hand, it was she who had bought the island and perpetuated its colonial status, and it was Britain's colonial policy which in modern times had prevented the economic development needed to provide steady jobs and good wages for the island's expanding population. On the other hand, as stated, Britain offered the solutions: independence, that had to be wrested from her, and jobs in her own industrial cities, accessible because of the freedom of entry then accorded to Commonwealth citizens.

Yet it was not merely a question of these being the sole opportunities available: herein lies the apparent paradox that so many British found unintelligible. For Cypriots were and have remained genuinely fond of the British people, respecting them and being happy to live among them. If they must emigrate, most would choose to go to Britain rather than anywhere else. This simultaneous loving and hating of the British can only be understood by appreciating the Greek capacity always to distinguish between governments and their agents, and the people themselves. It was the policy of colonialism, rather than the colonials themselves, that the Cypriots

principally agitated against during the long period of British rule on the island. Throughout the colonial period, for the few British residents who made the effort it was always possible to make and retain friendships with Cypriot families. But such relationships were few, because the vast majority of expatriates and administrators typified the colonial presence everywhere in remaining cool and distant as regards the native Cypriots.[12] They had neither the opportunity nor the motivation (at the personal, as opposed to political level) to understand the Cypriot viewpoint. To them, the fact that so many Cypriots were emigrating to Britain simply indicated that their leaders spoke falsely in claiming that the population was unanimously for Union with Greece, that they preferred the rule of the British, and that they only opposed the British because of intimidation.

In the Cypriot view, by contrast, revolution and emigration were not so much alternatives as complementary. They were alternatives, it is true, in the short run in that those who worked and fought in EOKA stayed behind on the island, and in that there was probably a tendency for emigrants to be those who were less involved politically. Yet even so, they were not mutually exclusive, since among the Cypriots in London during the period there continued political activity at a high pitch, with regular meetings and demonstrations and with close contact with political groups in Cyprus. Moreover, around the time of Independence in 1960, there was among the emigrants in Britain an atmosphere of close involvement in the hopes and

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12 See Lawrence Durrell, Bitter Lemons, for an impression of the expatriate British outlook.

expectations of the new state, and several thousand people returned to the island as immigrants once again.[13] The Cypriots who emigrated, therefore,still supported the aims of those who remained behind: they have continued to identify with them closely. They did not reject their island heritage, but rather chose to put before it the immediate economic needs of themselves and their families as a priority.

To return to consider the direction of the migration in the more recent years, we find that as the number of emigrants from Cyprus increased up to its peak in 1960 and 1961, so the proportion destined for Britain increased also. But from 1962 onwards, the proportion declined. At first it declined only moderately, but from 1965 the proportion dropped sharply. The figures, given in Table 7.6, seem to suggest that beginning with the introduction of the Commonwealth Immigrants Act in 1962, Cypriot emigrants were switching to destinations other than Britain on account of the restrictions imposed on entry by that Act. However, a closer look at the trends of the respective movements, shown graphically in Figure 7.6, shows that the trend in emigration to destinations other than Britain, taken altogether, follows quite closely that of the migration to Britain itself, and that there was a decline in this movement too between 1961 and 1963. This supports the hypothesis put forward earlier, that in 1962 at least, the British legislation had little effect on the migration, and demonstrates rather the importance of influences at the Cyprus end.

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13 For figures for return migration, see Chapter 1.

Table 7.6

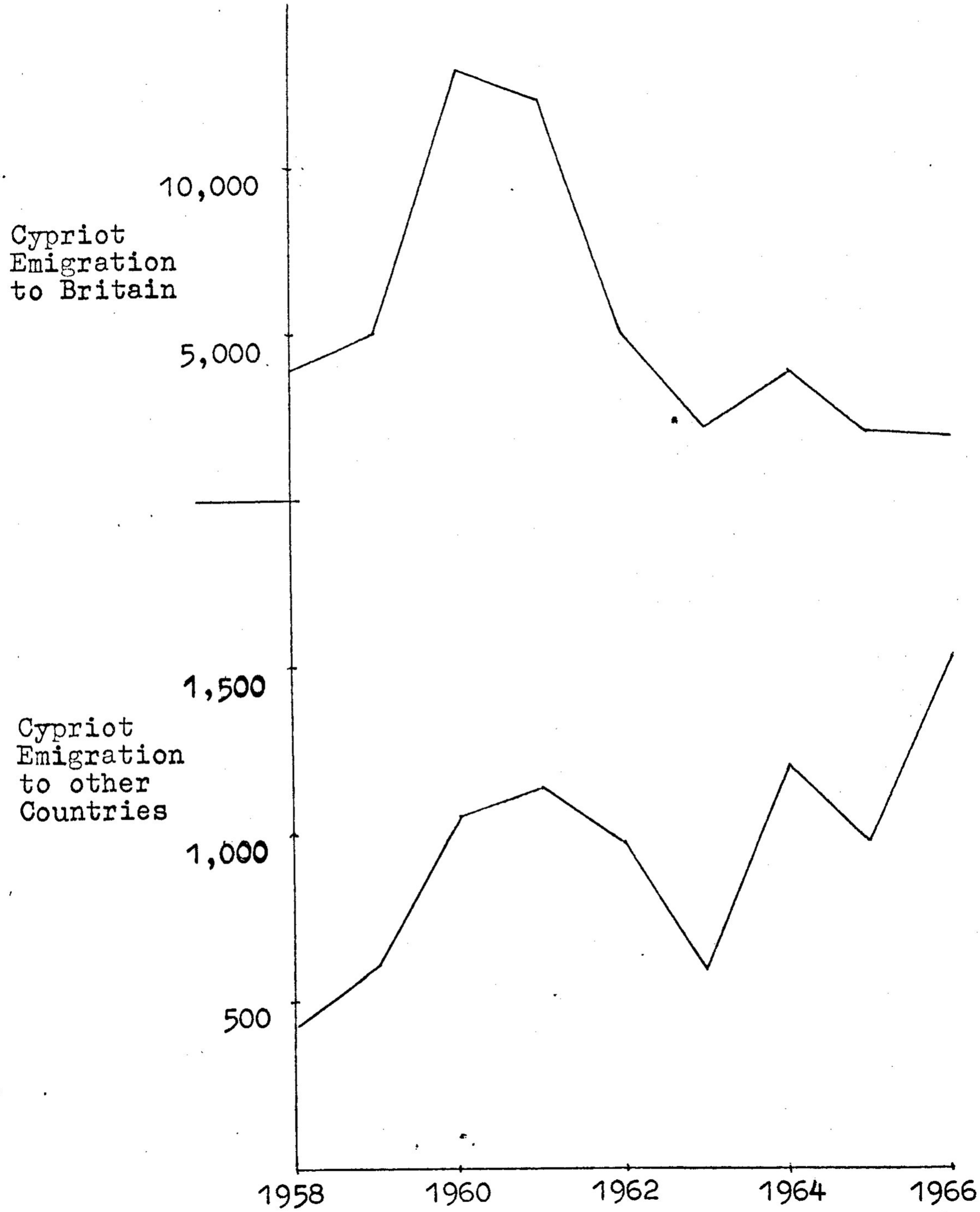
CYPRIOT EMIGRATION TO COUNTRIES OTHER THAN BRITAIN 1958-66

	No. of Emigrants	% of Emigrants to all Countries
1958	426	9.5
1959	609	11.2
1960	1,048	7.5
1961	1,138	8.6
1962	974	16.4
1963	590	21.4
1964	1,203	24.1
1965	969	33.0
1966	1.532	45.0

Source: V.& M.S./D.R.

Figure 7.6

CYPRIOT EMIGRATION TO BRITAIN AND ELSEWHERE 1958-66



Sources: see Tables 7.1 and 7.6.

In 1965 and 1966, though, as has already been pointed out, the proportion of emigrants travelling to Britain fell much more sharply. The earlier examination of the British immigration controls indicated that it was not until these years that there was much effect on Cypriot migration. What is particularly interesting is that in 1966, the most recent year considered in this study, the number of emigrants to other destinations rose substantially above its previous levels of the 1960s - over 1500, as opposed to an average of rather less than 1000 for the preceding years. Thus it is only at the very end of our period that, to any major extent, [redacted] Cypriots seeking to emigrate have been substituting other countries for the traditional destination of Britain, in response to Britain's almost complete closure of the door to immigrant labour from the Commonwealth. And with this, it seems, another chapter in Cypriot emigration overseas may have more or less drawn to a close.

CHAPTER 8

CYPRIOT MIGRATION TO BRITAIN : CONCLUSION

The purpose of this First Part of the study has been to establish the number and characteristics of post-war Cypriot migrants to Britain, and to analyse the factors influencing the pattern of the migration. It has been calculated that between 1945 and 1966 some 75,000 Cypriots emigrated from Cyprus to Britain, while some 5,000 of these returned to their home island. The net movement of Cypriots to Britain during the period was therefore some 70,000 persons. Approximately four-fifths of these were Greek Cypriot by ethnic group and one-fifth Turkish Cypriot, the same proportions as in the population of the island itself. The majority of the migrants were found to have been young adults, and the sex-ratio among the migrants overall was found to be relatively even. Many migrants travelled as family groups (though not always simultaneously), while those young persons who were single tended to come to join close relatives already resident in Britain. The previous occupations of migrants were very varied: most men had work experience outside agriculture, but skills (if any) were of the traditional craft type.

A variety of factors, when considered one by one, appeared prima facie to have had some kind of influence upon the migration. Regulation of migration by Governments, which was considered first, did not seem to have any marked influence upon the overall rate of movement until the very end of our period in 1965, when a change in the regulations [redacted]

covered by the Commonwealth Immigrants Act 1962 resulted in the ease of entry of Cypriots to Britain being much reduced. But the regulations of both Governments, first that of Cyprus and later that of Britain, had effect on the character of the migration, encouraging or facilitating family movement and kinship connections, and thus helping to produce the relatively even sex-ratio.

The other factors which were examined and which appeared to be of some significance were political, demographic and economic conditions in Cyprus, and economic conditions in Britain. The feasibility or attractiveness to prospective migrants of certain other possible destinations than Britain was also considered, but except in the case of Australia these had not proved viable alternatives. Political conditions in Cyprus did not seem to have been a major direct cause of migration; demographic conditions, too (though for different reasons), were not in themselves determining factors. Yet both these sets of circumstances seem to have played some part in giving rise to migration: political conditions through their <u>effect on</u> the economy of the island from the mid-1950s onwards, and population pressures through their <u>conjunction with</u> post-war economic situation on the island.

Indeed, as regards the immediate causes of emigration from Cyprus during the post-war period, there is every indication that for the most part these were economic: economic conditions prevailing both in Cyprus and in Britain. In the first place, the Economist Intelligence Unit survey of Cypriot immigrants in London (already cited) found that the

majority gave economic reasons of one kind or another for migrating: most specifying employment prospects rather than financial aspects. Secondly, in the two preceding Chapters quite close correlations have been revealed between the rate of migration and economic conditions in the respective countries. But which of these various economic circumstances have been the more important in determining the varying trend of Cypriot migration during the post-war years?

The trend in annual Cypriot emigration to Britain was found in Chapter 6 to be significantly correlated with both agricultural production (see Figure 6.1) and with unemployment (see Figure 6.2) in Cyprus. The chief feature of the correlation with agriculture was the tendency for year by year changes in agricultural output to be reflected in inverse changes in the annual rate of migration: this was most marked in the case of cereal production, the staple crop for much of the island's peasantry. The extent of change was also to some degree correlated, but this was less striking, except perhaps in that the worst setback in production occurred in 1960, the year of maximum migration. Overall, however, the post-war trend for migration to increase in scale was not correlated in the same inverse way with production, for the latter tended also (if erratically) to rise during the period. It appears, therefore, that as regards their disposition to emigrate, Cypriots were more sensitive to annual fluctuations in the level of production, than to its overall trend. Yet if one were to correlate agricultural production per head, then in view of the steady increase in population during the

period, the correlation overall would likewise be an inverse one. Agricultural production therefore does seem to have been a variable to which potential emigrants from Cyprus were appreciably sensitive.

Such pressure on agricultural resources on the island could well have been relieved by the availability of opportunities in the area of wage employment. This was probably the case during much of the 1950s, though the increase in emigration between 1953 and 1955 during a period of low unemployment suggests that opportunities overseas were more attractive. However, towards the end of the decade when unemployment rose to unprecedently high levels such relief was no longer available, and likewise unprecedentedly large numbers of Cypriots emigrated. It should be noted, however, that their departure does not correspond exactly with the emergence of high unemployment, but postdates it somewhat. This lack of precise correlation between changes in the labour situation in Cyprus and the level of emigration to Britain indicate that while conditions in Cyprus may have disposed Cypriots towards emigration, other factors must have been responsible for the changes in the rate of actual departures occuring when they did.

It is the labour situation in Britain (see Figure 7.1) which appears to have played the determining role, though, since each of the major increases and set-backs in the trend of Cypriot migration is correlated with a fall or rise in the level of unemployment in Britain (at least up to 1965). The three occasions of notable increase in the level of migration occur simultaneously with the three 'booms' in economic

conditions in Britain, at the beginning and middle of the 1950s, and at the beginning of the 1960s. So it seems that, while economic conditions in Cyprus may account for the predispositions of Cypriots to emigrate, and for minor variations in the level of their migration, it is conditions in Britain that account for the major variations in the movement. Moreover, it was the conjunction of very marked predisposing factors in Cyprus (agricultural failures, high unemployment) and attractive conditions in Britain (strong demand for labour) that produced the extremely high level of migration in 1960 and 1961: neither before nor since has there been such a concurrence of influential circumstances all acting in the same direction.

After 1961, the equivalently sharp decline in migration seems adequately explained in terms of the changed economic circumstances in both countries. Both the pressure to depart from Cyprus and the attractiveness of conditions in Britain were simultaneously reduced. It has already been argued that it is these economic circumstances, rather than the imposition of controls on the entry of immigrants into Britain in mid-1962, that account for this decline in the rate of migration. Indeed, the economic circumstances in the respective countries seem to have continued being the arbiters of the migration rate until 1965, when (as has been shown) the administration of immigrant entry into Britain was changed so as to limit Cypriot admissions to relatively small numbers.

Yet this correlation year by year between the economic circumstances in the two countries is not of itself a sufficient indicator of the

explanation of the whole phenomenon of Cypriot migration to Britain during the post-war period. In spite of their circumstances, Cypriots could have remained at home rather than depart in increasing numbers; they could also have gone elsewhere than Britain.

First, how is it that since the war Cypriots have been so inclined to look outside their home country for solutions to their economic difficulties? In part, the post-war disposition of Cypriots to emigrate must be seen simply as a continuation of a pre-war tradition of long standing: a tradition which in the 19th century took Cypriots to nearby Mediterranean countries, and in the early 20th century in modest numbers to every continent of the world.[1] There is no doubt that in the case of the Greek Cypriots[2] such emigration was very much the expression of a 'spirit of adventure', a cultural ideal which is especially appropriate to young manhood among Greeks. It is perhaps significant that even among the Cypriot immigrants interviewed in the survey conducted by the Economist Intelligence Unit in 1961, some 4 per cent said they had emigrated to Britain simply out of a 'desire to travel', and that a further 7 per cent did so out of a 'desire to see Britain'.[3] Among the actual statements of respondents were the following:

"That's very difficult to say. You see, no man can say why he

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1 For the destinations of Cypriot emigrants between the wars, see references in the Colonial Reports.

2 There is no evidence of emigration by Turkish Cypriots on any significant scale prior to the war.

3 Studies on Immigration from the Commonwealth, Economist Intelligence Unit, 1962, Vol. 2, p.11.

moves from place to place ..... it's a power within us."

"Did you ever read Homer? I expect you did at school. One book is Ulysses, the Odyssey ..... I am a modern Ulysses, like to see countries, like to see people, like adventure."[4]

While in no way is it being suggested that this 'adventurous' element is sufficient to account for all Cypriot migration, it is by no means wholly absent, and was certainly important in initiating the traditional disposition of Cypriots to emigrate overseas.

It was the 1939-45 War itself, however, that opened Cypriot eyes extensively to the prospects of life in other countries. Well over 10,000 Cypriots served in the British Armed Forces during the war,[5] travelling widely and meeting fellow-servicemen from all parts of the Commonwealth and the United States. The Cyprus to which they returned did offer increasing economic opportunities, both as regards jobs and standard of living, but it contrasted poorly with the life seen or heard of overseas. Cyprus had, and still has (apart perhaps from Nicosia), no large towns or cities offering the rich life and opportunities characteristic of those in the more economically developed countries. It is difficult on the island to put behind one the peasant life, and yet - especially for young servicemen or workers in the towns - it is not

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4 Information made available by Mass Observation.

5 The Middle East, Royal Institute for International Affairs, 3rd Edition, 1958, p.150; cf. Cyprus: A Rampart, Committee for Cyprus Autonomy, London, n.d.(?1942), p.26, where it is stated that 17,000 Cypriots served overseas.

difficult to come to feel alienated from the villages. First with the War, and then with the development programme of the British Military Authorities on the island, young Cypriots became increasingly separated from the traditional mode of livelihood, and at the same time aware of alternative opportunities elsewhere to which they could aspire.

It is important to establish these more basic predispositions of Cypriots following the War, for they are not just economic ones but represent the broader social outlook characteristic of a post-war generation of islanders. It is for these reasons especially that Cypriots reacted to economic circumstances by emigrating from the island, and did so increasingly through the mid-1950s in spite of quite favourable economic conditions on the island (though these were to some extent counterbalanced by the depressing atmosphere of the Emergency Period).

Yet Britain in particular offered more than general social and economic opportunities. Not only was Britain by far the most accessible of the few countries open to Cypriot migrants, but the presence of an established Cypriot settlement was in a literal way 'attractive', especially for those who already had kin within it. The expansion of Cypriot economic enterprise in Britain provided quite specific opportunities, and indeed new labour was positively 'recruited' from Cyprus in many instances (the expansion of businesses being largely dependent upon it). This 'pull' exercised by the existing Cypriot settlement in Britain was also of importance in developing emigration as a solution to Cypriot problems, and helps explain too why Britain was so predominantly the chosen destination.

Fine weighting of these various factors is not of course possible. It is appropriate, however, to consider them not only in relation to one another, but also as related elements in a single system. Not all can be so located, but most may undoubtedly be seen as aspects of the whole pattern of development and change in the colonial system as it affected one country in Britain's erstwhile Empire. It is possible only to touch on this issue here, but there can be little dispute that for the most part the social and economic conditions that have so disposed the Cypriots towards emigration have been a direct outcome of Britain's colonial 'policies' as regards Cyprus. Furthermore, Britain's role as the 'receiving Country' for Cypriot migrants, and the kinds of opportunities available to Cypriots in the services sector and in the inner city housing areas might also be explained in terms of the interrelations and dynamics of the one social and economic system, with its home and colonial facets. But for satisfactory treatment, these hypotheses need consideration on a broader comparative basis, which would not be in place in this study.

SETTLEMENT

PAGE 11

CHAPTER 9

THE SIZE AND DISTRIBUTION OF CYPRIOT SETTLEMENT IN BRITAIN

Sources

The principal source of published statistical information about Cypriot settlement in Britain is the series of Population Censuses, especially those for the years 1961 and 1966. The full Census for these years was in each case supplemented by a 10 per cent Sample Survey which yielded more detailed information concerning members of the population who had been born in Commonwealth countries. Further unpublished data derived from these two Censuses has been obtained from the General Register Office in order to provide a fuller picture of the situation in Britain of those who had been born in Cyprus.

The most relevant publication deriving from the 1961 10 per cent sample survey is "Commonwealth Immigrants in the Conurbations"[1], which provides a range of data for persons born in certain Commonwealth countries who were resident in Greater London and the five other major conurbations in England and Wales. As a birthplace category, Cyprus was here grouped with Malta, which prevents any accurate conclusions being drawn concerning specifically Cypriot immigrants in Britain. To overcome this problem, special tabulations for persons born in Cyprus only

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1 General Register Office, Census 1961, England and Wales, Commonwealth Immigrants in the Conurbations, H.M.S.O., 1965 ('C.I.C. 1961')

were obtained from the General Register Office[2]. These tabulations are the main source of evidence for Cypriot settlement in 1961 that is presented in the following pages.

For the 1966 10 per cent Sample Survey, the main publication on this theme is "Commonwealth Immigrant Tables"[3]. This provides figures not only for the conurbations, but also for Britain as a whole; and it makes information available about a wider range of characteristics than its 1961 counterpart. Furthermore, figures for persons born in Cyprus are presented in a separate category. In advance of the publication of these Tables, however, the Survey of Race Relations had obtained from the General Register Office figures for the Greater London and West Midlands Conurbations which included data not subsequently published. This additional unpublished data has been used in this study[4], by permission of the Survey of Race Relations, in order to supplement that published by the General Register Office itself.

By far the fullest record based on these sources relates to Cyprus-born persons resident in the Greater London conurbation. Moreover, of those enumerated in Britain as a whole, the great majority of Cyprus-born

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2 ('G.R.O. 1961')

3 General Register Office, Sample Census 1966, Great Britain, Commonwealth Immigrants Tables, H.M.S.O., 1969 ('C.I.T. 1966')

4 ('G.R.O. 1966')

persons are resident in this Metropolitan area[5]. For this reason, the account that follows is primarily concerned with Cypriots in London rather than in Britain as a whole. Where information for the character of Cypriot settlement outside London is available, this is generally presented separately, and in the form of a comparison with that for settlement in the Metropolis.

How reliable are the findings of the Censuses as accurate indices of the extent of settlement in Britain of persons born in Cyprus? The major problem here is that of underenumeration. The 1961 10 per cent Sample Survey enumerated 20 per cent less Cypriots in Greater London than the full 1961 Census[6], and there can be little doubt that the latter too was an underestimate to a certain extent. The 1966 Sample Census appears to have involved substantial underestimation as well: the extent of this is calculated in the following section. The General Register Office in an official 'press statement'[7] following the publication of the 1961 Census findings admitted that underestimation was particularly pronounced for Commonwealth immigrants. It took the view, though, in spite of this, the proportional distribution of the various population characteristics was "probably not unduly affected". It is now known,

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5 See below

6 See below

7 Copy made available by the General Register Office; section reprinted in Eversley D, and Sukdeo F., The Dependants of the Coloured Commonwealth Population of England and Wales, Institute of Race Relations, 1969, p.11.

however, that underenumeration was most marked in the more crowded housing conditions[8], and for this reason the picture of housing conditions among Cypriot immigrants may be somewhat biased. Otherwise, it may be accepted that the distribution of population characteristics is approximately accurate for Cypriot immigrants, and this Part of the study proceeds upon such an assumption.

One further problem concerns the reliability of small numbers in population categories as enumerated by the 10 per cent Sample Surveys. All figures produced as a result of the Sample Surveys are liable to 'sampling error'. Where the number of persons falling into a particular category is large, the chance of proportionately significant error is negligible; but where numbers are small, the chance of significant error cannot be ignored. Roughly speaking, there is a two-to-one chance of there being an error of the square root of the number concerned, and a twenty-to-one chance of the error being twice the square root. Care has therefore been taken not to draw conclusions from any small numbers or from any fine percentage differences.

Lastly, it must be noted that Census figures refer to numbers of persons <u>born in Cyprus</u>, rather than to members of the Cypriot ethnic group as such. There is therefore an additional problem of reliability insofar as the Census figures are to be used here as indicators for ethnically Cypriot settlement in Britain. On the one hand, there are certainly a small number of persons born in Cyprus who are ethnically

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[8] <u>C.I.C. 1961</u>, "General Explanatory Notes".

British, chiefly children in families of British military personnel who were serving in Cyprus during the 1950s and 1960s. On the other hand, there are a small number too of Cypriot immigrants in Britain who were born elsewhere than Cyprus, most of them in what is now the United Arab Republic. The precise number of each of these cannot be determined, but both are certainly small. They are not sufficient to invalidate the use of the Census figures as indicators for the settlement of Cypriot immigrants in the ethnic sense, but it must be appreciated that there may be slight bias on their account.

Apart from certain minor matters, therefore, the main problem in drawing conclusions from the Census data is that of underenumeration. The view taken here is that the numerical totals produced by the Census for Cypriot immigrants are unreliable, and require correction on account of underestimation. The proportional distribution of characteristics among Cypriots, on the other hand, is regarded as in general reliable, and it is in this form that most of the conclusions of this study are presented.

The Size of Cypriot Settlement in Britain

The aim of this section is to measure the numerical extent of Cypriot settlement in Britain at the end of the year 1966. The term 'settlement' may refer either to immigrants in the strict sense only, or to immigrants together with members of their families born in the country of settlement. The extent of Cypriot settlement in Britain will be measured in both these senses.

