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## Is the Turkish Cypriot Population Shrinking?

An Overview of the Ethno-Demography of Cyprus in the Light of the Preliminary Results of the 2006 Turkish-Cypriot Census

*Mete Hatay*





## **Mete Hatay**

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**PRIO Report 2/2007**

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# FOREWORD

PRIO is proud to publish this fourth report from the PRIO Cyprus Centre, the second to analyze demographic developments in northern Cyprus.

PRIO's mission in Cyprus is to contribute to an informed public debate on key issues relevant to an eventual settlement of the Cyprus problem. We hope to achieve this by disseminating information, providing new analysis and facilitating dialogue. The PRIO Cyprus Centre should stimulate research cooperation and debate among – and between – Greek Cypriots and Turkish Cypriots, and also between Cypriots more generally and all kind of interested outsiders, such as the UN, foreign diplomats, business people and international NGOs.

In order to achieve our aim, we seek to establish joint research groups, with both Turkish Cypriot and Greek Cypriot participation, to develop new avenues of inquiry among researchers on either side of the communal divide. When single researchers from either community undertake PCC funded research, we ensure that they are exposed to an extensive peer review. This is mainly done to ensure academic quality, but also to ensure that the views of both communities are reflected in the research process, and make sure that the publications are written in ways that may inspire debate outside of purely academic circles.

Just like this fourth report, the first report from the PRIO Cyprus Centre was also written by Mete Hatay. It was an innovative study of Turkish settlers and their political voting patterns. The second report, written by a team of economist at St. Platis Economic Research, examined property markets and of the property regime proposed in the Annan Plan. The third report, by Ayla Gürel and Kudret Özersay, employed historical and legal analysis to compare the official Turkish and Greek Cypriot approaches to the property issue, as well as reactions of the two sides to proposals for resolving the issue through a comprehensive solution.

Mete Hatay draws here on his extensive research and the preliminary results of the 2006 north Cyprus census to set migration to and from Cyprus into a historical and contemporary perspective. Through a political rather than a purely technical analysis he explains how migration has become subjected to a “war of numbers,” which in turn has made it difficult to

disentangle the basic facts, and have a healthy, detached debate about such an important issue. It is inevitably that any study dealing with one of the most contested issues in the Cyprus problem, such as the present one, the findings and perspectives of the author might be controversial. Our intention is to ensure that this report lead to further inquiry and debate within scholarly disciplines, in media and in the public.

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*2 November 2007*



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METE HATAY

*Lefkoşa, Cyprus  
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# ABBREVIATIONS

BDH	Bariř ve Demokrasi Hareketi (Peace and Democracy Movement)
CoE	Council of Europe
CAHP	European Population Committee
CTP	Cumhuriyetci Türk Partisi (Republican Turkish Party)
CTP-BG	Cumhuriyetci Türk Partisi ve Birleřik Güçler (Republican Turkish Party and United Forces)
DMP	Demokratik Mücadele Partisi (Democratic Struggle Party)
DP	Demokrat Parti (Democratic Party)
EU	European Union
ROC	Republic of Cyprus
TKP	Toplumcu Kurtuluř Partisi (Communal Liberation Party)
TFSC	Turkish Federated State of Cyprus
TR	Turkish citizens
TRNC	Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus
UBP	Ulusal Birlik Partisi (National Unity Party)
UK	United Kingdom
USA	United State of America
UN	United Nations

# SUMMARY

**T**HE DEMOGRAPHY of north Cyprus is one of the most contested issues arising out of the island's division. In particular, the number of indigenous Turkish Cypriots and Turkish immigrants who live in north Cyprus has long been a source of dispute not only amongst the island's diplomats and politicians, but amongst researchers and activists, as well. Until today the political use of demography has hindered comprehensive study of the ethno-demographic makeup of the north at the same time that it has made a thorough demographic study all the more imperative. Hence, besides analyzing the latest census results, this study is also a step towards a better understanding of how demography has been used in Cyprus as a means to achieve wider political goals at both the local and international levels.

The introductory chapter, 'War of Numbers,' describes how the parties to the conflict utilize or distort population figures: while politicians in the north have, in the past, denied the 'demographic engineering' that took place in north Cyprus between 1975 and 1979, the government of the Republic has generalized all migration movement from Turkey to Cyprus as one of 'colonization' and has lumped all immigrants and visitors into the single category of 'settlers.' The report also argues that the discourses of 'demographic danger' and 'colonization' which are continuously used in local politics are politically constructed labels and require more comprehensive investigation.

The first chapter of the report examines the historical roots of the politics of demography in Cyprus. This chapter shows how, particularly in the British colonial period, both the Greek and Turkish communities of the island became increasingly aware of the political importance of demography and population ratios. The report suggests that following the introduction of proportionality in political representation, both communities of the island became attentive to population ratios and the degree of power that they represent. The report also summarizes population figures for the two communities since the Ottoman period and demonstrates that the population ratios of the communities were never static and continuously fluctuated. This study also suggests that since the arrival of the British, the Turkish Cypriot share of the population has been on the decline.

In the second chapter, the report examines the methodology employed in the 2006 TRNC census and suggests that while some undercounting occurred during the census, the data collected by this census accords well with other recent studies and earlier supplementary data and so may be taken as a reliable indicator and an important step towards understanding the demographic structure of north Cyprus.

The third chapter provides an analysis of the 2006 census results by comparing the data with those of the previous census. This chapter focuses mainly on identifying the percentage of the population in north Cyprus of Turkish-mainland origin who also possess TRNC citizenship, which is important because of claims that such citizens play an important role in elections in the north. Additionally, this section examines arrival dates of Turkish nationals in order to analyze patterns of migration. This, in turn, is indicative of the numbers of naturalized TRNC citizens who arrived in Cyprus as part of an official policy. The report then compares the results of the census with other supplementary and complementary data such as university student numbers, figures relevant to the labour market, and tourism-related statistics to determine further characteristics of the population in north Cyprus.

In chapter four the report moves on to study the claims of Turkish Cypriot emigration and a dwindling native population. This chapter presents estimates for Turkish Cypriot emigration to third countries based on immigration and census figures of the two main host countries, the United Kingdom (UK) and Australia. By looking at the latter figures and the results of the 2006 census, this study argues that the claims of massive emigration of Turkish Cypriots to third countries are largely flawed. Contrary to the common assumption that the Turkish Cypriot population has shrunk since 1974, this chapter claims that it has in fact grown. Using population figures of the north together with those of the south, another chapter concludes with a look at the island-wide demographic structure. By using census results from both sides of the island, the report offers several alternative demographic comparisons to show that the demographic balance of the island has not been relatively altered.

The report concludes by observing that the issue of demography has become so politicized that it is now a significant impediment to reconciliation between the two sides. Even though the report concludes that the 2006 census results are an important step in gathering concrete and previously unavailable data for the population in the north, including birthplaces of parents of TRNC citizens, the report's conclusion still recommends a thorough review of the census data by neutral bodies. Such a review has heretofore been held hostage by the unresolved questions of sovereignty, since the Republic has claimed that international monitoring would provide de facto recognition for the government in the north, while that same government has refused any intervention by the recognized Republic that might lend more credibility to a census. This report, then, suggests a middle road to make international review possible. The middle road recommended by this report is through the political parties in the north, which, unlike the Turkish Cypriot government, are recognized as legitimate political entities by the Republic and the international community. A committee constituted of representatives of all political parties in the north would have the capacity to review the census results in collaboration with international experts on demography, without this cooperation implying recognition of the Turkish Cypriot state. With the aid of experts in demography appointed by Council of Europe or another international organisation, it would be possible to identify other sources of information that might complement or supplement the census results, as this study attempts to do.

# INTRODUCTION

*War is the continuation of politics by other means*

Clausewitz

*Politics is the continuation of war by other means*

Foucault<sup>1</sup>

## War of Numbers

**D**EMOGRAPHY, analysis of the vital statistics of populations, invariably has political significance, as it plays a crucial role in the distribution of rights and privileges. It is in this sense important to groups contesting for power within states, and especially so in states divided by conflict. In Cyprus, authorities on both sides of the barbed wire have used demographics as a weapon in the ongoing debate over the future of the island. The number of indigenous Cypriots, in particular Turkish Cypriots, has long been a bone of contention between the two sides. Legal arguments and nationalist goals have combined to obstruct sensible study of past and present demographic realities on the island. While one side would present the Turkish Cypriot population as a smaller numerical minority than it actually is, the other side attempts to play down claims that the population in the north has been altered by settlement from Turkey.

Demography has played a critical role in contests for power in Cyprus since the British colonial period (1878-1960), when ethnic proportions began to determine the balance of political power. With the establishment of the Republic of Cyprus (RoC) in 1960, fixed population ratios determined power-sharing arrangements in the new state. State hiring quotas for the numerically smaller Turkish community that exceeded its actual population ratio became one of the major sources of dispute between the partners in the new state. Strife over this inequitable distribution of state resources was an important reason for the intercommunal conflict and violence that began in 1963 and led to the collapse of a bicomunal republic.<sup>2</sup> As a result, a large segment of the Turkish Cypriot population retreated to enclaves, where they established a separate Turkish Cypriot administration.<sup>3</sup> In addition,

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<sup>1</sup> Emrah Köksal, "Bir Yönetim Tekniği Olarak Kriz: İstisna Halli'nin Eleştirisine Doğru," *Journal of Turkish Weekly*, (April 2007).

<sup>2</sup> Michael Attalides, 'Relations Between Greek and Turkish Cypriots in Perspective,' *International Symposium on Political Geography, 27-29 February 1976*, (Nicosia: Cyprus Geographical Association, 1977), pp.60-61.

<sup>3</sup> Such enclaves were formed all over the island, encompassing three per cent of the territory. Official Greek Cypriot statements made at the time claimed that most Turkish Cypriots were fleeing under their leadership's directions in order to prepare the ground for eventual partition. This was denied by Turkish Cypriot leaders, who averred that members of their community fled without any prior planning to the nearest refuge because they were frightened. On this issue, R. Patrick, a Canadian researcher who was in Cyprus during most of the violent period of 1960s, wrote that the majority of Turkish refugees fled only after killings, abductions and harassment of Turkish Cypriots by Greek Cypriots in their neighbourhoods. See Richard A. Patrick, *Political Geography and the Cyprus Conflict: 1963-1971*, ed. James H. Bater & Richard Preston (Ontario: Department of Geography publications, University of Waterloo, 1976), p.78.

because Turkish Cypriots, as a numerical minority, felt under threat during this period, they actively appealed for intervention from Turkey. Ironically, the Republic, now entirely in the hands of Greek Cypriots, smuggled in troops from Greece on the pretext that they would be needed to defend the island in the event of a Turkish invasion.<sup>4</sup> These same troops, in cooperation with Greek Cypriot nationalists, were ultimately responsible for the 1974 coup against President and Archbishop Makarios that indeed led to a Turkish intervention and the subsequent division of the island.<sup>5</sup>

The question of Cyprus's demography acquired a new meaning and an increasingly international importance after the division of the island. During the intercommunal conflict of the 1960s many Turkish Cypriots had been displaced, and in the wake of the 1974 war many Greek Cypriots fled to the south and Turkish Cypriots to the north.<sup>6</sup> The result was the ethnic homogenization of the two parts of the island. While the Republic of Cyprus became a de facto Greek Cypriot state, Turkish Cypriots in 1975 proclaimed the north the Turkish Federated State of Cyprus (TFSC).<sup>7</sup> In 1983, in response to Greek Cypriot demands for United Nations condemnation of the division, Turkish Cypriots declared sovereignty under the Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus (TRNC). Because the state in the north is not recognized by any country other than Turkey, the RoC remains the sole recognized government for the entirety of the island.

The significance of demography in Cyprus changed after 1974 not only because of this ethnic homogenization of the two states, but also because of an influx of immigrants from Turkey. In addition to the displacement of Cypriots, Turkey and the Turkish Cypriot administration initially facilitated and encouraged an immigration of Turkish nationals from Turkey following the war. This policy was designed to bolster the Turkish population and to create a viable economy independent of Greek Cypriots.<sup>8</sup> Immigrants who were part of this policy received empty Greek Cypriot properties and citizenship in the Turkish Cypriot state

<sup>4</sup> In 1964, Makarios created an army called the National Guard, which was composed solely of Greek Cypriots under the command of mainland Greek officers. In April of that year, Makarios also reached an agreement with Greek Prime minister George Papandreou to have arms and troops secretly shipped to Cyprus from Greece to join their 'Cypriot Units'. According to Andreas Papandreou, who was then a minister in his father's cabinet, 'No less than 20,000 officers and men, fully equipped, were shipped to Cyprus.' See Andreas Papandreou, *Democracy at Gunpoint: The Greek Front*, (London: Andre Deutsch, 1971), p. 100.

<sup>5</sup> The majority of these troops were withdrawn to Greece in 1967, when Turkey threatened to invade the island because of reports that those same troops had attacked several Turkish Cypriot villages. Despite the fact that the majority of the Greek soldiers left the island by 1968, many mainland Greek officers stayed on and continued to administer the National Guard. These officers eventually orchestrated the fatal coup against President Makarios in 15 July 1974. See Niyazi Kızılyürek, *Doğmamış Bir Devletin Tarihi: Birleşik Kıbrıs Cumhuriyeti*, (İstanbul: İletişim, 2005), p. 131.

<sup>6</sup> The events of the 1960s led to the uprooting and displacement of an estimated 20,000-25,000 Turkish Cypriots and a few hundred Greek Cypriots (for a more detailed account see Patrick, pp.45-76). The events of 1974 resulted in the displacement of approximately 142,000 Greek Cypriots from the northern part of the island and an estimated 45,000 Turkish Cypriots from the south. See Ayla Gürel and Kudret Özeray, *The Politics of Property in Cyprus: Conflicting Appeals to 'Bizonality' and 'Human Rights' by the Two Cypriot Communities*, PRIO Cyprus Centre Report 3/2006 (Nicosia/Oslo: PRIO, 2006), p. 3.

<sup>7</sup> Greek Cypriots' attempt to internationalise the Cyprus problem by bringing the issue to the UN General Assembly in May 1983 created resentment in the Turkish Cypriot leadership, which had no formal representation in the UN. In reaction to a resolution, approved by the General Assembly that demanded inter alia 'immediate withdrawal of all the occupation forces' and affirmed 'the right of the Republic of Cyprus and its people to full and effective sovereignty and control over the territory of Cyprus,' the Turkish Cypriot Parliament unanimously declared an independent state (TRNC) on 15 November 1983.

<sup>8</sup> Gül İnanc, *Büyükelçiler Anlatıyor: Türk Demokrasisinde Kıbrıs (1970-1991)*, (İstanbul: Türk İş Bankası Kültür Yayınları, 2007), pp. 77-80; Tözün Bahçeli, *Greek-Turkish Relations Since 1955*, (London: Westview, 1990), p. 111.

almost upon arrival.<sup>9</sup> This facilitated migration ended by the late 1970's, and international pressure and internal opposition to the policy led to the amendment of the law that eliminated property privileges for the other immigrants who arrived after 1982.<sup>10</sup> Immigration had by this time declined, and the number of immigrants acquiring citizenship significantly dropped (see Appendix I).<sup>11</sup> A further amendment of the citizenship law in 1993, restricted citizenship rights to persons who had been resident on the island for at least five years.<sup>12</sup> Although immigration from Turkey continued on a smaller scale, these later immigrants who arrived in the island did so of their own initiative as they sought a better future there.<sup>13</sup> In contrast to the first wave of migrants who were brought to the island as part of state policy, the factors determining the later wave fit other global patterns of economic migration, and those later immigrants received no special treatment or privileges from the state.

This influx of Turkish nationals changed the character of the demographic problem in Cyprus as it added a new element to the population ratios that have historically been important for power-sharing arrangements and power struggles on the island. For its part, the Republic of Cyprus argues that Turkey intends to 'change the demographic character and to distort the population balance on the island' by increasing the Turkish population in the north. Greek Cypriots have perceived any population movement from Turkey to the island as part of a systematic policy of 'colonizing the occupied part of Cyprus.' Another assertion of the RoC, which is shared by certain political parties in the north, is that by settling these people on the island, Turkey is trying "to shift the balance of political power in the occupied part of Cyprus and influence elections in order to ensure that the Turkish

<sup>9</sup> According to TSFC Citizenship Law Act No. 3/1975, anyone who resided on the island for one year could apply for citizenship. In addition, families of the 498 Turkish soldiers killed in the 1974 war would be eligible for citizenship, as would all Turkish soldiers who had served in Cyprus until 18 August 1974. Some of the veterans took the opportunity and settled on the island. There presently exists a Turkish Army Veterans Association with around 1,200 active members, the majority of whom (75%) are married to Turkish Cypriots. A clause in the law also allows the Council of Ministers to grant citizenship to anyone who is deemed to be of benefit to the state. This provision has sometimes been abused by parties in the government.

<sup>10</sup> Law for Housing, Allocation of Land, and Property of Equal Value (*İskan, Topraklandırma, ve Eşdeğer Mal Yasası* [ITEM law] No. 41/1977). In July 1982, an amendment to the ITEM law ended the distribution of properties to Turkish nationals. Turkish nationals immigrating to Cyprus after implementation of this law received no properties from the state and had to buy or rent properties on the local market.

<sup>11</sup> The other reason for this can be explained by the election results of 1981. It is possible that when the ruling National Unity Party (UBP) discovered that the majority of settlers voted in greater numbers for the other opposition parties, they (UBP) stopped granting citizenship and allocating properties to anyone who arrived in Cyprus. As shown in my previous study, in the 1981 elections, the UBPs share of votes in the settler villages was around 34%, while UBPs received almost 46% in the native Cypriot villages. The remainder of settler votes were distributed among four opposition parties, namely the Communal Liberation Party, TKP (17%), the Turkish Unity Party, TBP (32%), the Democratic People's Party, DHP (12%) and the Republican Turkish Party, CTP (4%). For further information on the voting patterns of settlers see Mete Hatay, *Beyond Numbers: An Inquiry into the Political Integration of the Turkish 'Settlers' in Northern Cyprus*, PRIO Report 4/2005 (Oslo: PRIO, 2005).

<sup>12</sup> As will be shown in Chapter Three, although the 1993 law granted the right to apply for citizenship after five years of residency, not all persons who applied were granted citizenship. For instance, some of the Kurdish origin immigrants that I interviewed claimed that, because of tensions between Kurdish militant organizations and the Turkish state, many Kurdish immigrants to the north have been unable to acquire TRNC citizenship. It should also be noted that many Kurds who did receive TRNC citizenship in the early 1980s used TRNC travel documents to travel to the UK where they applied for political asylum.

<sup>13</sup> It is important to add that immigration to the TRNC has accelerated once again due to the massive construction boom that began in 2002, which created a high labour demand (see Chapter 3).

Cypriot leadership is kept in line with the policy of the Turkish Government... [T]o that effect, the colonists have been given 'citizenship', Greek Cypriot properties, 'voting rights' and work permits."<sup>14</sup> The Turkish Cypriot administration, on the other hand, claims a sovereignty in the north that includes the right to grant citizenship and for more than two decades (until 1996) refused to disclose statistics showing numbers of immigrants and naturalized citizens. This lack of transparency created a void that has been filled by myths and half-truths regarding the demographic situation in the north.

