

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 Further unpublished data derived from these two Censuses has been obtained from the General Register Office in order to provide a fuller picture of the situation in Britain of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 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. These additional unpublished data have been used in this study⁴, by permission of the Survey of Race Relations, in order to supplement that published by the General Register Office itself.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 persons are resident in this Metropolitan area⁵. 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 Metropolitan.

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 Census⁶, 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, however, that underenumeration was most marked in the more crowded housing conditions⁸ 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 born in Cyprus, 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 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 Report of the London Office estimated the total as 8,000¹⁰. 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 8,000¹¹ By a few months later, however, its estimate of the size of Cypriot settlement had been reduced to 7,500¹²

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 year¹⁵. Such incidental items of information, however, are far from sufficient as a basis for any reliable estimate of 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 period¹⁶, 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 settlement up to the end of 1966 is totalled at 75,732 persons, while deaths occurring 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 1,136 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 related 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 cent¹⁷. If we add in here the 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 underenumeration 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 underenumeration was evenly distributed among the population. The General Register Office's own evidence suggests that the underenumeration 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 underenumeration appeared to be in Camden where there was a 10.4 per cent discrepancy between the figures: Islington being second with an 8.4 per cent discrepancy¹⁹. 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 underestimation is of special significance in assessing the accuracy of the overall totals for Cypriot immigrants in the Census.

Even with 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 household, few rooms, shared dwellings and an absence of basic amenities²⁰. 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 exception²¹. Insofar as Cypriots themselves may have been responsible for the underenumeration, 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 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 count²². 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 under-enumerated 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.

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

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
<u>less deaths, 1940 - 66</u>	<u>2,093</u>
<u>TOTAL</u>	<u>73,639</u>
(b) Sample Census enumeration, April 1966	59,810
Net Migration, May-Dec. 1966	1,241
<u>less deaths, May-Dec. 1966</u>	<u>105</u>
<u>TOTAL</u>	<u>60,946</u>
(c) Census non-enumeration	12,693
<u>Sources:</u>	see text

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 baptism 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 numbers 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 occurring 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 under enumeration in the Sample Census. The figures for migration and natural increase in this case indicate that the degree of under enumeration was 18.0 per cent, as compared with 17.5 per cent under enumeration 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 under enumeration as was known to have been the case in 1961.

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
	<u>less</u> deaths, 1940 - 66	2,093
	<u>TOTAL</u>	<u>101,330</u>
(b)	Sample Census enumeration of Cypriot households, April 1966	85,490
	Net Migration, May-Dec 1966	1,241
	Births, May-Dec 1966	1,721
	<u>less</u> deaths, May-Dec 1966	105
	non-Cypriot spouses	5,173
	<u>TOTAL</u>	<u>83,494</u>
(c)	Census non-enumeration	<u>17,836</u>
	<u>Sources:</u> see text	

To conclude, comparisons between figures for migration and natural increase, and those for Census enumeration indicated 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 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.

Table 9.3

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

	<u>Total</u>	<u>England</u>	<u>Wales</u>	<u>Scotland</u>
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

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 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

Table 9.5

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

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

Source: C.I.T. 1966

Table 9.6

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

	<u>Britain</u>	<u>Greater London</u>	<u>%</u>
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

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 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 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 '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.

Footnotes

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

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').

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.
- 8 C.I.C. 1961, "General Explanatory Notes".
- 9 Government of Cyprus, London Office: Report, 1938, p.5.
- 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.
- 16 Figures provided by Greek Orthodox Archdiocese of Thyateira, and records of individual Greek Orthodox Churches.
- 17 C.I.T. 1966, p. xxiv.
- 18 General Register Office, Sample Census 1966, County Report, Greater London, p. xxiv.
- 19 ibid, p. xxv.
- 20 C.I.C. 1961.
- 21 See below.
- 22 Calculated from G.R.O. 1961 and C.I.C. 1961.
- 23 Paroikiaki (Greek weekly newspaper), 27 October 1967.
- 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.