

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 Statistics¹. 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'.

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 period². 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 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 Nearchou³, 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. 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 Britain⁴.

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)

The provider of this affidavit had to guarantee employment and lodging, and in theory was responsible for 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 soon to have become much easier to obtain. Nearchou⁶ 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.

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 Cyprus⁷ 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 Syria⁸. 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 Cyprus⁹. The figures, along with those for holders of passports 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: Statistics¹⁰. 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 '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

CYPRIOT EMIGRATION FROM CYPRUS TO BRITAIN 1953-1966

<u>Year</u>	<u>Total</u>	<u>Year</u>	<u>Total</u>
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
		<u>1953-66</u>	<u>65526</u>

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.

Table 1.2 shows the 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 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.

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.

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 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 years 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 (Figure 1.1), 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 permits, dependants of such persons, and other persons admitted for settlement in accordance with the provisions of the Act.

Table 1.4

Affidavit Issue and Passenger Record of Cypriot

Emigration to Britain 1951-58

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

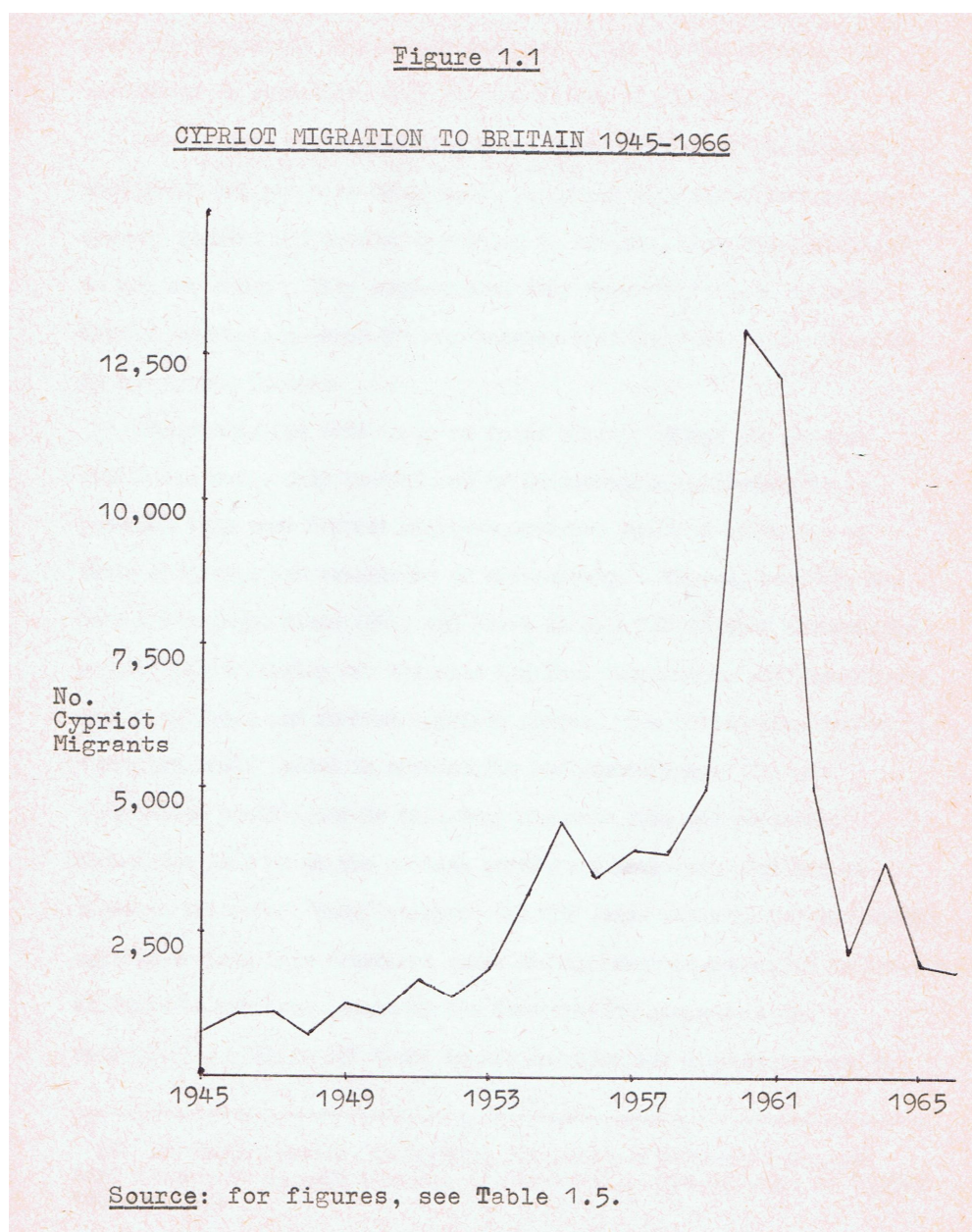
Note: Figures for 1951 and 1952 are estimates of the number of Cypriot immigrants entering Britain, made by the Government of Cyprus' London Office.