There are two ways in which the extent of settlement in Britain may

be measured. The first is by combining data for migration together with that for natural increase; the second by direct measurement of the number of residents born in Cyprus by means of a census of population. Both methods of measurement will be used, the one providing a check upon the other.

To measure first the number of Cypriot immigrants in Britain at the end of 1966, the main source of data is the record of migration. Since this dates only from 1945, the extent of pre-war settlement of Cypriots in Britain needs also to be determined, as does the number of deaths among Cypriot immigrants resident in Britain during the period.

The extent of Cypriot migration and settlement in Britain during the pre-war period is impossible to determine with any great precision. No migration statistics exist for years prior to 1945. It may be assumed that during the war years, no migration between the two countries took place, so that the problem is to estimate the number of Cypriot immigrants in Britain at the end of 1939.

Several estimates were made around this time of the number of Cypriot immigrants. In his Report for 1938, the Liaison Officer (whose responsibility was to liaise with the immigrants) at the London Office of the Government of Cyprus stated that it was "usually considered" that there were then 7,000 Cypriots in London, though he was "inclined to regard this as an overestimate"[9]. For the end of 1939, the subsequent

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9 Government of Cyprus, London Office: Report, 1938, p.5.

Report of the London Office estimated the total as 8,000[10]. Further estimates were made by the Greek Cypriot newspaper To Vima, which in its first issue at the beginning of 1940 gave the total likewise as 8,000[11]. By a few months later, however, its estimate of the size of Cypriot settlement had been reduced to 7,500[12].

As the Liaison Officer himself implied, these estimates are likely to have been somewhat optimistic. Although Cypriot immigration to Britain first began during the 1920s, it was not until the second half of the 1930s that the majority of pre-war immigrants arrived in Britain. The 1931 Census recorded that 1,075 persons born in Cyprus were resident in Britain at that time. Then for the years 1935 to 1937, the Colonial Reports for the island report "a considerable exodus of young Cypriots to London in search of employment"[13]. The 1938 Report implies that numbers then were fewer,[14] and it is for this year only that some statistics are extant. These were given in the Report of the London Office, already referred to, and indicate that some 530 Cypriot immigrants arrived in Britain during that year[15]. Such incidental items of information, however, are far from sufficient as a basis for any reliable estimate of

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[10] Cited in Nearchou, p.15 (no copy of the original can be traced)

[11] To Vima, 1 January 1940

[12] To Vima, 23 March 1940

[13] Cyprus: Colonial Reports, 1935 p.7, etc.

[14] Cyprus: Colonial Report, 1938 p.10.

[15] Government of Cyprus, London Office: Report, 1938, p.3.

pre-war Cypriot settlement to be made. But as high a total as 8,000 immigrants seems improbable, and a figure of 6,000 would probably be nearer the truth. Since a degree of arbitrariness cannot be avoided, this figure of 6,000 Cypriot migrants is taken as an estimate of the size of Cypriot settlement in Britain prior to the outbreak of war.

It now remains to calculate the number of deaths occurring among Cypriot immigrants in Britain since the outbreak of war. This has been estimated from the records of funerals conducted in Greek Orthodox churches in London during the period,[16] allowance being made for burials taking place outside the Metropolis. From these records it is estimated that 1,744 deaths took place among Greek Cypriot immigrants in Britain. Among Turkish Cypriots no equivalent records are kept. In order to complete the calculation, deaths during the same period among Turkish Cypriots are estimated as one-fifth as many as among Greeks: this in view of their constituting one-quarter of post-war migrants, and having migrated proportionately less during the early post-war period. The full estimate of deaths among Cypriot immigrants in Britain between 1940 and 1966 is thus 2,093 persons.

From the calculations now completed, the number of Cypriot immigrants resident in Britain can now be assessed based primarily on the evidence of migration and natural decrease. Net migration from the beginnings of

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[16] Figures provided by Greek Orthodox Archdiocese of Thyateira, and records of individual Greek Orthodox Churches.

settlement up to the end of 1966 is totalled at 75,732 persons, while deaths occuring among these is calculated as 2,093. On this reckoning, therefore, the number of Cypriot immigrants in Britain at that date was 73,639.

The second measure of the number of Cypriot immigrants in Britain at the end of 1966 is based on the estimate of Cyprus-born population in the sample census of that same year. But since the Census was taken only one-third of the way through 1966, it is necessary to estimate the further increase in settlement during the rest of that year, and to add this to the Census total itself.

To deal first with the increase in the number of immigrants during the later two-thirds of 1966, this is estimated as two-thirds of net Cypriot migration to Britain during 1966 less two-thirds of Cypriot deaths in Britain in 1966. From the migration statistics, and from Church figures for funerals already referred to, this increase is calculated to be 1136 persons.

We now turn to consider the evidence of the 1966 Census, the findings of which were based on a 10 per cent Sample Survey of the population of Britain carried out at the end of April 1966. According to this Census, it is estimated that there were 59,810 persons born in Cyprus who were resident in Britain at that time. If to this figure is added the net increase in the number of Cypriot immigrants up to the end of that year, we arrive at a Census-based estimate for the overall number of Cypriot immigrants in Britain at the end of 1966 as 60,946 persons.

This Census-based estimate is substantially lower than that based on migration and natural decrease, which was 73,639 persons. Indeed, the Census estimate is 17.2 per cent lower than that based on migration. There are reasons to believe, though, that the Census has seriously underenumerated the Cypriot immigrant population in Britain, and these will now be examined.

The first possibility to be considered is that the discrepancy could be due to sampling error. Applying a simple formula for 'standard error', it appears that there may be 99 per cent confidence that the error is not in excess of 2,000. The chance of sampling error being a major component in this discrepancy may therefore be ruled out entirely.

Next we must consider the possibility of errors due to bias, arising from deficiencies in the sample frame, and from the actual carrying out of the sampling procedure. These relate to such matters as the incompleteness of the record of occupied housing on account of problems of rating and valuation, the failure of some Census enumerators to follow their instructions strictly, and the possibility of incomplete returns being made in the households selected. By means of a follow-up survey of households originally sampled, the General Register Office has arrived at estimates of error due to the above causes. These relate to the population (of England and Wales) as a whole, and not to any sub-section of it, and indicate that the enumerated population constitutes an underestimate by approximately 1.38 per cent[17]. If we add in here the

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[17] C.I.T. 1966, p.xxiv.

underestimate of birthplace-groups due to a non-statement of birthplace among the enumerated population to the extent of 0.40 per cent we find that for these reasons there is liable to be an underestimate of Cyprus-born persons in the 1966 Census of 1.78 per cent (assuming these errors and shortcomings to be evenly distributed among the population). In numerical terms, this represents an under-enumeration of approximately 1,070 persons. Although this is a significant number, it is of course nothing like sufficient to account for the wide discrepancy between migration and Census statistics noted earlier.

It would be wrong, however, to assume that the propensity for under-enumeration was evenly distributed among the population. The General Register Office's own evidence suggests that the under-enumeration was higher in Greater London than in the remainder of the country, and probably higher in Inner London than Outer London. It estimates that for Greater London as a whole, the 1966 Census results "probably understate the total population by at least 2½ per cent and possibly by 3 per cent"[18] It seems, however, that the degree of underestimation in the London area varied greatly from borough to borough. Comparisons between the Registrar-General's mid-year estimates for 1966 and those based on the 1966 Census indicate that underenumeration was greatest in a number of Inner London boroughs with relatively high proportions of Commonwealth immigrants. The greatest under-enumeration appeared to be in Camden

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18 General Register Office, Sample Census 1966, County Report, Greater London, p.xxiv.

where there was a 10.4 per cent discrepancy between the figures: Islington being second with an 8.4 per cent discrepancy[19]. Since almost half of all Cypriots enumerated in Britain in 1966 resided in five London boroughs - the two above, two other Inner boroughs and one Outer borough - this pattern of localised under-estimation is of special significance in assessing the accuracy of the overall totals for Cypriot immigrants in the Census.

Even within localities, it is likely that Commonwealth immigrants were more prone to underenumeration than other groups. A follow-up study, conducted by the General Register Office, to the previous 1961 Census established that underenumeration was closely associated with certain types of housing conditions: large households, few rooms, shared dwellings and an absence of basic amenities[20]. These features are more common among households of Commonwealth immigrants than among the remainder of the population, and Cypriots, with their higher room density and greater propensity to live in private rented accommodation, are no exception[21]. In so far as Cypriots themselves may have been responsible for the under-enumeration, this may have been due to a reluctance among those in the more densely occupied housing to provide a complete record of household members, due to feelings of insecurity, fears of possible consequences, and suspicion of officialdom generally. Limited ability to read and

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19 ibid, p.xxv

20 C.I.C. 1961

21 [redacted] See below

write English is also likely to have been a factor.

For these reasons, there can be little doubt that the estimate for Cyprus-born population made in the 1966 Sample Census is too low. It is especially relevant to note here, that the previous 1961 Census also involved a 10 per cent Sample Survey, in addition to a full Census of population. The estimate of the Sample Survey for the Cyprus-born population of Greater London (in which over 80 per cent of such persons were enumerated) was 20.0 per cent less than the number enumerated in the full count[22]. The full Census, moreover, is likely to have involved yet a further degree of underenumeration, especially of the Commonwealth-born population. It seems probable, therefore, that the true number of Cyprus-born persons in Greater London was over 25 per cent in excess of the number indicated in the 10 per cent Sample Survey.

If the estimate for Cypriot settlement derived from migration figures is taken as accurate, the degree of underenumeration of Cypriot settlement on the part of the Sample Census of 1966 is somewhat lower than that of 1961. Comparing our two original estimates of Cypriot settlement, there is a discrepancy of 12,693 between them (see Table 9.1). Taking this as the number of unenumerated Cypriot settlers in Britain, it follows that there was a 17.5 per cent underenumeration of Cyprus-born persons in Britain in the Sample Census of 1966. This percentage, though, is no more than approximate, in view of the estimations and assumptions that have had to be made in the course of earlier calculations.

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[22] Calculated from G.R.O. 1961 and C.I.C. 1961

Table 9.1

SIZE OF CYPRIOT IMMIGRANT SETTLEMENT IN BRITAIN AT END 1966

(a)	Net Migration, 1945 - 66	69,732
	Pre-War Settlement	6,000
	less deaths, 1940 - 66	2,093
	TOTAL	73,639
(b)	Sample Census enumeration, April 1966	59,810
	Net Migration, May-Dec. 1966	1,241
	less deaths, May-Dec. 1966	105
	TOTAL	60,946
(c)	Census non-enumeration	12,693

Sources: see text

Having now completed the analysis of the evidence relating to the number of Cypriot immigrants in the strict sense who were settled in Britain at the end of 1966, it now remains to establish the extent of Cypriot settlement in the broader sense, i.e. including children born in Britain to Cypriot parents. As before, this may be calculated in two ways: in terms of net migration and natural increase, and on the basis of Census enumeration.

In order to estimate the full extent of Cypriot settlement in Britain by means of migration and natural increase, it is necessary to add to the previous total for immigrant settlement only a figure for the number of births occurring to Cypriot immigrant parents in Britain since 1940. As with deaths among Cypriot immigrants, the number of births has been estimated from the records of baptisms conducted in the Greek Orthodox churches in London during the period, allowance being made for baptisms taking place outside the Metropolis. Since again no records of births are kept among Turkish Cypriots, the figure for this group has as before been estimated as one-fifth of the number of births among Greek Cypriots. The full estimate of births to Cypriot immigrant parents in Britain is thus 27,691. From this it follows that the full extent of Cypriot settlement in Britain, including births to Cypriot parents in Britain, is 101,330 persons.

The second estimate of the full extent of Cypriot settlement is based on Census enumeration. The main item of information used here is the total number of persons enumerated in private households where either

the head or spouse of the head was born in Cyprus. The total number of members of such 'Cypriot households' in Britain in 1966 was estimated to be 84,270 persons. To this must be added an estimated 1,220 persons born in Cyprus who were enumerated in "non-private establishments", making a total of 85,490 persons in all. Of members of Cypriot households, there were a number - partners in 'mixed' marriages - who were not born in Cyprus. These persons were an estimated 7,610 in all, more than two-thirds of whom had been born in Britain and the remainder elsewhere. Many of those born in Britain, however, would themselves have been born of Cypriot parents. Of the 7,610 spouses born elsewhere than Cyprus, it is estimated that one-third are nonetheless Cypriot by ethnic group, while the remaining two-thirds are not. It follows that the number of 'Cypriot' members of 'Cypriot households' is therefore 79,097, making an overall 'Cypriot' population enumerated in the Census of 80,317 persons.

To extend this measure of Cypriot settlement in Britain up to the end of year 1966, it is necessary to add to the total the net migration and natural increase occuring during the last two-thirds of that year. Net migration and deaths have already been calculated as 1,241 and 105 respectively, and the number of births during this period is estimated to be 1,721. Aggregating these figures we thus arrive at a Census-based estimate for the full extent of Cypriot settlement in Britain at the end of 1966 as 83,494 persons.

As with the previous pair of estimates we encounter again a discrepancy between the figures based on the different sources: a migration and natural increase-based figure of 101,330 Cypriots, and a Census-based

figure of 83,494 persons (see Table 9.2). This discrepancy must be accounted for in the same manner, and the Census-based estimate thus regarded as a substantial underestimate due to underenumeration in the Sample Census. The figures for migration and natural increase in this case indicate that the degree of underenumeration was 18.0 per cent, as compared with 17.5 per cent underenumeration of Cyprus-born persons only. The difference here is small, but is in the direction to be expected if large households were more prone to underenumeration as was known to have been the case in 1961.

To conclude, comparison between figures for migration and natural increase, and those for Census enumeration indicate that the 1966 Sample Census substantially underestimated the extent of Cypriot settlement in Britain, probably by some 17-18 per cent. The number of Cypriot immigrants resident in Britain at the end of 1966 is estimated as towards 74,000 persons. If children born in Britain to Cypriot parents are included, the total size of Cypriot settlement at that date is estimated as more than 101,000 persons.

The Distribution of Cypriot Settlement in Britain

The outstanding feature of the geographical distribution of Cypriot settlement in Britain is its high degree of concentration in Greater London. The distribution of Cypriot immigrants within London is examined in the following Chapter. The present section is devoted to an analysis of regional and other characteristics of the distribution of Cypriot immigrants in Britain as a whole.

The distribution of Cypriot immigrants within the three national

Table 9.2

OVERALL SIZE OF CYPRIOT SETTLEMENT IN BRITAIN AT END 1966

(a)	Net Migration, 1945 - 66	69,732
	Pre-War Settlement	6,000
	Births, 1940 - 66	27,691
	less deaths, 1940 - 66	2,093
	TOTAL	101,330
(b)	Sample Census enumeration of Cypriot households, April 1966	85,490
	Net Migration, May-Dec 1966	1,241
	Births, May-Dec 1966	1,721
	less deaths, May-Dec 1966	105
	non-Cypriot spouses	5,173
	TOTAL	83,494
(c)	Census non-enumeration	17,836

Sources: see text

regions of mainland Britain is indicated in Table 9.3. This shows that outside England there has been very little settlement of Cypriots. Scotland and Wales between them contained only 2 per cent of Cypriot immigrants in Britain in 1966. The numbers involved are small, however, and therefore cannot be relied upon as a precise measure of the extent of Cypriot settlement in these parts. But even allowing for sampling error and for underenumeration, it is unlikely that the order of Cypriot settlement in each of Scotland and Wales was greater than around one thousand persons. The main locations of Cypriot settlement in these territories were Glasgow and Cardiff, which contained the only two organised Greek Cypriot parish communities outside England at that time.

Northern Ireland has not been treated as part of Britain here, on account of the virtual absence of Census information for Cypriot immigrants in that national region. The only Census of Northern Ireland to have recorded the number of residents born in Cyprus was that of 1961, which enumerated 78 persons. A small number of Greek Cypriot families are known to reside in Belfast, but they are too few to form an organised parish community. It is doubtful whether by the end of 1966 the extent of Cypriot settlement in Northern Ireland was more than a few hundred persons in all.

Within England, due to their concentration in London, the great majority of Cypriots were located in the South-Eastern Region. Other regions had proportionately few Cypriot residents, though were not as sparsely settled as Scotland and Wales. Table 9.4 indicates that

Table 9.3

CYPRUS BORN POPULATION OF BRITAIN, BY NATIONAL REGION, AT CENSUS YEARS 1931-66

	Total	England	Wales	Scotland
1931	1,075	1,035	24	16
1951	10,343	10,050	158	135
1961	42,283	41,557	341	385
1966	59,830	58,650	550	630

Source: Population Censuses

Table 9.4

CYPRUS-BORN POPULATION OF ENGLAND BY MAJOR REGION 1951-1966

	Total	Northern	Midland	South-Eastern	South-West
1951	10,076	491	492	8,823	246
1961	41,557	1,760	1,979	36,767	1,051
1966	58,650	3,420	3,190	49,890	2,150
% 1966	100.0	5.8	5.4	85.1	3.7

Note: For 1966, 'Northern' includes 'Lincolnshire: parts of Lindsey', previously included in 'Midland'; 'South-Eastern' includes 'East Anglia'.

Source: Population Censuses

settlement in the Northern, Midland and South-Western Regions of England has developed on a small scale but steadily during the post-war period; and during the 1960s it increased appreciably faster than settlement in the South-Eastern Region. Nonetheless, in 1966 it was still the case that 83 per cent of Cypriot immigrants in Britain resided in this South-Eastern Region, as compared with 86 per cent in 1961.

A more detailed picture of the distribution of Cypriot settlement in Britain in the year 1966 is provided in Table 9.5. This shows clearly how the two predominant characteristics of the distribution have been firstly the heavy concentration of immigrant settlement in the Greater London concentration, and secondly the wide scatter of the remaining minority of Cypriot settlers throughout the various parts of Britain.

In 1966, in fact, just over three-quarters of Cypriot immigrants in Britain were resident in Greater London. As may be seen from Table 9.6, this proportion was somewhat lower than at the time of the previous Census in 1961, when more than four-fifths of Cypriots in Britain were indicated to be resident in Greater London. It seems that during the main years of Cypriot migration - the second half of the 1950s and the beginning of the 1960s - the proportion of Cypriots in Greater London was increasing, whereas subsequently it has been declining. This suggests a tendency for Cypriot immigrants to settle first in Greater London, and later, if only on a small scale, to move out into the provinces. Allowing for under-enumeration in the Census returns on the scale calculated earlier, it may be estimated that some 53,000 Cypriot immigrants were resident in Greater

Table 9.5

CYPRUS-BORN POPULATION OF BRITAIN BY LOCATION IN REGIONS AND CONURBATIONS 1966

Northern Region	610	East Anglia	670
Tyneside Conurbation	80		
		South Eastern Region	49220
Yorkshire & Humberside Region	1120	Greater London	45090
		Outer Metropolitan Area	2130
West Yorkshire Conurbation	440		
		South Western Region	2150
North Western Region	1690		
		Wales	550
S-E Lancashire Conurbation	880		
		ALL ENGLAND & WALES	59200
Merseyside Conurbation	310		
East Midlands Region	1110		
		Scotland	630
West Midlands Region	2090		
West Midlands Conurbation	1540		
		ALL BRITAIN	59830

Source: C.I.T. 1966

Table 9.6

CONCENTRATION OF CYPRUS-BORN POPULATION IN GREATER LONDON 1931-1966

	Britain	Greater London	%
1931	1,075	794	73.9
1951	10,343	7,983	77.1
1961	42,283	34,040	80.5
1966	59,830	45,090	75.3

Source: Population Censuses

London in 1966.

Not only are Cypriots concentrated in Greater London, but they are also highly concentrated in conurbations and in urban areas generally. Table 9.5 includes figures for Cypriot settlement in the five other major conurbations of England and Wales in 1966. It indicates that the largest urban settlement of Cypriots outside the London area is in the West Midlands conurbation, though even here the scale of settlement is extremely small by comparison with Greater London. Taking the conurbations as a group, and including the 'Outer Metropolitan Area', it appears that in 1966 some 84 per cent of Cypriot immigrants in Britain were resident in one of these six major conurbations.

Figures for urban areas generally are not available from the Census, but first-hand knowledge of Cypriot settlement in various parts of the country suggests that most Cypriots outside the conurbations live in smaller cities or in towns of substantial size. A reliable indication of the principal towns in which Cypriots have settled outside London may be obtained from the list of places in which a Greek Orthodox parish 'community' had been formally organised, with its own Greek Church. In 1967 these were as follows: Birmingham, Bristol, Cardiff, Coventry, Glasgow, Great Yarmouth, Hull, Kingston-on-Thames, Leeds, Liverpool, Manchester, Margate, Plymouth and Southampton.[23] Other towns with probably fewer Cypriot settlers can be identified as those which have since

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[23] Paroikiaki (Greek weekly newspaper), 27 October 1967.

established formal 'communities' with or without their own Church: Brighton, Bradford, Cambridge, Croydon, Eastbourne, Edinburgh, Hastings, Leicester, Newcastle-on-Tyne, Northampton, Nottingham and Oxford.[24] These places vary greatly in character, but all are substantial centres for commerce of one kind or another, and have provided economic opportunities for Cypriot immigrants to open businesses in their chosen trades.

Outside London, as is already implied, the great majority of Cypriot settlers are Greek Cypriots. All the evidence from first-hand and other enquiries indicates that few Turkish Cypriots have settled outside the metropolis. The only figures for the geographical distribution of immigrants which distinguish Cypriots by ethnic group are those for immigrant schoolchildren published annually by the Department of Education and Science. According to this source, of the 859 Cypriot children recorded as in schools outside Greater London at the beginning of 1967, 152 or (18 per cent) were Turkish-speaking, and 707 (82 per cent) Greek-speaking.[25] It seems, however, that these educational statistics substantially underestimate the proportion of Greek Cypriot children due to the basis on which they are collected. Firstly, they include only children who are themselves immigrants or whose parents arrived within the previous ten years; and secondly they relate only to schools with ten or more

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24. Ymerologion Archiepiskopis Thyateiron kai M. Vretanias (Calendar of the Archdiocese of Thyateira and Great Britain), London, 1971.

25. Department of Education and Science, Statistics for Education, Volume 1, "Schools", H.M.S.O., 1968.

'immigrant pupils' so defined. On account of the longer history of immigration to Britain of Greek Cypriot immigrants, and of their evidently wide scatter around the country, there can be no doubt that these figures underestimate the proportion of Cypriot children who are Greek by ethnic group. It is likely that at least 90 per cent of Cypriots living outside London are Greek Cypriot ethnically speaking, and that Turkish Cypriot settlement is much more confined to Greater London itself.

CHAPTER 10

THE DISTRIBUTION OF CYPRIOT SETTLEMENT IN LONDON

Distribution of Settlement

Since its beginning, Cypriot settlement in Britain has always been highly concentrated in London, as was indicated in Table 9.6 in the preceding Chapter. During the post-war period the proportion of Cypriot immigrants living in London, as recorded by successive Censuses, has varied between three-quarters and four-fifths. The number of Cypriot settlers in London increased fourfold between 1951 and 1961, and by a further third between 1961 and 1966. It was estimated that some 53,000 Cypriot immigrants were resident in Greater London in 1966, allowance having been made for underenumeration in the Census. When all members of 'Cypriot households' (i.e. with head or head's spouse born in Cyprus) are considered, the estimated overall size of Cypriot settlement in London is approximately 80,000 persons for 1966. This figure includes children born in Britain to one or more Cypriot parents, but excludes non-Cypriot spouses.

Yet although the proportion of Cypriots settled in London has remained fairly constant, the distribution of Cypriots between the various areas of the metropolis has changed considerably through time. As total numbers have increased, so Cypriots have spread further afield residentially. Certain areas have been especially popular, while others have been largely neglected - all this, as we shall see shortly, for particular social and economic reasons.

The predominant trend in the distribution of Cypriots in London has been the spreading of settlement northwards, out from the centre of the city. This extension has been not so much fan-shaped as tubular, stretching in a channel from Camden Town and Islington beneath, to the Haringey area above. This shape is no accident, for it spans the adjacent lengths of the Northern and Piccadilly Underground railway lines, which lead directly back into the heart of London's West End. Cypriot workers in the clothing and catering trades, just to mention the two most frequent ones, thus have easy access by public transport to the central area where most of their workplaces are situated.

