

CHAPTER 2

CHARACTERISTICS OF CYPRIOT MIGRANTS

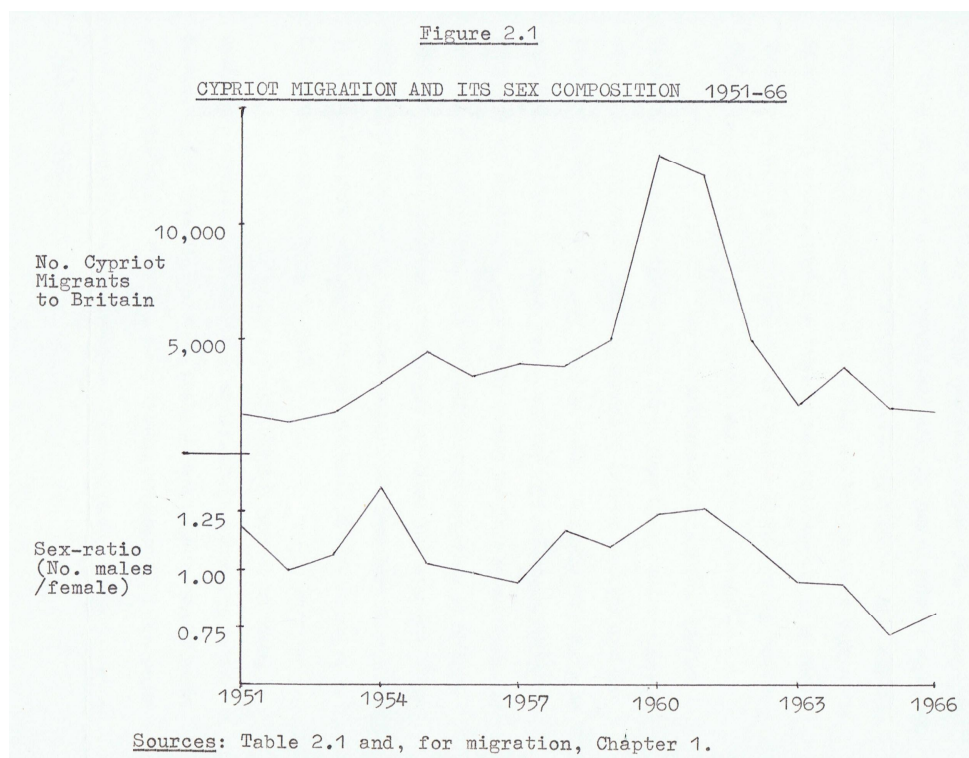
Sex Composition

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 emigrants¹. Those for 1955 onwards are for actual passenger movement out of Cyprus². 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.

| <u>Table 2.1</u> | | | |
|---|---------------------|---------|---------------------|
| <u>SEX-RATIO AMONG CYPRIOT MIGRANTS 1951-66</u> | | | |
| 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 |
| <p><u>Note:</u> 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.</p> <p><u>Sources:</u> for 1951-4, Nearchou, p.45; for 1955-66, <u>V.& M.S./D.R.</u></p> | | | |

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 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 74,747 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, 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

Table 2.2.

SEX-RATIO OF CYPRriot 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

tended to be substantially higher than that among Greeks, particularly in the early 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 this 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

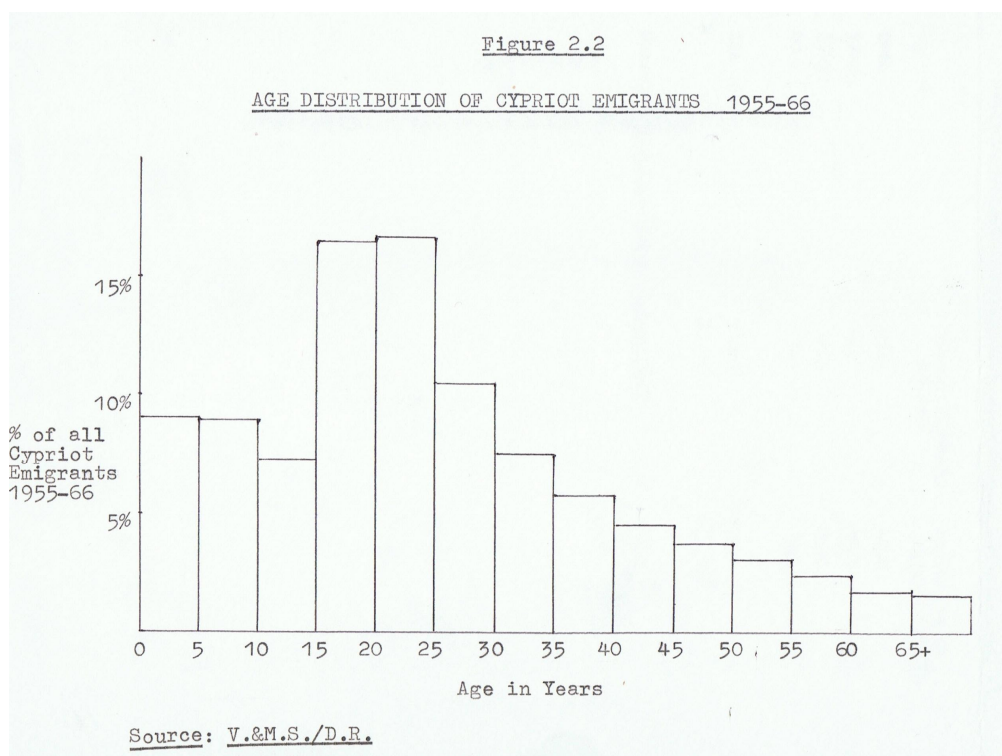
Figures for the age composition of Cypriot migrants are available from 1955 onwards, and for all Cypriot emigrants, regardless of destination⁴. It has already been shown in the previous chapter that the vast majority of emigrants during this period were destined for Britain, so that it is reasonable to regard these figures as approximate indicators of the age composition of migrants destined specifically for Britain.