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.

Table 1.5

Cypriot Emigration from Cyprus to Britain, 1945-1966 (Summary)

<u>Year</u>	<u>Total</u>	<u>Year</u>	<u>Total</u>	<u>Year</u>	<u>Total</u>
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	<u>1945-66</u>	<u>74747</u>



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 during the early years of the Commonwealth Immigrants Act's operation¹¹. It is difficult to see how else the discrepancy can be 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.

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	1344	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.

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 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.

Table 1.7

CYPRIOI 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..

Table 1.8

ISSUE OF AFFIDAVITS OF SUPPORT TO PROSPECTIVE
CYPRIOI 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

Furthermore, since passenger data for all 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 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.

Table 1.9
Cypriot Emigrants from Cyprus by Destination: 1957-66

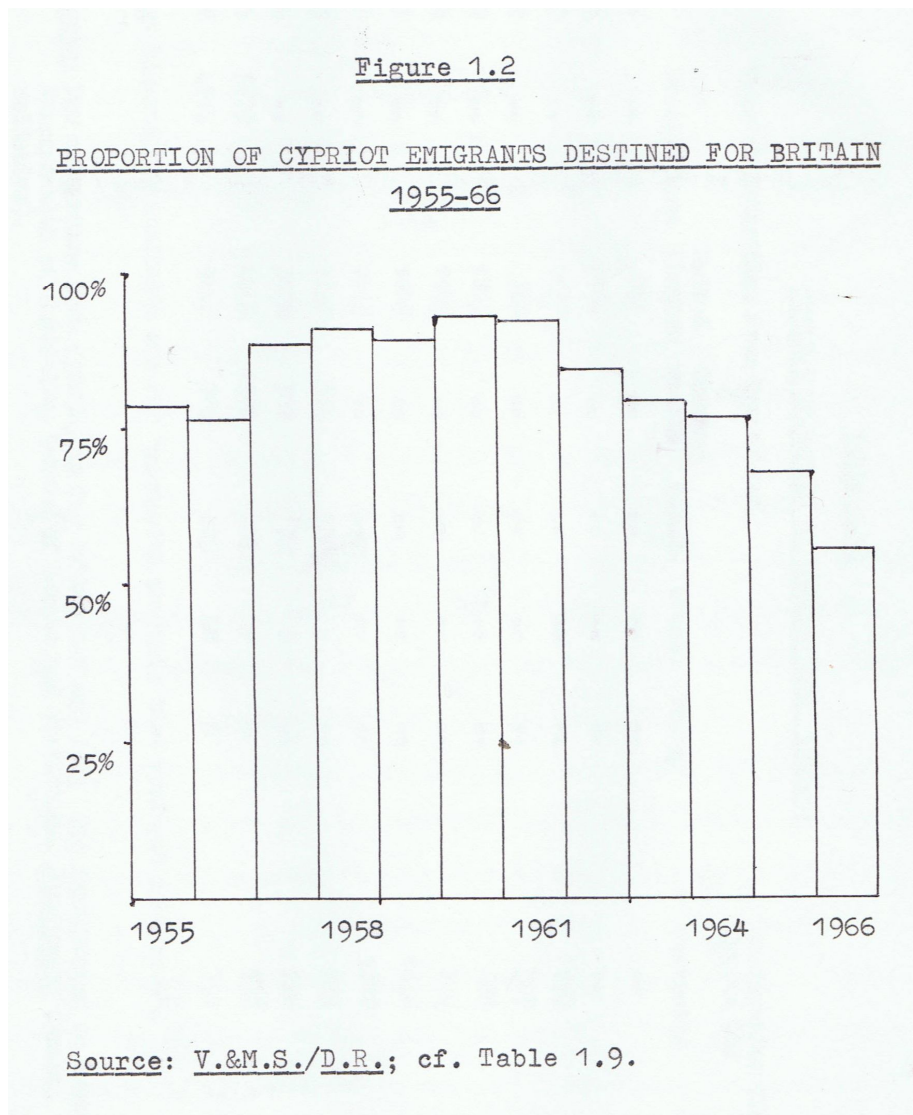
	ALL Destinations	United Kingdom	Australia	South Africa	Other Africa	U.S.A.	Canada	Greece	Turkey	Other Europe	Other Destinations
1957	4462	3944	260	51	66	100	8	7	13	7	6
1958	4505	3896	315	35	67	108	10	42	16	1	15
1959	5459	5033	114	37	109	101	9	37	7	2	10
1960	13984	12936	270	273	216	135	11	9	12	-	122
1961	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.