Hence, because of the historical and political importance of demography in the Cyprus conflict, conflicting claims over the size of this immigrant population quickly turned into a 'war of numbers.' In this 'war,' the numbers of immigrants, their legal status, and their political loyalties are all contested as the 'combatants' in this conflict make claims of both rights and victimization. Moreover, each side in this 'war' makes reference to historical population ratios, as will be explained in Chapter One. While Greek Cypriots generally refer to the 1960 census and the population ratio upon which the Republic of Cyprus administration was founded (77.1% - 18.2%), Turkish Cypriots cite high rates of Turkish Cypriot emigration during the British colonial period, when many left the island either as a result of British policies or security concerns.<sup>15</sup> According to estimates resulting from this argument, the actual percentage of Turkish Cypriots in the total population should have been 25-30 per cent.<sup>16</sup>

These differing perceptions of the two communities' 'true' demographic ratio, as well as the distribution of political power potentially at stake, have fuelled a 'war' whose ammunition has been obfuscation and speculation. For its part, the RoC has taken advantage of its position as the recognized government of the island to provide most of the 'information' to the international community about the demography of the north. The Republic's estimates of the population of Turkish settlers in the north range from 130,000-160,000, while it also claims that the Turkish Cypriot population has decreased from 118,000 to 85,000 since 1974.<sup>17</sup> The Republic arrives at these figures by using the term 'settler' to refer to any person from the Turkish mainland present in the north of the island. Ironically, although the Republic refuses to accept census results provided by the government in the north, it bases its own reports on figures released by the TRNC government for arrival into and departure from the north (combined with projections of estimated birth rates), as well as some

<sup>14</sup> Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Cyprus, *Illegal Demographic Changes*. [http://www.mfa.gov.cy/mfa/mfa2006.nsf/cyprus06\\_en/cyprus06\\_en?OpenDocument](http://www.mfa.gov.cy/mfa/mfa2006.nsf/cyprus06_en/cyprus06_en?OpenDocument).

<sup>15</sup> While it is true that historical evidence appears to support the claim that more Turkish Cypriots than Greek Cypriots emigrated during the British period, the figures have also often been exaggerated by Turkish Cypriot or Turkish officials for political reasons. For example, in 1954, in his address to the First Committee of the UN General Assembly, Selim Sarper, Turkey's representative to the UN, claimed that there were 'more than 300,000 Turks who have left Cyprus for various reasons,' and were living abroad. Sarper also insisted that these 300,000 Turkish Cypriots should be allowed to return to Cyprus and vote on the plebiscites. See Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Turkey, *Turkey and Cyprus: A Survey of the Cyprus Question with Official Statements of the Turkish Viewpoint*, (London: Embassy of Turkey, 1956), pp. 43-44.

<sup>16</sup> To support their claims, Turkish Cypriots tend to cite the first British census (1881) that showed the Muslim Cypriot percentage as 24.5%. They also claimed that because Muslims of the island did not want to live under the new 'infidel' administration, many emigrated to Turkey or other Muslim states. See Mustafa Haşim Altan, *Kıbrıs'ta Rumlaştırma Hareketleri* (Ankara: Yeni Avrasya, 2003), pp. 131-132.

<sup>17</sup> Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Cyprus, *Illegal Demographic Changes*. [http://www.mfa.gov.cy/mfa/mfa2006.nsf/cyprus06\\_en/cyprus06\\_en?OpenDocument](http://www.mfa.gov.cy/mfa/mfa2006.nsf/cyprus06_en/cyprus06_en?OpenDocument)



clippings from Turkish Cypriot newspapers. What makes these figures especially problematic and misleading is that the RoC makes no distinction between Turkish nationals who are citizens of the TRNC and thus have voting rights, and Turkish nationals who do not possess TRNC citizenship but who are to be found in north Cyprus for a variety of reasons. In other words, any Turkish national who uses the ports in the north to come to north Cyprus is automatically considered an 'illegal settler', until he leaves the island. In addition, Turkish Cypriots travelling on Turkish passports are also counted as Turkish nationals in these reports. Considering all Turkish nationals found in the north as settlers both assumes a continuing policy of facilitated migration and simultaneously creates the appearance of such a continuing policy.

The Republic, then, considers the presence of all persons of Turkish mainland origin to be illegal and calls for their repatriation under any reunification agreement. By referring to them as 'settlers,' the implication is that all Turkish nationals present on the island arrived and continue to arrive as part of a state policy of 'colonization.' Under this terminology, even Turkish students or tourists may be considered 'settlers.' The Republic, then, fails to make two important distinctions: (1) the distinction between temporary residents on the island and naturalized citizens; and (2) within the group of naturalized citizens the distinction between persons who arrived on the island as part of a state-facilitated migration and received citizenship and Greek Cypriot property upon arrival, and those who arrived later and received no such privileges from the state. Because the former group did arrive as part of a state policy, they may be considered settlers under the definition used in the Cypriot context. But by sweeping all persons of Turkish mainland origin into the broad definition settler, the Republic creates fears that this alleged population influx will change the population ratio and power-sharing arrangements in a negotiated settlement. In addition, by using the term settler to refer to all persons of Turkish mainland origin present on the island, the Republic creates the appearance that all of these persons have citizenship, voting rights, and so the ability to influence elections and politics in the north. The Republic's figures of 130,000-160,000 'settlers' and 85,000 indigenous Turkish Cypriots suggests that almost two-thirds of the Turkish Cypriot electorate is now of Turkish mainland origin.

The role of Turkish Cypriots in the 'war of numbers' is more complicated: while the primarily conservative and nationalist parties who were in power for several decades tended to obfuscate the facts and decrease the number of settlers, primarily left-wing opposition parties and writers often inflated those numbers. The Turkish Cypriot government, represented by nationalist parties, long refused to address claims of any demographic engineering in the north. Authorities in the north claimed that they made no distinction between their citizens in terms of place of birth and refused to provide the relevant data.<sup>18</sup> Moreover, until the 1980s officials asserted that the majority of these immigrants were either seasonal workers from

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<sup>18</sup> Alfonso Cuco, *The Demographic Structure of Cyprus*, Report of the Committee on Migration, Refugees, and Demography, Parliamentary Assembly Doc. 6589, 27 April 1992. Full report can be found at [http://www.moi.gov.cy/moi/pio/pio.nsf/All/20C7614D06858E9FC2256DC200380113/\\$file/cuco%20report.pdf?OpenElement](http://www.moi.gov.cy/moi/pio/pio.nsf/All/20C7614D06858E9FC2256DC200380113/$file/cuco%20report.pdf?OpenElement)

Turkey or Turkish Cypriots returning to Cyprus after the establishment of Turkish control over the northern part of the island.<sup>19</sup> A good example of such denial comes from the TFSC's former Minister of Foreign Affairs Vedat Çelik, who in 1975 sent a letter to UN Secretary General Kurt Waldheim complaining that,

[t]he allegation that there is a massive immigration of Turkish nationals from Turkey to Cyprus with the purpose of changing the demographic character of the island within a pre-planned partition project is not only completely contrary to the truth but also a distortion of the actual facts. All that is taking place is that skilled technicians and workers are being imported from Turkey on a temporary basis as "guest workers" to meet the immediate needs of the economy....[T]here is no question of these people acquiring Cypriot citizenship or taking up permanent residence in the island.<sup>20</sup>

Çelik also claimed that the majority of persons who migrated to north Cyprus after 1974 were of Turkish Cypriot returnees who had left the island during the British period due to Greek Cypriot social and economic pressure, or during the intercommunal conflicts of 1963-1974.<sup>21</sup>

Despite the efforts of the Turkish Cypriot side to downplay the claims of a facilitated migration, even the press in Turkey picked up the issue. Interviews published in Turkish newspapers provoked the ire of former TRNC president Rauf Denktaş, who in 1976 remarked, "When we say to the world, 'Vallahi, we didn't bring immigrants from Turkey,' we're saying, they're not immigrants, they're [temporary] agricultural workers. But what does our press do? They go and get statements from the immigrants themselves that start with, 'You see, I came here as an immigrant...' with the idea that they're going to criticize us, but in fact they're providing information for the UN and the Greeks."<sup>22</sup> Such attempts to conceal the extent of the initial facilitated migration had the effect of undermining the credibility of any information Turkish Cypriot authorities supplied on the issue.<sup>23</sup>

Moreover, the lack of information produced speculation, and the assumption was that the number of settlers must be quite large if the administration took such pains to hide it. In a 1992 study, figures for the numbers of settlers given by various Turkish Cypriot political party leaders ranged from 17,000-60,000.<sup>24</sup> Under pressure from the international community and opposition parties, the administration in the north finally conducted a census in 1996, which significantly included the birthplace for all TRNC citizens. However, because Rauf Denktaş who had led the initial campaign to bring Turkish immigrants and grant them citizenship, was still in power at the time, few took notice of these figures. Opposition parties and newspapers, especially, looked with suspicion on the census, which appeared to give

<sup>19</sup> Sarah Ladbury, 'The Turkish Cypriots: Ethnic Relations in London and Cyprus,' in *Between Two Cultures: Migrants and Minorities in Britain*, ed. James L. Watson (Oxford: Blackwell, 1977), pp. 318-319.

<sup>20</sup> UN Document A10310, S/11859, 24 October 1975, cited in Christos P. Ioannides, *In Turkey's Image: The Transformation of Occupied Cyprus into a Turkish Province* (New York: Aristide D. Caratzas, 1991), p. 3).

<sup>21</sup> Ioannides, *In Turkey's Image*, p.3.

<sup>22</sup> Engin Köklüçinar, *Ağlayan ve Gülen Kıbrıs* (İstanbul: Yenigün, 1976), p. 83.

<sup>23</sup> Ioannides, *In Turkey's Image*, pp.18-23.

<sup>24</sup> Cuco, *The Demographic Structure of Cyprus*:

[http://www.moi.gov.cy/moi/pio/pio.nsf/All/20C7614D06858E9FC2256DC200380113/\\$file/cuco%20report.pdf?OpenElement](http://www.moi.gov.cy/moi/pio/pio.nsf/All/20C7614D06858E9FC2256DC200380113/$file/cuco%20report.pdf?OpenElement)

lower numbers than they expected for Turkish-born TRNC citizens and seemed to be a continuation of the government's previous denials of large-scale migration.<sup>25</sup>

As mentioned above, in contrast to conservative parties' efforts to downplay the numbers of migrants, opposition parties have often tended to inflate those numbers. Although international pressure led the Turkish Cypriot administration to end the facilitated migration by the late 1970s, the unusually large population injection that had already occurred caused Turkish Cypriots to feel that their autonomy and that of the new state were under threat. Moreover, attempts of conservative parties to distribute citizenship prior to elections created further anxiety among the opposition.<sup>26</sup> As a result, beginning in the 1980s, opposition parties and newspapers in northern Cyprus created a discourse of 'demographic danger' in which it was widely claimed that the number of native Turkish Cypriots was dwindling and the number of Turkish nationals growing.

One assumption of the opposition was that Turkish-born citizens of the TRNC would have loyalty to their native country and so would vote for political parties with right-wing, nationalist agendas that were in line with the policies of Turkey. However, as my previous study shows, although conservative parties attempted to cull settler votes, this was often counterproductive.<sup>27</sup> In contradiction to the widespread assumption that settler votes kept the ruling National Unity Party (UBP) in power, until 1993 the majority of settlers supported parties in opposition (mainly by establishing their own settler parties) to the UBP, while election records show that it was native Cypriots who provided the votes that kept the UBP in office.<sup>28</sup> Settler votes appear to have been determined not so much by ideological or national issues as by local and mundane ones. Furthermore, there have been at least two important occasions when settlers voted against the express wishes of the Turkish government. The first was in the 1990 elections, when settlers' party aligned themselves in a coalition (together with the Republican Turkish Party, CTP and the Communal Liberation Party, TKP) against the UBP and incumbent president Rauf Denktaş, who were openly supported by Turkey; the second was in the 2004 Annan Plan referendum, when majority of settlers voted 'no' to the plan, despite the Turkish government's endorsement of it.<sup>29</sup> In

<sup>25</sup> For example, the CTP's newspaper *Yenidüzen* asserted that 'of the 160,000 persons who continue to live in the TRNC, 80,000 are Turkish Cypriots and 80,000 are mainland Turks.' See *Yenidüzen*, 14 February 1990. For comparison, see the 1996 census results in Chapter 3.

<sup>26</sup> In northern Cyprus, the prevailing clientelist political culture of the region is reinforced by the small size of the polity (145,000). In effect, this makes it almost impossible for office-holders to separate formal relationships from informal and personal ties, nor are they expected to do so. For more detailed accounts of the patronage system in TRNC, see Salih Egemen, *Kıbrıslı Türkler Arasındaki Siyasi Liderlik* (Lefkoşa: Ateş Matbaacılık, 2006).

<sup>27</sup> Hatay, *Beyond Numbers*, p. VIII.

<sup>28</sup> Ioannides remarks on this phenomenon: 'The existence of an opposition in the TRNC has led to the tendency, especially among Greek Cypriots, to identify the political stance of Turkish Cypriots with that of the opposition parties, while the settlers are presumed to support Denktaş. There might be some merit to this argument, especially with regard to Özgür's [sic] party, RTP. However, identifying the political preference of the Turkish Cypriots with those of the opposition is based on the assumption that there is a political dichotomy in the TRNC. Judging from the spring 1990 general election, and to the extent that it is possible to identify the political preference of the settlers, it appears that politics in the TRNC cannot be adequately explained through a Turkish Cypriot-settler dichotomy' (Ioannides, *In Turkey's Image*, p. 172).

<sup>29</sup> According to Christophoros Christophorou, only 41% of the settlers, the ones who live separately from native Turkish Cypriots, voted 'yes'. He also reveals that, the percentage of the 'yes' vote in the mixed areas where Turkish Cypriots and settlers live together was higher (57%). See Christophoros Christophorou, 'The Vote for a United Cyprus Deepens Divisions: The 24 April 2004 Referenda in Cyprus,' *South European Society & Politics*, vol. 10, no. 1, (April 2005), pp. 85-104.

addition, settlers have been consistently underrepresented in the 50-seat parliament where they have held at most four seats (1985 and 1993), and in the council of ministers where there has only occasionally been one minister of Turkish mainland origin. Currently, there are two members of parliament of mainland Turkish origin and no ministers. Hence, the assumption that settler votes influence elections in favor of the ruling parties is problematic on several levels, and its ubiquity reflects not a statistical fact but rather the fear generated by a population influx and its denial by the local administration.

In addition, this discourse of 'demographic danger' claimed not only that settlers would vote for the ruling conservative parties, but also that they would soon outnumber Turkish Cypriots in the electorate. An example of this view may be taken from former CTP leader Özker Özgür, who was very outspoken on this issue. In a 1986 interview, he claimed:

In the place of our people who flee abroad to earn their living, people come from Turkey under the name of 'labour force'. This labour force is turned into a vote force for conservative, chauvinistically oriented politicians... We are faced with the danger of becoming a minority in northern Cyprus...foreigners in our own homeland.<sup>30</sup>

Estimates of Turkish Cypriot emigrants ranged from 50,000-60,000, and the assumption was that the majority migrated to Britain or Australia, as Commonwealth states. As will be explained in Chapter Three, these claims were speculative, and no effort until now was made to examine the immigration data for the alleged receiving countries. However, the repeated assertions that native Turkish Cypriots are emigrating and that large numbers of Turkish nationals are receiving TRNC citizenship have proven politically effective for opposition parties in the north.

While originally motivated by real anxieties and suspicion of conservative parties' obfuscation, the assumption of a 'demographic danger' became such a widely accepted part of local discourse that it was not imperiled even by the speculative and contradictory reports on numbers of immigrants that became a regular feature of local media. A newspaper article by Turgut Avşaroğlu published under the title 'Tomorrow Will Be Too Late' is a good example:

The issue of the population is very important, because it is a matter of our political will. In the past, we have been the minority of the Greek Cypriots. Now, we have become a minority in the north.... Is there anybody who knows the number of our population now? Is it 180,000 as the Supreme Election Board has announced, or is it 220,000 as in the numbers of the State Planning Organization? Or is it 500-600,000, as is seen with the naked eye?<sup>31</sup>

Such speculation is common in the Turkish Cypriot press, where numbers of Turkish nationals are estimated on the basis of bread purchased, mobile phone use, or numbers of cars on the roads. Here, too, there is confusion between Turkish nationals who happen to be in Cyprus as soldiers, for study, or for work, and those who possess TRNC citizenship and thus might influence elections.

<sup>30</sup> Hatay, *Beyond Numbers*, p. 53.

<sup>31</sup> Turgut Avşaroğlu, 'Tomorrow Will Be Too Late,' *Afrika*, (Nicosia, 1 September 2005).

At the same time, such wildly speculative reports—based on unrevealed ‘reliable sources’—have been quickly picked up by the Greek media in the south, where they appear to support the Republic’s claims of a continuing facilitated migration. Ironically, some of the same Turkish Cypriot reports also use the Republic’s figures and assertions, creating a cycle of misinformation. As only one example, in a 2001 article entitled ‘26,000 Citizens More?’ the newspaper *Avrupa* alleges according to some ‘reliable sources’ that—in anticipation of a widespread Turkish Cypriot abandonment of the island in the event of the Republic gaining EU membership—preparations were underway to grant citizenship to 26,000 Turkish nationals. The same article also cites the Republic’s figures that show 109,000 settlers and only 89,000 Turkish Cypriots in the north.<sup>32</sup>

It is important to note, however, that despite the appearance of a lack of information that has fuelled speculation; in fact all parties in the north, including leftist opposition parties, have since 1996 received electoral rolls prior to elections.<sup>33</sup> These lists contain not only the names and addresses of all voters, but also their places and dates of birth, as well as their parents’, which would allow one to identify, from that same list, the parents’ places of birth. While opposition parties have used these lists in their campaigns, they do not seem to have scrutinized them in order to determine the number of TRNC citizens who are of Turkish mainland origin. In a small polity like north Cyprus, with a total of 550 ballot boxes and 140,000 voters, the failure of the leftist parties to determine the exact number of settlers in the total electorate appears quite dubious.

For more than 20 years, then, a ‘war of numbers’ has shaped the issue of north Cyprus’ demography. In this ‘war,’ rumour and unsubstantiated reports have led to a failure to distinguish among: Turkish nationals who arrived in Cyprus as part of a facilitated migration; those who arrived later as economic migrants; and the Turkish students, tourists, and temporary workers who play an important role in the Turkish Cypriot economy but who have no permanent status on the island. Moreover, because sub-economies have developed that cater to students, migrant workers, soldiers, and tourists coming from Turkey, these large groups of temporary residents have an increased visibility that often leads Turkish Cypriots to feel outnumbered, especially in the cities. This fear has been further fuelled by politicians and media who give exaggerated and unsubstantiated figures for the number of naturalized citizens in the north.<sup>34</sup>

The discourses of ‘demographic danger’ and ‘colonization’ of the north have also influenced the way in which the Cyprus problem is discussed internationally. Local actors have often recruited members of the international community as combatants for their own side in this ‘war of numbers.’ For instance, the Council of Europe Parliamentary Assembly

<sup>32</sup> ‘26 Citizens More,’ *Avrupa*, (Nicosia, 16 July 2001).