Analysis of the distribution borough by borough reveals the development of the pattern of Cypriot settlement in London in greater detail. Prior to the war, most Cypriot immigrants lived and worked in and around the Soho area in London's West End. The 1931 Census showed that two-thirds of Cyprus-born residents in London (County) were located in four adjacent Inner London boroughs - St. Pancras, Holborn, Westminster and St. Marylebone, in that order of scale. Inspection of Registers of Electors and Street Directories for these areas for later years of the 1930s indicate more specifically that it was in the northern part of Soho that the immigrants were predominantly settled. Their cafes and businesses were concentrated in the streets around St. Giles High Street, Soho Square and Charlotte Street, not far from where the first Greek Church in London (from which 'Greek Street' derived its name) had been

located some 250 years before[1]. In the centre of this area of settlement, at the junction of Oxford Street and Tottenham Court Road, the four boroughs mention above met at a point. To say that pre-war Cypriot settlement was spread among four boroughs would therefore be rather misleading, for in fact it was a highly localised settlement situated in adjacent corners of the four administrative areas.

Figures for the principal boroughs of Cypriot settlement in London for after the war are given in Table 10.1. For 1951, the most populous borough was still St. Pancras, but a considerable amount of settlement had already taken place in neighbouring Islington. About one-quarter of Cypriot residents in London (County) were located in St. Pancras, twice as many as in Islington. Paddington and St. Marylebone boroughs come next on the list: taken together these four areas contained more than half of all Cypriots living in London. Cypriot settlement had become somewhat more dispersed, but continued to be localised in areas close the immigrants' places of work in the West End. Street Directories and other circumstantial evidence indicate clearly, though, that by this time the main residential area for Cypriots was no longer within the West End itself, but had shifted northwards to Mornington Crescent and Camden Town. Here Greek shops and cafes had appeared, and the first Greek Orthodox Church for Cypriots was opened in 1948 in Pratt Street, Camden Town.

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1 On the site of St. Mary-the-Virgin, Charing Cross Road: see Cardwell J.H. et al., Two Centuries of Soho, London 1898, pp.31-35; and Dowling T.E. and Fletcher E.W., Hellenism in England, London 1915.

Table 10.1

PRINCIPAL BOROUGHS OF CYPRIOT SETTLEMENT IN LONDON 1951-1966

Number of persons born in Cyprus enumerated in:

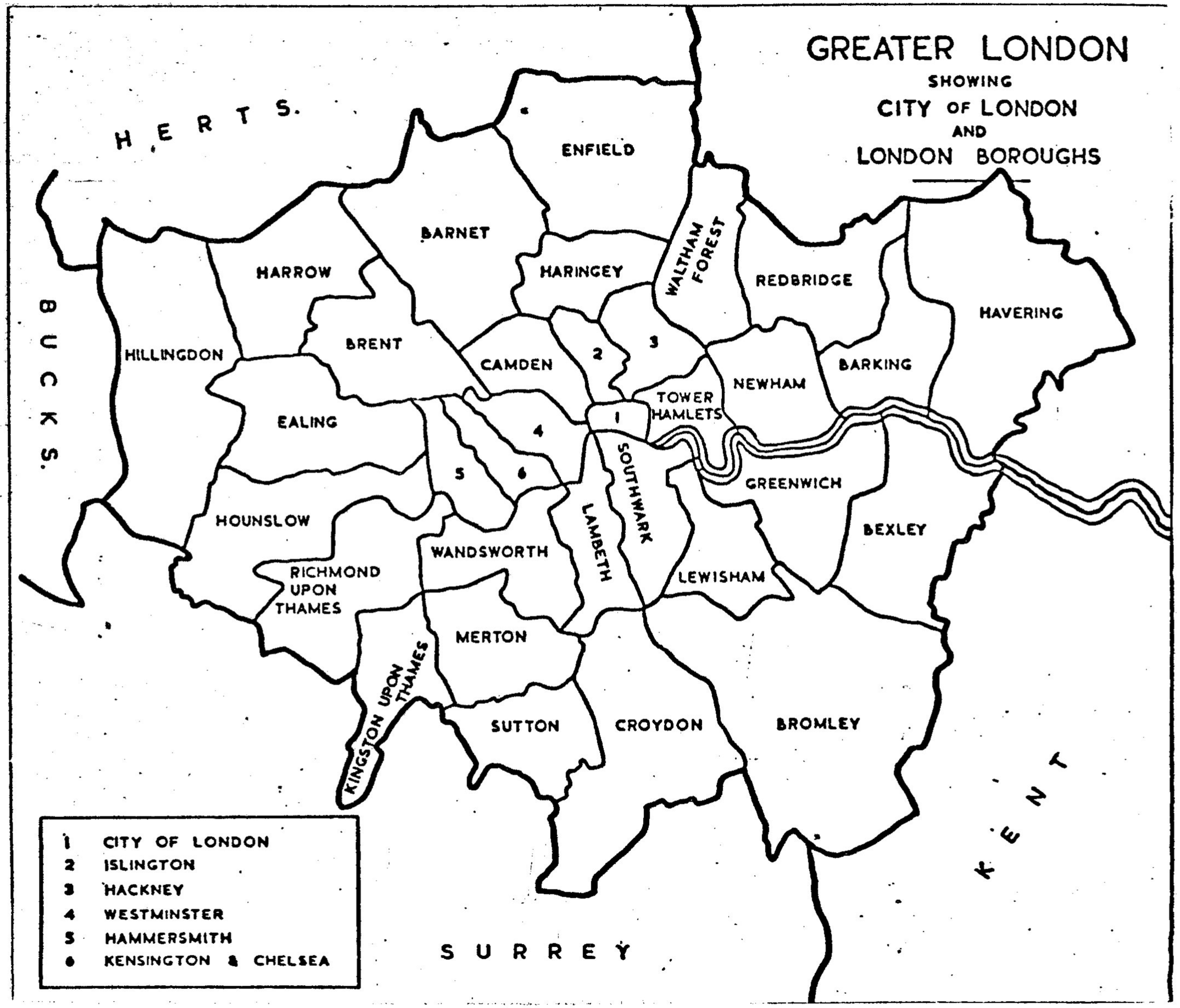
London A.C.				Greater London	
1951		1961		1966	
St Pancras	2,116	Islington	9,114	Islington	10,300
Islington	1,004	St Pancras	4,114	Haringey	7,960
St Marylebone	457	Hackney	1,388	Camden	3,690
Paddington	412	Lambeth	1,357	Southwark	3,410
Lambeth	382	Camberwell	1,135	Hackney	3,400
Westminster	298	Stoke Newington	931	Barnet	1,830
LONDON A.C.	6,799	LONDON A.C.	26,308	GR. LONDON	45,000

Notes: (1) 'New' London boroughs, as in 1966, comprised the following 'old' boroughs, as in 1961 and before:-
Islington = Finsbury, Islington
Haringey = Hornsey, Tottenham, Wood Green
Camden = Hampstead, Holborn, St. Pancras
Southwark = Bermondsey, Camberwell, Southwark
Hackney = Hackney, Shoreditch, Stoke Newington
Barnet = Wembley, Willesden

(2) In 1961, there was already substantial Cypriot settlement in London boroughs outside London A.C. (Administrative County). In Hornsey 1723 persons born in Cyprus were enumerated, and in Tottenham 1110 persons born in Cyprus. Of the remaining boroughs, only Wood Green is likely to have contained a comparable number of persons born in Cyprus, but the figure in this case is unobtainable.

Sources: Population Censuses; 1966 Sample Census figures supplied by the General Register Office.

Figure 10.1


GREATER LONDON
SHOWING
CITY OF LONDON
AND
LONDON BOROUGHS
HERTS.
BUCKS.
SURREY
KENT
ENFIELD
BARNET
HARROW
HARINGEY
WALTHAM FOREST
REDBRIDGE
HAVERING
HILLINGDON
BRENT
CAMDEN
2
3
NEWHAM
BARKING
TOWER HAMLETS
1
EALING
4
5
6
SOUTHWARK
GREENWICH
HOUNSLOW
LAMBETH
BEXLEY
WANDSWORTH
RICHMOND UPON THAMES
LEWISHAM
MERTON
KINGSTON UPON THAMES
SUTTON
CROYDON
BROMLEY
1 CITY OF LONDON
2 ISLINGTON
3 HACKNEY
4 WESTMINSTER
5 HAMMERSMITH
6 KENSINGTON & CHELSEA

Significantly, these areas offered cheaper housing than within the West End itself, yet were only a short bus ride or underground railway journey to the north.

By 1961, the distribution had changed considerably, chiefly due to a nine-fold increase in the number of Cypriots now living in Islington. With over 9,000 Cyprus-born persons enumerated, Islington contained more than a quarter of all Cypriot immigrants in London. The number in St. Pancras also increased, but only two-fold, so that it now contained less than half the number in Islington - the two boroughs changing places, as it were, in the hierarchy of popularity among Cypriot settlers. No other area figured comparably with these two, though Hackney in the north, and Lambeth and Camberwell south of the river all contained more than 1,000 Cypriot immigrants as enumerated by the Census. Once again, therefore, the centre of gravity of Cypriot settlement in London had shifted: this time as large numbers of new immigrants sought cheap but central housing in the terraced properties of Islington. However, the settlement at this time was still largely confined to the 'reception' areas, those parts of the 'twilight zones' of Inner London which were suitable for easy communication with Cypriot work-places and leisure facilities in and around the West End. Although a movement from the inner city areas to better quality housing further out had already begun, it was still on a relatively small scale. Not until 1966 does this more fundamental change in the pattern of Cypriot settlement in London become marked in the statistics derived from the Censuses.

In 1966, Islington remained the most frequented borough, as may be seen from the accompanying table. Due to the amalgamation of London Boroughs (and in some case re-organisation), Islington now included the old area of Finsbury. Allowing for this addition, the number of Cypriot settlers in old Islington can have increased only slightly, though with an enumerated total of 10,300 this still accounted for as many as 23 per cent of all Cypriot immigrants in Greater London.

The most significant change between 1961 and 1966, however, was the emergence of the new borough of Haringey as the second most popular residential area for Cypriots in London. In 1966 just short of 8,000 Cypriot immigrants were enumerated in this area, 18 per cent of the total in Greater London. Modern Haringey comprises the previous boroughs of Hornsey, Tottenham and Wood Green, which had already begun to be settled on a small scale around 1960. It is in the Haringey area especially that future expansion of Cypriot settlement in London is probable, as families leave the inner city areas such as Islington and St. Pancras when they become able to afford improved housing. Islington, although its overall numbers remained fairly constant in the inter-censal period, probably saw much mobility of Cypriots across its borders - new immigrants coming in, and longer settled families departing northwards.

This process of residential mobility is revealed more clearly in the case of the 'old borough' of St. Pancras, now incorporated in the modern Camden. For in spite of the addition of Hampstead and Holborn areas, the Cypriot population of Camden in 1966 was about 10 per cent lower than

in 1961, indicating a substantial loss of population from the central and traditional area of Cypriot settlement around Camden Town. This change has been largely due to the processes mentioned above, though it may have been hastened by the extensive re-development of the Camden Town area which is being carried out by the Local Authority.

As for settlement elsewhere in London, this still lies mostly in other Inner boroughs both north and south of the river (see Table 10.2). But although in most Inner boroughs the actual number of Cypriots has increased, their share of the total Cypriot settlement in London has increased little if at all. In Hackney (now including the former Stoke Newington and Shoreditch boroughs) towards 8 per cent of London Cypriots now reside, the same proportion as in Southwark (which now incorporates the Camberwell area, as well as the old borough of Bermondsey): in both these cases there has been a slight increase. In Westminster, on the other hand, (this now includes old Paddington and St. Marylebone boroughs) there has been a decline not only in the proportional share of the total (to 3 per cent), but also in the actual number of Cypriot immigrants residing. In the Outer London boroughs to the north, by contrast, there has been a general tendency for Cypriot settlement to increase, although except in Haringey the numbers remain relatively small. Barnet (with towards 2,000 enumerated, or 4 per cent of London Cypriots), Enfield and Brent appear as the main Outer Boroughs, apart from Haringey, in which Cypriot settlement is increasing.

This detailed analysis of Cypriot settlement borough by borough

Table 10.2

CYPRUS-BORN POPULATION OF GREATER LONDON BOROUGHS

1966

City of London	-	Islington	10,300
Barking	60	Kensington and Chelsea	680
Barnet	1,830		
Bexley	10	Kingston upon Thames	200
Brent	1,140		
Bromley	310	Lambeth	1,680
Camden	3,690	Lewisham	910
Croydon	330	Merton	180
Ealing	450	Newham	340
Enfield	1,240	Redbridge	320
Greenwich	320	Richmond upon Thames	230
Hackney	3,400		
Hammersmith	690	Southwark	3,410
Haringey	7,960	Sutton	140
Harrow	310	Tower Hamlets	1,410
Havering	80	Waltham Forest	610
Hillingdon	230	Wandsworth	720
Hounslow	480	Westminster, City of	1,340
		GREATER LONDON	45,000

Note: Total for Greater London differs slightly from that in Census Publications since the above figures are drawn from a preliminary analysis of returns.

Source: Data made available by the General Register Office

indicates a high degree of concentration of settlement in certain regions of London. First of all, most Cypriots live north of the river - 81 per cent to be precise. Moreover, almost two-thirds of London Cypriots live in just seven of the northern boroughs: the sector defined by proceeding outwards from Camden and Islington. Almost precisely half of all Cypriot immigrants in Britain resided in this one sector of London at the time of the 1966 Census. Lastly, taking just the three main boroughs of Cypriot settlement - Islington, Haringey and Camden - the concentration is still more marked: virtually half the Cypriot immigrant population of Greater London is contained in this relatively small area.

Little change in this degree of concentration of the immigrant population occurred between the 1961 and 1966 Censuses. The proportion residing in the three most frequented boroughs (Islington, Haringey and Camden) declined only slightly between 1961 and 1966, to 49 per cent from 51 per cent, although between and within these areas there is evidence of considerable movement. Yet if instead one takes the proportion of Cypriots living in the Inner London boroughs (as defined by membership of the Inner London Education Authority), and compares it with the proportion in the Outer boroughs, there appears a marked change over the decade. The proportion residing in the Inner Boroughs declined from 77 per cent in 1961 to 65 per cent in 1966; or to put it the other way round, the increase in the proportion of Cypriot immigrants residing in the Outer boroughs rose from 23 per cent to 35 per cent. In actual numbers enumerated, the increased immigrant population in the Outer boroughs rose from 7,732 to

16,450 - more than twofold - while that in the Inner regions rose only slightly. Over this period, then, it appears that immigration from Cyprus into the reception areas of the inner city was approximately equal numerically to the amount of movement out of these areas of more established settlers. However, this overall picture conceals variations in rates of movement within the period, for the rate of immigration declined sharply in 1962, while the acceleration of movement into north London has probably occurred more recently. The Cypriot immigrant population in the inner city areas is likely to have been still increasingly quite rapidly in 1961, whereas by 1966 it was probably declining.

Density of Settlement

So far the analysis has focused on the distribution of the Cypriot immigrants population in London. As regards the density of Cypriot settlement among the London population as a whole, it is as well to note first of all that the total overall proportion of Cypriot immigrants in Greater London in 1966 was little more than one half of one per cent (see Table 10.3). Cypriots constituted 12 per cent of all 'New Commonwealth' immigrants in Greater London at that date. Considering boroughs individually, the highest density occurred in Islington, where 4.4 per cent of the borough population was born in Cyprus. In Haringey and Camden boroughs the proportions were 3.2 per cent and 1.7 per cent respectively. As a proportion of 'New Commonwealth' immigrants specifically, Cypriots were in the region of one-third in both Islington and Haringey, whereas in Camden

Table 10.3

DENSITY OF CYPRIOT SETTLEMENT IN LONDON BOROUGHS 1966

	Number born in Cyprus	% of Borough Population	% of those born in 'New Commonwealth'
Islington	10,300	4.4	36.1
Haringey	7,960	3.2	32.0
Camden	3,690	1.7	23.4
Southwark	3,410	1.2	23.5
Hackney	3,400	1.4	14.4
GREATER LONDON	45,000	0.6	12.2

Source: Population Censuses, and General Register Office.

(as in Southwark) they were slightly less than one-quarter of the total. In each of these three boroughs, the number of Cypriots was only slightly less than the number of Caribbean immigrants, the largest group in each case. Thus even if in no area were Cypriots actually the most numerous, there were three boroughs in which they could be said to be jointly the major ethnic group. In all other boroughs, not only were the Cypriots proportionately fewer, but they were far outnumbered by other ethnic minorities, in almost all cases by immigrants from the Caribbean.

Such overall figures for these very large London boroughs, with populations in the region of a quarter of a million, tell one nothing of the local propinquity of Cypriot dwellings. Here the analysis of data for Enumeration Districts carried out by the Centre for Urban Studies is valuable. These data were obtained from the 1961 Census returns, and refer to blocks of streets each containing approximately 660 persons[2].

This 'microscopic' evidence shows for 1961 that although Cypriots did tend to concentrate in certain broad areas of the city, at the local level they did not form dense compact settlements, but rather tended to be scattered among a number of adjacent localities. Thus out of some 4,500 Enumeration Districts in London, there were only 51 in which more than 10 per cent of the population had been born in Cyprus. Twenty-nine of these localities were in Islington (the old, smaller borough), the highest density being 18 per cent. A further 11 such localities were in

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[2] Figures made available by the Centre for Urban Studies, University College, London.

St. Pancras, 4 more in St. Marylebone, and the remainder in diverse other boroughs. These statistics do not of course represent ecologically defined groupings of population, but merely divisions drawn for the convenience of enumeration. Because of this, it may be that the figures conceal somewhat higher densities occurring in the occasional locality - 'natural' areas arbitrarily dissected by the enumerator's pencil. There can be few (if any) of these, however, and none with more than about 50 per cent Cypriot immigrants. The tendency would seem rather to be the other way - for local dispersal within a larger area, the whole or a substantial part of a borough. An indication of this is that in Islington alone there were 79 Enumeration Districts with 6 per cent or more persons born in Cyprus. Thus neither do Cypriots form dense clusters, nor are they so scattered among the population as to be scarcely detectable. Instead they incline to frequent certain areas of the metropolis, and within these areas to intermingle residentially with the rest of the local population in a fairly even pattern.

It should be noted with care that all that has been said so far (as well as much that follows) refers only to Cypriot immigrants in the strict sense of the word. No allowance has been made for children born in Britain to Cypriot families in the foregoing analysis, and indeed no precise information is available for the distribution of Cypriots in London which includes British-born Cypriots as well. Clearly, many of the proportions cited, especially those for the Cypriot component of local and area populations, might be slightly different if the statistical

coverage were more complete.

Greek Cypriots and Turkish Cypriots

The overall pattern of Cypriot settlement in London conceals differences between that of Greek and Turkish Cypriot immigrants. The Census does not distinguish between the two groups, but statistics for the number of immigrant children in schools which are collected by the Department of Education and Science provide an approximate indication of the distribution of Greek and Turkish Cypriots within London at the end of 1966.[3] These statistics specify the number of children born outside the British Isles, or born within the United Kingdom to parents arriving within ten years previously; and who are attending schools with ten or more 'immigrant pupils' (so defined). Greek and Turkish Cypriot children are distinguished in terms of the language spoken. The actual numbers may therefore be expected to underestimate the true number of Cypriot children of these age-groups. They are chiefly inaccurate in relation to the number of Greek children, since they exclude the many children born in Britain to parents who arrived before 1957.

Dealing first with the overall ratio of Greek to Turkish Cypriot settlement within London, it would appear from these figures that the settlement is divided in a ratio of 70 per cent Greek to 30 per cent Turkish (see Table 10.4). However, for the reason just stated, these

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3 Department of Education and Science, Statistics for Education 1967, Vol. 1, "Schools", H.M.S.O. 1968.; figures for individual Inner London boroughs made available by the Inner London Education Authority.

figures for immigrant children in schools certainly overestimate the proportion of Turkish Cypriots in London. A further reason why this ethnic ratio may be inaccurate is on account of demographic factors influencing the proportion of school-age children per total population in each ethnic sub-group. Turks, being the more recent migrants, are less likely to have completed their families; the two groups also differ as to stage of family cycle at the point of migration. Furthermore completed family size and family-building patterns may vary between them. The exact proportion of Greek and Turkish among Cypriots in London must therefore remain conjectural. It is probable, however, that the ratio of Greek Cypriots to Turkish Cypriots in London is close to 3:1. On this basis it may be estimated that the overall size of Greek Cypriot settlement in London in 1966 was approximately 60,000 persons, and that of Turkish Cypriot settlement approximately 20,000 persons.

As regards the distribution of the two groups within London, figures for the Inner London boroughs have been obtained, but a comparable series for individual Outer London boroughs has not been accessible. In the Outer London area as a whole, however, it can be seen from Table 10.4 that Cypriot settlement is predominantly Greek. Only about one-fifth of Turkish Cypriots in London live outside the Inner London boroughs (as defined for educational purposes). In Inner London therefore, Turks constitute a far more substantial proportion of Cypriot settlement, whereas in the more suburban areas they are relatively few.

Within the Inner London area, as we have already seen, Cypriot

Table 10.4

CYPRIOT IMMIGRANT CHILDREN IN LONDON SCHOOLS

JANUARY 1967

	Greek Speaking	Turkish Speaking	All Cypriot Children
Greater London	9119	3857	12976
Outer boroughs	3416	791	4207
Inner boroughs	5703	3066	8769
Hammersmith	127	31	158
Kensington & Chelsea	86	15	101
Westminster	229	11	240
Camden	862	74	936
Islington	2373	754	3127
Hackney	570	658	1228
Tower Hamlets	257	213	470
Greenwich	43	57	100
Lewisham	105	296	401
Southwark	445	670	1115
Lambeth	393	190	583
Wandsworth	213	97	310

Note: (a) "immigrant children" = children born outside the British Isles or born in the United Kingdom to immigrant parents who arrived on or after 1 January 1957.

(b) Tables relates to all County and Voluntary Primary and Secondary Schools with 10 or more immigrant pupils.

Source: Data supplied by Department of Education and Science, and Inner London Education Authority.

settlement centres on Islington, Camden and Hackney in the north, and several central boroughs immediately to the south of the river. Although Greeks may be found in all these areas, they tend to be concentrated in the northern boroughs, while the Turks are divided more evenly between north and south. In the north, Greeks live mostly in the traditional strongholds of Cypriot settlement - Camden and Islington. The chief areas of Turkish settlement in the north are Islington (though on a smaller scale than the Greeks) and neighbouring Hackney. In Camden, on the other hand, Turks are found scarcely at all: they appear not to have settled in this centre of Greek Cypriot activities. In Islington, the two groups are indeed mixed - though not to the extent that the figures might lead one to suppose. First-hand observation reveals that Greeks tend to congregate on the western side of the borough, while Turks have settled more in the north-eastern parts. In north London as a whole, therefore, the two ethnic sub-groups have a markedly different spatial distribution. This is not a case of clear segregation, but rather one of concentration in distinct though adjacent areas: the Greek Cypriots immediately north of the West End in Camden and west Islington (and also further north from there), and the Turkish Cypriots to the east of that, on the other side of Islington and in Hackney (and beyond).

South of the river, both Greeks and Turks were distributed more evenly through the Inner boroughs; but overall Turks appear to predominate on the 'south bank'. As regards individual boroughs, it is again the eastern ones in which Turks are most numerous - Southwark and Lewisham.

The numbers involved are relatively small, though, for less than one-fifth of all Cypriot immigrants in London reside south of the River Thames.

These inferences from the Department of Education statistics are confirmed by figures obtained by Nearchou for the distribution of Greek and Turkish immigrants resident in London in 1958.[4] Nearchou took a sample of 5,500 Cypriot families who called at the Government of Cyprus' London Office in that year and classified them by the postal area of their address. Again, it is doubtful how much can be accurately inferred from these figures, for the basis of the sample is unknown, as is the representativeness of callers at the Government Office. On the other hand, the number is substantial, and there is no reason to suppose that callers were unduly unrepresentative as regards area of residence. (The ratio of Greeks to Turks in the sample - 4:1 - is as would be expected for that date.) An additional difficulty is that the sample is not so much of Cypriots but of Cypriot addresses - it relates only to heads of families or single persons. Clearly, therefore, the figures cannot be regarded as in any way precise; nonetheless there is no reason to doubt the validity of the broad pattern of distribution thus revealed.

As may be seen from Table 10.5, Greek Cypriots are as before shown to be concentrated in the north and north-western areas (more detailed analysis shows the concentration to be greatest in the NW1, N1 and N7

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4 Nearchou, p.71.