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 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.

Table 1.10

CYPRIOI MIGRATION BY DESTINATION 1945-56

	Cypriot Emigration from Cyprus to:						Immigration from Cyprus to:
	All Destinations	United Kingdom	Commonwealth	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).

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, 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 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 year¹². 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 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 3,930 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 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.

Table 1.11
CYPRIOI 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.

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

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

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 ethnic group during the years 1945 to 1956 was the same. On this basis it is estimated that during those first twelve post-war

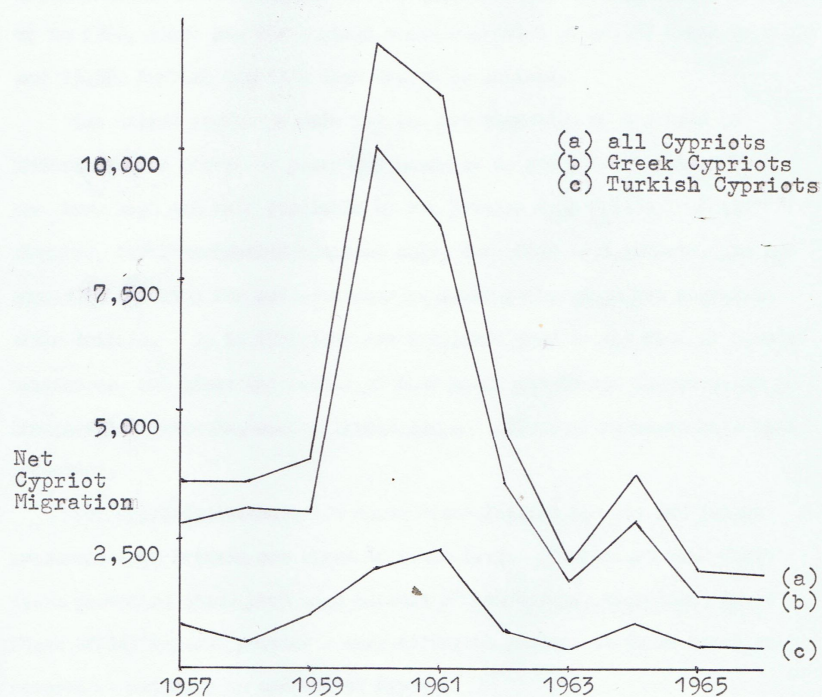
Table 1.14

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.

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.

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	6,640	3,480	3,160
(first half only)			
1955-1962	<u>51,450</u>	<u>27,440</u>	<u>24,010</u>
1962	4,110	3,701	409
(second half only)			
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	<u>38,607</u>	<u>29,103</u>	<u>9,504</u>

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.

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. 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 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 9,695 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 over-estimation 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 these twenty-two post-war years.

Footnotes

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

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

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.

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.

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

⁷ Government of Cyprus, London Office, Reports: e.g. 1953, 1954, 1956.

⁸ ibid., 1953, p. 7.

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

¹⁰ Home Office, Commonwealth Immigrants Act 1962: Statistics.

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.

¹² N.B. up to 1968 only.