<sup>33</sup> See the website of the Higher Electoral Council of TRNC: <http://www.mahkemeler.net/mahkeme-web-t/secim-web/aciklama1.asp>

<sup>34</sup> Alongside the above claims, there are also accusations that immigrants and settlers are primarily responsible for a rise in crime. Such descriptions of settlers and immigrants as criminals, substantiated or not, contribute significantly to a climate of xenophobia in north Cyprus. This kind of discourse also fortifies the distinction between ‘us’ and ‘them’ and provides a convenient scapegoat for any kind of societal ill.

took the initiative to prepare two reports on the demography of Cyprus. The first, 'The Demographic Structure of Cyprus,' was undertaken in 1992 by Alfonso Cuco, CoE representative from Spain. After interviews with leaders of all political parties on both sides of the island, he presented a report in which he attempted to reflect the wide range of views on the issue in both the Turkish and Greek Cypriot communities.<sup>35</sup> However, the Assembly's second report, prepared in 2003 by CoE representative Jaakko Laakso, revealed clearly the direct influence of the discourses of 'demographic danger' and 'colonization.'<sup>36</sup> Laakso prepared his report under the title, 'Colonization by Turkish Settlers of the Occupied Part of Cyprus,' even though, as Laakso makes clear at the beginning of his report, leaders of the Turkish Cypriot community objected at the outset to the title of the study and so rejected requests for interviews. As a result, Laakso depended mainly on information provided by the RoC and consequently identifies all Turkish nationals in the north as 'settlers.'<sup>37</sup> It should not be surprising, then, that Laakso makes no mention of the 1996 census or its results and instead remarks that "demographic data, particularly as far as the northern part of the island is concerned, is scarce, not always reliable and subject to controversy."<sup>38</sup> And in an example of the ironic cycle of misinformation generated by these discourses, Laakso's assertion that there are 118,000 settlers in the north was cited by Turkish Cypriot opposition parties and writers as confirmation of their own claims.<sup>39</sup>

Following the endorsement of the report by the Parliamentary Assembly of the Council of Europe (PACE), most of the Turkish Cypriot newspapers (25 June 2003) covered the decision in their headlines. *Afrika* referred to the issue under the front-page title 'the settlers to be compensated and go away'. CTP's newspaper *Yenidüzen*, under the front page title 'Colony' wrote that the report 'has fallen like a bomb' onto the agenda. *Yenidüzen* also noted that, according to the report, Turkey was trying to turn Cyprus into its colony by applying the policy of changing the island's demographic structure. Commenting on the report, the paper expressed the opinion that 'those who are responsible for the non-solution in Cyprus have put another obstacle before Turkey's way at the international platform.' TKP's newspaper *Ortam*, under the front-page title 'The Turkish Cypriots are emigrating,' wrote that the PACE adopted the report on Cyprus and added that, 'the policy of Denktaş and the supporters of the status-quo are collapsing.' In addition, Laakso's recommendation that a fund should be established to encourage the resettlement of Turkish settlers was reported in the Turkish Cypriot press and generated fear amongst the settlers. As a result, many naturalized Turkish

<sup>35</sup> Cuco, *The Demographic Structure of Cyprus*: [http://www.moi.gov.cy/moi/pio/pio.nsf/All/20C7614D06858E9FC2256DC200380113/\\$file/cuco%20report.pdf?OpenElement](http://www.moi.gov.cy/moi/pio/pio.nsf/All/20C7614D06858E9FC2256DC200380113/$file/cuco%20report.pdf?OpenElement)

<sup>36</sup> Jaakko Laakso, *Colonisation by Turkish Settlers of the Occupied Part of Cyprus*, report prepared by the Committee of Refugees and Demography, Parliamentary Assembly Doc. 9799, 2 May 2003.

<sup>37</sup> In contrast to Cuco's report, Laakso also takes on the language used by the Republic in discussing northern Cyprus: while Cuco describes the ceasefire line as a 'demarcation line,' Laakso in his report calls it the 'Atilla line'; areas not controlled by the RoC are in Cuco's report 'northern Cyprus' and in Laakso's 'the occupied areas'; and while Cuco speaks of the 'Turkish-Cypriot administration,' Laakso refers to 'the Turkish occupation authorities.'

<sup>38</sup> Laakso, *Colonisation by Turkish Settlers*, introduction: para 8.

<sup>39</sup> See Turgut Avcıoğlu, 'They are in trouble,' *Afrika* (Nicosia, 24 June 2003).

nationals turned to conservative parties, and many more later voted 'no' in the Annan Plan referendum.

Such cycles of speculations and misleading informations, then, have clear repercussions for politics on the island, as well as for how solutions to the island's division are discussed and negotiated. An instance of this occurred in the negotiations over the Annan Plan, when, in his report on those negotiations, Kofi Annan wrote that Republic of Cyprus President Glafkos Clerides initially wanted the return to Turkey of all persons of Turkish mainland origin. However, when Turkish Cypriot leader Rauf Denktaş asserted that there were 'only about 30,000-35,000' persons of mainland origin possessing TRNC citizenship, Clerides agreed that in that case all would be able to acquire citizenship in the new federal state. Although this number was later revised upward to 45,000 as the maximum number for non-Cyprus born persons on either side of the island who would become citizens of the united Cyprus, it was initially perceived as a victory by the supporters of the plan for both sides in the 'war of numbers': while the Turkish side was able to announce that all settlers would remain, the campaign in the Greek Cypriot side in favor of the Annan Plan was able to claim that less than half of the settlers would stay, since the estimates from their own side had put the number of settlers at around 120-130,000.<sup>40</sup>

Following the referenda, Kofi Annan wrote in his report:

It is worth noting that during the talks, Mr Papadopoulos claimed that there were 119,000 "settlers" in Cyprus. (This claim accorded with the Greek Cypriot position in 2002 at the table, which was that there were 115,000 such persons in Cyprus, and that the Greek Cypriot side could provide a list of their names and place of origin in Turkey). If the Greek Cypriot figures are correct, then about half of the "settlers" would not receive citizenship and residency and would, in accordance with federal law, have to leave Cyprus.<sup>41</sup>

Former constitutional consultant to the President of RoC, Claire Palley, assailed this paragraph and argued that, '[t]his was UN disingenuousness of a high order, effectively claiming that only between 55-60,000 settlers could stay and implying that the Greek Cypriot statistics on Turkish settlement were false. As regards the number of Turkish settlers, the 115,000 figure was accepted by the Rapporteur of the Council of Europe Parliamentary Assembly's Committee on Migration, Refugees and Demography, Mr Laakso.<sup>42</sup> It is important to note that, despite Ms. Palley's asseverations; the Turkish Cypriot leadership was in fact unable to fill their own quota of 45,000 and in the end presented a list of only 41,700 persons.

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<sup>40</sup> One other ironic effect of the discourse of 'demographic danger' was visible during the period of the referenda. During the campaign period prior to the referenda, the CTP — the party originally responsible for the discourse of 'demographic danger' — made an attempt to convince settlers that their numbers were not more than 45,000, that all would stay, and that they therefore should vote in favour of the Annan Plan. In contrast, right-wing parties such as UBP, which usually played down the number of settlers, attempted to convince settlers that their numbers exceeded the proposed quota, that many of them would be sent back to Turkey, and that they should vote against the plan.

<sup>41</sup> Kofi Annan, *Report of the Secretary-General on His mission of Good Offices in Cyprus*, UNSC document S/2004/437, para 60.

<sup>42</sup> Claire Palley, *An International Relations Debacle: The UN Secretary-General's Mission of Good Offices in Cyprus 1999-2004*, (Oxford & Portland: Hart, 2005), p71, footnote 8.

After the CTP won a resounding victory in the 2005 elections, the new government planned to put an end to this 'war of numbers' by conducting a thorough census of the population in the north. The resulting 2006 census was the first comprehensive census held in the northern part of Cyprus since the initial census of 1996. The government that conducted the census was led by a party that had long been in favor of reunification of the island and critical of previous administrations' immigration and naturalization policies. Moreover, its writings have in the past been a primary source of information for RoC estimates of population in the north.<sup>43</sup>

Despite its previous reliance on estimates provided by the CTP, the Republic of Cyprus has rejected the results of the 2006 census because they consider it a census performed by an illegal state, without monitoring by international organizations.<sup>44</sup> It should be noted that the 1992 and 2003 Council of Europe reports, mentioned above, recommended that the European Population Committee 'conduct a census of the whole island's population, in cooperation with the authorities concerned, in order to replace estimates with reliable data.'<sup>45</sup> However, it appears that no action was taken to implement this recommendation in either case because of the Republic's objections that cooperation of international organizations with the administration in the north would constitute recognition by implication. Despite the absence of such international monitoring and its official rejection of the results of the census, the RoC Ministry of Foreign Affairs nevertheless considers the results to be 'indicative of the numbers estimated by the government of the Republic of Cyprus as to the number of settlers.'<sup>46</sup> In other words, the Republic finds that the census results are in accord with its own figures, though, as noted above, they provide an excessively broad definition of 'settler' to include any Turkish national present in the north of the island at the time of the census.

The 2006 census may be considered an important step in gathering concrete and previously unavailable data for the population in the north, including birthplaces of parents of TRNC citizens. This report aims to analyse the data collected in the 2006 census, focusing in particular on the degree to which the demography of the north has changed since 1974. The first chapter provides a general historical overview of the ethno-demography of Cyprus, which demonstrates that contrary to claims of a stable population ratio in the past, the Christian-Muslim (later Greek-Turkish) ratio constantly fluctuated from

<sup>43</sup> The Republican Turkish Party (CTP) came to power in December 2003 with a promise that it would clarify the issue of demography in the north. In the past, both formal announcements by the party and articles in the party newspaper, *Yenidüzen*, criticized government policies regarding immigration. Although the Republic of Cyprus now refuses to recognize the results of the census, it should be noted that many of the critical writings by CTP authors that appeared before the party came to power have been used by the Republic of Cyprus as credible sources in their reports. For example see Department of Statistics and Research, *Estimates of Turkish Cypriots and Settlers from Turkey* (Nicosia: Ministry of Finance [RoC] 1997), p. 20.

<sup>44</sup> Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Cyprus, *Illegal Demographic Changes*. [http://www.mfa.gov.cy/mfa/mfa2006.nsf/cyprus06\\_en/cyprus06\\_en?OpenDocument](http://www.mfa.gov.cy/mfa/mfa2006.nsf/cyprus06_en/cyprus06_en?OpenDocument)

<sup>45</sup> <http://assembly.coe.int/Main.asp?link=/Documents/AdoptedText/ta92/EREC1197.htm> and [http://www.moi.gov.cy/moi/pio/pio.nsf/All/56C62B4C7FDF6E1EC2256DC2003ACD3C/\\$file/Recommendation%201608%20\(2003\).doc?OpenElement](http://www.moi.gov.cy/moi/pio/pio.nsf/All/56C62B4C7FDF6E1EC2256DC2003ACD3C/$file/Recommendation%201608%20(2003).doc?OpenElement)

<sup>46</sup> Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Cyprus, *Illegal Demographic Changes*. [http://www.mfa.gov.cy/mfa/mfa2006.nsf/cyprus06\\_en/cyprus06\\_en?OpenDocument](http://www.mfa.gov.cy/mfa/mfa2006.nsf/cyprus06_en/cyprus06_en?OpenDocument)



the arrival of Muslims in the island in the sixteenth century. The second chapter explains the methodology employed in the 2006 census, while the third and central chapter provides an analysis of the 2006 census results by comparing the data with those of the previous census. This chapter focuses on identifying the percentage of the population in north Cyprus of Turkish-mainland origin who also possess TRNC citizenship, which is important because of claims that such citizens play an important role in elections in the north. Additionally, this section examines arrival dates of Turkish nationals in order to analyze patterns of migration. Other statistics such as university student numbers, figures relevant to the labour market, and tourism-related statistics are also examined to determine further characteristics of the population in north Cyprus. Moreover, this part examines claims of Turkish Cypriot emigration and a dwindling native population by presenting estimates for Turkish Cypriot emigration to third countries based on immigration and census figures of the two main host countries, the United Kingdom (UK) and Australia. Using the population figures of the north together with those of the south, the final chapter of the study looks at the island-wide demographic structure.

This report aims to provide an empirical basis for discussion of Cyprus's demographic past and present that may allow us to go beyond the use of numbers as ammunition, and to discuss instead the people that those numbers represent. On both sides of the island, the discourses of 'demographic danger' and 'colonization' based on exaggerated figures have shaped not only political debates and negative media representations of immigrants, but also the ways in which average Cypriots perceive possible futures for the island. During the 2004 Annan Plan referendum, for instance, many Greek Cypriots were convinced by their own politicians and media that the supposedly large numbers of Turkish settlers would prevent them from returning to the homes from which they had been dispossessed, and this appears to have been one reason that many Greek Cypriots voted against the plan.<sup>47</sup> And in the Turkish Cypriot north, inflation of the numbers of 'settlers' and their demonization not only fuelled Greek Cypriot fears but has also resulted in discrimination against and marginalization of any persons coming from the Turkish mainland. Many of those who are often viewed as the 'antagonistic Other,' came to Cyprus almost thirty years ago, many were born in the island, are well integrated in Cypriot society, and have few if any links to Turkey. Moreover, it may be anticipated that any plan for a political settlement of the island's division would incorporate this part of the population in a new state for humanitarian reasons, as did the Annan Plan. This study aims, then, as far as possible to counter fear with facts and to provide an empirical basis for sensible discussion of the views and needs of all persons who consider the island to be their home.

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<sup>47</sup> It should be noted that, according to the Annan Plan, almost all of the properties currently occupied by settlers would have either been returned to Greek Cypriot refugees, or given to the Property Board. For details see *The Comprehensive Settlement of the Cyprus Problem* (Annan Plan), 31 March 2004 (fifth version).

## THE HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

The 1960 constitution of the Republic of Cyprus provided for a consociational arrangement based on the ratio of Greeks and Turks on the island, where Greeks constituted a majority of 77.1% and Turks a minority of 18.2%. The rigidity of this ratio is demonstrated in an annex to the Treaty of Establishment of the Republic of Cyprus, which governs Cyprus's citizenship and imposes restrictions on the numbers of persons who may become citizens of the Republic in any given year. This annex specifies that only a certain number of persons of Cypriot descent of either community who are citizens of another state at the time of the establishment of the Republic may become citizens of the Republic and members of the respective communities. Those restrictions are intended strictly to maintain the demographic ratio of 4:1. Indeed, according to the annex, if either community exceeds its quota in any given year, 'the excess shall be set off in the immediately following one or more years, as may be required.'<sup>48</sup>

As mentioned in the introduction, demography first acquired political significance during the period of British colonial rule, when representative arrangements were based on proportionality. In the previous Ottoman period, Cyprus was governed according to the millet system, and the population was divided between *millet-i hakimiye* and *millet-i dhimmiye*, meaning between the ruling Muslim community and the subject communities, composed of non-Muslims. In its later incarnation in the nineteenth century, during the period of Ottoman modernization, government took the form of equality based on difference, where equal numbers of representatives from all communities were elected to seats on local councils irregardless of demographic proportionality.<sup>49</sup> This system continued for the first several years of British rule, until the establishment of a Legislative Council in 1882 following the census of 1881.<sup>50</sup> Based on that census, the Legislative Council was composed of twelve elected members, nine Orthodox and three Muslim, as well as six appointed British officials. This laid the groundwork for future struggles over political rights based on population ratios.

Although the proportions of Orthodox and Muslims in the Council met with satisfaction on the part of the Orthodox community, according to historian Altay Nevzat, '[t]o the Moslem Turks of Cyprus, this came as the first rude shock of British rule, and they have arguably been trying to defend the principle of equal as opposed to proportional representation of the

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<sup>48</sup> Annex D, Section 4, paragraph 7 of the Treaty of Establishment governs Cyprus's citizenship.

<sup>49</sup> Altay Nevzat, *Nationalism Amongst the Turks of Cyprus: The First Wave*, Ph.D. dissertation submitted to the Faculty of Humanities, (University of Oulu, 2005), pp. 118-126.

<sup>50</sup> Nevzat, *Nationalism*, pp. 120-121.

two communities of Cyprus to this very day.<sup>51</sup> Due to the continuing decline in the Turkish share of the population in Cyprus, following the census of 1921, the number of Greek Cypriot members of the council increased from nine to twelve, causing anger and disappointment among Turkish Cypriots. Moreover, until 1955 locally elected municipal councils governed the towns, but because these were based on proportional representation, the mayors of the towns were in almost all cases Greeks. As historian Diana Markides comments:

The councils were elected on the basis of communally-based proportional representation which meant that, with the exception of the small town of Lefka where the Turks had a substantial majority, the main towns of Cyprus [fifteen in total] were run by Greek-dominated councils presided over by Greek mayors. This form of municipal government had been envisaged and put in place by the 1882 constitution. That constitution had, from the start, been resented by the Turkish Cypriot community who had been used to wielding disproportionate power in the Mejlis-i-Idare, the Ottoman organs of district administration.<sup>52</sup>

On the other hand, according to historian Rolandos Katsiaounis, the Turkish Cypriots had for a long period effectively blocked the establishment of elected municipal authorities for Nicosia and Paphos.<sup>53</sup> Yet, once such authorities did come under majority Greek control 'they [Turkish Cypriots] frequently complained of the injustices and discrimination they faced, accusing them of favouritism towards the Christian residents and quarters of the towns.'<sup>54</sup>

Turkish Cypriots consistently reacted against Greek control of the municipalities and attempted to formulate systems that would give them more control over local government. Nevzat cites a proposed insertion to the Municipalities Amendment Bill brought forward by Hami Bey in 1907 that intended to solve the problem of Greek control over municipal councils. It may be noted that this proposal has interesting resonances with the system outlined in the last United Nations proposal for a federal Cyprus government.<sup>55</sup>

[T]he PRESIDENTS to be elected shall be Moslems and Christians to hold office in alternate turns for a term of years proportionate to the numbers of Moslem and Christian members constituting the council. The Vice President shall be a Christian where President elected is a Moslem, and he shall be a Moslem where the President elected is a Christian.<sup>56</sup>

<sup>51</sup> Nevzat, *Nationalism*, p. 121.

<sup>52</sup> Diana Markides, 'The Divisive Problem of the Municipalities,' *Journal of Mediterranean Studies*, 1998: <http://www.cyprus-conflict.net/www.cyprus-conflict.net/municipalities%20-%20markides.htm>

<sup>53</sup> According to Katsiaounis, the situation was very complicated regarding the municipal authorities; 'these were either Commissions, appointed by the Government, or Councils, elected by the population. The latter were preferable to the Greeks, who enjoyed a majority of the councillors, and could in turn elect the president of the Municipal Council.....In the municipalities of Paphos and Nicosia the Turks, who formed a sizable proportion of the population, utilized the provision in the law according to which an elected council ceased to exist if one third of its members resigned.' Under these circumstances the government was forced to appoint commissions, 'consisting of one member from each community and a usually British president.' See Rolandos Katsiaounis, *Labour, Society and Politics in Cyprus* (Nicosia: Cyprus Research Centre 1996), pp. 83-84.

<sup>54</sup> Nevzat, *Nationalism*, pp. 164-167.

<sup>55</sup> According to the UN's proposal, 'two members of the Council [Presidential Council], not hailing from the same constituent state, shall be elected by the Council on a single list, and they shall rotate in the exercise of the offices of the President and Vice-President of the Council every twenty calendar months [for 60 months]. The first President of the Council in each term shall be the member hailing from the more populous constituent state [Greek Cypriot].' See Article 27 in *The Comprehensive Settlement of the Cyprus Problem* (Annan plan), 31 March 2004 (fifth version).

<sup>56</sup> Minutes of the Legislative Council, 25th April 1907. CO 69/21, 549 (cited in Nevzat, *Nationalism*, p.165)

According to a Turkish newspaper published in 1908, Turkish residents of Famagusta were also making efforts to have the walled city of Famagusta, which was exclusively inhabited by Turks, constituted as a separate municipality.<sup>57</sup>

It was in this way that demography in Cyprus acquired more and more political significance and became a source of power struggles between the two communities. This primarily took the form of arguments over the amount of political power and rights that should be given to a community that was in a numerical minority.

As the historical narrative below should show, the demographic ratio determined at the period of the establishment of the Republic in 1960 is not an immutable figure, although it has become so because of the 'war of numbers' that emerged after the division of the island. Although at the establishment of the Republic, Greeks constituted 77.1% and Turks 18.2 % of the Cypriot population, that is not a ratio that was stable in the past, and it is likely that it would have changed had the island not been divided. Rather, insistence on maintaining the exact population ratio that existed at the establishment of the Republic is rooted in the politics of demography that emerged in the British period, as well as in the power-sharing arrangements of the Republic's constitution. It is in this sense that one must look with some skepticism on what it means to 'change the demographic balance' of a population.