Table 10.5

DISTRIBUTION OF GREEK AND TURKISH CYPRIOT IMMIGRANTS RESIDENT IN LONDON, 1958

	%	All London	By Postal Area						
			W	NW	WC	N	E	SE	SW
ALL CYPRIOTS	100.0	100.0	10.3	20.3	2.9	41.9	6.6	10.9	6.9
GREEK CYPRIOTS	79.3	100.0	12.2	23.9	3.0	40.9	5.5	6.7	7.4
TURKISH CYPRIOTS	20.7	100.0	2.9	6.3	2.4	45.4	10.6	27.0	4.8

Source: Nearchou, p.71

postal areas covering Camden Town and Islington). Turkish addresses are located chiefly in the Northern areas, and to a lesser extent south of the river. These figures for the distribution of the two ethnic groups in 1958 may be compared with those for the distribution of school-age children at the beginning of 1967. In the case of Greek Cypriot settlement there appears to have been little change in the pattern of distribution. In the case of Turkish Cypriot settlement, however, the proportion living south of the river in 1958 was substantially smaller than in 1967, indicating that Turkish settlement there has grown faster during the 1960s and that the area has been notably more attractive to Turks than north London.

In general, then, given that Cypriot settlement in London tends to be centralised and on a north-south axis, we find that the ethnic sub-groups weave something of a variation on this basic theme. The Greeks were relatively concentrated in the north, and on the western side of the settlement zone, though their settlement spread extensively into other areas. Turks, on the other hand, were most numerous on the eastern side of the settlement zone, and were fairly evenly divided between the north and south banks of the river. Turks, in addition, were more confined to the Inner boroughs of the city, Greeks having moved more into the suburban areas. Nowhere in central London was settlement exclusive to one or other group, except in the area of Camden, the focus of Greek-Cypriot community life. The Turkish-Cypriot settlement lacked such a geographical focal point, which may be in part, due to the less formally organised character of Turkish Cypriot settlement in London.

But these differences in the distribution of the two groups within London have also been influenced by a number of other factors, the chief among which is the more recent arrival of Turkish immigrants. The location of jobs and housing available to Cypriot migrants has varied through time, and longer established settlers have had the opportunity to accumulate resources sufficient to allow them more choice as regards where to live and work. The early Greek immigrants could meet their needs in the West End and Camden Town, but by the mid-fifties it was necessary for new arrivals to seek cheap housing further afield. Through the 1950s it appears that migrants were usually able to find work within the Cypriot community, but in the 1960s work as well often had to be found further afield. Thus while successful early Greek migrants moved away from the centre through choice, new migrants were settling further away too - obliged to seek cheap housing in the poorer areas to the south and east where, as we have seen, Turkish Cypriots now often predominate. Opposing these centripetal pressures were the social values of the immigrants, emphasising proximity and solidarity of kin and compatriots; these in turn tended to keep both Greek and Turkish settlement relatively distinct. Thus the emergence of the present distribution of the two ethnic sub-groups has been a complex one, the outcome principally of periods and rates of settlement, the availability of jobs and housing, traditional social values, and the development of organised ethnic communities.

CHAPTER 11

DEMOGRAPHIC CHARACTERISTICS OF CYPRIOTS IN LONDON

Sex Composition

Change in the sex composition of Cypriot settlement in Greater London reflects the changing pattern of Cypriot migration to Britain. In the earliest years of Cypriot settlement prior to the war, men greatly predominated, males outnumbering females by approximately 8 to 1 according to the Census in 1931. During the 1930s the pioneer settlers were joined by women and children, and whole families followed as well. By 1951, as may be seen from Table 11.1, the early imbalance between the sexes among the settlers had been greatly reduced. According to the Census for that year, males now outnumbered females only by a bit over 3 to 2. During the 1950s the sex ratio continued to decline, and by the time of the Census in 1961 the sex composition of Cypriot settlement in London could be said to have been relatively even. Between that time and the 1966 Census, the further reduction in the sex ratio was slight. Although the majority of Cypriot migrants since 1962 have been female their number has been small by comparison with total settlement.

At the 1966 Census, the ratio of males to females among Cypriot settlers in London was 1.18. Among adults of working age, however, the ratio was somewhat higher: in the region of 1.30, except in the case of young persons in their late teens and early twenties among whom the ratio was approximately even. Most of those in this younger age-group had come

Table 11.1

SEX COMPOSITION OF CYPRUS-BORN PERSONS IN GREATER LONDON 1931-66

(a) 1931-66

	1931	1951	1961	1966
Males	715	4,964	18,823	24,450
Females	89	3,019	15,217	20,640
Ratio	8.02	1.64	1.26	1.18

(b) 1966, by Age-Group

	15-24 years	25-44 years	45-59 years	60 years or more
Males	4,800	11,720	3,520	790
Females	4,680	8,880	2,700	1,080
Ratio	1.02	1.32	1.30	0.73

Sources: Population Censuses

to Britain as children. Among settlers of 25 years or more, the majority had come as to Britain as youths or adults, and the sex composition among them reflected that of the migration, in a cumulative sense. In the oldest age-groups, females predominated, due mainly to the substantial proportion of elderly widows, which has already been commented upon the respect of the migration.[1]

Individual London boroughs show variation as regards sex composition, associated with the differing types [redacted] of Cypriot settlement within them. Of the five boroughs most densely settled by Cypriots in 1966, four (Islington, Haringey, Southwark and Hackney) possessed nearly even sex-ratios of between 1.03 to 1.08. These ratios were markedly lower than in other boroughs where Cypriots had settled on any substantial scale. In the fifth of these boroughs (Camden), the sex-ratio was 1.40 - the highest in all settlement areas apart from Westminster. The discrepancy may be explained in relation to the growth and distribution of Cypriot settlement in London. This originated in the boroughs of Westminster and Camden, where still live many older migrants who are single or have intermarried, together with single younger men who live on the premises where they work. The other four main boroughs of settlement are more recent in this respect, and have developed as 'dormitory' areas for whole families which have settled in London, together with their increasing numbers of children born here. In such circumstances

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1 See Chapter 2

a balanced sex-ratio is to be expected. In the remaining areas of lesser (though still substantial) Cypriot settlement - mostly in north London: Barnet, Enfield, etc. - a more average sex-ratio for Greater London as a whole reflects the combination in these areas of family settlement together with a 'pioneer' element.

Outside London, the sex ratio for Cypriot settlement was only slightly higher than within London in 1966, and for settlement in Britain as a whole the ratio was 1.20 males per female.

Age Composition

As with sex composition, so through time there has also developed a more balanced age structure within the Cypriot settlement in London. This has come about not so much through change in the age composition of the migration, but simply through the ageing of the earlier immigrants already settled in London. Thus the change has been a gradual one, as is indicated by comparison of the age distribution of settlers in 1961 with that of 1966, as given in Table 11.2.

This Table shows clearly how one of the main demographic features of Cypriot settlement in London is its youthfulness. This reflects the fact that most Cypriot migrants have been young adults, and the majority arrived within ten years of the most recent Census. In 1961, 85 per cent of London Cypriots were under 45 years of age, while in 1966 the proportion was only slightly lower at 83 per cent. Two-thirds of the immigrants fell in the age-range of 15-44 years, as compared with only two-fifths of the population of London in general. Even in 1966, still

Table 11.2

AGE-GROUP OF CYPRUS-BORN PERSONS IN GREATER LONDON, 1961 & 1966

	Persons born in Cyprus		Members of Cypriot Households	Total Population of London
	1961	1966	1966	1966
All ages	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
0-4	3.3	1.2	13.2	7.7
5-14	13.3	14.2	20.3	12.4
15-24	23.9	21.1	17.9	15.2
25-44	44.1	45.5	34.4	25.5
45-64	13.4	15.7	12.2	27.0
65 +	2.0	2.3	2.0	12.2

Note: "Cypriot household" = household with head born in Cyprus

Sources: G.R.O. 1961; C.I.T. 1966; G.R.O. 1966; General Register Office, Sample Census 1966, England and Wales, County Report; Greater London, H.M.S.O. 1967.

a mere 2 per cent of Cypriot immigrants were elderly persons of 65 years or more, as compared with 12 per cent of the London population overall.

The very youngest age-group, that of 0-4 years, contained only just over 1 per cent of the immigrants, whereas that for children aged from 5 to 14 years contained 14 per cent of the total. This contrast is due to the recent low level of Cypriot migration to Britain, which has resulted in very few small children joining the settlement; whereas those who had arrived in earlier years while still under the age of 5 now swell the ranks of older children within the settlement. If the currently low level of migration continues, then the natural ageing of the immigrants already settled will perpetuate the skewed age distribution among them, while the median age rises steadily. Eventually there will be a predominantly elderly body of first-generation settlers, among whom few will be of the younger age-groups.

If children born in Britain to immigrant parents are also included in the picture, the age distribution among Cypriot settlers in London becomes substantially different. The youngest age-groups are now strongly represented, and the adult groups less predominant. Table 11.2 shows that in 1966 one-third of members of 'Cypriot households' (where the head had been born in Cyprus) were children of under 15 years: 33 per cent as compared with 20 per cent in the population of London generally. The age-range 15-44 years still contained a majority of London Cypriots but only just, i.e. with 52 per cent of the total. Those of 45 years or more were also fewer than among the immigrant group as such: 14 per cent of

London Cypriots, as compared with 39 per cent in this age-range among the London population as a whole. On this more inclusive measure, therefore, the Cypriots are still found to be an extremely youthful group, but with an age distribution now weighted more towards the youngest age-groups than those of adults. This is best indicated by the fact that in 1966 over half of all members of Cypriot households in London were under 25 years of age.

Cypriot settlement as a whole thus manifests a more balanced age structure than the migrant group alone, but by comparison with the London population generally the senior age-groups are markedly under-represented. The number of persons of pensionable age among the Cypriot minority is therefore relatively small. The 'dependants' within the Cypriot settlement are rarely the elderly, but consist almost entirely of those who have not yet reached 'working age'. Combining the 2 per cent of those of 65 years or more with the 33 per cent of those under 15 years to give a total of 35 per cent 'dependants', a crude measure of the economic 'burden of dependency' may be obtained of 0.55 dependants per person of working age within the Cypriot minority, as compared with a ratio of 0.48 among the Greater London population overall. As the minority group members age over the next decade or so, this ratio will decline. Indeed, among the immigrants as such it is a mere 0.21 dependants per person of working age, the latter constituting 82 per cent of all Cypriot immigrants in London. The higher level of 'economic activity', i.e. as regards paid employment, among Cypriot women than in

the population at large[2] is also significant in this context.

Detailed figures for the age of Cypriot children in London show that the number of children in each age-group has risen steadily during the post-war period, and seemed still to be doing so in 1966. Table 11.3 gives the estimated number of Cypriot children in London for each year of age, according to the Census enumeration in April 1966. Strictly speaking, these figures are for children in households headed by persons born in Cyprus, and would include families where the husband only was Cypriot, but not where the wife alone was so. They reveal a slightly uneven pattern of age-distribution, as is more apparent from Figure 11.1. Nonetheless, the general trend is for the age-group to be larger the younger the age, except possibly in the very youngest groups where the trend is not clear. Pre-school age-groups tended to be about twice as large as those of secondary school age.

The figures for Cypriot children as enumerated by the Census must be recognised as underestimates in view of the general tendency towards underenumeration of Cypriots in the Census which has been discussed in Chapter 9. Confirmation of this is provided by comparison of the Census figures with those collected by the Department of Education and Science for the number of immigrant children in Maintained Schools in Britain at the beginning of each year. Statistics for the number of Cypriot immigrant pupils in Greater London schools in January 1967 are also given

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2 See Chapter 12.

Table 11.3

CYPRIOT CHILDREN IN GREATER LONDON BY AGE 1966/7

	(a) By age		(b) by Year of Birth	
Years of age	Members of Cypriot households April 1966	Cypriot Immigrant Pupils in School Jan. 1967	Year of birth	No. baptised in Greek Churches to end 1967
0	1,600	-	1966	(1,843)
1	1,550	-	1965	1,861
2	1,340	-	1964	1,812
3	1,760	-	1963	1,709
4	1,470	-	1962	1,618
5	1,350	(1,567)	1961	1,318
6	1,640	1,584	1960	1,168
7	1,340	1,439	1959	1,348
8	1,250	1,308	1958	1,077
9	1,180	1,233	1957	845
10	1,180	1,096	1956	968
11	1,260	943	1955	789
12	980	819	1954	629
13	720	771	1953	507
14	880	800	1952	..
15	490	(544)	1951	..
16	310	-	1950	..

Notes: (a) 'Cypriot households' = households with head born in Cyprus.

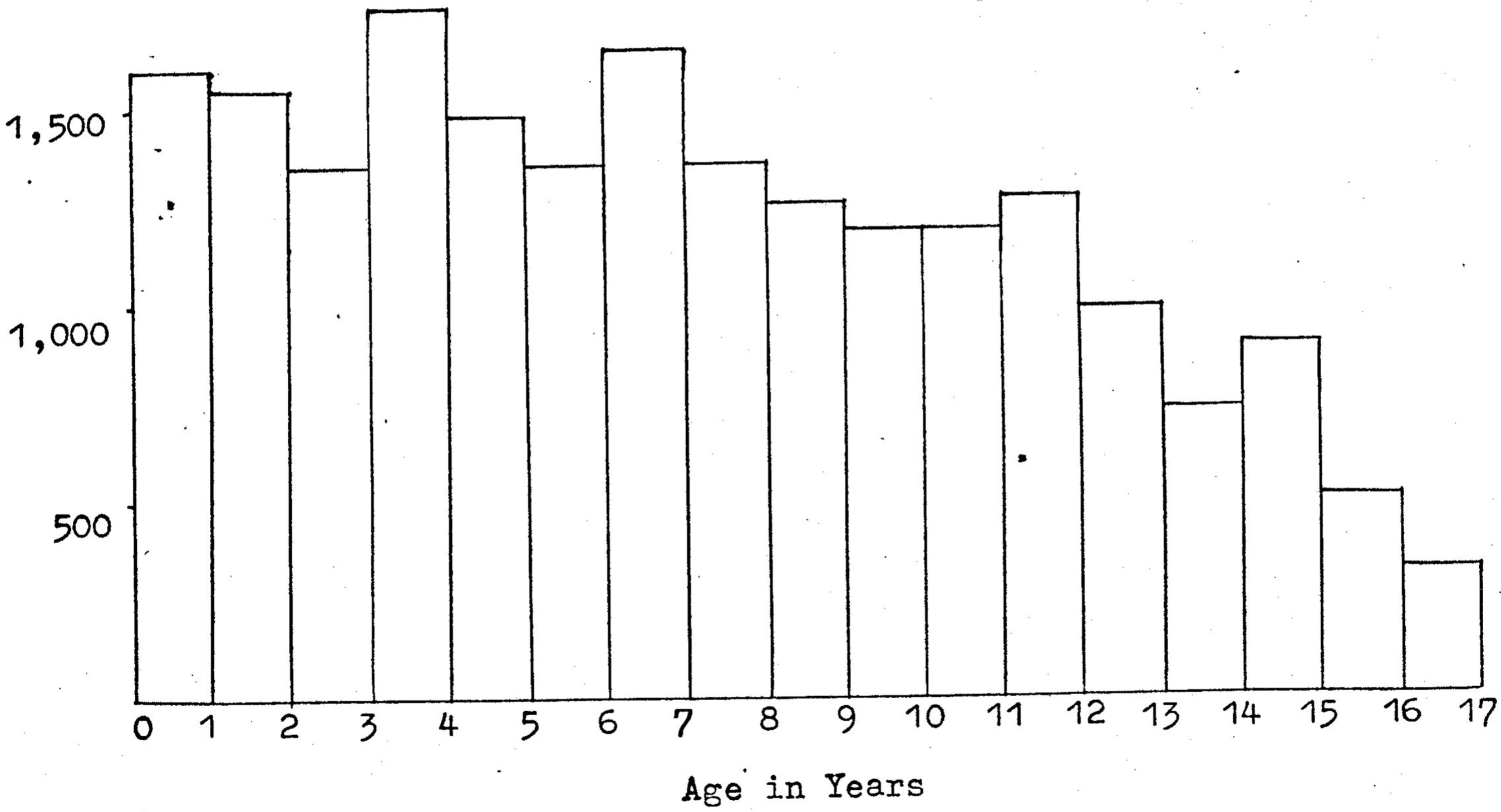
(b) 'Cypriot immigrant pupils' = Greek or Turkish speaking pupils, born outside Britain or born to parents resident in Britain less than ten years; figures for Maintained Schools only, and excluding schools with less than 10 'immigrant pupils'.

(c) Figures for year of birth of all persons baptised in Greek Orthodox churches in London up to the end of 1967; figure for 1966 does not include an estimated 80-100 baptisms of persons born in that year taking place after the end of 1967; annual totals include a small proportion of non-Cypriot persons receiving Greek Orthodox baptism, but of course exclude all Turkish Cypriots.

Sources: G.R.O. 1966; figures made available by Inner London Education Authority; figures made available by Greek Orthodox Archdiocese of Thyateira and Great Britain.

Figure 11.1

NUMBER OF CHILDREN IN CYPRIOT HOUSEHOLDS IN GREATER LONDON 1966



Source: G.R.O.1966

in Table 11.3, and among the younger age-groups these tend to be significantly higher than figures derived from the Population Census. Moreover, although the date of collection of the statistics is some months later, these 'school' statistics exclude a number of Cypriot children from the record: either because they were born in Britain to parents who arrived more than ten years earlier, or because they were located in schools with less than 10 immigrant pupils. It would be the former of these reasons that inclines the 'school' statistics to be lower than the Census figures in the older age-groups of children. Nonetheless, the 'school' statistics clearly confirm the tendency for the younger age-groups to be the larger, at least among children of school age.

Further evidence, especially for numbers in the youngest age-groups, is in the form of records of baptisms conducted at Greek Orthodox churches in London.[3] Figures for the year of birth of those receiving baptism, also given in Table 11.3, again show the trend towards larger numbers among the younger age-groups. At the youngest ages they suggest that the Census figures provide a very marked underestimate, and that the number of births within the Cypriot minority is continuing to increase annually. These 'baptismal' statistics include a small number of non-Cypriot Greek Orthodox persons, but no more than about one hundred even in recent years - and probably far less. On the other hand, they do not include any child immigrants to Britain (excepting perhaps some very small infants); and they exclude entirely the Turkish section of the

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3 Figures made available by the Greek Orthodox Archdiocese of Thyateira and Great Britain.

Cypriot minority, the children of which constitute around one quarter of all Cypriot children in London (see below). It seems probably therefore that the pre-school age-groups in 1966 contained around 2,000 or more Cypriot children, the age-group for children of less than one year containing between a total of 2,200 and 2,300. If so, the Census must have particularly underestimated the numbers of under-three year olds among the Cypriot minority. Census totals for older age-groups, on the other hand, will have been swelled by the numbers of child immigrants, and the relatively high figures for 3-year olds and 6 year-olds in 1966 may reflect the peaks periods of migration around 1960-1 and 1964. While the Census figures indicate a cumulative total of immigrant children together with those born in Britain to Cypriot parents, the 'baptismal' figures indicate the trend purely among the latter.

Only from the 'school' statistics is it possible to obtain details for Greek and Turkish Cypriot children separately. These indicate that the tendency for the younger age-groups to be the larger is common to both groups. In every single-year age-group Turkish children constituted close to 29 per cent of the total number of Cypriot immigrant pupils in Greater London schools. This constancy in the ethnic composition between age-groups seems surprising in view of the differing time-scales of migration of the two groups, In part it is due to the Turkish migrants, although more recent, including a higher proportion of children.[4] Also,

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[4] See Chapter 2.

because of the way in which 'immigrant pupils' are defined, it results from the exclusion of older schoolchildren who were born in Britain to the many Greek Cypriot parents who migrated prior to 1957. Allowing for this factor, it is likely that Turkish Cypriot children consitute somewhat fewer of all Cypriot schoolchildren, probably around 25 per cent of those in London.

No such detail for the age distribution of Cypriots living outside London is available. The broad contours of the age composition of settlement in the 'provinces' are similar to that within the Metropolis, except that the proportion of children among the Cypriots outside London is appreciably higher. Of those in Cypriot households, 40 per cent were under 15 years old outside London, as compared with 28 per cent within London.

Marital Composition

Marriage in Cyprus is almost universal, and (as pointed out in Chapter 2) takes place among women at an appreciably younger age than among men. Marriage continues to be popular among those settled in London, and the sex differential still obtains as well. According to the 1966 Census, only 4 per cent of Cyprus-born women of 45 years or more had not been married (see Table 11.4), as compared with 14 per cent in the Greater London population as a whole. Of the age-range 25-44 years, all but 8 per cent were married. The propensity of Cypriot women in London to marry young is more clearly demonstrated by the fact that 67 per cent of those of between 20 and 14 years old were married, compared with 48 per

Table 11.4

MARITAL CONDITION OF CYPRUS-BORN PERSONS IN GREATER LONDON 1966

age	% of age-group married	
	males	females
15-19	1.9	14.8
20-24	41.0	67.4
25-44	87.4	93.2
45-	93.0	95.5

Source: C.I.T. 1966

cent of women in the overall population. Fifteen per cent in the age-range 15-19 years were already married at that date, twice the proportion in London as a whole.

That men marry later than women is evident from the fact that only two-fifths of those between 20 and 24 years were married, as compared with two-thirds of Cypriot females. Compared with male Londoners generally, though, Cypriot men still marry relatively young, for only 29 per cent of the former falling in the age-range 20-24 were married in 1966. Cypriot men seem to have a slightly greater propensity to remain single than Cypriot women, but among both sexes the proportion who eventually marry is clearly extremely high.

For Cypriots living outside London, the figures produced by the 10 per cent Sample Survey are too small for fine comparisons to be made. Taking the age-range 15-44 years as a single category, though, it appears that there were fewer single women of marriageable age among Cypriots outside London: 19 per cent, as opposed to 23 per cent within London. Among men of between 20 and 44 years, on the other hand, single persons were proportionately more numerous than in London, comprising 28 per cent as opposed to 20 per cent of the respective totals.

Among the Cypriots the marriage tie, once created, is an enduring one which is rarely broken voluntarily: spouses are made dependent upon each other by the clear-cut division of tasks between the sexes, and maintenance of the relationship is given strong support by kin and the local community. In Britain most of the migrants are not subject to the

same social controls on their behaviour, and one might expect some weakening in the durability of marriages. Data for separations or desertions are not available, but the proportion of Cypriots ever married who had 'divorced' status in 1961 was 0.9 per cent, and in 1966 was 1.4 per cent. The latter proportion is somewhat higher than that for Londoners as a whole, among whom the divorced were 0.9 per cent of the total ever married. It must be noted that the numbers here are small, and since those for Cypriots are derived from the 10 per cent Sample Surveys, the reliability of these differentials is a matter of probability.

The reasons for the apparently higher proportion of divorcees among Cypriots may be several. Divorce is not approved by the Greek Orthodox Church, but may be granted by Ecclesiastical Court without limitation as to grounds: in effect, in Britain, this involves acceptance of the principles of civil law on divorce. Among Turkish Cypriots, who are Muslims, there are no religious barriers whatsoever to divorce. How far the propensity to divorce is influenced by the social conditions of Cypriots in Britain cannot be precisely determined, though it is reported by a senior official of the Greek Orthodox Church[5] that many of the cases heard by the Ecclesiastical Court involve problems of marital adjustment in the changed social conditions of Cypriot immigrants. However, the majority of divorced persons enumerated by the Census were women, and this may partly be due to divorce being a cause of migration in some cases, such as where, following divorce, a woman receives support from

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5 Personal Communication

close relatives whohave already emigrated to Britain.

Widowhood is an appreciably more common condition among Cypriot immigrants in London, in spite of the relative youth of the Cypriot population. The proportion of widowed persons rose from 4.4 per cent in 1961 to 4.8 per cent in 1966, nine-tenths of those in 1966 being women. Figures for the age of widowed persons in 1966 are not available, but in 1961 nearly four out of every five widowed persons were women of 45 years or more. These figures indicate the relatively common practice among emigrant Cypriot sons of bringing to Britain their elderly mothers if these are widowed and left without support. Widowhood among Cypriot couples already resident in Britain is far less usual in view of the predominantly youthful composition of Cypriot settlement.

Family and Household Composition

With marriage so popular among Cypriots, and family ties so strong, it is not surprising to find that the number of non-family households in the Cypriot colony is very much smaller than in the population at large. In 1966, only 4 per cent of persons in Cypriot households in London were in a non-family unit (that is, in a household without a married couple, or parent and child), as compared with 11 per cent in the total population (see Table 11.5).

Family households, however, by no means all consist of isolated nuclear families: in 1961 only half of those in Cypriot households were living as isolated nuclear families, though by 1966 this proportion had risen to two-thirds. This change still left 30 per cent of Cypriots in

Table 11.5

FAMILY COMPOSITION OF CYPRIOT HOUSEHOLDS IN GREATER LONDON

1961 & 1966

(a) Households (%)

	Cypriot Households		All Households in London
	1961	1966	1966
No family	12.3	10.4	24.1
One family only	54.7	67.2	74.0
One family + others	25.4	17.0	
Two families or more	7.6	5.4	1.9
All households	100.0	100.0	100.0
N (10 % Sample)	944	1,739	261,962

(b) Persons in Households (%)

	Cypriot Households		All Households in London
	1961	1966	1966
No family	5.2	3.9	11.1
One family only	50.1	66.5	85.2
One family + others	31.0	20.7	
Two families or more	13.7	8.9	3.7
All households	100.0	100.0	100.0
N (10 % Sample)	3,891	6,853	741,172

Note: "Cypriot household" = household with head or spouse born in Cyprus; "family" includes married couple only, and lone parent with child(ren).