Table 2.3
CYPRIOI MIGRANTS BY AGE-GROUP 1955-66

| | <u>Number</u> | <u>%</u> |
|----------|---------------|----------|
| 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.

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 comprises 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 under-represented in the migration.

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

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

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.A.M.S./D.R.

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 or more years old. The average age of female migrants was fractionally higher than that for males, though the median 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.

Table 2.6
CYPRIOI 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.

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 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 became available) was in the region of 21 years. That for men was in the region of 26 years⁵. 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 1957-8⁶. 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 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 women⁷. 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 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 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 living⁸.

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 three⁹. Two or three children per migrant family may therefore have been not uncommon among Cypriot migrants to Britain.

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 'dependants' (of labour migrants or existing residents) admitted for settlement in Britain between mid-1962 and 1966¹⁰. 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.

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 | 100.0 | 100.0 |
| N | 12115 | 5907 |

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

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 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.

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

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 themselves¹¹. The autonomy and solidarity of nuclear family groups as regards migration does not, however, mean that kinship connections are unimportant in this context. In the first place, as already pointed out, grandparents often migrate solely to join their children's 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 two¹². Thus, although Cypriot migration involves basically autonomous nuclear families, it is a common characteristic among migrants to have close and supportive kinship connections among those who have gone before.

Occupational Composition

Figures for the previous occupations of emigrants from Cyprus are available from 1955 onwards¹³. 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 1965, 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 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.

Table 2.9
Economic Activity among Emigrants from Cyprus 1960-66

| | <u>1960</u> | <u>1961</u> | <u>1962</u> | <u>1963</u> | <u>1964</u> | <u>1965</u> | <u>1966</u> |
|-----------------------|-------------|-------------|-------------|-------------|-------------|-------------|-------------|
| % | | | | | | | |
| 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 |

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

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 Census¹⁴. 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 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 were 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 under-represented, with the corresponding over-representation occurring mainly among those in the secondary sector. Also over-represented among the migrants have been service and white-collar workers.

The most notably under-represented 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

Table 2.10
Distribution of Previous Occupations of Male Emigrants
from Cyprus: 1960-66

| % | <u>Male Emigrants</u> <u>1960-66</u> | <u>Male Population of</u> <u>Cyprus, 1960</u> |
|--|---|--|
| 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 | <u>100.0</u> | <u>100.0</u> |
| N | <u>17,188</u> | <u>161,628</u> |

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

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

Table 2.11

Some Specific Occupations of Male Emigrants from Cyprus

1960-66

| % | <u>Male Emigrants</u> <u>1960-66</u> | <u>Male Population of</u> <u>Cyprus, 1960</u> |
|---|---|--|
| 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.F.A. 1960

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.

Table 2.12

Occupational Distribution of Male Emigrants from Cyprus:

1955, 1960, 1966

| % | <u>1955</u> | <u>1960</u> | <u>1966</u> |
|---|-------------|-------------|-------------|
| 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.

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.

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 1964-66 (sub-classification by age not being available for earlier years), less than half of those in their 20s were previously housewives, compared with three-quarters of those in their 30s 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.

Table 2.13

Previous Occupations of Female Emigrants from Cyprus 1960-66

| % | <u>Female Emigrants</u> <u>1960-66</u> | <u>Female Population</u> <u>of Cyprus, 1960</u> |
|--|---|--|
| 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.A.M.S./D.R.; C.P.A. 1960

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 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 'dependent' 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 under-represented 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 less¹⁶. 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 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.

Footnotes

¹ Given in Nearchou, p. 45.

² V. & M.S./D.R.

³ See below.

⁴ V. & M.S./D.R.

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. 476.
- 7 C.P.A. 1960.
- 8 C.P.A. 1960.
- 9 C.P.A. 1960.
- 10 Home Office, Commonwealth Immigrants Act 1962: Statistics.
- 11 C.P.A. 1960.
- 12 Unpublished data made available by Mass Observation: cf. Chapter 4.
- 13 V. & M.S./D.R.
- 14 C.P.A. 1960.
- 15 D.R. 1964-6.
- 16 cf. Government of Cyprus, Census of Industry, 1954.