## Population Estimates for the Ottoman Period

Throughout the Ottoman period, the island's total population, as well as the demographic ratio between Christians and Muslims, fluctuated constantly (see Table 1). Heavy taxation, natural disasters and migration all contributed to this phenomenon.<sup>58</sup> Yet, it is important to note that almost all the data on the Cypriot population for the latter period derive exclusively from Ottoman tax registers and various estimates made by travellers, foreign consuls and local authorities. According to these estimates, the trend in the 17th and 18th centuries was toward a decrease in the Christian population, mainly due to the continuous influx of Muslims from nearby territories of the Ottoman Empire.

The percentage of Muslims relative to Christians continued to climb until the beginning of 19th century.<sup>59</sup> While there are historians who claim that the conversion of some Christians to Islam also contributed to the increase in the Muslim population, it appears that this upward trend in the Muslim population was reversed in the second quarter of the 19th century, when the size of the Christian population of the island showed an impressive recovery (see Table 1).<sup>60</sup> The scant demographic data available for the period still suggest that the overall population of Cyprus drastically declined to below 100,000 by the end of 18th

<sup>57</sup> Mir'at-i Zaman (Nicosia 29 June 1908), see also Nevzat, *Nationalism*, p. 165.

<sup>58</sup> Sir George Hill, *A History of Cyprus*, vol. IV. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, , 1952), pp. 31-32.

<sup>59</sup> Hill, p.31-32; Claude Delaval Cobham, *Excerpta Cypria: Materials for a History of Cyprus* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1908).

<sup>60</sup> Ronald C. Jennings, *Christians and Muslims in Ottoman Cyprus and the Mediterranean World 1571-1640*, (New York: New York Press, 1993), pp.137-143.; Costas P.Kyrris, 'Symbiotic Elements in the History of the Two Communities of Cyprus,' *Proceedings of International Symposium on Political Geography*, 27-29 February 1976, Nicosia, pp. 127-150.

century (see Table 1). Historian Benjamin Arbel claims that the total population of Cyprus on the eve of the Ottoman takeover (1570) was around 200,000.<sup>61</sup> Some contemporary consuls, 18th century travellers such as Drummond, M. de Vezin and Archimandrite Kyprianos put the number of Muslims even higher than that of Orthodox Greeks. Turkish Cypriot nationalists usually cite these estimations as evidence affirming that they were in majority during the Ottoman period.<sup>62</sup> Many historians, however, find these estimates erroneous and unreliable.<sup>63</sup> The large body of surrounding evidence suggests, nevertheless, that although the number of Muslims in the island increased until the end of the 18th century due to the continuous influx from Anatolia and inter-religious conversions, the Muslim population never exceeded 35-40 per cent of the total. Adding credence to this hypothesis are the results of what is seen as the first modern Ottoman census, conducted in 1831, which recorded that the total male population of the island at 45,365, of which, 29,788 (65%) were non-Muslims, and 15,585 (35%) were Muslims. Doubling the figures to include a projected estimate for women and girls, who were excluded from the census, we can safely assume that the total population of Cyprus in 1831 was almost 90,000, of whom approximately 30,000 were Muslims.

Some sources also indicate that just before the British occupation, the percentage of Muslims dropped further, to below 30% (see Table 1). The reason for the decline can be attributed to the fact that following the abolishment of the Janissary system in 1826 more and more Muslim males, unlike their Christian neighbours, were obliged to serve in the Ottoman army for years, usually away from home, very often losing their lives in the endless wars of the Ottoman Empire.<sup>66</sup> Then again, it is also claimed that during the Ottoman period, the Christian population on the island was constantly, and sometimes deliberately, undercounted or underestimated. For example, a Spanish traveller Ali Bey (Domigno Badiay-Leyblich) in 1806 reported that the officially claimed Greek Orthodox population of the island was 32,000, but that well-informed persons gave a figure closer to 100,000. He also alleged that the Greek Orthodox Church, which acted as tax collector for the Christian population, was reluctant to reveal the true number of its members. He argued that:

The government has never succeeded in learning how many Greeks there are in the island.... Last year a commissioner was sent to make an exact enumeration of the Greek families, but he was 'got at,' loaded with gold, and went away -his task unfulfilled. This handling of the taxes brings enormous gains to the spiritual heads of the people...<sup>67</sup>

<sup>61</sup> Benjamin Arbel, *Cyprus, the Franks and Venice 13th-16th Centuries* (USA: Ashgate, 2000), p.V:213.

<sup>62</sup> Altan, *Rumlaştırma*, p. 123.

<sup>63</sup> Hill, *A History of Cyprus*, pp. 31-34.

<sup>64</sup> Nuri Çevikel, *Kıbrıs Eyaleti: Yönetim, Kilise, Ayan ve Halk 1750-1800*, (Famagusta: DAÜ2000), pp.214-224.; Ali Efdal Özkul, *Kıbrıs'ın Sosyo-Ekonomik Tarihi (1726-1750)*, (İstanbul: İletişim, 2005), pp.40-43.; Cengiz Orhonlu, *Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'nda Aşiretlerin İskanı*, (İstanbul: Eren, 1987), pp. 76-77.

<sup>65</sup> T.C. Başbakanlık Devlet Arşivleri Genel Müdürlüğü, Osmanlı Arşiv Daire Başkanlığı, *Osmanlı İdaresinde Kıbrıs: Nüfus-Arazi Dağılımı ve Türk Vakıfları*, Yayın No:43, Ankara, 2000, p.93.

<sup>66</sup> Hyde Clarke, 'On the Supposed Extinction of the Turks and Increase of the Christians in Turkey,' *Journal of the Statistical Society of London*, vol. 28, no. 2 (June, 1865), pp. 261-293.

<sup>67</sup> Cobham, *Excerpta Cypria*, p.396.

**Table 1.** Estimated Cypriot Population during the Ottoman Period

Source	Date	Muslim	Christian
Evliya Çelebi	1670-1675:	30,000	150,000
Coronelli	1691-1695	28,000	160,000
Pococke	1738	4,000 (only taxable males)	12,000 (only taxable males)
Drummond	1745	150,000	50,000
Kyprianos	1777-1788	47,000	37,000
De Vezin	1788-1792	60,000	20,000
Edward D. Clarke	1801	Total: 60,000	
Ali Bey	1806	?	32,000
John M. Kinneir,	1814	35,000	35,000
Henry Light	1814	Total: 90,000	
William Turner	1815	30,000	40,000
Thomas Gordon,	1821	35,000	35,000
Spyridon Tricoupis	1821	20,000	80,000
Charles C. Frankland	1827	4,200 (only taxable males)	20,800 (only taxable males)
French Consulate	1829	6,000 (only taxable males)	15,000 (only taxable males)
Official census	1831	29,966	58,200
Official census	1841	33,000	75,300
J. Lilburn	1842	30,000	71,000
Niven Kerr	1844	25,000	76,110
Ludwig Ross	1845	25,000	75,000-80,000
British Consulate	1846	35,000	55,000
D. Margarites	1847	28,000	89,700
British Consulate	1858	7,299 (only taxable males)	26,514 (only taxable males)
Epainetos	1861	44,000	121,000
Synvet	1872	55,000	121,750
Mas Latrie	1878	45,000	98,000

**Source:** Compiled from the estimates cited in: Theodore Papadopoulos, *Social and Historical Data on Population (1570-1881)*, (Nicosia: Cyprus Research Centre, 1965).; Claude Delaval Cobham, *Excerpta Cypria: Materials for a History of Cyprus*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1908).; T.C. Başbakanlık Devlet Arşivleri Genel Müdürlüğü, *Osmanlı Arşiv Daire Başkanlığı, Osmanlı İdaresinde Kıbrıs: Nüfus-Arazi Dağılımı ve Türk Vakıfları*, Yayın Nu:43, Ankara, 2000.

## British Period and Censuses

The British authorities conducted their first census in 1881, three years after they had established their rule in Cyprus, and continued to hold censuses almost every ten years: 1891, 1901, 1911, 1921, 1931 and 1946.<sup>68</sup> The 1881 census recorded the total population

<sup>68</sup> L. W. St John-Jones, *The Population of Cyprus: Demographic Trends and Socio-Economic Influence*, (London: Maurice Temple Smith Limited, 1983).

as 186,173, of which, 137,631 (73.9%) were Greek Orthodox, and 45,458 (24.4%) Muslim.<sup>69</sup> As explained by demographer St John-Jones, "In Cyprus' statistics, the dividing line between race and religion has been blurred, but in practice little confusion has existed."<sup>70</sup> Usually, Greek ethnicity has been synonymous in Cyprus with Greek Orthodoxy, and Moslem, Mohammedan or Muslim, with Turkish ethnicity, even though occasionally the language and religion did not overlap.<sup>71</sup>

Twenty years after the first census, the 1901 census showed a noticeable increase in the total population, rising to 237,022. Of the total, 182,739 (77.1%) were Greek Cypriots, and 51,309 (21.6%) Turkish Cypriots. If we compare these two figures with those of 1881, it becomes clear that the two communities' rates of increase had widely diverged. While during this period the Greek Cypriot population had grown by 32.7%, the number of Turkish Cypriots had risen by only 12.8%. Assuming similar birth and death rates for the two communities, one possible explanation for this difference would lie in the fact that the arrival of the British colonial regime must have caused a number of Turkish Cypriots to leave the island. It could also be that some Muslim families converted, or reconverted, to Christianity on or after the arrival of the British. Historian Englezakis reports a good example of an intra-Christian dispute between the Catholic and Orthodox Christians over the conversion of some Muslim villages:

To give a taste of the period before 1900 I note that the credit for saving ten villages of *linovamvakes* in the Limassol district from Latin propaganda and securing them for Hellenism belongs to the Limassol money-lenders at 40 and 50 per cent, who, at the Church's instigation, immediately ceased to lend to their formerly Turkish and now Maronite customers until they had forced them to become Orthodox.<sup>72</sup>

The *linovamvakes* or *linobambagis* referred to above were persons who combined Christian and Muslim practices, both baptising and circumcising children and giving every child two names, one appropriate to each religion.<sup>73</sup> Some historians claim that the *linovamvakes* were in reality crypto-Christians who converted to Islam out of fear of losing their wealth and lives and for various other social reasons (e.g. inter-religious marriages).<sup>74</sup> On the other hand, others such as British scholar Beckingham claim that this phenomenon was common in most parts of the Ottoman Empire:

To many people of the Eastern Mediterranean where Christianity and Islam were practiced in the same or in adjacent villages, these religions did not present themselves as two mutually exclusive systems of belief, but rather as two ways of conciliating supernatural forces.<sup>75</sup>

<sup>69</sup> Frederic W. Perry, *Report on the Census of Cyprus 1881* (London: Eyre and Spottiswoode, 1884), p. 12.

<sup>70</sup> St John-Jones, *The Population of Cyprus*, p. 50.

<sup>71</sup> Nevzat, *Nationalism*, p. 69.

<sup>72</sup> Benedict Englezakis, *Studies on the History of the Church of Cyprus, 4th-20th Centuries* (Hampshire: Variorum, 1995), pp. 437-438.

<sup>73</sup> Charles F. Beckingham, 'The Turks of Cyprus', *Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland*, vol 87, no. 2 (July-December 1957), p.173.

<sup>74</sup> R. L. N. Michel, 'A Muslim-Christian Sect in Cyprus,' *The Nineteenth Century Journal*, issue no. 63, (May 1908), p. 753; Rebecca Bryant, *Imagining the Modern: Cultures of Nationalism in Cyprus* (London-New York: I. B. Tauris), 2004, pp. 64-67.

<sup>75</sup> Beckingham, *The Turks of Cyprus*, p. 173

It is also important to note that during the first years of the British period their numbers were claimed to be 1,200.<sup>76</sup> Dr F. W. Barry, Superintendent of the 1881 census, included a few notes on this group in his census report:

It is an interesting fact that all the members, so far as can be ascertained, of the community of the "Linobimbagi"[sic] (who were formerly chiefly to be found in the villages of Athienou and Liopetri) returned themselves as members of the Orthodox Greek Church.<sup>77</sup>

In 1921, the total population amounted to 310,715, of whom 244,887 (78.8%) were Christians, and 61,339, (19.7%) Muslims. Once more, the Christian population had increased more than that of the Muslims. The First World War, Greek losses in western Anatolia, and the expulsion of Armenians and Greeks from Turkey had probably driven some of those refugees to seek shelter in Cyprus, further increasing the Christian population of the island.<sup>78</sup> Expectedly, the influx of these refugees, the increased emigration of Turkish Cypriots reduced the Turkish Cypriots' portion of the population, which had by 1931 fallen below 19%. The British High Commissioner in 1921 wrote: 'There has been a tendency for the Mohamedan population to decrease, due principally to a gradual return to Turkey and to the poverty of the Turkish villager in comparison with his Greek compatriot.'<sup>79</sup> Clearly, emigration was the major reason for slower Turkish Cypriot growth. For example, when in 1914 the Ottomans joined World War I against the Allied Forces, and Britain consequently annexed the island, Cyprus's Muslim inhabitants were asked to choose between adopting British nationality and retaining their Ottoman subject status. Historian Sir George Hill's seminal study suggests that about 4,000-8,500 Muslims in the latter category chose to leave the island.<sup>80</sup> Further, in 1924 some of the island's Muslims were to heed the call to join in the establishment of the new nation-state in Turkey and opted for Turkish citizenship. Estimates differ for how many actually left. The Cyprus Annual Report of 1927 supposed that about 5,000 had emigrated over the course of the previous three years.<sup>81</sup> According to demographer St John-Jones:

Had some 5,000 Turkish Cypriots not emigrated to Turkey in mid-1920s, the community would have totalled about 70,000 in 1931. The increase of 14 per cent in the decade would then have exceeded the Greek-Cypriot increase, but as some Greek Cypriots emigrated too, the *natural* increase of the two communities was probably similar, according well with the small differential found in 1946-60. Taking the point a stage further: if the Turkish Cypriot community had, like the Greek Cypriots, increased by 101 per cent between 1881 and 1931, it would have totalled

<sup>76</sup> Michel, *Muslim-Christian Sect*, p. 754.

<sup>77</sup> Perry, *Census of Cyprus 188*, p.13.; for more information on the issue, see Costas M. Constantinou, 'Aporias of Identity: Bicomunalism, Hybridity and the Cyprus Problem,' *Cooperation and Conflict*, Journal of the Nordic International Studies Association, vol. 42 (3), 2007.

<sup>78</sup> Cuco, *Demographic Structure of Cyprus*:  
[http://www.moi.gov.cy/moi/pio/pio.nsf/All/20C7614D06858E9FC2256DC200380113/\\$file/cuco%20report.pdf?OpenElement](http://www.moi.gov.cy/moi/pio/pio.nsf/All/20C7614D06858E9FC2256DC200380113/$file/cuco%20report.pdf?OpenElement)

<sup>79</sup> St John-Jones, *The Population of Cyprus*, p.54.

<sup>80</sup> Hill, *History of Cyprus*, p. 413n.

<sup>81</sup> Some British sources claim that many of those who left after the Treaty of Lausanne returned to the island. See Stavros T. Constantinou, 'Economic Factors and Political Upheaval as Determinants of International Migration: The Case of Cyprus,' *Praktika tou Protou Dhiethnous Symposiou Kypriakis Metanastefsis: Istoriki kai Koinoniologiki Theorisi* (Nicosia: Cyprus Research Centre, 1990), p. 154).



91,300 in 1931-27,000 more than the number enumerated. Is it possible that so many Turkish Cypriots emigrated in the fifty-year period? Taken together, the consideration just mentioned suggests that it probably was. From a base of 45,000 in 1881, emigration of anything like 27,000 persons seems huge, but after subtracting the known 5,000 of the 1920s, the balance represents an average annual outflow of some 500-not enough, probably, to concern the community's leaders, evoke official comment, or be documented in any way which survives today.<sup>82</sup>

Following the end of the second world war, the last census carried out by the British administration in 1946 put the total number of inhabitants at 450,114 (361,199 or 80.2% Greek Cypriots and 80,548 or 17.9% Turkish Cypriots). The rate of increase in the Greek Cypriot population since the 1931 census had again surpassed that of the Turkish Cypriots. Evidently, emigration was the main reason for slower Turkish Cypriot growth. This is supported by figures which show that fertility rates among Turkish Cypriots were in fact higher than those of their Greek Cypriot counterparts.<sup>83</sup>

**Table 2.** British Census Results (1881-1946)

Census	Greek Orthodox	Muslim
1881	137,631 (73.9%)	45,458 (24.4%)
1891	158,585	47,926
1901	182,739 (77.1%)	51,309 (21.6%)
1911	214,480	56,428
1921	244,887 (78.8%)	61,339 (19.7%)
1931	276,572 (79.5%)	64,238 (18.5%)
1946	361,199 (80.2%)	80,548 (17.9%)

**Source:** St John-Jones, L. W., *The Population of Cyprus: Demographic Trends and Socio-Economic Influences* (with a foreword by W. H. Morris-Jones), (London: Maurice Temple, Smith Limited, 1983).

## Independence and Emergency years

When Cyprus gained independence in 1960, a census was conducted by the new Republic's bi-communal government. Census figures revealed a population of 573,566, of whom 442,138 (77.1%) were Greek Cypriots, and 104,320 (18.2%) Turkish Cypriots. The more substantial increase in the Turkish Cypriot population between 1946 and 1960 is due to the fact that more Greek Cypriots than Turkish Cypriots emigrated during this period (Appendix III).

Inter-communal fighting and ongoing ethnic tensions between 1963 and 1974 made an island-wide census impossible. Nevertheless, the Greek Cypriot government still undertook to conduct one in 1973, albeit without the Turkish Cypriot populace.<sup>84</sup> According to this census, the Greek Cypriot population was then around 482,000. One year later in 1974, the

<sup>82</sup> St John-Jones, *The Population of Cyprus*, p. 56.

<sup>83</sup> St John-Jones, *The Population of Cyprus*, p. 54.

<sup>84</sup> St John-Jones, *The Population of Cyprus*, p. 17.

Cypriot government's Department of Statistics and Research also estimated the total population at 641,000, of whom 506,000 (78.9%) were Greek Cypriots, and 118,000 (18.4%) Turkish Cypriots.<sup>85</sup> Following the partition of the island in 1974, Greek Cypriots conducted four more censuses: in 1976, 1982, 1992 and 2001; these necessarily excluded the Turkish Cypriot population which was resident in the unaccessible northern part of the island. According to the Republic of Cyprus's latest (2005) estimate, the number of Cypriot citizens currently living in the south of the island is around 656,200. In addition to the above citizen population, southern Cyprus is also home to some 110,200 foreign permanent residents.<sup>86</sup> According to Trimikliniotis and Demetriou, there are also an estimated 10,000-30,000 undocumented illegal immigrants currently living in Cyprus.<sup>87</sup> It is also important to note that the figures for the Greek Cypriot population include the Maronite, Armenian and Latin Christian minorities, who had opted for membership in the Greek Cypriot community when the 1960 constitution obliged them to choose membership in one of the two communities.<sup>88</sup> According to Costas M. Constantinou, "Gypsies did not bother to choose, so 'Muslim' Gypsies were officially branded Turks and 'Christian' Gypsies Greek, despite their religious practices often being ambiguous."<sup>89</sup>

Turkish Cypriots, on the other hand, conducted a non-comprehensive agricultural census in 1978, but did not conduct a thorough census of the population until 1996.