Sources: G.R.O. 1961; C.I.T. 1966; General Register Office, Sample Census 1966, England and Wales, County Report: Greater London, H.M.S.O. 1967.

Britain at that time living in units of more than a single family, and virtually all of these may be assumed to have been some kind of 'extended family'. This term may be used to refer to a variety of different forms: the Census does not analyse these except to specify where 'two or more families' form a single household. Such multiple-family units constituted 5 per cent of all Cypriot households in 1966, and 9 per cent of all Cypriots residing in them: this compares with proportions of 2 per cent and 4 per cent respectively among the overall population of Greater London.

Such multiple-family households constitute a minority among all forms of extended family unit within the Cypriot settlement. Participant observation has indicated that in the majority of cases the 'extension' runs only to single siblings or cousins, or to widowed parents. The practice of bringing over from Cyprus, and caring for, widowed parents has been noted above, and the analysis of the migration showed that many migrants have siblings or other relatives in Britain[6], with whom they often reside at least initially. Indeed, in Cypriot households it is common to find one or more relatives staying as visitors, or included in the household more or less permanently with appropriate economic arrangements (paying rent, helping the mother, working for the husband, etc.).

In the majority of cases, then, there is only a single married couple,

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6 See Chapter 2

with one husband/father who is head of the household. Whichever relatives may join the household, there is no conflict as regards the legitimacy of his authority over all its members. The traditional Cypriot assumption that a man and his family should be autonomous, independent and self-sufficient is therefore in principle unchallenged.

Where two or more couples share a household, however, the situation is less likely to be satisfactory, and thus less likely to be an enduring one. Multiple-family households, however, fall into three types, each having a somewhat different character. In the first case, a married child may take not just <u>one</u> elderly parent into his home, but sometimes both - perhaps if all their children have departed from Cyprus, or if they are infirm or have suffered some other misfortune. This arrangement may give rise to a certain strain between the two couples - in Cyprus the elderly tend to maintain their own independent household for as long as possible. In Britain, however, in the immigrant situation, filial loyalty and the recognition of the needs of elderly parents jointly lead to incorporation of the latter into a son or daughter's household, and to a compromise whereby the authority of the junior couple remains unchallenged and the senior couple receive due respect. This kind of arrangement is in some instances relatively permanent, though often it is altered by the death of one of the parents, or their subsequent return to Cyprus.

A second instance of a 'three-generation' multiple-family household occurs where a child living in his or her parents' house marries without

moving out. This arrangement, apparently similar to the foregoing, is in practice crucially different. Here the senior couple retain control, and the junior remain very much subject to their authority. The young couple cannot therefore be autonomous and independent, and each is unable to realise the ideal role prescribed for them as adult Cypriots, husband and wife. Strain and even hostility is therefore common in such cases, and such households are unstable and temporary in nature. They are quite frequently encountered, though, and are largely caused (as in society at large) by the difficulty of young couples in finding appropriate housing, together with the availability of space in the parental home. In Cyprus, though, such 'premature' marriages would not be permitted (or, rather, initiated) by parents; in Britain, parental control over older children is lessened by their ability to provide for themselves economically and thus to make an independent contribution to the household (which, for example for mortgage payments, might even be dependent on such contributing). Against all this, in the case of youngest sons, it is not uncommon in Cyprus for these to remain in the parental home, and on marriage (suitably timed) take over the management of domestic and outside work. Here a definite transition takes place from this second type of arrangement to the first mentioned - a common mode of providing for property succession in agrarian societies. In Britain, however, a transition of this kind is hardly necessary since, except in the case of small family businesses conducted in the home, there is no productive property to be passed on, each family head earning his

living independently (and in retirement, too, generally having the right to receive income and other benefits from the State).

The third type of multiple-family household which issometimes found is a 'joint[illegible]-family' household of siblings, usually two brothers. Such arrangements are very unusual, and are short-lasting. They are made to meet exigencies of temporary situations, such as that in which a recently arrived immigrant family is seeking a home of its own, or in the event of some misfortune. The fact that the two parties are in business together may, for example, help the arrangement to keep going for many months or more, but sooner or later competitiveness and strains between the two families (especially if there are children) will oblige them to separate.

As has been made clear already, Cypriots do not prefer to live in multi-family households of any type: in Cyprus brothers and other relatives do not own property and manage their affairs collectively as happens in some cultures. On the contrary, in spite of undoubted loyalty to close kin, Cypriot men tend to be intensely competitive and individualistic. In their residential organisation, their spatial grouping, therefore, the norm and desire for each nuclear family is to be an independent isolate. Only filial obligations (principally of son towards widowed or elderly mother) seriously compromise this principle- hence it is that, as in Britain, the 'three-generation family' is the most common form of extended family, and the more permanent. As we have seen, though, various other forms of extended family are also found, though on

a less permanent basis. This greater variety and frequency of extended family households within the Cypriot colony does not reflect any radical difference in the patterning of kin relationships between Cypriots and British, but rather a closer sentiment and greater sense of obligation between kinsmen in this ethnic minority, together with, in the immigrant situation, a greater need to rely on others to meet the basic necessities of life such as housing. As Cypriots accommodate themselves to life in Britain, to some extent assimilating English values, and as their economic situation improves, so the extended family household will become less common as a domestic unit, and the nuclear family more prevalent. Even during the five-year period 1961-66 the change in this direction was very marked, the proportion of households comprising more than a nuclear family falling from 33 per cent to 22 per cent, - that is, by one-third.

Households of complex structure tend to be larger than nuclear family units (average of 5.2 persons as against 3.9 persons in 1966), and so it is to be expected that the mean household size within the Cypriot minority is larger than in the London population generally. The mean size of Cypriot households in 1966 was 3.9 persons, compared with 4.1 persons in 1961: that for all households in London in 1966 was only 2.8 persons. Yet while Cypriot households are tending to get smaller, the range of variation in size remains considerable. Seventeen per cent of Cypriot households in London were of 6 or more persons in 1966 (21 per cent in 1961), so that about 30 per cent of Cypriots were living in large households (37 per cent in 1961).

As far as family size in the narrow sense is concerned, the Census does not measure this directly for Cypriots in Britain. However, it is possible from other Census tabulations to measure the average number of children per Cypriot family, and also according to different types of household. Among all family households (that is, all households with at least either a married couple or parent and child), the average number of children was 1.6 per family. There were no children in 24 per cent of the families, and 4 or more children in 9 per cent of them.

Distinguishing between types of family household, the vast majority (90 per cent) of Cypriot children lived in single-family households, with only 10 per cent living in households of more complex composition. Such 'extended families' tended to have markedly fewer children on average than nuclear-families. On average there were 0.7 children per 'extended family', though 50 per cent of these families contained no children at all. Nuclear families on average contained 2.0 children, and only 10 per cent contained no children: 13 per cent of them contained 4 or more children, and 2 per cent contained 6 or more children. To a large extent these differences are due to the formation of 'extended families' at particular stages of the family cycle, as was pointed out earlier. Three-generation units are most likely to be present at the beginning and end of the family cycle, at times when there are least dependent children. Thus while nearly one-quarter of Cypriot households in London consist of 'extended families' of one kind or another, only 10 per cent of Cypriot

children reside in these relatively large units - the vast majority of 90 per cent having as their homes smaller units consisting of their nuclear family only.

Cypriots living outside Greater London are rather more likely to be living as nuclear family households (73 per cent as opposed to 67 per cent of households), and correspondingly less likely to reside in extended family units (19 per cent as opposed to 22 per cent). Provincial households tend to be larger at a mean of 4.2 persons, as compared with a mean of 3.9 persons in London. Likewise, the number of children per family tends to be larger too, at a mean of 1.9 per family as compared with 1.6 for families in London. Larger household size reflects principally a higher proportion of nuclear families with more children, but it also reflects the fact that the fewer composite households tend to be larger as well. The reason for this contrasting pattern is that, on the one hand the provinces attract established families whose heads are engaged in running small businesses, and on the other, they also attract young single immigrants who work in these businesses, part of whose return may be bed and board with the family. It is these two processes, operating in conjunction, which between them account for the differential household characteristics of Cypriots in the provinces.

Inter-marriage

Most Cypriot immigrants in London are married to fellow-Cypriots, but a significant minority of the immigrants have married outside their ethnic group, mainly men rather than women. Information as to the extent and direction of inter-marriage among Cypriots in Britain is obtainable

from two sources: the 10 per cent Sample Surveys conducted as part of the 1961 and 1966 Censuses, and the records of Greek Orthodox Churches in London.

A measure of the overall extent of intermarriage among Cypriots in London is provided by the 1966 Census, which records the birthplace of all householding couples, one or both of whom was born in Cyprus and whose household included children. According to this measure, 86 per cent of Cypriots in London were married to other Cypriots, and 14 per cent to persons from elsewhere (see Table 11.6). This measure, however, is likely to overestimate the actual extent of out-marriage among Cypriots, since it relates to persons born in Cyprus rather than of the Cypriot ethnic group. A small proportion of marriages would involve 'second-generation' Cypriots born in Britain, or Cypriots deriving originally from other territories such as Egypt.

An alternative measure, relating to the ethnic identity of marriage partners, is provided by the records for baptisms conducted in Greek Orthodox churches in London. This, of course, covers Greek Cypriots only, there being no equivalent data for Turkish Cypriots in Britain. Of all baptisms conducted in London between 1963 and 1966, 19 per cent of the children had a parent who was not Greek. This indicated that 89 per cent of Greek Cypriots had married members of the same ethnic group, and 11 per cent members of different groups, thus suggesting a somewhat lower degree of intermarriage among Cypriots than that indicated by the Census. Again, however, these figures are liable to be slightly inaccurate as a measure

Table 11.6

INTER-MARRIAGE OF CYPRIOTS IN GREATER LONDON 1953-66

	% Inter-married		
	Husbands	Wives	All married persons
1961: Persons born in Cyprus	22.3	4.1	14.1
1966: Persons born in Cyprus	22.0	4.5	14.2
1953-66: Greek parents of baptised children	15.2	6.0	10.8

Notes: (a) Figures for 1961, 1966 for householding couples only, one or both of whom was born in Cyprus and whose household included children.
(b) Figures for 1953-66 for parental ethnic group of all children baptised in Greek Orthodox Churches in London during the period.

Sources: G.R.O. 1961; C.I.T. 1966; figures made available by the Greek Orthodox Archdiocese of Thyateira and Great Britain.

of Cypriot intermarriage, not only because marriages conducted in Cyprus would be underrepresented in the baptismal statistics. For this reason, these figures too are liable to overestimate the rate of intermarriage - at least as far as Greek Cypriots are concerned. This tendency may be compensated for a little by the exclusion of marriages where children were not baptised, but there is no doubt that the number of children of Cypriot parents who are not baptised is extremely small.

Most intermarriage on the part of Cypriots in London involves Cypriot men: intermarriage of Cypriot women is relatively unusual. According to the 1966 Census, 22 per cent of Cyprus-born husbands who were householders with children were married to spouses born elsewhere, whereas with Cyprus-born wives the proportion was only 5 per cent of the total. The baptismal records, indicating the extent of ethnic rather than birthplace intermarriage, recorded 15 per cent of grooms marrying non-Greek brides, and 6 per cent of brides marrying outside their ethnic group. It is clear, therefore, that Cypriot men are substantially more likely to marry outside their group than Cypriot women. This differing propensity of the sexes towards intermarriage may be explained in relation to the contrasting positions of young men and women within Cypriot family and community. The activities and relationships of Cypriot girls are closely supervised and controlled by their parents, whereas young men are expected to be independent. Unlike Cypriot boys, girls have little opportunity to meet non-Cypriot members of the opposite sex, and are anyway far more influenced by their parents in their choice of marriage

partner. If immigrant parents had their way, the extent of intermarriage would probably be negligible. Traditional Cypriot values allow them to ensure that out-marriage among their daughters remains relatively rare, but the corresponding values afford their sons opportunities which a fair minority have chosen to take.

Cypriots marrying outside their ethnic group are most likely to marry native Britons, but marriages also take place with members of other groups as well. According to the 1966 Census, 57 per cent of intermarried Cyprus-born persons were married to a spouse born in Britain. Again, however, it must be pointed out that this is not necessarily an accurate guide to the ethnic group of the persons involved. This is indicated by an analysis of 160 marriages conducted in the first half of 1965 at All Saints Church, Camden Town. While 10 per cent of brides and grooms were married to persons born outside Cyprus, only half of these were marrying persons who were not Greek by ethnic group. Thus the rate of intermarriage outside the Greek ethnic group on the part of Greek Cypriots was only 5 per cent. The Greek partners originating elsewhere than Cyprus were derived in roughly equal proportions from North Africa, Greece, and from London - being 'second-generation' Cypriots born in Britain. Of the non-Greek partners, two-thirds were Britons, and the remainder from other countries in continental Europe.

The rate of intermarriage among Cypriots in London does not appear to have changed very greatly during the post-war period. Prior to the Census for 1966, only that for 1961 gives comparable figures for

intermarriage. In 1961, as in 1966, 14 per cent of Cyprus-born spouses were married to persons born elsewhere, indicating negligible change in the extent of intermarriage over that five-year period.

Figures for baptisms in Greek Orthodox Churches provide a longer time perspective, ranging from 1953 to 1966. Although the intermarriage rate indicated by annual totals of baptisms varies somewhat, neither from these annual figures nor from figures for aggregated four-year periods (as in Table 11.7) is any clear-cut trend apparent. This confirms that no marked increase or decline in the rate of intermarriage has taken place over that period. The propensity for Cypriot men to marry out has perhaps increased a little, while that for Cypriot women seems to have declined.

Settlement in Britain introduces a new element not only insofar as some marry outside the ethnic group: it also alters the distribution of marriages between territorially based social groups among Cypriots. Many marriages between Cypriots in Britain indicate the persisting solidarity of these groups. For example, of migrants deriving from the distinctive Karpass peninsula in north-eastern Cyprus, the analysis of Orthodox Church weddings in 1965[7] showed that of marriage partners from this part of north-eastern Cyprus almost half married others from the same region. Approximately one in six married a partner from the same (usually small) village, and many more took partners deriving from

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7 See [redacted] above.

Table 11.7

CHANGE IN INTER-MARRIAGE RATE OF GREEK CYPRIOTS IN GREATER LONDON 1953-66

	% Inter-married		
	Husbands	Wives	All married persons
1953-55	13.2	8.3	10.8
1958-60	15.2	5.7	10.7
1964-66	14.7	5.9	10.6

Notes/Sources: see Table 11.6.

villages nearby. On the other hand there was also a large minority of wide-ranging marriages, with partners originating in relatively distant parts of the island. This suggests a substantial widening of the range of choice of marriage partners within the ethnic minority in Britain, a change which clearly is proceeding faster than any tendency to marry right outside the ethnic group.

Among Cypriots outside London, the extent of intermarriage as measured by the Census is very much greater. Thirty-nine per cent of Cyprus-born persons who were householders with children were married to persons born elsewhere, towards three times the proportion in London. No comparable figures for 1961 are available. A number of these intermarried Cypriots outside London may be students or professional people, whose styles of living may dispose them more to intermarriage. Twenty-seven per cent of Cyprus-born wives outside London were intermarried, suggesting a propensity for such persons to follow their non-Cypriot husbands outside the main area of Cypriot settlement. Indeed, over half (52 per cent) of all intermarried Cyprus-born women in Britain were enumerated outside London, and nearly one-third (31 per cent) of intermarried Cyprus-born men. Whether this distribution is mainly cause or effect of intermarriage cannot be ascertained. Nonetheless, the differing proportion of intermarried persons is one of the main distinguishing features of Cypriot settlement outside London from that within.

Among Cypriots in Britain as a whole, the 1966 Census indicates that the proportion intermarried of all married Cypriots was 18 per cent: 26

per cent among Cypriot males, and 8 per cent among Cypriot females. Again, however, these figures are for persons born in Cyprus, and as pointed out earlier are liable to overestimate the extent of 'ethnic' out-marriage to a certain degree.

CHAPTER 12

THE EMPLOYMENT OF CYPRIOTS IN LONDON

The Pattern of Employment

In the earliest years of Cypriot settlement in Britain, before the war, Cypriot immigrants found work chiefly in the hotels and restaurants of the West End of London.[1] By the end of the 1930s, a number had opened small businesses of their own - for the most part small cafes - and this trend accelerated during and after the war. According to George and Millerson, the number of Cypriot restaurants and cafes in London rose from 29 in 1939 to 200 by 1945, and to 280 by 1950.[2] By the latter date there were also 60 hairdressing saloons, and numerous tailoring and dress-making shops, shoe-makers' shops and groceries.

At the beginning of the 1950s, then, it appears that the Cypriot community in London had become established on the economic basis of various craft and service businesses, the principal among these being catering. The 1951 Population Census unfortunately gives no data on the occupations of Cypriots in England and Wales: only in 1961 is this information provided for the first time. A study of records at the Cyprus Government's London Office for the years 1952 and 1958, however, suggests that during the 1950s, as the size of the community grew, significant changes were taking place in the distribution of occupations among the immigrants. Whereas in 1952 one-half of the men in the sample

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1 Government of Cyprus, London Office, Report, 1938, p.5.

2 George V. & Millerson G., "The Cypriot Community in London", Race, Vol. VIII, No. 3, Jan. 1967, pp. 284-5.

were engaged in catering, the proportion had fallen to below one-third by 1958. The proportion in craft trades such as tailoring and hairdressing remained more or less constant, and the balance was made up by a substantial shift into factory work of various kinds. Nearly a third of the sample in 1958 were engaged in factory work, by comparison with less than one in twelve in 1952.[3] The size of the community had approximately doubled during this period, though, so that the actual number involved in catering had continued to increase. However, it appears that catering and other traditional trades had been unable to expand fast enough to absorb all the new migrants who arrived during the middle of the decade; hence, increasing numbers were obliged to find work outside the community. This they were able to do on account of the positive demand for labour which prevailed throughout much of the British economy during the mid-1950s.

For the following decade, the 1960s, the further development of these trends can be charted more thoroughly, thanks chiefly to the detail provided in the 1961 and 1966 Sample Censuses. These supply a variety of classifications of the employment situation of Cypriots in Greater London, including industry, occupation and socio-economic group.

To begin with, there has been a relatively high level of 'economic activity' among Cypriot immigrants in London. Of Cypriot men, according to Table 12.1, only 10 per cent were 'economically inactive' in 1966, as compared with 16 per cent among the total population. Among Cypriot

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3 George & Millerson, op. cit., p.283

Table 12.1

ECONOMIC ACTIVITY OF CYPRUS-BORN PERSONS IN GREATER LONDON 1961 & 1966

%	1961 male	1961 female	1966 male	1966 female
Economically Active	89.7	45.7	89.5	47.2
Economically Inactive	10.3	54.3	10.5	52.8
Retired	..	..	1.6	0.3
Students	..	..	7.0	3.5
ALL PERSONS OVER 15 YEARS	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
N (10% Sample)	1,294	982	2,083	1,734

Sources: G.R.O. 1961; C.I.T. 1966.

women too the level was relatively high, with 47 per cent 'economically active' as opposed to 42 per cent generally. As for change between 1961 and 1966, the level of 'economic activity' among men was virtually unchanged, while that among women rose slightly. Among the 'inactive' men in 1966, two-thirds (7 per cent of the total) were students in educational establishments, and about one in seven were in retirement. The proportion of women who were full-time students was 3.5 per cent. The remaining proportion of Cypriot women, just under 50 per cent, may be assumed to have been engaged in domestic work in their own homes.

The occupations of economically active Cypriots are shown classified into broad categories in Table 12.2. This indicates a stable pattern of occupations in which there was a concentration in craft, factory and service occupations. This applies equally to both men and women, though among the latter the service occupations played a smaller part than among men. There was no significant participation in primary production at all, and in transport and communications only a small amount on the part of Cypriot men. In the non-manual occupations representation was low, though there had been some increase over the five-year period. Although this occurred to some extent in the professional, administrative and managerial occupations, it was the increase at the clerical and sales grades that was more marked in terms of numbers. Taking all these latter groups of occupations as a whole, there was an increase from 8 per cent to 14 per cent at the non-manual level for men and women alike - the most notable rise having been in the proportion of women clerical workers.

Table 12.2

OCCUPATIONS OF CYPRUS-BORN PERSONS IN GREATER LONDON, 1961 AND 1966

	MALES		FEMALES	
%	1961	1966	1961	1966
Professional, Technical and related workers	2.2	3.6	0.7	1.8
Administrators and Managers	0.9	1.4	0.9	0.4
Clerical Workers	2.8	3.3	4.5	8.1
Sales Workers	4.1	5.7	1.6	3.3
Service, Sport and Recreation workers	36.7	33.8	15.8	13.6
Transport and Communications workers	2.7	3.2	0.4	0.0
Craftsmen, Production Process workers & Labourers n.e.c.	43.9	44.6	69.9	68.9
Farmers, Fishermen and Foresters	0.2	0.0	0.0	0.0
Miners, Quarrymen and related workers	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
Not classified	6.5	4.4	6.2	3.9
Total Economically Active	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
N (10% Sample)	1,161	1,864	449	818

Sources: G.R.O. 1961; C.I.T. 1966

By comparison with the population of Greater London as a whole, as may be seen from Table 12.3, male Cypriots were greatly over-represented in service occupations. Over a third of Cypriot men were employed in such occupations in 1966, as compared with less than 8 per cent among the overall population of Greater London. The proportion of Cypriots in craft and production work was similar to that among Londoners overall, but in other occupations Cypriots were markedly under-represented. The proportion of Cypriots in professional, managerial and clerical occupations was less than one-third of that among Londoners generally in each instance; of non-manual grades, only sales occupations involved Cypriots to comparable extent. Although the figures for 1966 showed an increase in the proportion of Cypriots in the non-manual occupations compared with 1961, the level remained well below that of the rest of the London population.

The distribution of occupations among the Cypriot settlers differed also quite markedly from that of their jobs immediately prior to migration. From Table 12.4, however, one can see that there was a tendency for workers in occupations in which Cypriot settlers were well-established in Britain to be over-represented among the migrants by comparison with the occupations of the population of Cyprus as a whole. This suggests that the development of specialisation in craft and business and services among the Cypriots in Britain in turn attracted workers with special skills in these fields. Correspondingly, with little participation in transport and communications work and next to none in primary production in Britain, there was under-representation of these occupations among the migrants. The

Table 12.3

OCCUPATIONS OF MALE CYPRUS-BORN PERSONS IN GREATER LONDON COMPARED WITH TOTAL POPULATION 1966

%	Male Persons Born in Cyprus	All Males in London
Professional, Technical & related workers	3.6	11.0
Administrators & Managers	1.4	5.7
Clerical Workers	3.3	11.3
Sales Workers	5.7	8.9
Service, Sport & Recreation workers	33.8	7.6
Transport & Communications workers	3.2	10.1
Craftsmen, Production Process workers and Labourers n.e.c.	44.6	39.5
Farmers, Fishermen & Foresters	0.0	0.7
Miners, Quarrymen & related workers	0.0	0.0
Not Classified	4.4	5.2
Total Economically Active	100.0	100.0
N (10% Sample)	1,864	246,830

Sources: C.I.T.1966; General Register Office, Sample Census 1966, England and Wales, Economic Activity County Leaflet: Greater London, H.M.S.O. (n.d.)

Table 12.4

COMPARISON OF OCCUPATIONS OF MALE CYPRIOTS IN LONDON WITH PREVIOUS OCCUPATIONS OF CYPRIOT MIGRANTS

%	ALL CYPRUS	CYPRIOT MIGRANTS	CYPRIOTS IN LONDON	
	1960	1960-66	1961	1966
Professional, Technical and related workers	3.9	3.8	2.2	3.6
Administrators and Managers	1.6	1.4	0.9	1.4
Clerical workers	6.5	9.4	2.8	3.3
Sales workers	6.7	8.7	4.1	5.7
Service, Sport and Recreation workers	8.4	12.5	36.7	33.8
Transport and Communications workers	5.7	4.4	2.7	3.2
Craftsmen, Production Process workers & Labourers n.e.c.	33.4	49.0	43.9	44.6
Farmers, Fishermen and Foresters	26.6	7.9	0.2	0.0
Miners, Quarrymen and related workers	2.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
Not classifiable	5.2	2.9.	6.5	4.4
Total Economically Active	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
N	161,628	17,188	1,161	1,864

Note: London data derived from Census 10% Sample Surveys: figures for persons born in Cyprus.

Sources: C.P.A. 1960; V.& M.S./D.E.; G.B.O. 1961; C.I.T. 1966

anomaly here, however, is the situation of clerical and sales workers, who made up 18 per cent of the migrants during 1960-66, compared with only 13 per cent of the Cyprus population. Yet with only 7 per cent and 9 per cent of Cypriots in London in these occupations in 1961 and 1966 respectively, it would appear that many such migrants changed to manual occupations on settlement. The extent of the change is probably exaggerated in the Table since the figures do not include earlier migrants who were more exclusively drawn from the manual occupations. The reasons for the change are not altogether clear, though opportunity - the opportunities immediately available, and made so by relatives and friends- must have been the predominant factor. The limited knowledge of English that many migrants possessed may also have been an obstacle. Lastly, there may have been some discrimination against Cypriots by non-Cypriot employers, though according to the P.E.P. Report on Racial Discrimination the extent of discrimination against Cypriots was small by comparison with that against coloured persons.[4]

The Census classification by socio-economic group provides further detail of the employment situation of Cypriots in employment in London in 1966. In the manual grades, skilled workers predominated among men and semi-skilled among women, while with neither sex were unskilled workers more than a small minority. Moreover, the proportion of workers lacking skills altogether declined considerably over the five year period between

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4 Racial Discrimination, Political and Economic Planning, 1967, p.74

Table 12.5

SOCIO-ECONOMIC GROUP CYPRUS-BORN PERSONS

IN GREATER LONDON, 1961-1966

	MALES		FEMALES	
%	1961	1966	1961	1966
Employers & Managers				
- large establishments	0.0	0.5	0.0	0.2
- small establishments	12.8	10.2	3.9	2.2
Professional workers	0.9	2.6	0.0	0.1
Intermediate non-manual workers	1.1	1.0	0.7	1.5
Junior non-manual workers	5.1	5.3	5.9	10.8
Personal Service workers	20.6	19.3	8.0	7.0
Foreman & Supervisors - manual	0.5	1.2	0.0	0.2
Skilled manual workers	28.3	28.7	19.6	18.2
Semi-skilled manual workers	9.5	11.4	49.6	49.0
Unskilled manual workers	10.8	6.8	4.3	1.8
Own-account workers (non-professional)	7.7	11.2	3.7	6.3
Farmers & agricultural workers	0.1	0.0	0.0	0.0
Not classified	2.6	1.8	4.3	2.7
Total Economically Active	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
N (10% Sample)	1,161	1,864	438	818

Sources: G.R.O. 1961; C.I.T. 1966

Censuses. At the non-manual level, the Census revealed a substantial proportion of employers and managers among Cypriot men, but these were almost exclusively engaged in small establishments - that is, employing less than 25 persons. Hence it is not surprising that most other non-manual workers outside the professions were of junior, rather than intermediate, status. Finally, there was a noticeably high proportion of (non-professional) own-account workers. Among both men and women the proportion increased by more than half between 1961 and 1966. The figures therefore indicate a marked propensity for Cypriots to set themselves up in small-scale business independently, either with or without employees. This propensity is confirmed by the classification by 'economic status' given in the Census, which shows that as many as 20 per cent of all Cypriots in employment were self-employed, compared with 9 per cent of the total Census population. Only just over a third of the self-employed Cypriots had employees working for them.[5]

Turning now to look at the industries in which Cypriots in London were employed, we find that the concentration in a limited range of craft and service industries which was noticed in earlier decades persisted through into the 1960s. However, there also continued a trend away from the 'traditional' industries for Cypriot immigrants that had begun during the 1950s. It can be seen from Table 12.6 that the non-professional services, the clothing and footwear trades, and the distributive trades

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5 George & Millerson, op. cit., p.283.

Table 12.6

INDUSTRY OF MALE CYPRUS-BORN PERSONS

IN GREATER LONDON, 1961 & 1966

%	1961	1966
Agriculture, Forestry, Fishing	0.1	0.0
Mining & Quarrying	0.0	0.0
Food, drink & tobacco	7.2	6.1
Chemicals & allied industries	0.5	0.7
Metal manufacture	0.5	0.6
Engineering & electrical goods	4.8	5.5
Shipbuilding & marine engineering	0.0	0.0
Vehicles	0.6	0.8
Metal goods n.e.s.	1.1	2.1
Textiles	0.5	1.0
Leather, leather goods & fur	0.6	0.8
Clothing & footwear	14.5	12.7
Bricks, pottery, glass, cement, etc.	1.5	0.6
Timber, Furniture, etc.	3.3	2.4
Paper, printing & publishing	0.8	1.2
Other manufacturing industries	1.6	1.6
Construction	4.0	6.1
Gas, electricity & water	0.5	0.6
Transport & Communication	3.8	4.4
Distributive trades	10.3	11.4
Insurance, banking & finance	0.5	1.1
Professional & scientific services	2.1	3.7
Miscellaneous services	38.2	33.9
Public administration & defence	0.8	0.7
Not classifiable	2.2	2.0
Total in employment	100.0	100.0
N (10% Sample)	1,097	1,787

Sources: G.R.O. 1961; C.I.T. 1966

still dominated the picture, but between 1961 and 1966 their combined proportion of the total dropped by approximately 5 per cent. But what is equally striking as the concentration of the majority is the wide spread across a variety of industries of the remainder. In fact, Cypriots were represented in almost every kind of industry except for heavy industry, which in London is practically absent anyway. On the one hand this reflects the tendency for at least a few Cypriots to take up almost every kind of trade that could possibly be of value to their community - cornering a ready market, and simultaneously rendering the community practically self-sufficient. In the areas of north London most densely settled by Cypriots, such as Camden Town or Finsbury Park, almost every need can be satisfied by a fellow-Cypriot: from food to housing, furniture to transport, publishing to finance, and medicine to religion. On the other hand, the spread of occupations indicates how Cypriots in London have accepted the wide range of opportunities open to them in their new environment, working mostly in the light industries which abound such as food-processing and light-engineering, and also to some extent in construction.

Among Cypriot women in employment, there was no comparable spread across the range of industry, but instead an even greater concentration than with men - a concentration in the clothing industry. In both 1961 and 1966, rather more than three-fifths of Cypriot women in employment were engaged in this industry. During the 1950's, according to George & Millerson, the proportion was much higher: 85 per cent in 1958, and 95

Table 12.7

INDUSTRY OF FEMALE CYPRUS-BORN PERSONS
IN GREATER LONDON, 1961 & 1966

%	1961	1966
Clothing & Footwear	61.7	60.7
Miscellaneous Services	14.8	12.8
Distributive Trades	8.0	10.6
Other	15.5	15.9
Total in Employment	100.0	100.0
N (10% Sample)	438	790

Sources: G.R.O. 1961; C.I.T. 1966

per cent in 1952.[6] The other industries in which Cypriot women were engaged were principally the distributive trades and the non-professional services, catering being the chief among the latter. In both 1961 and 1966, only 15 per cent of Cypriot women working were employed outside these industries.

Cypriots living outside London differed significantly from those within London in the pattern of their employment. This difference occured not only in the occupations of Cypriots and the industries in which they were employed, but also in their socio-economic status.

The principal difference was that, outside London, a far higher proportion of Cypriot men were engaged in the 'services' sector, chiefly in the catering and hotels industry. Thus while the proportion of London Cypriots engaged in this field had declined substantially since the war to 20 per cent in 1966, the proportion of those outside London in catering and hotels remained high at 58 per cent. Apart from this majority in catering and hotel industry, there was no concentration in any other industry on the part of Cypriots outside London. Few Cypriots outside London have entered the retail trade (4 per cent as opposed to 9 per cent), and scarcely any worked in the clothing and footwear industries (2 per cent as opposed to 13 per cent). And manufacturing industries generally (other than clothing and footwear) engaged Cypriots substantially less than in London (13 per cent by comparison with 23 per

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6 George & Millerson, op. cit., p.283.

cent).

In terms of socio-economic group or status, the main difference between London and provincial Cypriots was that relatively few of the latter were engaged in manual occupations (20 per cent as opposed to 48 per cent). On the other hand, 25 per cent were either employers or managers (as compared with 11 per cent), and a further 13 per cent were own-account workers (also 11 per cent for Greater London). Professional grades were thinly represented, as in London, and so were other grades of non-manual workers apart from the substantial proportion classified as 'personal service workers' (30 per cent - 19 per cent in London).

Among Cypriot women living outside London, a smaller proportion of those aged 15 and over were economically active (39 per cent as opposed to 46 per cent), and the proportion in this case was very close to the national average of 38 per cent. But whereas the majority of women workers in London were engaged in the clothing industry, very few outside London were working in this field (an estimated 140 women, or 13 per cent). Most women outside London were engaged in service industries, as with Cypriot men, and 51 per cent of those economically active were working in catering or hotels (as opposed to a mere 5 per cent in London).

The Catering Trade

The catering and hotel industry still maintained its position as the most popular for Cypriot men during the 1960s, though the proportion engaged in it continued to fall - through 27 per cent of the total in 1961, to 20 per cent in 1966. However, as the total number of immigrants

increased more than proportionately, there was little, if any, numerical decline in the number concerned. Allowing for under-estimation in the Census statistics, one can estimate that in 1966 there were approximately 4,500 Cypriot men working in catering and hotels in London alone. Adding in some 500 Cypriot women who also worked in this sector, we have a total of around 5,000 Cypriots involved in catering and hotel work in London at that time. Outside London, a clear majority of employed Cypriots were engaged in catering and hotels as well, so that the total for the whole of Britain was substantially higher.

The steady fall in the proportion of London Cypriots involved in the catering and hotel trades was accompanied by a change in their employment status. Before the war, Cypriots worked mostly in the kitchens of the large hotels and restaurants, with a minority working as waiters. In 1952, the Cyprus Government's London Office could still report that many first-class hotels and restaurants, such as the Savoy, the Ritz, the Mayfair and the Berkeley, were 'almost entirely staffed by Cypriots' on the catering side.[7] However, by 1950, as we have already seen, there were some 280 cafes and restaurants in London run by Cypriots, and by 1952, according to the London Office report, the number had risen beyond 300.[8] Thus from the wartime onwards, Cypriots were leaving employment in the large catering establishments and setting up in business

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[7] Government of Cyprus, London Office, Report, 1952, p.4.

[6] ibid

on their own. Rents were relatively cheap at that time, and even quite modest savings were sufficient for a hard-working family to set up and maintain a small business. With the aid of a relative or two, and later a few more, the business could be expanded, for the wages that new immigrants (who received board and lodging free) required were small.

This post-war practice on the part of Cypriots of setting up in business on their own is not peculiar to those who worked in catering. Rather, it is a general characteristic of Cypriot immigrants in Britain, displayed by those working in skilled and other trades as well. The source of the motivation for many Cypriots is the value generally placed in their culture on personal independence: economic independence being both a means to this end, as well as part of the end in itself. In catering, the opportunity to achieve it lay partly in the cheapness of rents and wages, as has already been pointed out. Also, of course, it lay in the fact that, by working for many years in a variety of jobs in large restaurants, they could acquire all the skills of a trade that scarcely any had been acquainted with prior to settling in Britain.

The types of restaurant run by Cypriots vary greatly. The earliest cafes which were opened before the war were largely for the benefit of other Cypriots, with manager and clientele generally deriving from the same village. On the one hand, they served the traditional functions of the village coffee-house: a meeting-place for men during their leisure-hours, a centre for information and discussion, and the home of leisure pursuits such as coffee-drinking, smoking and traditional games

of skill and chance. On the other hand, in the new environment, they acquired additional functions as well, changing their character somewhat. Most of their customers had neither wives nor homes in London, and even if they did, these were often too far out to return to during the 'in-between' hours of restaurant work. They therefore looked to these cafes to provide their meals, and indeed to provide practically all of their entertainment outside the hours of work and sleep. In view of their importance and popularity, they often took on welfare functions in a small way - providing credit or lending in hard times, as a source of advice, and in general permitting a sense of security for the new arrivals in a strange surroundings. Sometimes, too, the villagers associated with a cafe would collectively arrange financial or other aid for some project in their native village.

Although the original pre-war Cypriot cafes in the Soho area have now almost all disappeared, many cafes of this type can still be found in the areas of north London, such as Camden Town and Islington, where most of the post-war immigrants first settled. Some are quite explicit about their community focus, such as the Akanthou Social Club, while others which are equally village-oriented take the name of the proprietor, or perhaps some more exotic title such as Flamingo Club. For their exclusively male clientele, these cafes offer a completely Cypriot atmosphere - either in the traditional manner of the village coffee-house, or, if they are out to appeal to the younger generation, in a more modern style typical of the towns in Cyprus, complete with Espresso Bar and

Juke-Box.

Cafes of this type are essentially neighbourhood cafes: places where the local menfolk can enjoy their leisure hours in the company of fellow Cypriots, free from the domestic scene in which traditionally they have no place. Such cafes, however, are not the only kind of establishment run by Cypriots which is aimed at other Cypriots rather than outsiders. There have also sprung up more recently a number of restaurants, setting themselves quite high standards in cuisine and entertainment, which aim to appeal to the more affluent Cypriots in London. While the style of these restaurants and clubs remains distinctly Cypriot, they have a more cosmopolitan character. Their clientele is more commonly whole families, who may well be strangers to one another, and in this respect they contrast with the all-male clientele of 'regulars' who patronise the traditional type of Cypriot cafe in London. The emergence of this newer type of Cypriot restaurant 'for Cypriots', and the concomitant decline of the traditional village-type cafe, reflect social changes currently occurring among the Cypriot minority in Britain.

Cafes and restaurants which are run for a non-Cypriot clientele are of a variety of kinds, ranging from fish-and-chip shops, through coffee-bars, to exclusive West End restaurants. Unlike their Italian, Indian or Chinese counterparts, Cypriots do not have a cuisine which has been identified as distinct and attractive by the society at large, and few 'Cypriot' restaurants offer distinctively Cypriot fare. Outside London's West End, almost all 'Cypriot' cafes and restaurants are

British in style, and their Cypriot ownership is usually unidentifiable. Even in the West End, Cypriot-owned restaurants tend to offer Greek and Turkish food as but one part of a broadly continental-style cuisine.

Conditions of work in the catering industry compare poorly with those in other industries, and it is not surprising that Cypriot restaurateurs have been dependent on new immigrants to maintain or increase their complement of employees. In the kitchens, especially, the work may be by no means pleasant, and for all the hours are long. With the inconvenient afternoon rest-period filling out the day, little opportunity remains for family life or other organised leisure activities. Wages, too, are generally low in the catering industry. Even in the mid-1960's, the basic wage rate for many waiters was little above £6 a week. Tips may raise such a figure quite substantially, but if the waiter lives and eats in, the rate is correspondingly reduced. On top of all this, there is of course a marked seasonal variation in the demand for labour, which in earlier times particularly caused considerable unemployment among Cypriot immigrants.

As the years of settlement pass, however, most Cypriots manage to move out of the lower grades of catering work, either by attaining more senior status within the enterprise, or by saving money to buy a catering business of their own, or alternatively by leaving the catering trade altogether. Starting one's own business was a lot easier soon after the war than it is now, for high rents have to be met, and also much higher wage bills. No longer is it possible to bring over a steady trickle of

relatively cheap labour from Cyprus. The restrictions imposed under the Commonwealth Immigrants Act of 1962 have made the importation of Cypriot labour increasingly difficult, and Cypriot employees already in London have correspondingly benefited from this shortage of potential recruits. Not only have restaurants been forced to improve wages and conditions in order to keep their staff; they have also been obliged to engage non-Cypriot employees to some extent, especially since the number of Category A Vouchers became restricted in June 1965.

The Clothing Industry

Similar pressures have influenced developments in the clothing industry, at least as far as Cypriot businesses are concerned. No record of the total number of Cypriot firms is available, but in 1966 the industry was the second highest employer of Cypriot men, and by far the highest of Cypriot women. Again, as with catering, the proportion was tending to decline slightly, but in 1966 one in every eight men, and almost two in every three women were still engaged in the clothing industry. The men work either as craft tailors, or else as managers or specialist skilled workers (design, maintenance, etc.) in small factories which are chiefly devoted to the manufacture of women's outerwear garments. It is these factories which employ almost all of the women too, either within the workshop itself or alternatively on their own machines in their homes.

The women's outerwear industry is largely based on London, and is characterised by small, often poorly equipped factories and a long tradition of immigrant labour. During the post-war period there has been

a persistently acute shortage of labour, and Cypriot immigrants, whether skilled or not, have readily found work in it. Most are engaged in small 'outdoor' factories, which provide 'cut, make and trim' services for larger firms which both supply the cloth and wholesale or retail the product. Dresses and blouses are the main items of clothing produced. Many women are employed to do the machining stage in their own homes, and such homework is more common with blouses which can be easily transported, can be more nearly finished by the machinist, and which are easier to check on return. Homeworking has advantages for both worker and employer. In particular, it allows married women with children to continue working part-time at a good wage-rate, and it may permit language difficulties to be overcome. For employers it saves on overheads, and homeworkers are self-insured for National Insurance purposes and do not require holiday payments. It also has the advantage of seasonal flexibility in an industry in which seasonal variation in demand is an important factor. This in turn renders the full-time workers in the factories more secure in their employment all the year round.

While the clothing industry remains organised in this manner, it is easy to start up in business on very little capital. The early Cypriot clothing workers generally found employment in Jewish or other non-Cypriot firms in central London, but the more enterprising soon found that they could manage successfully on their own with one or two family workers and their machines. In a back room or a basement they could set up a workshop, and in addition would hire a factory cutting-room one or two

nights a week. The wife and other female relatives would do the machining at home, and the husband would be responsible for handling all outside matters, including obtaining an appropriate supply of work. Starting perhaps with one machine only, before long enough might be saved to bring over a sister or cousin, and then another and another until the scale of operation becomes large enough to occupy a proper workshop or small factory. To judge from advertisements in the Cypriot press, Cypriot factories first became established in some number in the first half of the 1950's, and since then the quantity has continually grown. As then, most are still small in scale, employing not more than a dozen workers. However, there are by now a number of quite large Cypriot clothing factories in central and north London, and a few with their own West-End showrooms. From small beginnings they have grown to become substantial family enterprises, although many others no doubt have been less successful or have failed.

As with Cypriots in catering, the early migrants in the clothing industry settled in Camden Town and Islington in order to be near the workshops in the Soho area. More recently, however, many Cypriots have moved northwards, away from the centre, to make their homes in Haringey, Stoke Newington and around. Affluence has enabled them to buy houses in more pleasant and prestigious areas, and to afford a longer journey to work. The factories, in turn, have tended to follow them, first to Islington and Camden Town, and currently out into the suburbs. The reason for this is the serious shortage of labour, especially since the

restriction imposed on the issue of Category A Employment Vouchers (as prescribed by the Commonwealth Immigrants Act 1962) for new immigrants in [redacted] 1965. Since that date it has become increasingly difficult for employers to obtain Cypriot labour, indeed for them to obtain any immigrant labour at all. Correspondingly, the earnings of women workers in the trade, almost all of whom are on piece-work rates, have risen phenomenally. Expanding businesses bid keenly against each other for new workers, using half-page or full-page advertisements in the Greek-Cypriot press. To experienced machine-workers, they offer earnings of £30, £35 or even £40 a week, both for factory work and also for homework. New, inexperienced workers begin lower, but can quickly come to receive the full rate. Earnings today are at least two, and sometimes three times as high as they were in the middle to late 1950s, if newspaper advertisements may be taken as a guide. Thrown into the bargain are two or three weeks holiday a year, bonuses of one kind or another, improved working conditions and a characteristically Cypriot atmosphere with recorded music and other attractions. Of course, many smaller firms cannot offer such rewards as these, and wage rates are proportionately lower. However, it is the larger newer businesses that set the pace, and those who cannot keep up will be unable to retain their employees. It becomes far less profitable to set up a small new family business when women can earn so much elsewhere. The labour shortage induced by immigration controls may therefore set in motion some major structural changes in the industry, changes in both the size and the location of

factories.

One of the main reasons why many Cypriots have entered the clothing industry in Britain is that they had already acquired the appropriate skills before emigrating. Some men would have worked as tailors previously, and almost all women would have already acquired the basic skills of dressmaking. In the same way, the fact of skills previously acquired accounts in part for tendency of Cypriots to enter certain other skilled trades, such as hairdressing, leather-working (including shoe-menders) and wood-working. However, by no means all of those entering these trades would have had previous experience in Cyprus, family recruits frequently being given the opportunity to learn the skills on the job. Retailing is further trade which is popular among Cypriots. Greengrocery and general grocery are most common, but to some extent almost every product is covered. About one in every nine Cypriots work in the distributive trade of one kind or another. Both in retailing and some of the skilled trades (principally hairdressing), Cypriots have opened shops far beyond the limits of dense Cypriot settlement, and by now their distribution covers almost the whole of Greater London.

The Ethnic Economy

Cypriot settlers in Britain thus work principally in the following trades, roughly in order of importance: the catering trade, the clothing trade, other trades involving traditional craft skills, and retailing. It is estimated that in 1961, at least $\frac{2}{3}$ of Cypriot men and of Cypriot women were occupied in one of these trades, not including those involved

in clerical or managerial capacities. Some of these businesses involve factory production, and others direct personal contact with the consumer. They differ also in certain other respects too. However, one important feature which they all have in common is that in every case it is possible for a single man to start up in business on his own, and to be successful while keeping that business a small-scale family enterprise which the owner manages personally. In Cypriot culture a high value is placed on autonomy and self-sufficiency in a man, and in his family as a unit; and in the economic context these values are realised in self-employment and the owner-management of small familistic firms. In 1966 (as shown in Table 12.8) one-fifth of all Cypriot men at work were self-employed, more than twice as many as in the population as a whole. This proportion is almost identical to its equivalent in 1961, and the sample survey statistics indicate that towards 1500 Cypriots set themselves up in business on their own during the five-year period. It should be noted, however, that almost all of the numerical increase is accounted for by persons without employees. The correspondingly slight increase in the number with employees under them suggests that opportunities for expanding personal or immediate family businesses are now much less than in the 1950s. One factor which would account for this is the labour shortage caused by the restriction on Cypriot immigration during the 1960s. Not only has this presented intrinsic difficulties to aspiring and existing employers, but, as already pointed out, it has caused substantial rises in wages and other costs. Some firms may have gone out of business

Table 12.8

SELF-EMPLOYMENT AMONG MALE CYPRUS-BORN PERSONS IN GREATER LONDON 1961 & 1966

%	1961	1966
Self-Employed	19.5	19.5
without employees	8.9	12.3
with employees	10.6	7.2
Employees	80.5	80.5
TOTAL IN EMPLOYMENT	100.0	100.0
N (10% Sample)	1,144	1,787

Note: 1961 figures for 'six major conurbations' combined: include 47 (4.1%) persons resident outside Greater London.

Sources: G.R.O. 1961; C.I.T. 1966.

or been bought out for these reasons: No representative data is available on this point, though advertisements in the Cypriot press indicate that a considerable amount of buying and selling of businesses takes place. Large Cypriot firms do exist, as noted earlier of the clothing industry, but they are very few, and according to the 1966 Census, only 5 per cent of Cypriot employers and managers worked in establishments of more than 25 persons.

This predominance of small family businesses is particularly marked among Cypriots living outside London. As we have already seen, the majority of these were employed in the catering and hotel trade, and were located in a variety of towns and cities up and down the country. A small number of evidently entrepreneurial Cypriots own large hotels or chains of cafes and restaurants, but for the most part Cypriot businessmen are owner-managers of small-scale enterprises. Among Cypriots outside London, 32 per cent were self-employed in 1966 (two-fifths with employees, three-fifths without), as compared with 20 per cent within London. Family businesses, with wives working alongside husbands, are also more common, as indicated by a higher proportion of Cypriot women working in the catering trade.

The overall pattern of work among Cypriots in Britain thus by no means reflects that of the population at large, for Cypriots are concentrated in certain craft and service industries, work mainly in small familistic firms in central and north London, and have a high rate of self-employment. In part this is accounted for by the opportunities open to them at

different stages of settlement, in part by the skills acquired prior to immigration, and in part by choice exercised in accordance with Cypriot cultural values. The result constitutes the economic basis on which Cypriot community life in Britain has developed, and in economic terms this community may be judged to have been generally successful. By means of providing important economic services for the wider society, and providing also for most of its own economic needs, the Cypriot community has made itself an integrated and also largely self-sufficient element within the economy generally.