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<sup>85</sup> Cuco, *Demographic Structure of Cyprus*:  
[http://www.moi.gov.cy/moi/pio/pio.nsf/All/20C7614D06858E9FC2256DC200380113/\\$file/cuco%20report.pdf?OpenElement](http://www.moi.gov.cy/moi/pio/pio.nsf/All/20C7614D06858E9FC2256DC200380113/$file/cuco%20report.pdf?OpenElement)

<sup>86</sup> Republic of Cyprus Statistical Service, *Demographic Report 2005* (Nicosia, 2006), p. 12.

<sup>87</sup> Nicos Trimikliniotis and Corina Demetriou, *Active Civic Participation of Immigrants in Cyprus*, Country Report prepared for the European research project POLITIS, (Oldenburg 2005), p 8.  
[www.uni-oldenburg.de/politis](http://www.uni-oldenburg.de/politis) -Europe.

<sup>88</sup> According to the *Demographic Report 2005*, the numbers of the other religious groups which belong to the Greek Cypriot community are: 2,600 Armenians; 4,800 Maronites; 900 Latins.

<sup>89</sup> Constantinou, *Aporias*, p. 248. The 1960 census enumerated only 502 persons who claimed to be Gypsies.

## TURKISH CYPRIOT CENSUS OF 2006

The 2006 census, officially called 'The 2006 Census of Population and Housing Units', was carried out in north Cyprus on 30th April 2006. A national curfew was imposed by the Council of Ministers between the hours of 08:00-18:00. The aim was to reach every single person present within the boundaries of the TRNC on the census day, with the exception of the members of the Turkish military residing within the military zones.<sup>90</sup> The census was completed in a single day. A 'district census centre' was established in each of the five districts of the TRNC, and these centres served as reference points to facilitate coordination. The process of naming and numbering streets, roads and buildings started three months before the census day. This task was undertaken by municipalities and, in places without municipal organisation, by village heads (*muhtars*).

### *The Census Questionnaire*

The census questionnaire contained a total of 61 questions, and the first fourteen of these concerned dwellings (see Appendix 4). There were nine questions identifying the number of people present in the household at the time of the census and their status vis-à-vis the premises. A single person identified as the head of the household provided answers to these first 23 questions, while all persons present in the household answered the remaining 38 questions. It is important to note that questions concerning mother tongue and knowledge of other languages were not included in the questionnaire. Such data could have provided useful information such as the number of Turkish Cypriots who speak Greek or what languages are spoken among immigrants in the north (e.g., Kurdish or Arabic). Also, there were no questions relating to faith or religion. Nevertheless, the information gathered on the basis of the questionnaire was sufficient to determine the respondents' countries of origin.

### *The Census Personnel*

A total of 5000 trained interviewers and controllers were employed during the census. One controller was designated for every five interviewers. Prior to the census, the interviewers engaged in a training programme based on the census questionnaire.

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<sup>90</sup> The Turkish troops in northern Cyprus are estimated to be 35,000 in number. Apart from military personnel and families living in military areas, the Turkish military officers and their families who live in hostels outside the military areas were also counted. Their number is estimated to be 5,000.

### *Documents Requested*

The respondents were not required to show any documentation to validate their responses, except for those who declared themselves TRNC citizens. In this case, respondents (if above the age of 11) were asked to show their identity cards to the interviewer, who then registered their ID numbers in the relevant section of the questionnaire.

### *De Facto and De Jure Populations*

'The 2006 Census of Population and Housing Units' was a *de facto* census, meaning that every individual was counted in the location where s/he was present on the census day. However, information necessary for determining the *de jure* population was also compiled. The *de jure* population concerns individuals who are permanent residents, both residents who are TRNC citizens and those who are not, including those who were not present on the day of the census. For the purposes of the census, any individual who had been resident in north Cyprus for at least one year was considered a permanent resident of the country. In practice, however, it seems that any one *intending* to stay in the country for at least one year was included in the *de jure* population: an examination of the preliminary results suggests that all the immigrants, including both short-term and long-term residents and all the foreign university students in the country were counted as part of the *de jure* population.<sup>91</sup> Further, no distinction was made between persons staying in private accommodation and persons staying in hostels such as student dormitories or temporary lodgings on construction sites. On the other hand, Turkish Cypriots studying in universities abroad (estimated 2,500), as well as Turkish Cypriots permanently resident abroad (i.e., those residing or intending to reside outside the country – including in the south of the island – for more than one year) were not counted as part of the *de jure* population.

One important consequence of the way in which the *de jure* population was computed is worth highlighting here. The *de jure* population distribution shown in the 2006 census is taken into account in the calculation of the financial contribution paid to municipalities from the state budget and in other similar applications that are by law based on population, notably when determining the number of deputies for each district in the next elections. Indeed, these figures have already been applied in the case of financial contributions to municipalities, an application which a number of municipalities – particularly those whose shares were reduced – strongly opposed.

### *Undercounting and complications*

According to information gathered through personal communication and from testimonies reported in newspapers, some under-counting occurred during the census. This was due to a variety of reasons, including one newspaper's campaign calling for people to refuse to

<sup>91</sup> From information gathered from census interviewers it appears that most interviewers automatically included every foreign individual registered at a university or resident with a work permit in the *de jure* population even though some such persons had been present in the TRNC for less than a year.

participate in the census. The newspaper created a climate of suspicion about government motives and claimed that a census undertaken in the north without international monitoring would be only window-dressing intended to mollify the international community.<sup>92</sup> Failure to reach some dwellings near or on the Green Line or in remote locations was another reason.<sup>92</sup> It is also believed that numerous unregistered immigrant workers kept themselves hidden. The exact number of uncounted persons is not known. However, officials claim that this number is not significantly large.

Another complication which occurred on the day of the census was the attrition of trained staff. About 120 of the 5,000 persons trained to work as interviewers failed to take up their duties, which meant that they had to be replaced by inadequately trained persons.

Apart from the above-mentioned incidences, there are no other evidence-based reports on problems experienced during the census. Given the sensitivity surrounding the issue, one would have expected some initiative to come from the international community in the form of the monitoring of the census. The Turkish Cypriot authorities, for their part, made it known in their public statements that they would welcome such monitoring by any interested parties. However, no outside observation of the census occurred. The TRNC government argued that this was due to the international community's general concern not to contravene the wishes of the Greek Cypriot government of the Republic of Cyprus, as the latter insisted that by implication such an act would amount to recognition of the TRNC.<sup>94</sup>

Meanwhile, the Greek Cypriot government declared that they were ready to conduct an island wide census with the help of the Council of Europe. This Greek Cypriot suggestion was unacceptable to the Turkish Cypriot government, as they would not be equal partners in the exercise, and was basically ignored.

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<sup>92</sup> See for example Şener Levent, 'Bizi Saymayın [Don't Count Us]', *Afrika* (Nicosia 10 March 2006).

<sup>93</sup> Some people from dwellings skipped on the census day were later included in the census if they made a complaint to the district census office about the matter. Turkish Cypriot daily newspaper *Kıbrıs* notes that many people complained that the officers who were conducting the census did not visit their houses (*Kıbrıs*, 1 May 2006).

<sup>94</sup> Interview with Kudret Akay, former consultant to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs (30 April 2006).

# BREAKDOWN OF THE POPULATION ACCORDING TO THE PRELIMINARY 2006 CENSUS RESULTS

As mentioned above, the first comprehensive census in north Cyprus was held on 15 December 1996. The census recorded data for the social, economic and demographic characteristics of the population of the TRNC, divided by district.<sup>95</sup> The 1996 census counted the *de facto* population of the TRNC as 200,587: TRNC citizens comprised 82% of this population (164,460), while Turkish citizens (without TRNC citizenship) composed 15% (30,702) and other nationalities another 3%. Of the above-mentioned 30,702 Turkish citizens (TR), 8,287 were students studying at various universities in the TRNC and 12,922 were workers. The remaining 9,493 were classified as 'others,' and included businessmen and dependents (also counting the families of the Turkish army officers who had residence outside the barracks), as well as retirees who had settled in the TRNC.<sup>96</sup> The census also included place of birth of the TRNC citizen population of 164,460: 137,628 were born in Cyprus (an estimated 11,000 of these Cyprus-born citizens' parents were born in Turkey),<sup>97</sup> 23,924 were born in Turkey; 1,322 were born in the UK; and 818 were born in Bulgaria.<sup>98</sup>

## *De Facto Population*

According to the 2006 census, the *de facto* population in north Cyprus has now reached 265,100.<sup>99</sup> As stated above, TRNC citizens living outside north Cyprus (including an estimated 2,500 students studying abroad and those who reside in the south) are not incorporated in this figure. Foreigners who were in north Cyprus at the time of the census, whether for business or pleasure, were also included in the *de facto* population. The increase in the *de facto* population amounts to 31.7% of the figure recorded in the 1996 census (see Chart 1).

<sup>95</sup> TRNC Prime Ministry State Planning Organisation Statistics and Research Department, *Census of Population: Social and Economic Characteristics of Population, December 15, 1996* (Nicosia: TRNC Prime Ministry, 1999).

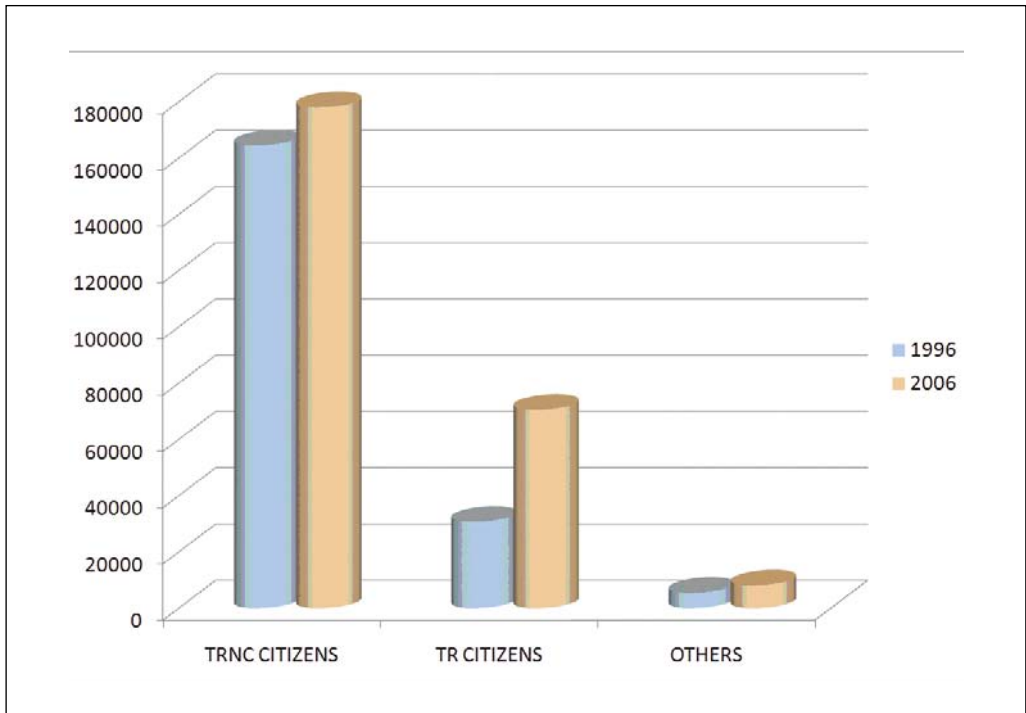
<sup>96</sup> TRNC Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Defence, 'Facts on the Demographic Structure of Cyprus,' Briefing Notes on the Cyprus Issue (May 2001).

<http://www.trncinfo.com/tanitmadairesi/2002/ENGLISH/BRIEFINGNOTES/070202BRIEFINGNOTES.htm#4444>

<sup>97</sup> Personal communication with Erhan Özkan from the TRNC State Planning Office.

<sup>98</sup> KKTC Başbakanlık Devlet Planlama Örgütü Müsteşarlığı, *15 Aralık 1996 Genel Nüfus Sayımı Sonuçları [Özet]* (26 November 1997).

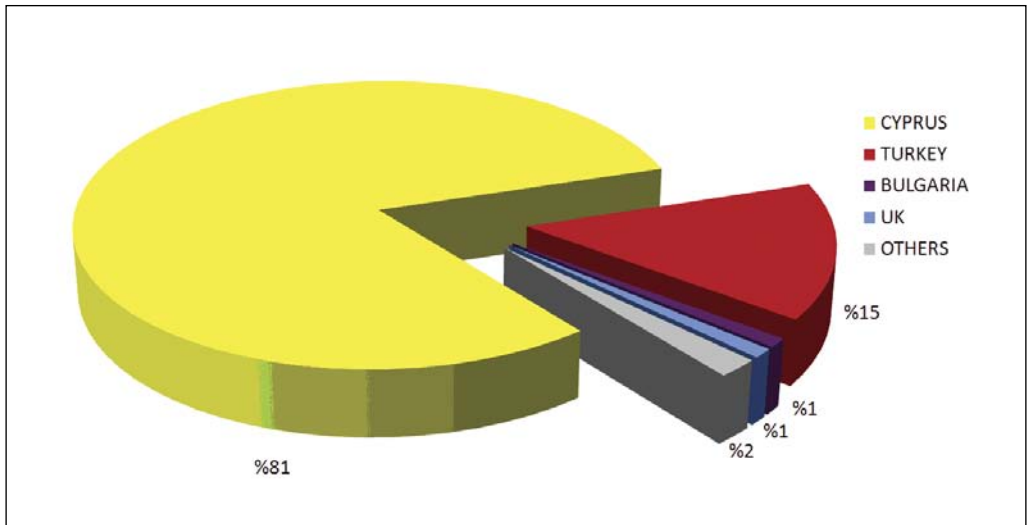
<sup>99</sup> The census results may be downloaded from: [www.devplan.org](http://www.devplan.org).

**Chart 1.** Distribution of *De facto* Population by Citizenship***De jure* Population:**

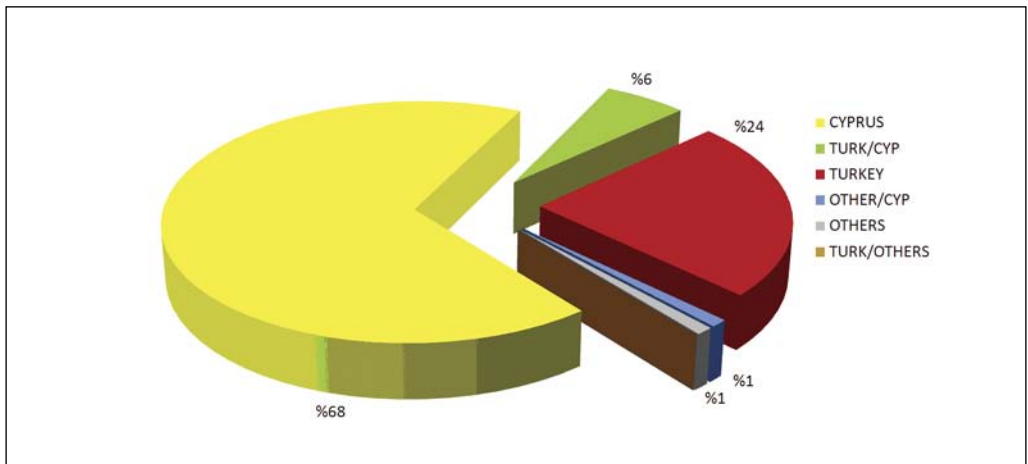
The *de jure* population of the TRNC also grew enormously from 188,662 to 256,644, an increase of 36% in the 10 years between the 1996 and 2006 censuses. The TRNC's citizen population, on the other hand, showed a relatively smaller increase from 164,460 to 178,031 (7%) in the same period. Further breakdown of the *de jure* population is as follows:

- Distribution of the *de jure* population according to *citizenship*: TRNC citizens 178,031 (69.5%); Turkish Republic (TR) citizens 70,525 (27.5%); and other nationalities 8,088 (3.5 %).
- Distribution of the 178,031 TRNC citizens according to *birthplace*: 147,405 Cyprus-born; 27,333 Turkey-born; 2,482 UK-born; 913 Bulgaria-born (for percentages see Chart 2).
- Distribution of the 147,405 Cyprus-born TRNC citizens according to *birth place of parents*: 120,031 have both parents born in Cyprus; 16,824 have both parents born in Turkey; 10,361 have one parent born in Turkey and the other parent born in Cyprus (see Chart 3).

**Chart 2.** Birthplace of TRNC Citizens



**Chart 3.** Birthplace of Parents of TRNC Citizens



**Arrival Dates of TRNC Citizens Born in Turkey**

Census results also yielded data concerning the dates of initial arrival in north Cyprus of the Turkey-born TRNC citizens (see Chart 4). It can be observed that a large proportion of these people declared that they had settled in north Cyprus before 1979. Of the 27,333 TRNC citizens registered as having been born in Turkey, 11,925 declared that they had arrived in north Cyprus between the years 1975 and 1979. This figure differs by 3,425 from that provided in 2003 by the TRNC Minister of the Interior (Appendix I), which showed that 15,350 persons born in Turkey were granted citizenship between 1975 and 1979. It is well known that during this period most Turkish nationals were granted citizenship almost



immediately upon their arrival.<sup>100</sup> The discrepancy mentioned above can be attributed to the fact that some persons in this group have passed away while others have returned to Turkey, and others may not have been counted during the census.

A significant part of the population currently working in the agricultural sector is made up of former farmers from Anatolia.<sup>101</sup> This group began arriving on the island in February 1975 and constitutes a large portion of Turkish nationals who now hold dual citizenship with the TRNC. The majority came to Cyprus between 1975 and 1979 from the regions around Trabzon (eastern Black Sea), Antalya, Mersin, Adana (southern Turkey),<sup>102</sup> Çarşamba, Samsun (western Black Sea), Konya (central Anatolia) and south eastern Turkey. In addition, a number of veterans who participated in the 1974 war also settled on the island. Following the adoption of a resolution by the Council of Ministers of the Turkish Federated State of Cyprus (TFSC) concerning its Citizenship Law, the extended families (wives, children, parents and siblings) of 498 Turkish soldiers killed during the 1974 war also became eligible for TFSC citizenship. However, most of the latter did not choose to come to Cyprus.<sup>103</sup> The same provision of the Citizenship Law allowed former members of the Turkish 'Peace Forces' and all Turkish soldiers who had served in Cyprus up until August 18, 1974 to become citizens. Some officers chose to live in Cyprus after their retirement and there presently exists a Turkish Army Veterans Association with around 1,200 active members, the majority of whom are married to Turkish Cypriots (75%).<sup>104</sup>

The influx of Turkish nationals who would become TRNC citizens continued after 1979, but at a much slower pace (Chart 4). Immigration after 1979 was no longer an official policy, but rather reflects persons who came to Cyprus on their own initiative. This latter group did not receive properties or citizenship upon arrival, as had previously been the case. Even though the official policy of facilitated migration to Cyprus was abandoned, statistics indicate that there was a visible increase in the number of the persons who acquired TRNC citizenship during election years. These irregularities may be seen in Appendix I for election years 1990, 1993, and 1995.

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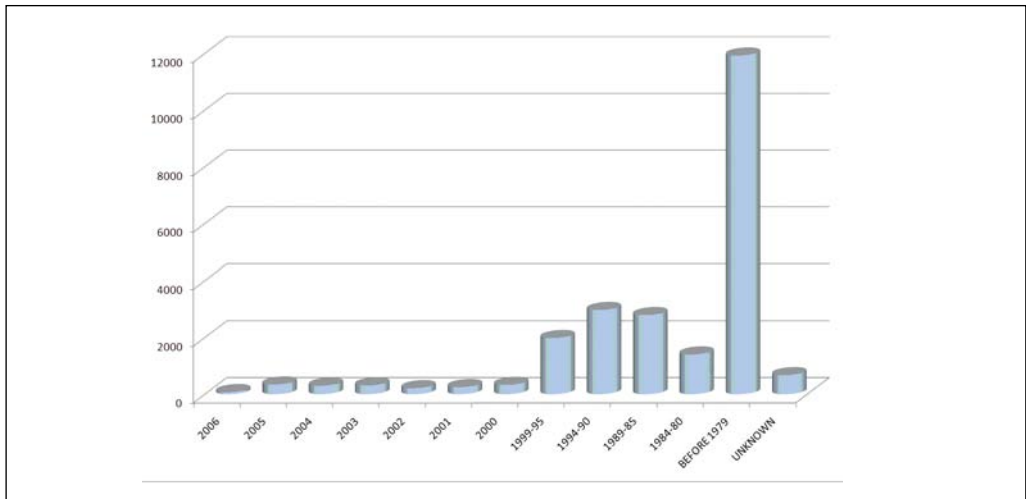
<sup>100</sup> Hatay, *Beyond Numbers*, pp. 10-13.