From the point of view of the individual migrant, too, success has been the lot of most, in that settlement in Britain has enabled them to find jobs no worse, and usually better than could be obtained Cyprus; in that these have in turn provided economic and social security for Cypriot workers and their families; and in that the wages earned allow a higher standard of living than would be possible in their home country. But for many these rewards have not been easy to come by, in a strange country where economic customs and language may be poorly understood. Principally they have been achieved by dint of hard work: long hours being common, and arduous labour and poor conditions not infrequent. But such hard work is voluntary, for most Cypriots come to Britain to get steadier jobs and better wages, and it is basic to their philosophy of life that hard work early on earns leisure later. Steady saving, self-employment, and safe investment in property are three important elements in an ideal pattern that is achieved by many and shared by most (although

few of the many actually manage to relieve themselves of the work-load and grasp the elusive leisure).

Another ingredient of individual success has undoubtedly been the ability of some to exploit kinship and village ties as a source of labour appropriate for the maintenance or expansion of their businesses. Speaking of this, Cypriots talk altruistically of being able to 'help' their relatives, implying that it was a point of honour to do so, and that they were fortunate to have the opportunity. This sentiment is often an important element in their motivation, but generally the economic advantage weighs importantly too. For, in effect, a Cypriot businessman's village has often been (particularly in the 1950s) little less than a private source of cheap labour, and from the profit on it much personal wealth has been gained. The structure of patronage so created, in which the new migrant becomes indebted to his employer-sponsor, allows a successful businessman to increase his social and political influence within the settlement, thus bringing him further prestige. Hence with economic success comes social mobility and the development of status differences in the community, not just in spite of the solidarity of kinship ties, but with their necessary aid. In the late 1950s, as prospective migrants became wiser about what they could reasonably expect, the 'exploitation' of immigrant labour lessened, and by the mid-1960s, with further restrictions on immigration form the Commonwealth, skilled workers coming from Cyprus were at a premium. Recently, therefore, the labour situation has not so much helped as hindered the economic prospects

of Cypriot businessmen, though as noted earlier it has been greatly to the advantage of wage-earners already in Britain.

From yet another angle, therefore, it appears that the conditions appropriate for rapid expansion of economic activity within the Cypriot community, which prevailed in the 1950s, are by the mid-1960s tending to disappear. A slower steadier pattern of development may be expected in future, except that the few who have already acquired substantial capital (such as the owners of the largest clothing factories) will continue to be in a position to expand. A second generation of Cypriot workers in Britain may not, however, follow their parents into these 'traditional' occupations. Instead they may use the educational qualifications they acquire to spread more widely through the national economy. To the extent that this is the case, the future pattern of the economic base of the Cypriot community may differ from what has just been described.

CHAPTER 13

HOUSING CONDITIONS OF CYPRIOTS IN LONDON

Cyprus & Inner London: the Contrast

For most of the immigrants to Britain from the less developed countries of the Commonwealth, even the poorest housing conditions in Britain's towns are liable to constitute an improvement in terms of space and amenities on what has been known before. In the case of the Cypriots, the contrast between conditions in Britain and in their home country is less marked than among settlers from Asia and the Caribbean. During the prosperous post-war period there has been much improvement throughout the island in standards of construction and of amenities.

Although in the smaller villages and in the poorer rural areas most housing is still of the traditional type, built of home-made mud brick or stone, and with a flat mud roof, dwellings of modern construction are now common in many parts. Building materials are relatively cheap, and residential property the most popular form of investment - as well as providing the owner-occupier with considerable prestige. The wealthier villages, therefore, with their shining white houses, often two-storied and with low red-tiled roofs, present the appearance of almost another world by contrast with their poorer counterparts. Moreover, just as construction techniques have been modernised, so has the standard of household amenities. Piped water begins to replace the women's journey to the well, though flush-type toilets and baths are found only rarely in

private homes. Electricity has now become available to villagers in most parts of the island, providing lighting, and often power as well. Electrical goods such as refrigerators and washing machines are only beginning to be found outside the towns; in 1960 these items were installed in only 4 per cent and 1 per cent respectively of rural dwellings.[1]

In the towns, as one would expect, such modern techniques and amenities are relatively common. However, statistics for housing conditions in the towns conceal a range of standards from the post-war quality units (built for the British troops - now mostly departed - and for the new middle-class) to pre-war slum properties and the ramshackle but recent erections that characterise some sectors of the expanding suburbs. Town-bred migrants, or those with experience of urban residence, may come more from the latter kind of background than from the former. Even so, one can safely say that, of all post-war Cypriot migrants, the vast majority had already experienced something of the conditions and amenities of modern urban life - if not in their own homes, at least in the homes of friends or relatives, and in public places.

The housing environment in the areas of London within which most Cypriot immigrants first settle is nonetheless in many ways sharply contrasted with that of Cyprus. The major 'reception area' for Cypriot immigrants has undoubtedly been the borough of Islington. Islington, a

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1 C.P.A. 1960.

once fashionable middle-class outgrowth of Victorian London, had by the 1950s become one of the 'twilight zones' characteristic of the inner city area of almost all major cities of the industrial West. Its tall Victorian terraces, tall, decayed, fronting almost direct onto the road, and devoid of any kind of greenery, could hardly in appearance be more different from their residential counterparts in Cyprus. Indeed, housing conditions in Islington were among the poorest in London, and similar to those in (old) St. Pancras borough, these being the two boroughs most populous with Cypriots in 1961.

An indication of the housing conditions encountered by Cypriot immigrants on their arrival is provided by details for those Census Enumeration Districts in London within which in 1961 Cypriot immigrants constituted more than 10 per cent of the total population.[2] Of 51 such Enumeration Districts, 29 were within the borough of Islington; these 29 are taken as typical of the 'reception areas' within which the immigrants first settled. Selected housing characteristics of these areas are shown in Table 13.1.

The main features of these 'reception' areas, as revealed by the Census, are poor amenities, a high proportion of households sharing dwellings, and a high density of occupancy of housing. For example, five out six households in these 29 E.D.s were sharing their dwelling (i.e. without self-contained accommodation) with other households, as

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2 Data made available by the Centre for Urban Studies, University College, London.

Table 13.1

HOUSING CONDITIONS OF CENSUS ENUMERATION DISTRICTS WITH HIGH CYPRIOT POPULATION: ISLINGTON, 1961

All Households	Mean for 29 E.D.'s in Islington (a)	Mean for all E.D.'s in London A.C.
% sharing dwelling	83.1	29.1
% sharing, and without exclusive use of stove or sink.	17.7	6.9
% without exclusive use of w.c.	73.2	30.4
No. rooms per dwelling	6.7	4.7
No. persons per room	0.98	0.78
% room density over $1\frac{1}{2}$	18.2	6.9

Notes: (a) [redacted] E.D.'s with more than 10 per cent of enumerated population born in Cyprus.

Source: data made available by the Centre for Urban Studies, University College, London: derived from 1961 Census returns.

compared with well under a third of all those in the inner London area (the erstwhile 'Administrative County' of London). Three-quarters, moreover, were without exclusive use of a w.c., compared again with less than a third in inner London generally. Eighteen per cent, moreover, did not even have exclusive use of stove and sink. Davison's survey of housing conditions in seven [redacted] inner London boroughs ([redacted] excluding Islington)[3] found that almost half (47 per cent) of the Cypriot households in those areas had no hot water tap, and more than a third (36 per cent) had no fixed bath.[4]

Although tending to lack these basic amenities, the houses in the Islington E.D.'s were large and rarely converted structurally to facilitate multi-occupation. The average number of rooms per dwelling was 6.7, as compared with 4.7 in inner London generally; and the number of persons per room was 0.98 as compared with 0.78. Associated with this was a relatively high proportion of households occupying rooms at a density of over $1\frac{1}{2}$ persons per room: 18 per cent, or towards three times that among inner Londoners generally. This high occupancy was especially marked among larger households, with three-fifths of those of five persons or more living at more than $1\frac{1}{2}$ persons per room.

Davison's evidence for the situation of Cypriots in his selected inner boroughs provides evidence of the use made by Cypriot immigrants in particular of this kind of housing stock: this may in turn be compared

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3 Lambeth, Stoke Newington, Hackney, Paddington, Deptford, Battersea, Camberwell.

4 Davison, R.B., Black British, O.U.P. 1967, Tables 24,25.

with circumstances in Cyprus. Household size, for instance, at 4.2 persons per Cypriot household in the seven boroughs[5], was significantly higher than in Cyprus as a whole in 1960, when it was on average 3.6 persons per household. If urban areas only are compared, a different picture emerges, for in the towns alone in Cyprus the average size was also 4.2 persons: in the rural areas, on the other hand, it was 3.4 persons.[6] Perhaps similar factors, such as limited access to housing, kinship structure and the stage of the family cycle, may account for the similar and greater size of urban households in both situations.

Cypriot households appear to be considerably better off for space on settlement in Britain by comparison with Cyprus. Table 13.2 shows the proportion of households occupying one, two, three, or more rooms in London centre as compared with the home island. Whereas half of the households in Cyprus were in housing units of two rooms or less, only a quarter had so little space in Britain. With units of more than three rooms the picture was almost reversed, nearly half of Cypriot households in Britain having this amount of space, but little more than a quarter in Cyprus. The contrast between the immigrants and their home background appears the more marked if one takes only the statistics for village households, whereas in the towns the distribution is more similar to that in Britain.

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5 Davison, op.cit., Table 18.

6 C.P.A. 1960

Table 13.2

ROOMS OCCUPIED BY CYPRIOT HOUSEHOLDS IN LONDON CENTRE 1961 & IN CYPRUS 1960

% occupying	London Centre	All Cyprus	Cyprus Towns	Cyprus Villages
1 room	7	24	18	27
2 rooms	17	27	22	30
3 rooms	29	22	21	22
4 or more rooms	47	27	39	21
ALL HOUSEHOLDS	100	100	100	100
N	1,891	145,709	51,343	94,366

Notes: (a) 'Cypriot Household' = household with head born in Cyprus

(b) 'London Centre' = boroughs of Lambeth, Stoke Newington, Hackney, Paddington, Deptford, Battersea and Camberwell.

Sources: Davison R.B., Black British, O.U.P. 1967, Tables 13, 18 (derived from 1961 Census returns); C.P.A. 1960

It must be pointed out, however, that in Table 13.2 neither the size of rooms is taken into account, nor, more importantly, is the number of persons per household. No data on room-size are available, but there can be no doubt that the main rooms in the Victorian and Edwardian houses so commonly inhabited by Cypriots in London are much larger than their counterparts in Cyprus. However, although the number of rooms, and their size, is larger for Cypriot households in Britain, it is also true that there are more persons per household. Measuring housing space in terms of room density, therefore, we find that the density of occupation is in fact only marginally lower among Cypriot households in the seven central London boroughs than in Cyprus. In Britain the room density was a little less than 1.2 persons per room, while in Cyprus it was in the region of 1.3, with little difference between rural and urban areas.[7] In this respect, therefore, the improvement in housing conditions is much less than in respect of the space available for households as wholes. The average number of rooms per household in Britain was 3.6, whereas in Cyprus it was 2.8 (3.4 in the towns, and 2.5 in the rural areas).[8]

If the evidence from the seven inner London boroughs can be taken as indicative of the housing conditions experienced by Cypriot migrants in the early years of their settlement in Britain, it seems likely that many Cypriot immigrants have encountered certain improvements as regards

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7 Calculated from Davison, op.cit.; C.P.A. 1960.

8 Calculated from Davison, op.cit.; C.P.A. 1960

the conventional indices of housing conditions. These may not, however, have been particularly great. In overall character, though the London housing of the immigrants was very different from that in Cyprus. This contrasting quality of the urban environment, and the necessarily indoor life (as opposed to the largely outdoor life in Cyprus), are perhaps the two differences in this area that the Cypriot immigrants find most striking.

Housing Tenure

Generally speaking, in housing, as in other aspects of social and economic life, Cypriot families desire to be independent, and therefore to possess homes of their own. A house of one's own is an ideal that is expected to be realised, and in recent times in Cyprus it has become increasingly common for this to be provided for a couple by the bride's parents as part of the marriage dowry. Traditionally, in the villages, to have one's own house was the only way to be able to run one's domestic affairs separately from relatives, whereas in modern times the practice of renting housing in the towns has provided an alternative solution for this problem. However, even in the towns almost half of the households in 1960 were owner-occupiers,[9] a surprisingly high proportion considering the mobile and uncertain labour situation on the island.

It is not surprising, therefore, that one of the chief aims of almost every Cypriot immigrant family in Britain is to save up enough for the down-payment on a mortgage, and thus to obtain a house of their own.

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9 C.P.A. 1960

Moreover, Cypriots have been particularly successful in this respect since in both 1961 and 1966, according to the Census returns for Greater London, more Cypriot householder were owner-occupiers than any other Commonwealth immigrant group.[10]

The types of tenure of Cypriot households in Greater London, as enumerated by the 10 per cent Sample Surveys of the Censuses in 1961 and 1966, are set out in Table 13.3. In 1966, 44 per cent of Cypriot households were owner-occupied, 50 per cent were rented privately, and 6 per cent were rented from a Local Authority.

Not only is the proportion of owner-occupiers higher than among other ethnic minorities in London, as mentioned earlier, but it is also significantly higher than that for householders in Greater London as a whole, at 38 per cent of the total. The proportion in Local Authority housing, on the other hand, was very small by comparison with the overall London population: more than one in five London households rented their homes from a Local Authority, as compared with one in sixteen among the Cypriot minority. As regards private renting of housing, this involved rather more households among Cypriots than among Londoners generally, owing to the high proportion of Cypriot households occupying furnished accommodation rented privately.

Since 1961, the trend among Cypriots in London appears to have been mainly towards owner-occupation of housing, and away from private renting.

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10 See Table 13.3 below, and Rose E.J.B. & associates, Colour & Citizenship, O.U.P. 1969, Figure 12.3.

Table 13.3

HOUSING TENURE OF CYPRIOT HOUSEHOLDS IN GREATER LONDON 1961 & 1966

	Cypriot Households		All Households in London
	1961	1966	1966
Owner-occupied	38.2	43.8	38.5
Rented:			
Local Authority	4.6	6.3	21.6
Private Unfurnished	28.3	24.3	28.5
Private Furnished	24.9	25.6	8.6
Other/not stated	4.0	-	2.8
All Tenures	100.0	100.0	100.0
N (10% Sample)	944	1,739	262,425

Notes: (a) 'Cypriot households' = households with head or spouse born in Cyprus.

(b) 'Other' tenures of Cypriot households in 1961 were either "held by virtue of employment" or "rented together with ... business premises" (none 'not stated').

Sources: G.R.O. 1961; C.I.T. 1966; General Register Office, Sample Census, England & Wales, County Report: Greater London, H.M.S.O. 1967.

In view of the substantial increase in the number of households due to immigration during the intervening five years, the rise in the proportion of owner-occupiers is especially striking, and suggests that the proportion may increase more sharply subsequently. The proportion of Cypriots in Local Authority housing has also increased, but its scale continues to be relatively rather small.

The situation of Cypriots in relation to the purchase of private housing is dependent upon three factors: their motivation to become owner-occupiers, their possession or access to the necessary finance, and their freedom of access to the market for this kind of property. The presence of motivation among Cypriots to become house-owners has already been remarked upon, and it therefore remains to consider the other two factors.

On the financial side, the success in business of so many Cypriots in Britain has obviously been of major importance in enabling purchase of private housing. The majority of Cypriots work very hard, particularly when they first arrive in Britain and while they are young, and they save much of what they earn with a view to purchasing a house. Since in their view the purchase of residential property is also about the best form of investment they can make (since it is secure from inflation, free of ordinary business risks, and potentially productive of income free from physical work) they can in this way achieve two purposes simultaneously. However, few purchase housing without borrowing money in the form of a mortgage. A survey carried out for P.E.P. indicated that almost all

Cypriot owner-occupiers had mortgages: of a sample in the London borough of Islington, 47 per cent were owner-occupiers and 44 per cent had mortgages on their property.[11] To judge from advertisements (private and agency) in the Greek-Cypriot press during 1965 and 1966, the houses bought by Cypriots lay mostly in the £5,000 to £6,000 price range: in size they varied between five and eight rooms depending on their age and location, the latter spreading chiefly out northwards from the Kentish Town and Finsbury Park areas.

So far as access to mortgages and to the housing market is concerned, the P.E.P. Report on 'Racial Discrimination' showed that the experience of discrimination by Cypriots was generally low in relation to coloured minorities in Britain.[12] The existence in 1966 of at least nine Cypriot property agents dealing wholly or substantially in housing in the north London area is of particular importance in facilitating Cypriot access to the housing market and to mortgages. Loans and mortgages can be obtained from or through these agencies or from other Greek Cypriot businesses that advertise in the press, and language problems and other difficulties are thereby eliminated. In this way the Cypriot community in itself provides means of access to housing and finance for those who prefer not to go, or are unsuccessful in going elsewhere to obtain these services.

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11 Racial Discrimination, Political and Economic Planning, 1967, p.79.

12 Racial Discrimination, p.74.

More Cypriots living out of the centre of London are owner-occupiers than in the middle. The movement of Cypriots northwards from the early centres of residence[13] is for most a move away from their work-place and towards higher quality housing. According to Davison, 34 per cent of Cypriot households in seven central London boroughs in 1961 were owner-occupiers, whereas in Greater London as a whole 38 per cent were owner-occupiers.[14] A survey of immigrant families in the Harringay area of the borough of Haringey with children entering primary school in autumn 1965 showed that 30 out of 45 Cypriot parents were houseowners.[15] All of these householders, incidentally, said that they were intending to stay in Haringey. Unfortunately no Census data for individual boroughs is available, but there is no doubt about the trend in home-ownership being associated with the movement of Cypriots northwards. Both rents and house prices are appreciably lower in the Outer boroughs to the north, and it is this together with character of housing available there that are the two main determinants of the move outwards.

As was shown in Table 13.3, half of all Cypriot households in London rented their accommodation from private landlords. As with other groups in the population, Cypriots often do this because they cannot afford housing of their own or because they have not yet qualified for public

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13 See Chapter 10.

14 Davison, op.cit., Table 27.

15 Data made available by Mrs Mary Dines (Joint Council for the Welfare of Immigrants)

housing. Many Cypriots rent from other Cypriots, but by no means exclusively. Again, many take rooms in houses occupied by other Cypriot families, but then others are alone amongst non-Cypriots in their accommodation. Quite often, a property-owner will let to relatives at a moderate rent, and to others at a more competitive price. Exactly how common or unusual these various arrangements are amongst Cypriots in Britain is not known, since no relevant statistics are available. There is the same lack of information about rents paid for furnished and unfurnished accommodation. In Cyprus, in the towns, rented accommodation is generally quite cheap. In London the informal information network of the Cypriot community is probably efficient in spreading the news of opportunities and in keeping prices competitive, and in this way (and with the help of house-owning relatives) many Cypriots can get housing at a reasonable price. Also, they often prefer to tolerate cheaper and less convenient housing in order to be able to save. But on the whole, the rents paid by Cypriot families appear quite as variable as does the size and condition of their accommodation.

Since Cypriots think so highly of owning their own family house, it is to be expected that the number renting housing from a Local Authority would be small. However, Table 13.3 indicates that about one in sixteen Cypriot households in Greater London held this type of tenure, a higher proportion than among 'coloured' immigrant households in London in 1966 (among whom 4.2 per cent were housed in Local Authority Accommodation)[16]

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[16] Rose, op.cit., Table 12.8

What is not known is the quality of the Local Authority housing that Cypriots occupy: whether it be patched-up slum property, modern or modernised flats, or houses with gardens on Council Estates. There is little evidence of any major increase in the proportion in Local Authority housing as Cypriot settlement in Britain becomes longer established. With relatively few immigrants arriving after 1962, the majority of households could potentially have satisfied residence requirements by 1966. Yet the proportion renting their homes from the Local Authority rose only slightly during the five years preceding the 1966 Census.

The survey on 'Racial Discrimination' carried out for P.E.P. in 1966/7 helps to explain the situation of Cypriot immigrants in relation to Local Authority housing. Just short of a hundred Cypriots were interviewed in 'Area II' of the survey, subsequently revealed in the press as the London borough of Islington,[17] and interviews were also carried out with officials of the Local Authority Housing Department. The latter interviews, however, were not successful in producing any detailed information about the housing of immigrants. The authors of the Report wrote that they did not receive even 'minimal compliance' in this Area, and that they 'had very great difficulty in gaining access and persuading officers to talk to (them).' They were assured, though, by one officer in the borough 'that until very recently the borough had refused to house any immigrants

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17 The Observer, 23 April 1967.

at all.'[18] According to the survey, only 1 per cent of Cypriots were occupying accommodation rented from the Council.[19] This proportion is low by comparison with Cypriots in Greater London as a whole, and is not incompatible with the officer's assurance cited above. It is perhaps surprising though, in view of the length of residence of many Cypriots in Islington, and the amount of slum clearance and redevelopment in land there.

However, according to the P.E.P. survey, only 9 per cent of Cypriots in Islington had even considered applying for Council accommodation.[20] While this figure was much the same as for Asians in all areas sampled, it was lower than that for West Indians, 23 per cent of whom had considered applying. This set of similarities and differences in part reflects income differentials and in part different attitudes towards home ownership. Of those Cypriots who said they had considered applying, two-thirds had actually made an application; thus approximately six per cent had their names down for Council accommodation. No attempt was made to guage the prospects of success in this respect, for the difficulties of measurement and of evaluation would be very great, and anyway in the case of Cypriots the numbers involved were very small. Of the reasons given by those who had not considered applying for Council

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18 Racial Discrimination, p.86

19 Information made available by Political and Economic Planning.

20 Racial Discrimination, p.98

accommodation, by far the most popular was that they preferred to buy, or already had, their own house. Others stated that they already had satisfactory accommodation, or that the waiting period was too long, while one in nine said that the possibility had never occurred to them.[21] On the whole, then, it appears that Cypriots (or at least, the first generation of settlers) are not greatly interested in obtaining Local Authority housing, preferring to rent privately as a preliminary to purchasing their own home.

Among Cypriots living outside London in 1966, a higher proportion of householders were owner-occupiers: 57 per cent as opposed to 44 per cent within London. A further difference was that 11 per cent of Cypriot households occupied accommodation rented from a Local Authority (as compared with 6 per cent in London). The proportion in privately rented accommodation was therefore correspondingly smaller, and only 12 per cent occupied furnished lettings as compared with 25 per cent in Greater London. Although the number of households enumerated by the Sample Survey was small (378), the differences in the pattern of housing tenure between Cypriots within and outside London were clearly substantial. The higher proportion of owner-occupiers accords with the higher proportion of single-family households found outside London, and the higher proportion of Cypriots engaged in running their own businesses found also.

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21 Racial Discrimination, p. 98a.

Household Amenities

More than half of all Cypriot households in Greater London in 1966 were sharing dwellings with other households, in that their accommodation was not a self-contained unit (see Table 13.4). The proportion sharing dwellings in this way was not quite as high as 'coloured' immigrant households in London, but was more than twice the proportion among London households generally. Since 44 per cent of Cypriot households were owner-occupied, it is likely that a fair proportion of Cypriot owner-occupiers were letting part of their houses to other Cypriot families on such a 'sharing' basis.

Even among such 'sharing' households, few were without exclusive use of sink or stove: some 5 per cent of Cypriot households in London overall. In this respect Cypriot households were close to the figure for London households generally (3 per cent), and very differently situated from 'coloured' immigrant households, one quarter of whom were without exclusive use of these kitchen facilities. Moreover, only a third of those Cypriot households lacking such facilities were units of three persons or more. Thus although Cypriots in London were inclined to be sharing dwellings with other families, it was rare that they did not have their own facilities for preparing meals and washing.

Other amenities, however, were less accessible to Cypriot households. This was not so much due to their absence, although a slightly higher proportion of Cypriot households had no fixed bath, for instance, than among 'coloured' immigrants or Londoners generally. It was more due to a

Table 13.4

ACCESS TO AMENITIES OF CYPRIOT HOUSEHOLDS IN GREATER LONDON 1966

% of Households	Cypriot Households	All Coloured Immigrant Households	All London Households
Sharing dwellings	55.0	70.1	24.2
Without exclusive use of sink or stove	5.2	24.7	3.1
1-2 persons only	3.4	..	..
3 or more persons	1.8	..	..
Sharing fixed bath	36.1	50.9	13.3
No fixed bath	19.2	14.1	14.8
No exclusive use of w.c.	36.9	53.2	16.7
ALL HOUSEHOLDS	100.0	100.0	100.0
N (10 % Sample)	1,506	n.a.	262,425

Note: 'Cypriot' and 'Coloured Immigrant Households' = where head of household born in Cyprus, or in 'Coloured Commonwealth' country.

Sources: G.R.O. 1966; Rose E.J.B. and associates, Colour and Citizenship, O.U.P. 1969, Tables 12.6, 12.7; General Register Office, Sample Census 1966, England and Wales, County Report: Greater London, H.M.S.O. 1967.

higher propensity to be sharing access to such amenities. Over a third of Cypriot households were sharing access both to a fixed bath and to a w.c. This propensity to share amenities was not as great as among coloured immigrants, but was two to three times as common as among the London population as a whole.

These figures for the Greater London area as a whole undoubtedly conceal variations between more localised areas, and especially between Cypriot housing in the inner and outer boroughs. For example, 62 per cent of Cypriot households in the seven inner boroughs studied by Davison were sharing their dwellings, as compared with 55 per cent in London overall. Moreover, 10 per cent of Cypriot households in these areas were without exclusive use of stove or sink: twice the proportion among Cypriots in Greater London generally.

But in spite of the limited access to amenities of Cypriot households in London, visitors to Cypriot homes will have been struck by the neat and tidy condition in which they are kept. Families also take pride in their possession of modern household gadgets such as refrigerators and cookers; and in most households a television set can be found, and often a record-player too (to play Cypriot 'pop-songs'). On the whole there is a high standard of house-keeping, regardless of the housing circumstances of the family.

Housing Density

Although a majority of Cypriot households in Greater London were sharing dwellings in 1966, and household size was large relative to the

overall population, these do not necessarily entail that the density of occupation of housing by Cypriots should be particularly high. However, as may be seen from Table 13.5, the room density of Cypriot households in London in 1966 was on average 0.94, which was substantially greater than that for Greater London as a whole, in which it was 0.60 persons per room.

According to the Census, one-third of all Cypriot households in London in 1961 were living at a density of more than one person per room: five times the proportion for London generally. Moreover, more than one in eight Cypriot households were at a density of occupancy of over one and a half persons per room. However, this proportion was appreciably less than that for 'coloured' immigrants households in London, among whom 28 per cent were living at such a high density.[22] On the other hand, only one in twenty Cypriot households occupied housing with more than two rooms per member of the household, although towards one-third of the overall population of London were so situated.

Between 1961 and 1966, the density of occupation of housing among Cypriot households in London declined, but the extent of this reduction is exaggerated by the figures given in Table 13.5 due to a difference in the definition of the term 'room' in the respective Censuses. In 1961, kitchens were only included as rooms if they were regularly used for one or more meal a day, whereas in 1966 all kitchens were recorded as rooms

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22 Rose, op.cit., Table 12.5

Table 13.5

ROOM DENSITY OF CYPRIOT HOUSEHOLDS IN GREATER LONDON 1961 and 1966

%	Cypriot Households 1961	Cypriot Households 1966	All Households in London 1966
Average No. Persons per Room	n.a.	0.94	0.60
Room Density:			
% over $1\frac{1}{2}$	26.6	13.2	2.4
% over 1, up to $1\frac{1}{2}$	25.9	20.8	4.7
% $\frac{1}{2}$ - 1	44.9	61.0	62.3
% less than $\frac{1}{2}$	2.6	5.0	30.6
ALL DENSITIES	100.0	100.0	100.0
Mean Household Size	4.1	3.9	2.8
No. Households	944	1,506	262,425
No. Persons (10% Sample)	3,891	5,854	742,065

Notes: (a) 'Cypriot household' = household with head or spouse born in Cyprus.
(b) 'Room' in 1961 included kitchens only if regularly used for meals: in 1966, all kitchens included.

Sources: G.R.O. 1961; C.I.T. 1966; General Register Office, Sample Census 1966, England and Wales, County Report: Greater London, H.M.S.O. 1967; Deakin N., Colour Citizenship and British Society, Panther Books, 1970, p.68.

regardless. It is probably the proportion of households living at the highest density that has changed most among the four categories of room density given in Table 13.5. It is notable however, that average household size among Cypriot settlers declined only slightly during the five-year period, Although the proportion of single-family households among Cypriots rose, the increasing numbers of children born to immigrant parents has maintained the average household size at near its previous level, and has thus maintained the pressure of numbers of housing resources within the Cypriot settlement. Thus the relatively high housing density and household size among Cypriot immigrants is now more due to larger families than the inclusion of wider kin within the household.

The overall figures no doubt conceal certain variations between settlement in different geographical areas of London, but no details of this kind are available. However, the Census provides evidence of variations in room density between households with different types of tenure. As may be seen from Table 13.6, in 1966 only 5 per cent of owner-occupied households were living at a room density of over $1\frac{1}{2}$ persons per room, as compared with 21 per cent in privately-rented accommodation. Still, more than one in five owner-occupiers were at a density of more than one person per room, although among those renting privately the proportion at this level of occupancy was toward one half. As the proportion of owner-occupiers increases, so the mean density of occupation of housing on the part of Cypriots in London will decrease further. Many Cypriots in privately-rented accommodation live in fewer rooms than they

Table 13.6

ROOM DENSITY OF CYPRIOT HOUSEHOLDS IN GREATER LONDON BY TENURE 1966

%	Owner-Occupied	Privately Rented
Persons per room:		
Over $1\frac{1}{2}$	4.6	21.3
Over 1, up to $1\frac{1}{2}$	17.2	24.4
up to 1	78.2	54.3
ALL HOUSEHOLDS	100.0	100.0
N (10% Sample)	761	868

Note: 'Cypriot Household' = household with head or spouse born in Cyprus

Source: C.I.T. 1966

need, in order to save money to purchase their own home. Owner-occupiers, though, often limit themselves too in order to be able to rent out accommodation. The greater room density of Cypriot households is thus in part (though not entirely) due to Cypriot preferences, for housing space does not come so high on their scale of values as perhaps most British families. As in Cyprus, Cypriot immigrant families are close-knit groups in a spatial as well as social sense, and even within larger houses seem to use a relatively small amount of housing space intensively.

Among Cypriots outside London room densities were on average rather lower than within the Metropolis. Only 7 per cent of households were living at a density of over $1\frac{1}{2}$ persons per room, as compared with 13 per cent within London. Households at more than unit room density were only half as frequent, at 18 per cent of the total, in 'provincial' areas of Britain. Thus 82 per cent of all households in Cypriot settlement outside London in 1966 were at a room density of less than one person per room, as compared with 66 per cent in London itself. These differences relate to the greater extent of owner-occupation among Cypriots outside London, and the higher proportion of single-family households enumerated there.

CHAPTER 14

CYPRIOT SETTLEMENT IN BRITAIN : CONCLUSION

Having outlined in detail the extent and characteristics of Cypriot settlement in Britain, it now remains to summarise these and to consider them in relation to the wider social context.

The numerical size of Cypriot settlement has been calculated to be slightly in excess of 100,000 persons at the end of 1966, children born in Britain to Cypriot parents being included in the total. It was found, moreover, that Cypriot settlement in Britain was very highly concentrated in London, with around three-quarters of all Cypriots residing in the Metropolitan area. Cypriots living outside London were mainly Greeks by ethnic group, and were quite widely scattered among large towns and cities in Britain in settlements of up to a few thousand persons. Overall in Britain, the great majority of Cypriots - some four-fifths - were Greek by ethnic group, but in London the proportion of Turkish Cypriots was higher, in the region of one-quarter of all Cypriots in the capital.

Within London, Cypriots were settled mainly in the northern sector, though a substantial minority of the group lived in boroughs immediately south of the centre of the city. Most inhabited areas in the 'inner ring' of boroughs surrounding the central commercial areas, boroughs characterised by older terraced housing with relatively cheap rented

accommodation. During the 1960s, however, there had been a marked tendency for Cypriots to move out of these areas, mainly to 'outer boroughs' to the north. This movement seems to have involved mainly Greek Cypriot families: Turkish Cypriots were most numerous to the north-east of the city centre and south of the river as well.

The settlement for the most part continued to be a youthful one, due to the migration pattern, and the sex-ratio was relatively even. A high proportion of households were 'family households', with some kind of 'extended family' being not uncommon. Intermarriage was infrequent, involving perhaps one in ten of Cypriots marrying, most of them men.

Employment for Cypriot men was mainly in craft, factory and service occupations - especially in certain traditionally Cypriot crafts (such as tailoring, hairdressing and shoemending), retailing and catering. In practising these trades, Cypriots were involved for the most part in small, often family businesses, and there was a high proportion of self-employed workers among the immigrants. Cypriot women were engaged very largely in dressmaking and the manufacture of other women's outerwear garments, working either at the workshop bench or doing 'outwork' on their own machines at home. These predominant economic activities of men and women could be said to constitute the 'external economy'[1] of the Cypriot settlement, in that through them Cypriots were integrated into the wider economy of Britain, by selling their labour and services of various kinds on the open market. Alongside, though, Cypriots were also engaged in a wide variety of occupations, oriented to meet the needs of their own group.

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[1] cf. Desai R., Indian Immigrants in Britain, O.U.P. 1963

These activities, forming a major part of the 'internal economy' of the settlement, ensured that almost every need of Cypriots in Britain that had to be met commercially could be done so without going outside the group itself, thus rendering Cypriot settlement in Britain highly self-sufficient.

As regards housing, Cypriots displayed a marked predilection for owning their accommodation, and the proportion of owner-occupiers among the settlers may be expected to increase rapidly. Very few inhabited Local Authority housing, and the disposition towards this type of tenure seemed low. The size of Cypriot households was relatively large, reflecting the composite structure of many units and the tendency for families to be in the child-rearing phase of their 'development cycle'. Density of occupancy of housing varied considerably, but was highest among households in rented accommodation. This was no doubt often due to general poverty of circumstances, but reflects as well a common preference for saving income to finance house purchase in the future.

In terms of many of these characteristics of their settlement in Britain, Cypriots are in contrast with the other major groups of recent settlers from Commonwealth countries: Indians, Pakistanis and the Caribbean group. This is not the point to enter into detailed comparisons, but Cypriots do differ strikingly in their geographical distribution, relatively even sex-ratio (though not as even as among Caribbeans), youthful age composition, family and household structure, degree of owner-occupation of housing, and concentration in craft and service

occupations.[2] In part these differences may be explained by differences in the traditional values, motives and resources which the migrants of each group brought with them from their countries of origin. They may also be accounted for to some extent by the differing circumstances and reactions within Britain which each encountered on arrival.

The Cypriots, like most other immigrants from the less developed Commonwealth countries, brought with them little in the way of resources such as wealth of any kind, or skills appropriate to modern factory technology or professional work. On the other hand, they brought a strong motivation to work: to find better jobs than were available for them in Cyprus, and to work hard at these and long hours as well. Guiding their motivation in the sphere of work have been traditional values of independence and self-sufficiency. These tend to give Cypriots a high propensity for saving, so that as individuals they may set up their own businesses and purchase their own homes, and not be dependent for basic needs upon anyone outside the very close-knit nuclear family.

As with these traditional social values, the circumstances encountered by Cypriot immigrants in Britain set them apart from other Commonwealth immigrants to some extent. In the first place, the post-war immigrants came to join an earlier settlement of Cypriots which was already established economically, and which of itself was able to provide

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1 For comparisons based on 1966 Sample Census Statistics, see Rose E.J.B. and associates, Colour and Citizenship, O.U.P. 1969, ch.10-13

opportunities and resources for the unskilled, non-English-speaking arrivals. Secondly, not being 'coloured' or in any other way distinctive in appearance, they have escaped the hostility and discrimination met with by other immigrant groups, whether due to racial prejudice or more generally anti-immigrant attitudes. The prior existence of an established Cypriot settlement has no doubt helped in this, not only in shielding new arrivals from potential reaction on the part of the host society, but also in channelling them into jobs and housing where they do not on the whole appear to be in competition with the native residents.

In these respects, the situation of Cypriots is perhaps closer to that of the Jewish immigrants to Britain around the turn of the century than to other post-war Commonwealth immigrants.[3] This is especially the case as regards the social values mentioned, the existence of established settlement prior to the main influx of immigrants, and the confinement of the Jews to a limited number of craft-type trades. On the other hand, the employment of Jews in predominantly manufacturing trades was seen as dangerously competitive by both working- and middle-class Londoners: this, and the identification of Jews with the appalling housing conditions in the East End while social reform was a major political issue, jointly rendered them to a much greater extent objects of attention and hostility.

The modern Cypriot settlement is similar to its earlier Jewish

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3 For Jewish settlement in Britain at that time see Gartner L.P., The Jewish Immigrant in England 1870-1914, Allen and Unwin, 1960, especially Ch. 2,3 & 10; cf. also Lipman V.D., Social History of the Jews in England 1850-1950, Watts, 1954, Ch. 3-6

counterpart also in its degree of compactness and organisation. Not only are Cypriots in London highly localised in their distribution, but individual households are extensively linked by ties of kinship and patronage, and participate in a comprehensive 'internal economy' of the settlement. Moreover, outside the domestic and economic spheres, a wide range of associations - some formally organised, some informal - provide for the remaining specific needs of the settlers: cafe - or restaurant-based clubs for leisure; sports clubs; philanthropic associations; political associations; the Churches; and the evening or weekend schools for children. (The degree of organisation in these respects is more pronounced among Greek Cypriots than among Turkish Cypriots.) Such associations often overlap one another, in the sense that they are different facets of a single organisation.

The relative comprehensiveness of function of many forms of association outside the household is connected with the definite sense of 'community' which prevails among Cypriots - at least, among those of the same ethnic group. This is sustained not only by an awareness of differences in language, social values and styles of living, but also by the localised and self-contained aspect of Cypriot settlement that has already been stressed. It is sustained too by the persistent identification of first-generation settlers with things Cypriot (Greek or Turkish, as the case may be). Greek Cypriots tend to speak of the overall settlement as a <u>paroikia</u> (παροικία), which means literally a 'colony', a settlement of strangers in a foreign land. The Greek term for 'community'

koinotis (κοινότης), is used more of neighbourhood units, and is used also by the Church in referring to organised 'parish' units. Although within a neighbourhood the Cypriot households may be well dispersed among its many streets, the presence of a full range of Cypriot shops, services, cafe-clubs and perhaps a Church at its geographical centre constitutes both a focus and an agent for the development and maintenance of 'community' on the traditional Cypriot model.

This social structure of Cypriot settlement that has been briefly outlined renders Cypriots a relatively separate unit within British society, linked chiefly through the 'external economy' which they have developed. It must be made clear that this segregation is neither enforced by the host society, nor is it a product of resentment or dislike on the part of the minority. Rather it stems from the immigrants' desire to maintain their traditional style of life, their ability to create a self-contained and self-sufficient community having made it feasible. The advent of a new British-born generation of 'Cypriots' may alter this situation substantially. How fast change will come, and what will accompany it, has yet to be seen.

APPENDIX

NON-CYPRIOT MIGRATION FROM CYPRUS TO BRITAIN

At the time of the Census in 1960, there were resident in Cyprus 30,714 persons of ethnic groups other than Greek or Turkish Cypriot, i.e. 0.53 per cent of the total population.[1] The majority of these 'non-Cypriot' persons were classified as British, but the number included several thousand each of Armenians and Maronites. Both British and Armenians figure among the flow of post-war emigrants from Cyprus to Britain, and the pattern of movement of each group is considered briefly below. For the Maronites, on the other hand, there is no evidence of their participation in the movement overseas, and the majority continue to live in the four villages which they have traditionally inhabited in the north-eastern corner of the island.

Armenians

Armenian settlement on Cyprus has a long history, and throughout the present century Armenians have constituted a small but significant ethnic minority on the island. From a population of around 500 at the turn of the century, the size of this settlement increased to 3,686 by the end of the Second World War. By 1960, however, the equivalent figure (for 'Armenian-Gregorians' 'by religion') stood at 3,378, although the number

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1 C.P.A. 1960

TABLE A.1.

SMALLER ETHNIC MINORITY GROUPS IN CYPRUS 1960

Armenians	3,628
Maronites	2,708
British	20,955
Other	3,423
TOTAL	30,714

Source: C.P.A. 1960

of Armenians in the 'ethnic' sense (termed 'by race' in the Census) was 3,628 persons.[2] In more recent times, therefore, there has been a reduction in the size of the Armenian settlement on the island.

The establishment of a sizeable Armenian community on the island in the present century was largely a consequence of their persecution at the hands of the Ottomans in Turkey. Local massacres and expulsions around the end of the century gave way to more systematic persections at the time of the First World War. Most of those who could escape fled southwards into Arab territories recently liberated from Ottoman rule, and of these some two to three thousand in due course found their way to Cyprus. These refugees, and their descendents, form by far the greater part of the post-war community of Armenians on the island.

Although this minority comprises less than 1 per cent of the population, its position in the life of the island is a significant one. Almost all Armenians live in the six Towns, the majority in either Nicosia or Larnaca. Most are relatively well-educated (often at Armenian schools), and tend to be engaged in non-manual work, often in trade or commerce. In retail trades, especially in imported goods, they developed an important role for themselves, gaining wealth and influence for their community as the market for consumer goods expanded through the post-war years. Yet in spite of this - indeed, to some extent because of it - they have remained socially separate from other groups on the island. Armenians

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2 Population Censuses, Cyprus.

in Cyprus speak their own language, practise their own religion, organise their own schools, and often run their own businesses. They do not regard themselves as 'Cypriots' in any ethnic sense: Cyprus is to them 'home' not because they belong, but because they happen to live there. Moreover, their roots in Cyprus are relatively shallow, having been laid down over little more than a generation. The only sense in which they are collectively 'Cypriot' is in opposition to Armenians exiled in other territories. But like all expatriate Armenians (in the ethnic sense) they owe primary allegiance to their own civilisation, and to the homeland to which few will now return.

The population figures already cited suggest that some at least of the Armenians of Cyprus have once again been on the move. This is borne out by the emigration statistics available since 1955, which are shown in Table A.2. This indicates that almost 1200 Armenians have departed the island during the twelve years from 1955 to 1966, representing approximately one-third of the Armenian Community. The majority of these emigrants left between 1960 and 1964. In some years during the period a few Armenians were among the immigrants to Cyprus, but their total of 66 persons is relatively very small.[3]

Some 500 of the Armenians who left Cyprus in 1962-4 did so in an organised return to Soviet Armenia.[4] Of the remainder, the large majority

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3 V.& M.S./D.R.

4 D.R.

TABLE A.2

ARMENIAN EMIGRATION FROM CYPRUS TO BRITAIN 1955-66

	All Emigrants	Emigrants to Britain
1955	20	..
1956	58	..
1957	40	17
1958	36	17
1959	54	47
1960	261	255
1961	185	178
1962	347	15
1963	162	8
1964	77	61
1965	13	8
1966	12	6
1957-66	1,187	612

Source: V.& M.S./D.R.

(88 per cent) migrated to Britain - in this case mostly in 1960 and 1961. At least a small number of Armenians has migrated to Britain in every year of the period, and probably did so in years prior to 1957 as well.

The main years of Armenian migration differ from those for British migration, and are more similar to those for Greek and Turkish-Cypriot migrants generally. To some extent, then, it seems that Armenians were influenced by similar factors as the latter in migrating to Britain. However, two additional factors have played an important part. In the first place, being much involved in retail trade, Armenians for their living are particularly dependent upon their customers. While the early part of the Emergency Period left them little affected, the outbreak of open strife between Greeks and Turks at the end of the decade, and again at the end of 1963, resulted in an atmosphere of suspicion and mistrust in which the protagonists increasingly restricted contacts to their own group. The Armenians thus became relatively isolated, and their businesses suffered seriously. From 1959, too, they became aware that they could no longer rely upon the protection of the British. In the second place, with the worsening of the civil strife in the 1960s, the division of Nicosia into Greek and Turkish sectors led to loss of property by Armenians, for a number owned houses within the Turkish sector which were sequestrated without compensation.

There was not at any time direct hostility towards Armenians. It was nonetheless the political situation which has been the major cause of their departures, affecting them indirectly by means of

their business and property interests. That this is indeed the case is supported by the migration figures, which show the periods of inter-ethnic strife to be the periods of emigration, departures being very small in other years by comparison.

Most Armenians migrated to Britain as families, and the age and sex composition of the migrants is a very even one. In Britain they have joined a small settlement of Armenians who live mostly in London, and who in 1966 numbered between three and four thousand. Their still close-knit community life centres on the Armenian Cathedral of St. Sarkis in Kensington, although residentially Armenians are quite widely scattered around the metropolis. The arrival of Armenians from Cyprus, alongside a smaller number from Egypt, strengthened this community considerably, but in spite of their addition its size is no greater than the community from which they came.

<u>British</u>

As already noted, rather more than 20,000 British persons were enumerated as resident in Cyprus in 1960. This figure, however, cannot be taken as indicating the size of a permanent British settlement in Cyprus, since the great majority of British in Cyprus at that date were Military Personnel and their families. Indeed throughout the post-war period the number of British persons in Cyprus has varied with the amount and nature of British activity there, and the differing categories of persons involved must be taken into account when considering "migration" in its strict sense.

Immediately after the war, in 1946, the British ("English-speaking", in this case) population of the island was approximately 4,700.[5] Of this number, about 3,600 were categorised as 'military', and 1057 described as 'civilian'. According to the Report on the Census for that year, the civilian component "includes one or two families settled in Cyprus before the occupation (i.e. in 1878) and perhaps 200 recent settlers, but for the most part consists of officials, salaried employees of banks and commercial houses and business travellers."[6]

In subsequent years, the number of both these categories of British residents rose substantially. First with the Palestinian War, then with the construction of the Military Bases, and finally with the Emergency Period in the later 1950s, increasing quantities of military personnel and their families came to be stationed on the island. The 'civilian' section, on the other hand, expanded more in connection with the social and economic developments introduced by the Colonial Government, though it also included many retired persons, as well as some artists and writers. The 'community' which grew up among these residents has been evocatively described by Lawrence Durrell in his book 'Bitter Lemons'.

Only the latter of the two categories may properly be considered as 'migrants'. The military personnel were present on the island only for specific tours of duty, for the most part living in isolation from the mainstream of island life. The same was true by and large of their

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5 C.P.A. 1946

6 C.P.A. 1946, Report by D.A. Percival, p.11.

families, and neither of these two classes of persons were recorded as 'migrants' in the Government's migration statistics. Even among the civilians, there were many who were not migrants in the sense of 'permanent settlers' - officials in the colonial administration, to take an example. Most, however, worked on the island for several years at least, and did not live quite such a segregated life as the military group. It is reasonable, therefore, to follow the practice of the Government in its migration statistics of regarding all the civilian categories as 'migrants'.

With regard to migration, then, we are dealing with only a portion of the British residents enumerated on the island - a portion whose number is not exactly known, but which would certainly have comprised a minority of all those British enumerated. However, the emigration of these residents constituted a significant proportion of all migrants departing Cyprus in certain post-war years. Figures for 1955 onwards (those for earlier years not being available) are presented in Table A.3.

From this Table it is clear that a major exodus of British civilian residents in Cyprus occurred during the period 1956-60. The figure for 1956 includes the families of Military Personnel and so the number of civilian migrants cannot be determined, but the statistic for the previous year leaves no doubt that at that time the exodus had not begun. On the other hand, by 1961 it had virtually terminated. From then until 1966 only 54 British persons emigrated, compared with 2673 in the preceding four years.

Table A.3

BRITISH[(a)] MIGRATION FROM CYPRUS TO BRITAIN 1955-66

	All Emigrants	Emigrants to Britain
1955	5	..
1956	1,871[(b)]	..
1957	899	732
1958	704	656
1959	729	725
1960	341	341
1961	27	24
1962	4	3
1963	13	11
1964	4	4
1965	6	6
1966	-	-
1957-66	2,727	2,502

Notes: (a) Migration statistics refer to persons classified as 'Anglo-American' by ethnic group. In view of the minimal number of persons in this category destined for the U.S.A., it is assumed for present purposes that all in the category are British.

(b) "A large proportion of this figure represents families of British Military Personnel."

Source: V.& M.S./D.R.

The main period of departure coincides with that of the Independence Struggle, and particularly the period extending from the Declaration of the State of Emergency to the Year of Independence. The conditions of living during that period (especially the terrorism directed against British persons), the future prospects once Independence became assured, and the change-over from British to Cypriot administrative staff, were the principal factors leading to the departure of so many British. Indeed, so complete was the exodus that by the time the author visited the island in 1965, the British couple with whom he stayed were almost the only private residents who had remained on the island throughout the whole period of political crisis. Thus leaving aside the military presence on the island, it would be virtually true to say that the entire settlement of the British minority on Cyprus that had developed both before and after the war was removed by the end of 1960, only a handful of persons remaining for any period subsequently.

As may be seen from the same Table above, almost all of these British emigrants returned to the United Kingdom - at least in the first instance. A few travelled directly to different destinations, about 9 per cent in all, many of them going to other Commonwealth countries.