<sup>101</sup> Hatay, *Beyond Numbers*, pp. 10-13.

<sup>102</sup> Hatay, *Beyond Numbers*, p. 12.

<sup>103</sup> Hatay, *Beyond Numbers*, p. 11.

<sup>104</sup> Hatay, *Beyond Numbers*, p. 11.

**Chart 4.** Arrival dates of TRNC citizens born in Turkey

**Source:** The final Results of the 'TRNC General Population and housing unit' (see Appendix 5): <http://nufussayimi.devplan.org/Additional%20Tables.pdf>

## Analysis of Census Results for the De Jure population

As observed above, the TRNC citizen population has grown at a much slower rate than both the *de facto* and *de jure* populations. It is worth noting that from this increase of 13,571 in the TRNC citizen population between 1996 and 2006, a total of 10,745 was due to citizenships acquired through naturalisation or assisted naturalisation.<sup>105</sup> Clearly the growth in the native Turkish Cypriot population has been slow. This could be explained by either emigration and/or low fertility. Given that there are no separate fertility statistics for native Turkish Cypriots and TRNC/Turkish nationals, it is very hard to determine the fertility rate of the former.

For an explanation of the immense increase in the number of non-TRNC citizens in the *de jure* population, we must look to the socio economic changes that have occurred in north Cyprus since 1996. Two factors can be cited as the main reasons for this increase:

- The growth in the foreign student population enrolled in universities in the north (from around 12,700 in 1996 to 31,000 in 2006; see Table 3).
- The growth in the construction and tourism sectors (see Charts 5 and 6) which have taken on more labour from Turkey.

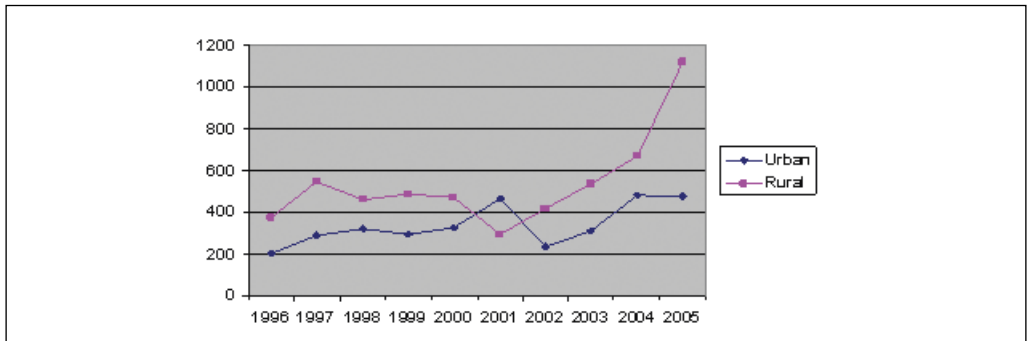
<sup>105</sup> According to Mehmet Albayrak, the former Minister of the Interior, the number of citizenships granted to Turkish nationals between 1997 and 2003 totaled 8,901 (Appendix I). As stated by the present Minister of the Interior Ozkan Murat, an additional 1,844 new citizenships have been granted since 2003 (Kibris, 19 April 2007).

**Table 3.** Student Enrolment in TRNC Universities According to Citizenship (1996-2005)

	1996	1997	1998	1999	2000	2001	2002	2003	2004	2005
<b>TRNC</b>	6.521	7.427	8.006	8.691	9.232	9.539	10.137	9.922	10.371	10.586
<b>TR</b>	11.821	12.365	12.157	13.562	14.632	14.830	15.307	18.398	22.626	28.565
<b>Other</b>	920	1.052	1.331	1.678	1.901	1.952	2.304	2.285	2.476	2.714
<b>Total</b>	19.262	20.844	21.498	23.931	25.765	26.321	27.748	30.605	35.473	41.865

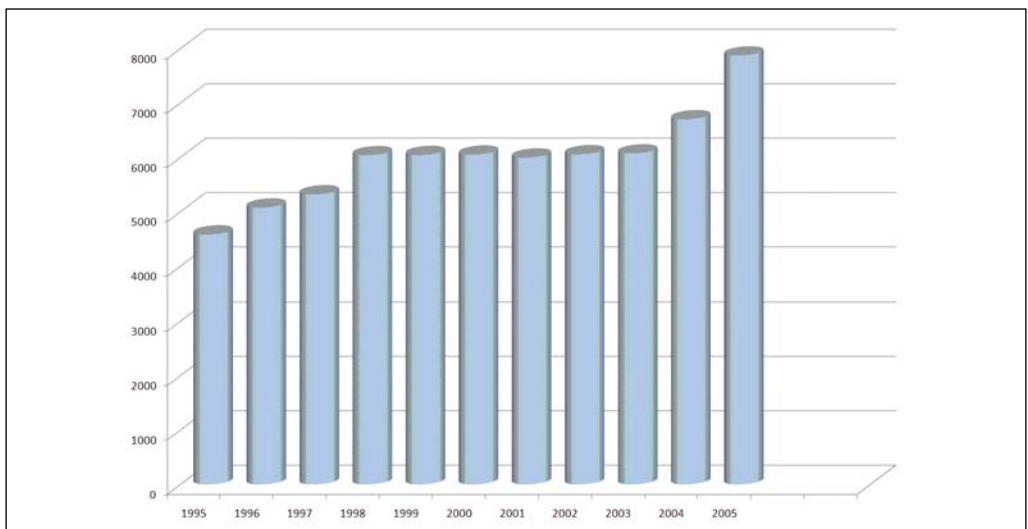
**Source:** TRNC Prime Ministry State Planning Organisation Statistics and Research Department, *Economic and Social Indicators: Students in Higher Education Institutes in TRNC*, Table 30.  
<http://www.devplan.org/Frame-eng.html>

**Chart 5.** Number of New Buildings



**Source:** TRNC Prime Ministry State Planning Organisation Statistics and Research Department, *Building Construction Statistics*. See <http://www.devplan.org/Frame-eng.html>

**Chart 6.** Employees in Tourism



**Source:** TRNC Prime Ministry State Planning Organisation Statistics and Research Department, *Economic and Social Indicators: Number of Employee in Tourist Establishments*: Table 28  
<http://www.devplan.org/Frame-eng.html>

## Analysis of the TRNC Government Figures for Immigrant Workers

Today, most of the migration into north Cyprus consists of temporary or seasonal workers. This is an extremely diverse group that includes documented and undocumented workers employed in agricultural, construction and manufacturing sectors, as well as in hotels, catering and casinos. Fieldwork carried out for my previous report within the walled city of Nicosia and some other areas indicates that the majority of these workers hail from the Hatay district of Turkey, near the Syrian border, and from southeastern Turkey.<sup>106</sup> Many among these do not have Turkish but Kurdish (*Kırmança*) or Arabic as their mother tongue. Most are Sunni Muslims (quite a few are *Shafi*), although a significant number are also Alawites. They offer a cheap source of labour, constituting almost 35-40% of the TRNC's labour force.<sup>107</sup>

Beside this unskilled labor force, there are also highly skilled temporary residents/immigrants, such as financial experts working in local or offshore banks, lecturers who teach in the universities, and businessmen who have investments on the island. There are also numerous other persons who come to the island for short-term employment and who are might be described as 'incomplete migrants.' This group would include petty traders and Roma musicians whose livelihood is derived from repeated short-term visits to the island.

As mentioned above, the analysis of the census results reveals that of the 256,644 *de jure* population, 70,525 are Turkish nationals who are not TRNC citizens, and 8,088 are citizens of other third countries. According to information gathered from the relevant TRNC government departments, the figure of 70,525 Turkish nationals who are not TRNC citizens includes most of the (a) registered immigrant workers (30,577 in December 2006);<sup>108</sup> (b) students at TRNC universities (28,565),<sup>109</sup> around 5,000 dependants of Turkish army officers. Another interesting fact concerns the gender composition of the 70,525 Turkish nationals included in the *de jure* population. 65% of this figure are male persons. This fact may be seen as another indicator that a large proportion of this group comprises registered single male immigrant workers. According to Özkan Murat, TRNC Minister of the Interior, in addition to the above-mentioned 30,577 immigrant workers registered in 2006 as residing in northern Cyprus working mainly in construction, manufacturing and tourism sector (Table 5) there are also 5,486 persons registered as dependants (i.e., as family of registered immigrant workers).<sup>110</sup> As can be seen from Chart 7, almost 25,000 previously undocumented immigrants were registered following implementation of a new law (October 2004) that regulates the rights of Turkish nationals in the TRNC as regards residency, employment and social security. Another factor contributing to the surge in registration was passage of a

<sup>106</sup> Hatay, *Beyond Numbers*, pp. 8-9.

<sup>107</sup> The TRNC's State Planning Organisation estimates the labour force at around 100-110,000 (this estimate is obtained by personal communication with that department in January 2007).

<sup>108</sup> Information supplied by İsmet Lisaniler, head of the Labour Department (23 April 2007)

<sup>109</sup> TRNC Prime Ministry State Planning Organisation Statistics and Research Department, *Economic and Social Indicators: Students in Higher Education Institutes in TRNC*: Table 30 (See <http://www.devplan.org/Frame-eng.html>).

<sup>110</sup> Minutes from the TRNC Parliament (06 November 2006), see: <http://www.cm.gov.nc.tr/ftp/tutanak/D6Y3/b11.doc>

second law requiring strict controls at the exit and entry points of the TRNC. Anyone entering the island on a tourist visa and staying for more than three months would be fined an amount more than double the minimum daily wage per day of their overstay.

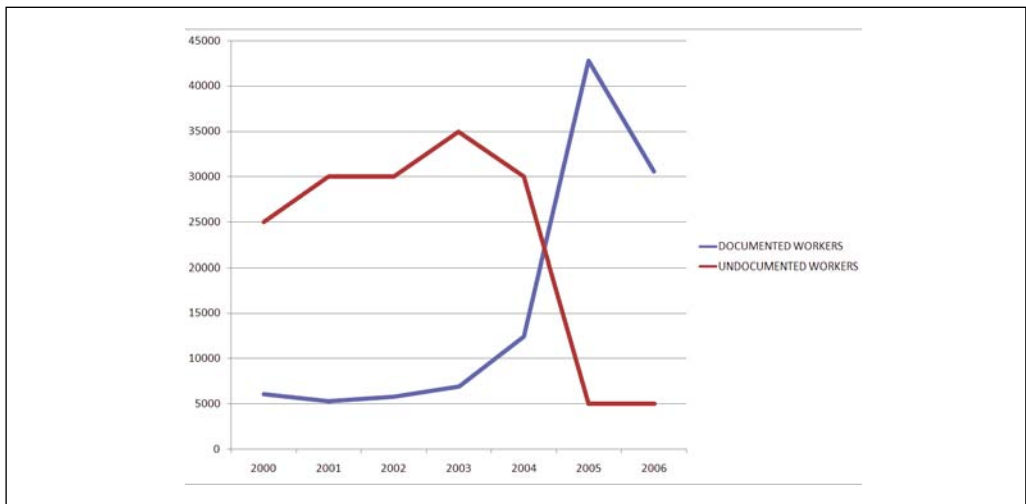
Also to be noted here is the relatively low rate of work permit renewals, which indicates a high turnover of immigrant workers from Turkey (see Table 4). In other words, many of the workers seem to stay for some time and return to their country of origin. They, in turn, are replaced by new immigrant workers.

**Table 4.** Number of Work Permits Issued 2000-2006

Year	Total permits granted	First issue	Renewal
2000	6,113	4,661	1,502
2001	5,311	3,942	1,837
2002	5,828	3,521	2,307
2003	6,948	4,124	2,374
2004	12,429	9,656	2,773
2005	42,779	36,200	6,579
2006	30,577	–	–

**Source:** Figures for 2000-2005 are taken from: Ministry of Foreign Affairs of RoC, *Illegal Demographic Changes*: [http://www.mfa.gov.cy/mfa/mfa2006.nsf/cyprus06\\_en/cyprus06\\_en?OpenDocument](http://www.mfa.gov.cy/mfa/mfa2006.nsf/cyprus06_en/cyprus06_en?OpenDocument). The figure for the year 2006 was supplied by İsmet Lisaniler, head of the TRNC labour department. He claims that many of the registered workers' contracts were cancelled before the end of year 2006 and that the current figure for workers registered by the end of December 2006 is 30,577. He claims that cancellations occurred due to the high mobility of the seasonal workers, who enter and leave the island frequently.

**Chart 7.** Number of Immigrant Workers 2000-2006



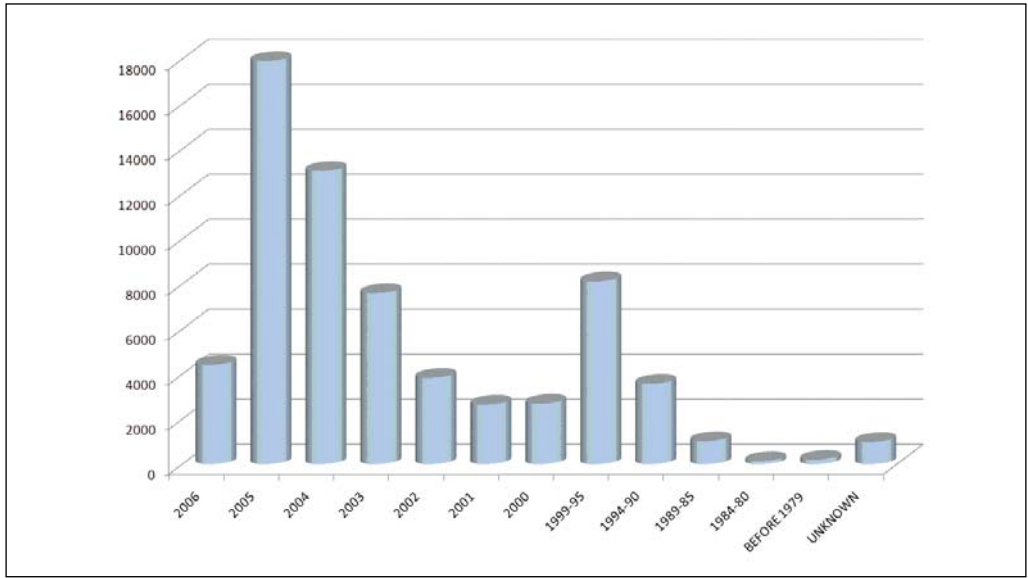
**Table 5.** Immigrant Work Force According to Economic Sector

<b>Economic sectors</b>	<b>No employees</b>
Agriculture and Husbandry	532
Manufacturing, Quarrying	3,106
Construction	16,108
Retail and wholesale	2,908
Hotels and Restaurants	3,675
Transportation, Warehouse, Communication	694
Financial Institutions	95
Real estate	544
Education	159
Health	79
Leisure	2,464
Barbers and Hairdressers	193
<b>Total</b>	<b>30,577</b>

**Source:** This information was supplied by İsmet Lisaniler, head of the TRNC Labour Department (23 April 2007)

As can be seen in Chart 8, the majority (69.6%) of Turkish nationals who are not TRNC citizens and who were counted as part of the *de-jure* population arrived in Cyprus after 2002. According to the declared arrival dates, almost 17,000 persons from Turkey stepped ashore in Cyprus in 2005. Interestingly, around 15,000 Turkish nationals were recorded in the 2006 census as having resided on the island for more than ten years without acquiring TRNC citizenship, despite the fact that until 2007 it had been legally possible for them to do so after five years of residency. Probably many of these persons did not acquire TRNC citizenship because they were not legally registered immigrants with residency permits. (Note that after the imposition in 2004 of heavy fines for stays without residency and/or work permit, such non-registered immigrant numbers dropped considerably, as the number of registered immigrants grew.) It is also worth noting that the surge in arrivals from Turkey between 1990 and 1995 likely came as a result of an intensification in the low-level war between the Turkish military and Kurdish separatists in south eastern Turkey. It has been illustrated in previous studies that the majority of immigrant workers who came to Cyprus during the 1990s were ethnic Kurds and Arabs from the above-mentioned region.

**Chart 8.** Dates of Arrival in North Cyprus of Turkish Nationals (without TRNC citizenship) in the De Jure Population of 2006 Census



**Source:** The final results of the TRNC general population and housing unit (see Appendix 5): <http://nufussayimi.devplan.org/Additional%20Tables.pdf>

## TURKISH CYPRIOT EMIGRATION FROM CYPRUS

The preceding chapters have made clear that the issue of immigration from Turkey to north Cyprus and its demographic consequences are among the most contentious topics on the political agenda in Cyprus. Another issue that is often closely linked to this is, of course, the matter of Turkish Cypriot emigration. It is claimed in some circles that since 1974 around 57,000 Turkish Cypriots have emigrated, mainly to the UK and Australia; and further, that due mainly to this allegedly massive emigration, the Turkish Cypriot population in Cyprus has declined to 87,000 (from 118,000 in 1974).<sup>111</sup> Although some Turkish Cypriots did in fact migrate to Britain and Australia after 1974, the main bulk of Turkish Cypriot emigration took place during the last quarter of British rule and in the early 1960s. The number of immigrants from Cyprus to the UK started to rise in the mid-1950s and peaked in the two years prior to implementation of the 1962 UK Immigration Act. Australian and UK census figures reveal that, apart from the initial years after the 1974 war, Cypriot emigration to these countries has been on the decline.<sup>112</sup> For the Turkish Cypriot population, this decline can be partly explained by the passage of new legislation in 1983 that allowed young Turkish Cypriot men who in the past moved overseas to avoid conscription instead to stay in the island and pay a fee that exempted them from regular military service.<sup>113</sup> Further, development of the tertiary education sector in north Cyprus during the same years also helped to slow the exit of the younger generation.<sup>114</sup> Finally, the economic growth of the past few years has also encouraged the return to the island of an increasing number of Turkish Cypriots living abroad. This is indicated, for example, by the substantial increase in the number of British-born Turkish Cypriots counted in the censuses of 2006 (2,435 persons) compared to that of 1996 (1,322 persons).

The 2006 census results revealed that, the north Cyprus's 'native' Turkish Cypriot population (those with both or one parent born in Cyprus) at present is 132,635, not 87,000 as is often claimed.<sup>115</sup> If we assume that the natural rates of population increase are comparable in both parts of the island, the increase since 1974 would have brought the

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<sup>111</sup> Ministry of Foreign Affairs of RoC, *Illegal Demographic Changes*.  
[http://www.mfa.gov.cy/mfa/mfa2006.nsf/cyprus06\\_en/cyprus06\\_en?OpenDocument](http://www.mfa.gov.cy/mfa/mfa2006.nsf/cyprus06_en/cyprus06_en?OpenDocument)

<sup>112</sup> This does not mean that there was no emigration but that it may have been to other countries such as Turkey.

<sup>113</sup> TRNC Official Gazete: <http://www.mahkemeler.net/mahkeme-web-t/Yasalar/04-1983.doc>

<sup>114</sup> The number of the Turkish Cypriot students, enrolled in TRNC universities has risen from 6,521 to 10,586 in the last ten years (see Table 3).

<sup>115</sup> Almost 120,031 persons were recorded as having both parents born in Cyprus for the 2006 census, while over 12,604 had one parent born in Cyprus.



number of Turkish Cypriots to 156,000. While this difference of around 23,500 may indicate Turkish Cypriot emigration, the number of emigrants is certainly still less than half the figure of 57,000 that is often claimed. It is estimated that approximately 2,000 Turkish Cypriots currently reside in the southern part of the island and so were not counted in the census. Further as noted earlier, there are around 2,500 Turkish Cypriot students studying abroad, and there was also some voluntary undercounting of the Turkish Cypriot population in the census. Moreover, there are 13,844 Turkish Cypriots living and working in Turkey who retain TRNC citizenship, as well as property on the island.<sup>116</sup>

While the UK and Australia are often mentioned as destinations for Turkish Cypriot emigration, examination of the UK and Australia census figures brings this claim into doubt. The 1971 UK census figures put the total number of Cyprus-born persons (including Greeks, Armenians, Maronites and Turks) at 72,665; in 1981 this figure rose to 84,327. It is known that much of this increase was due to the mass emigration of Greek Cypriot displaced persons following the events of 1974 (see Appendix 2). According to Constantinou, as a result of the 1974 war, 5,454 Greek Cypriots left the island in 1975 alone.<sup>117</sup> An estimated total of 20,000-25,000 Greek Cypriots left the island during this phase of Greek Cypriot emigration, which continued until the beginning of the 1980s.<sup>118</sup> By then the economy in southern Cyprus had rebounded from the effects of war and dislocation. According to the 2001 census, the total Cyprus-born population in the UK was 77,156. This number demonstrates a slight drop in the population since the 1991 census, which showed 78,191 Cypriots living in the country.<sup>119</sup>

Jorgen Nielsen's research on Muslims in Western Europe indicates that the total Turkish Cypriot population in Britain (including British-born offspring) was around 40,000 in 1981 and 45,000 in 1991.<sup>120</sup> However, this rise appears to be the result of natural growth, since, as Table 6 shows, Cyprus-born populations in the UK as well as in Australia have been declining since 1981. Most demographers put the Greek and Turkish Cyprus-born persons at a ratio similar to that in Cyprus, i.e., 4 Greeks to 1 Turk. For example, in the Australian census of 2001, the major religions among the Cyprus-born population were Greek Orthodox (71.7%) and Moslem (19.1%).<sup>121</sup>

It is also important to note that between 1992 and 1997, 1840 persons considered to be of 'Cypriot' nationality applied for asylum in the UK.<sup>122</sup> Because there are no indications that any Greek Cypriot citizens of the Republic of Cyprus applied for asylum during this period, it may be assumed that this number is comprised solely of TRNC citizens who are also

<sup>116</sup> Prime Ministry of Republic of Turkey, Turkish Statistical Institute (TURKSTAT): <http://www.turkstat.gov.tr/VeriBilgi.do>

<sup>117</sup> Constantinou, *Economic Factors*, p. 158.

<sup>118</sup> Cuco, *Demographic Structure of Cyprus*: [http://www.moi.gov.cy/moi/pio/pio.nsf/All/20C7614D06858E9FC2256DC200380113/\\$file/cuco%20report.pdf?OpenElement](http://www.moi.gov.cy/moi/pio/pio.nsf/All/20C7614D06858E9FC2256DC200380113/$file/cuco%20report.pdf?OpenElement)

<sup>119</sup> See BBC World News, *Born Abroad*: [http://news.bbc.co.uk/1/shared/spl/hi/uk/05/born\\_abroad/countries/html/cyprus.stm](http://news.bbc.co.uk/1/shared/spl/hi/uk/05/born_abroad/countries/html/cyprus.stm)

<sup>120</sup> Jorgen Nielsen, *Muslims in Western Europe* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1992), p. 41.

<sup>121</sup> The remainder either did not state their religion, professed not to hold any religious affiliation or else adhered to other faiths.

<sup>122</sup> British Home Office: <http://www.homeoffice.gov.uk/rds/pdfs/hosb1498.pdf>

considered citizens of the RoC.<sup>123</sup> None of these applications were successful. There were also several thousand Turkish citizens who applied for asylum in this same period. This group certainly included persons who held dual TRNC citizenship and who may have travelled to the UK from northern Cyprus, but their number is difficult to estimate. This boom in asylum application from northern Cyprus ended in 1997 when the UK imposed visa restrictions.

Even though the majority of asylum applicants returned to the island, the sudden rise in applications in the middle 1990s produced an appearance of flight that had repercussions for local politics. The fear of Turkish Cypriot emigration became part of the political rhetoric and so impeded serious investigation of the demography of northern Cyprus.

**Table 6.** UK and Australian Census Figures for Cyprus-born Population

Cyprus born	1971	1981	1991	2001
UK	72,665	84,327	78,191	77,156
Australia	13,267	24,000 (approx.)	20,652	19,482

**Source:** For the years (for UK), 1971, 1981, 1991: Tozun Issa, 'Turkish-Speaking Communities in Britain: Migration for Education,' *The Welsh Journal of Education* 13 (1) (2004), p.70.; for the year 2001 (for UK) see BBC World News: [http://news.bbc.co.uk/1/shared/spl/hi/uk/05/born\\_abroad/countries/html/cyprus.stm](http://news.bbc.co.uk/1/shared/spl/hi/uk/05/born_abroad/countries/html/cyprus.stm)  
For Australia see Stavros Constantinou, T. 'Economic Factors and Political Upheaval as Determinants of International Migration: The Case of Cyprus,' *Praktika tou Protou Dhiethnous Symposiou Kypriakis Metanastefsisis: Istoriki kai Koinoniologiki Theorisi*, Nicosia: Cyprus Research Centre, 1990, p. 150.; Australian Government, Department of Immigration and Multicultural Affairs, *Community Information Summary: The Cyprus-born Community*: <http://www.immi.gov.au/statistics/infosummary/textversion/cyprus.htm>; Australian Government, Department of Immigration and Multicultural Affairs, *The People of Australia: Statistic from the 2001 Census*, ([http://www.immi.gov.au/media/publications/pdf/people\\_of\\_australia.pdf](http://www.immi.gov.au/media/publications/pdf/people_of_australia.pdf))

**Table 7.** Distribution of Cyprus-born persons in the UK

Region	TOTAL NUMBERS		
	1991	2001	+/- %
Whole of Britain	78,191	77,156	-1.32
East Midlands	2,696	3,073	13.98
East of England	4,739	5,610	18.38
London	50,667	45,887	-9.43
North East	746	879	17.83
North West	2,527	2,970	17.53
Scotland	1,333	1,533	15.00
South East	6,045	6,739	11.48
South West	3,373	3,831	13.58
Wales	891	1,001	12.35
West Midlands	2,918	3,201	9.70
Yorks & Humber	2,256	2,432	7.80

**Source:** BBC World News: [http://news.bbc.co.uk/1/shared/spl/hi/uk/05/born\\_abroad/countries/html/cyprus.stm](http://news.bbc.co.uk/1/shared/spl/hi/uk/05/born_abroad/countries/html/cyprus.stm)

<sup>123</sup> Many of these asylum seekers were Turkish Cypriot Gypsies (Gurbetler). It is claimed that 'some 70 gypsy families (over 300 persons) sought asylum in the United Kingdom in 1994, alleging that they had no human rights in the TRNC and were treated as second class citizens.' See European Court Of Human Rights: Case Of Cyprus V. Turkey, Application No. 25781/94.

## AN OVERVIEW OF THE CURRENT DEMOGRAPHIC SITUATION ON CYPRUS

As explained above, the demographic ratio of Turkish Cypriots to Greek Cypriots living in Cyprus has always been a politically sensitive topic. Political representation during the British colonial era was based proportionally on this ratio, and when this era ended in 1960 with the establishment of the Republic of Cyprus (RoC) the new state, too, governed with a consociational system based on ethnic quotas associated with population ratios. Since the *de facto* division of the island in 1974, distinctive population patterns have been evolving in the north and the south of the island. The demographic structures on both sides have obviously changed in the course of the three decades following the division. The following three charts (9,10 and 11) represent three different ways of viewing the overall picture of populations on the island in 2006.

**Chart 9.** Composition of the Total Population in Cyprus According to each side's *De Jure* Population Figures

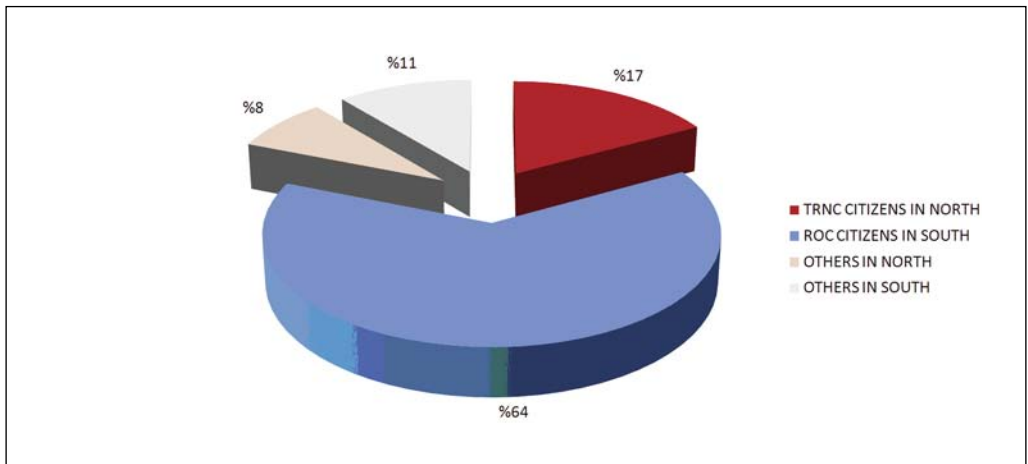


Chart 9 shows the *de jure* population for each part of the island combined together in a single chart. From this exercise, one can see that 19% (11% for the south and 8% for the north) of the population of the whole island – now just over 1,000,000 - is made up of non-citizens, that is citizens of neither the Cyprus Republic, nor the TRNC. The figures for the south are provided by the 2005 *Demographic Report* of the Republic of Cyprus

government,<sup>124</sup> according to which, the de jure population is comprised of 656,200 citizens (64% of the whole island's population), and 110,200 foreign residents (11%). The figures for the north are taken from the 2006 census results. As illustrated in Chapter two, the de jure population in the north is comprised of 178,031 TRNC citizens (17% in the whole island's population) and 78,613 (7%) foreign residents. It is also interesting to note that from 1990-2005 the number of foreign residents in south Cyprus has increased from 10,529 to 110,200.<sup>125</sup>

**Chart 10.** Composition of the De Jure Population in the RoC (south) Together with the TRNC Citizen Population in the North

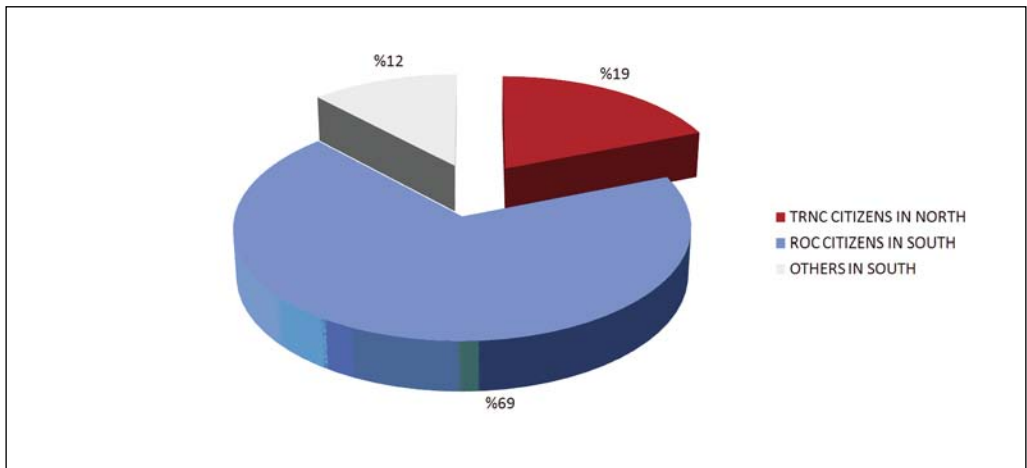


Chart 10 shows the de jure population for the south combined together with the TRNC citizen population in the north. The figures for the south are again taken from the 2005 Demographic Report of the Republic of Cyprus. According to this, the de jure population comprises 69% citizens, and 12% foreign residents. The two figures combined represent 81% of the island's overall population. The figure for the north is taken from the 2006 census results. According to these census results the TRNC citizen population is almost 19% of the island's total.

<sup>124</sup> Republic of Cyprus Statistical Service, *Demographic Report 2005* (Nicosia, 2006). (<http://www.mof.gov.cy/mof/cystat/statistics.nsf/All/976628052624788EC22571F80037151D?OpenDocument>).

<sup>125</sup> Republic of Cyprus Statistical Service, *Demographic Report 2005* (Nicosia, 2006), p. 12.

**Chart 11.** Composition of Total 'Citizen' Population

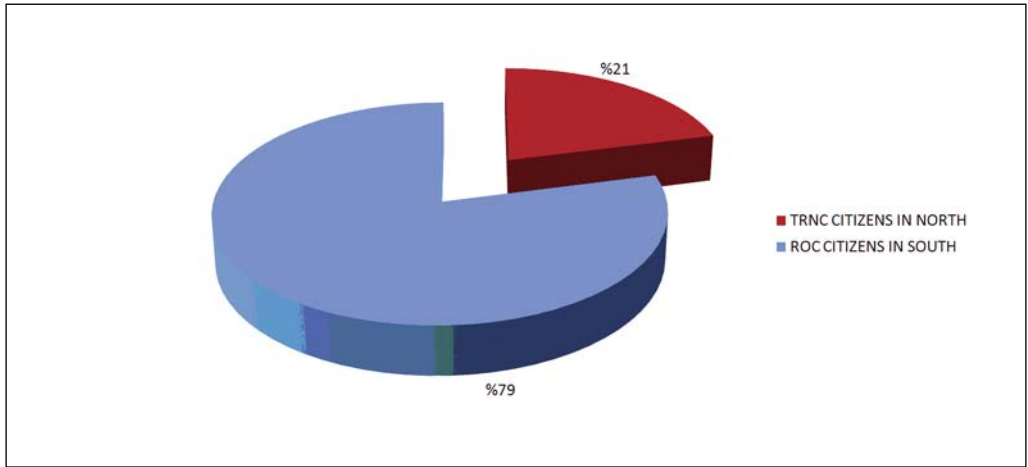


Chart 11 shows the current ratio between the 'citizen' populations of the Republic of Cyprus and the TRNC. It is important to note that almost 24% of TRNC citizens are either born in Turkey or born of parents of mainland Turkish origin. Including TRNC citizens born in Turkey and their offspring born in Cyprus, the Turkish Cypriot population has risen from 18.2% in 1960 to 21% in 2006. While giving data for naturalized citizens on the northern part of the island, it is not possible to present similar statistics for the Republic of Cyprus, as information on place of birth was not included in estimates published from the 2005 Demographic Report of RoC.

# CONCLUSION

The 2006 TRNC census results that correspond both with my own earlier study as well as other studies and complementary data clearly demonstrates that, contrary to the widely held view that the Turkish Cypriot population has shrunk since 1974, it has in fact grown.<sup>126</sup> The population of Turkish Cypriots in 1974 was almost 118,000; the census results show that out of the 178,031 TRNC citizens, the current native Turkish Cypriot population (one or both parents born in Cyprus) now numbers 132,635.<sup>127</sup>

Overall, it can be observed that since the establishment of the Republic of Cyprus in 1960, the proportional size of the island's Turkish Cypriot population (including those TRNC citizens who have their origins in Turkey) has not changed significantly in comparison to that of the Greek Cypriot population. The argument that the demographics of the north have been altered through immigration is hardly a groundless one, but the change is not as radical as has been claimed. There was indeed a concerted effort to settle mainland Turks on the island from 1975 until 1979, during which around 15,000 were successfully settled. According to the 2006 census, 11,925 TRNC citizens of Turkish origin declared that they arrived in Cyprus before 1979. In addition, over the course of more than three decades, this population of non-Cyprus-born citizens has increased through naturalization or assisted naturalization by marriage. If we include the children of these naturalized citizens (both parents born in Turkey), non-'native' TRNC citizens account for 24% of the total TRNC citizen population. However, the 1960 ethnic ratio of the population of the entire island has been altered by less than 3%, where the Turkish Cypriot percentage rose from 18.4 to 21. I think it is worth emphasizing that in a united Cyprus with a projected population of over one million, 42,000 additional naturalized Turks who would constitute 3-4 per cent of the total population (and of whom 16,000 were born in the island) should hardly be an impediment to solving a problem that has continued for more than four decades to the detriment of all Cypriots.

Moreover, this study has sought to show that non-citizen resident populations on both sides of the island are numerically significant, as well as to discuss the political, social and economic reasons that led to this situation. According to census results and additional evidence compiled from various administrative sources in the north, there are approximately

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<sup>126</sup> In my previous study, I estimated the percentage of naturalized Turkish nationals to be 20-25 per cent of the citizen population of the TRNC. In addition to naturalized Turkish nationals, it was estimated in my report that there were another 40-45,000 immigrant workers (both documented and undocumented) from Turkey who were staying in north Cyprus. Student numbers (slightly higher in 2006) and the total population (census results are slightly lower) also correspond with the preliminary census results. For more details, see Hatay, *Beyond Numbers*. The other study which corresponds with the census results appeared in *Yeniduzen*. See: Naci Taşeli, 'Rakamların Diliyle Seçmen Listeleri' *Yeniduzen*, (Nicosia, 1 November 2003).

<sup>127</sup> Around 12,000 of this figure, 132, 635 persons have one parent born abroad.

78,000 foreign citizens currently resident on the island, almost 70,000 of these from Turkey. This non-citizen populace which has no voting rights is comprised primarily of students and immigrant workers whose stay on the island is considered temporary. For similar reasons, the southern part of the island is also home to 110,200 foreign permanent residents (excluding 10,000-30,000 illegal immigrants). The non-citizen resident population in the south generally includes European Union (EU) citizens with second homes in Cyprus; workers from Bulgaria, Romania and Poland; Pontus Greeks from Russia and Georgia who settled in Cyprus during the 1990s and some of whom carry Greek passports; many persons from Eastern Europe; and a variety of domestic workers from countries such as Sri Lanka and the Philippines. It is also important to note that in the south, EU citizens who are not also citizens of the Republic have the right to vote in local and EU parliamentary elections.

Naturally, none of these categories are static. A migrant worker can become a citizen, for instance, if he remains legally on the island long enough. Students in the north, like students all over the world, can choose to remain in the town where they studied for many years after their studies are complete. Likewise, a TRNC citizen of Turkish origin may return to Turkey because he feels life will be better there. As long as the stalemate between the two sides on the island continues, it is inevitable that the demographics of each part of the island will develop separately, as is happening in all other spheres of life in Cyprus.

One important part of this political statement has been the 'war of numbers' that this report discusses. Unlike many other 'wars,' this is one that could easily be ended by the involvement of international monitoring agencies. The involvement of international agencies has been hindered by local politics, and especially by the question of sovereignty. For while the Republic considers any international cooperation with the Turkish Cypriot government to be recognition by implication, previous governments in the north have insisted that any international involvement should be undertaken through the Turkish Cypriot administration's auspices, precisely in order to achieve a type of implied recognition. The issue, however, is too important to be held hostage to the unresolved question of sovereignty, and a middle road needs to be found that would make international monitoring feasible.

The most likely middle road would make its way through the political parties in the north, which, unlike the Turkish Cypriot government, are recognized as legitimate political entities by the Republic and the international community. Moreover, it is the political parties themselves who have been most active both in criticizing immigration policies and in providing misleading information to the public. Hence, a committee constituted of representatives of all political parties in the north would have the capacity to review the census results in collaboration with international experts on demography, without this cooperation implying recognition of the Turkish Cypriot state. With the aid of experts in demography, it would be possible to identify other sources of information that might complement or supplement the census results, as I have also attempted to do in this report. Census data may be compared against work permits, birth and death registrations, electoral rolls, and other similar data. Such an international committee would also have the capability

to more fully review census data for host countries of Turkish Cypriot emigrants such as the UK and Australia.

This report has discussed the 'war of numbers' primarily as a political issue with important implications for resolution of the Cyprus problem. The local effect of this 'war,' however, has been to turn people into numbers and what should be humanitarian issues into political tools. Fear created by misleading information has made it impossible to have sensible discussions about immigration policies and social issues, such as work and health conditions of immigrants. In addition, it has created a climate of socially acceptable discrimination that overlooks important issues of human rights. It is only by ending this 'war' that it will be possible to see these numbers as people and to think about their concerns not simply in the context of a bicomunal politics but in the broader context of an increasingly multicultural Cyprus and its integration into the EU framework.



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Appendix 1

## TRNC CITIZENSHIPS GRANTED 1974-2003

YEAR	2ND OR 3RD GENERATION CYPRIOTS	BULGARIAN TURKS	PERSONS FROM THIRD COUNTRIES	TURKISH NATIONALS
1974				
1975	2			
1976	44		7	3243
1977	87		5	3106
1978	70			4396
1979	68		5	4605
1980	203		10	3695
1981	173		4	2806
1982	162		1	342
1983	167			903
1984	126		43	1063
1985	107		25	975
1986	150		10	40
1987	202		20	422
1988	143		21	470
1989	142		70	525
1990	144		153	2287
1991	107		80	1218
1992	149		66	1298
1993	145	89	150	2156
1994	642	161	17	1323
1995	681	136	472	2036
1996	566	273	65	1271
1997	356	131	112	1444
1998	1	93	96	983
1999	0	59	65	1050
2000	0	46	86	837
2001	0	41	115	832
2002	0	47	114	1238
2003				
February		18	13	1124
<b>Total</b>	<b>4650</b>	<b>1094</b>	<b>1825</b>	<b>45,689</b>

Source: Mr Mehmet Albayrak (former Minister of Interior) disclosed that the number of citizenships granted between 1974 and 14 October 2003 totalled 53,904. (Summary of the report can be found in Kibris, 23 October 2003).

## Appendix 2

# EMIGRANTS FROM CYPRUS BY COUNTRY OF DESTINATION 1955-1985

Year	All countries	UK	Australia	USA	Greece	Canada	South Africa	Zaire	Nigeria	Zimbabwe	Other
1946	850										
1947	2238										
1948	351										
1949	1048										
1950	2847										
1951	3808		2500								
1952	2379										
1953	1169	2600									
1954	3651										
1955	4704	4469	970	109	....	13	60	*	*	*	83
1956	6461	5233	730	147	75	32	84	*	*	*	160
1957	5447	4702	267	245	7	22	52	23	9	18	102
1958	5273	4579	328	145	43	13	35	38	8	11	73
1959	6250	5809	115	104	37	12	38	43	24	9	69
1960	14589	13534	270	141	9	11	274	86	*	*	264
1961	13489	12337	442	11	9	10	331	72	45	48	84
1962	6277	4970	553	90	19	6	193	62	6	14	364
1963	2933	2187	275	51	8	32	133	28	4	5	210
1964	5081	3859	392	107	88	55	213	46	42	27	252
1965	2967	1993	340	63	63	203	120	26	13	33	113
1966	3408	1868	542	315	65	270	184	40	26	22	76
1967	3470	2229	467	208	55	293	100	17	26	13	62
1968	2676	1452	490	199	131	140	113	26	12	14	99
1969	2378	1164	469	161	72	145	149	12	30	17	159
1970	2318	800	782	200	46	206	92	30	24	26	112
1971	2271	676	849	171	53	180	156	20	16	10	140
1972	1318	288	605	100	47	120	45	7	5	13	188
1973	1312	206	678	106	6	158	80	6	7	12	53
1974	3346	649	909	178	646	503	199	31	41	30	160
1975	5454	529	2023	575	1029	768	227	14	38	64	187
1976	5647	726	2612	356	880	338	328	26	52	47	282
1977	3689	781	1058	288	605	263	417	36	54	22	165
1978	1835	381	357	198	421	132	187	12	19	9	119
1979	1087	297	223	126	68	93	203	3	9	3	62
1980	525	64	132	69	92	76	44	..	8	3	38
1981	192	5	104	21	2	34	16	3	1	....	6
1982	204	2	115	33	3	26	19	...	...	....	6
1983	87	10	58	8	....	1	8	...	...	....	...
1984	98	1	63	15	....	1	11	3	...	....	4
1985	96	1	80	4	....	7	...	4	...	....	...
<b>Total</b>	<b>133872</b>	<b>78401</b>	<b>19798</b>	<b>4644</b>	<b>4579</b>	<b>4163</b>	<b>411</b>	<b>704</b>	<b>518</b>	<b>470</b>	<b>3327</b>

**Source:** Constantinou, Stavros, T. 'Economic Factors and Political Upheaval as Determinants of International Migration: The Case of Cyprus,' *Praktika tou Protou Dhiethnous Symposiou Kypriakis Metanastefsis: Istoriki kai Koinoniologiki Theorisi*, Nicosia: Cyprus Research Centre, 1990, p. 146.

## TOTAL EMIGRATION BY ETHNIC GROUP WITH BREAKDOWN OF TURKISH CYPRIOT EMIGRATION TO TURKEY, 1955-1973

Years	Greek Cypriot	Turkish Cypriot	To Turkey
1955	4,817	862	-
1956	3,621	893	5
1957	3,534	928	13
1958	3,897	608	16
1959	4,211	1,248	7
1960	11,764	2,220	12
1961	10,726	2,543	1
1962	5,056	870	4
1963	2,305	453	-
1964	3,995	992	47
1965	2,380	566	36
1966	2,855	538	21
1967	2,540	900	15
1968	2,169	503	30
1969	2,027	337	12
1970	1,741	567	14
1971	1,649	612	35
1972	868	449	19
1973	881	430	3
<b>Total</b>	<b>71,036</b>	<b>16,519</b>	<b>290</b>

**Source:** Christos P. Ioannides, In Turkey's Image: The Transformation of Occupied Cyprus into a Turkish Province, New York: Aristide D. Caratzas, 1991, p.18.



## 2006 POPULATION AND HOUSING UNIT QUESTIONNAIRE

### FOR THE CENSUS OFFICER'S ATTENTION

For places not forming a household only fill sections I and II and go to section V Individual Questionnaire. In such places, start getting personal type information from first individual and use separate questionnaire for every individual.

SECTION I : ADDRESS		SECTION II : TYPE OF PLACE																															
Name of Road, Avenue or Boulevard <input style="width: 100%;" type="text"/>		House <input type="checkbox"/> 1 <input type="checkbox"/> Prison																															
Name or No of Street <input style="width: 100%;" type="text"/>		Hotel, Motel and Pension <input type="checkbox"/> 2 <input type="checkbox"/> Military Quarters, Officers Club etc.																															
No of Building Gate <input style="width: 50%;" type="text"/>		Hospital, Health Care <input type="checkbox"/> 3 <input type="checkbox"/> Ports, Border Gates, Terminal Stations etc.																															
No of House or Flat <input style="width: 50%;" type="text"/>		Hostel <input type="checkbox"/> 4 <input type="checkbox"/> Worksite, Construction etc.																															
		Orphanage, Nursing Home <input type="checkbox"/> 5 <input type="checkbox"/> Other <input type="checkbox"/>																															
		<i>Indicate</i>																															
		<input style="width: 100%;" type="text"/>																															
SECTION III : FEATURES OF THE HOUSING UNIT																																	
<p>1. What is the type of building in which your housing unit is located ?</p> <table style="width: 100%;"> <tr><td>Detached House</td><td><input type="checkbox"/> 1</td></tr> <tr><td>Semi-detached House</td><td><input type="checkbox"/> 2</td></tr> <tr><td>Row House</td><td><input type="checkbox"/> 3</td></tr> <tr><td>Subsidiary House</td><td><input type="checkbox"/> 4</td></tr> <tr><td>Apartment</td><td><input type="checkbox"/> 5</td></tr> <tr><td>Other</td><td><input type="checkbox"/> 6</td></tr> </table> <p style="margin-left: 100px;">} → No of story <input style="width: 40px;" type="text"/></p>		Detached House	<input type="checkbox"/> 1	Semi-detached House	<input type="checkbox"/> 2	Row House	<input type="checkbox"/> 3	Subsidiary House	<input type="checkbox"/> 4	Apartment	<input type="checkbox"/> 5	Other	<input type="checkbox"/> 6	<p>8. Do you use water main supply as drinking water ?</p> <p>Yes <input type="checkbox"/> 1 <input type="checkbox"/> No <input type="checkbox"/> 2</p>																			
Detached House	<input type="checkbox"/> 1																																
Semi-detached House	<input type="checkbox"/> 2																																
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Subsidiary House	<input type="checkbox"/> 4																																
Apartment	<input type="checkbox"/> 5																																
Other	<input type="checkbox"/> 6																																
<p>2. When was your housing unit built ? (Year completed.)</p> <table style="width: 100%;"> <tr><td>Before 1975</td><td><input type="checkbox"/> 1</td></tr> <tr><td>After 1975</td><td><input type="checkbox"/> 2</td></tr> <tr><td>Not known</td><td><input type="checkbox"/> 3</td></tr> </table> <p style="margin-left: 100px;">→ Indicate year <input style="width: 40px;" type="text"/></p>		Before 1975	<input type="checkbox"/> 1	After 1975	<input type="checkbox"/> 2	Not known	<input type="checkbox"/> 3	<p>9. Which of the followings are available in your housing unit and amount of these ? (Put 0 for none available.)</p> <table style="width: 100%; border-collapse: collapse;"> <thead> <tr> <th style="width: 80%;"></th> <th style="width: 20%; text-align: center;">Amount</th> </tr> </thead> <tbody> <tr><td>1. Fixed telephone line</td><td style="border: 1px solid black; width: 20px;"></td></tr> <tr><td>2. Cellular phone</td><td style="border: 1px solid black; width: 20px;"></td></tr> <tr><td>3. TV</td><td style="border: 1px solid black; width: 20px;"></td></tr> <tr><td>4. Satellite antenna</td><td style="border: 1px solid black; width: 20px;"></td></tr> <tr><td>5. Computer</td><td style="border: 1px solid black; width: 20px;"></td></tr> <tr><td>6. Internet connection</td><td style="border: 1px solid black; width: 20px;"></td></tr> <tr><td>7. Car (for household use)</td><td style="border: 1px solid black; width: 20px;"></td></tr> <tr><td>8. Closed garage</td><td style="border: 1px solid black; width: 20px;"></td></tr> <tr><td>9. Generator</td><td style="border: 1px solid black; width: 20px;"></td></tr> <tr><td>10. Air conditioner</td><td style="border: 1px solid black; width: 20px;"></td></tr> <tr><td>11. Fireplace</td><td style="border: 1px solid black; width: 20px;"></td></tr> </tbody> </table>			Amount	1. Fixed telephone line		2. Cellular phone		3. TV		4. Satellite antenna		5. Computer		6. Internet connection		7. Car (for household use)		8. Closed garage		9. Generator		10. Air conditioner		11. Fireplace	
Before 1975	<input type="checkbox"/> 1																																
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9. Generator																																	
10. Air conditioner																																	
11. Fireplace																																	
<p>3. What is the structural material of your housing unit ?</p> <table style="width: 100%;"> <tr><td>R. Concrete (Stone, Brick, Briquet)</td><td><input type="checkbox"/> 1</td></tr> <tr><td>Masonry (Stone, Brick, Briquet)</td><td><input type="checkbox"/> 2</td></tr> <tr><td>Mud Brick</td><td><input type="checkbox"/> 3</td></tr> <tr><td>Prefabricated</td><td><input type="checkbox"/> 4</td></tr> <tr><td>Other</td><td><input type="checkbox"/> 5</td></tr> </table>		R. Concrete (Stone, Brick, Briquet)	<input type="checkbox"/> 1	Masonry (Stone, Brick, Briquet)	<input type="checkbox"/> 2	Mud Brick	<input type="checkbox"/> 3	Prefabricated	<input type="checkbox"/> 4	Other	<input type="checkbox"/> 5	<p>10. Is there solar energy water heating system in your housing unit ?</p> <p>Yes <input type="checkbox"/> 1 <input type="checkbox"/> No <input type="checkbox"/> 2</p>																					
R. Concrete (Stone, Brick, Briquet)	<input type="checkbox"/> 1																																
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Other	<input type="checkbox"/> 5																																
<p>4. What is your possession type of the housing unit ?</p> <table style="width: 100%;"> <tr><td>Renter - from private (Real or Legal)</td><td><input type="checkbox"/> 1</td></tr> <tr><td>Renter - from foundation</td><td><input type="checkbox"/> 2</td></tr> <tr><td>Renter - from state</td><td><input type="checkbox"/> 3</td></tr> <tr><td>Owner</td><td><input type="checkbox"/> 4</td></tr> <tr><td>Provided by Employer</td><td><input type="checkbox"/> 5</td></tr> <tr><td>Not owner but does not pay any rent</td><td><input type="checkbox"/> 6</td></tr> <tr><td>Other</td><td><input type="checkbox"/> 7</td></tr> </table> <p style="margin-left: 100px;">Go to Question 8.</p>		Renter - from private (Real or Legal)	<input type="checkbox"/> 1	Renter - from foundation	<input type="checkbox"/> 2	Renter - from state	<input type="checkbox"/> 3	Owner	<input type="checkbox"/> 4	Provided by Employer	<input type="checkbox"/> 5	Not owner but does not pay any rent	<input type="checkbox"/> 6	Other	<input type="checkbox"/> 7	<p>11. Is there any central heating system in your housing unit ?</p> <p>Yes <input type="checkbox"/> 1 <input type="checkbox"/> No <input type="checkbox"/> 2</p>																	
Renter - from private (Real or Legal)	<input type="checkbox"/> 1																																
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Provided by Employer	<input type="checkbox"/> 5																																
Not owner but does not pay any rent	<input type="checkbox"/> 6																																
Other	<input type="checkbox"/> 7																																
<p>5. How much monthly rent do you pay for the housing unit ?</p> <p><input style="width: 40px;" type="text"/> <input style="width: 40px;" type="text"/> <input style="width: 40px;" type="text"/> <input style="width: 40px;" type="text"/> YFL</p>		<p>12. What type / types of the followings are used in your housing unit for heating purpose ?</p> <table style="width: 100%;"> <tr><td>Electricity</td><td><input type="checkbox"/> 1</td></tr> <tr><td>Fuel / kerosene</td><td><input type="checkbox"/> 2</td></tr> <tr><td>LPG</td><td><input type="checkbox"/> 3</td></tr> <tr><td>Firewood</td><td><input type="checkbox"/> 4</td></tr> </table>		Electricity	<input type="checkbox"/> 1	Fuel / kerosene	<input type="checkbox"/> 2	LPG	<input type="checkbox"/> 3	Firewood	<input type="checkbox"/> 4																						
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<p>6. How many rooms are there in your housing unit (including kitchen over 4sqm) ?</p> <p><input style="width: 40px;" type="text"/></p>		<p>13. Do you have a swimming pool ?</p> <table style="width: 100%;"> <tr><td>Yes, private</td><td><input type="checkbox"/> 1</td></tr> <tr><td>Yes, common</td><td><input type="checkbox"/> 2</td></tr> <tr><td>No</td><td><input type="checkbox"/> 3</td></tr> </table>		Yes, private	<input type="checkbox"/> 1	Yes, common	<input type="checkbox"/> 2	No	<input type="checkbox"/> 3																								
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No	<input type="checkbox"/> 3																																
<p>7. Which of the followings are available in your housing unit ?</p> <table style="width: 100%; border-collapse: collapse;"> <thead> <tr> <th style="width: 30%;"></th> <th style="width: 10%; text-align: center;">Inside the unit</th> <th style="width: 10%; text-align: center;">Outside the unit</th> <th style="width: 10%; text-align: center;">None</th> </tr> </thead> <tbody> <tr><td>Toilet with flush tank</td><td><input type="checkbox"/> 11</td><td><input type="checkbox"/> 12</td><td><input type="checkbox"/> 13</td></tr> <tr><td>Bath tub or shower</td><td><input type="checkbox"/> 21</td><td><input type="checkbox"/> 22</td><td><input type="checkbox"/> 23</td></tr> <tr><td>Kitchen</td><td><input type="checkbox"/> 31</td><td><input type="checkbox"/> 32</td><td><input type="checkbox"/> 33</td></tr> <tr><td>Water main supply</td><td><input type="checkbox"/> 41</td><td><input type="checkbox"/> 42</td><td><input type="checkbox"/> 43</td></tr> </tbody> </table> <p style="margin-left: 100px;">→ Go to Question 9.</p>			Inside the unit	Outside the unit	None	Toilet with flush tank	<input type="checkbox"/> 11	<input type="checkbox"/> 12	<input type="checkbox"/> 13	Bath tub or shower	<input type="checkbox"/> 21	<input type="checkbox"/> 22	<input type="checkbox"/> 23	Kitchen	<input type="checkbox"/> 31	<input type="checkbox"/> 32	<input type="checkbox"/> 33	Water main supply	<input type="checkbox"/> 41	<input type="checkbox"/> 42	<input type="checkbox"/> 43	<p>14. Is there anyone in this household who cultivates an agricultural land as the owner or renter, who is engaged in livestock production as self-employed or employer ?</p> <p>Yes <input type="checkbox"/> 1 <input type="checkbox"/> No <input type="checkbox"/> 2</p>											
	Inside the unit	Outside the unit	None																														
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In this section record every member of the household whether they are present or not present at the time and visitors who have their usual place of residence elsewhere, beginning from the reference individual. But do not include household members, who are not present and are / will stay in hotel, nursing home, prison, hospital and military quarter for compulsory military service in TRNC for more than one year.

Number of household members and visitors present:

**SECTION IV: LIST OF HOUSEHOLD MEMBERS AND VISITORS**

Household No	Name and surname? A. Write the household members present, starting from the reference individual. B. Write the household members not present (excluding individuals abroad for education or work). C. Write individuals who are not household members as "visitors" whether they are relatives or not.	_____'s relationship to the reference individual (reference individual who are not household member as "visitors") 1. Reference individual 2. Spouse 3. Daughter / Son 4. Mother / Father 5. Sister / Brother 6. Mother in Law / Father in Law 7. Daughter in Law / Son in Law 8. Grandchild 9. Other 10. Visitor (Fill Section V Individual Questionnaire)	Is _____ present at home?	Where is _____ at the time? (If within the country write district, sub-district, village name, if abroad write country name.)	Reason of being abroad? 1. Higher education 2. Work 3. Short-term education 4. Travel, tourism 5. Duty (conference, meeting, etc.) 6. Work - visit 7. Other	Total duration of _____'s being abroad?	Date of birth?	For those who will fill Section V Individual Questionnaire put "X" sign in this column.
1	Name _____ Surname _____	1. Female <input type="checkbox"/> 2. Male <input type="checkbox"/>	1. Yes <input type="checkbox"/> 2. No <input type="checkbox"/>	1. Within the country <input type="checkbox"/> District: _____ Sub-district: _____ Village: _____ <i>Completed.</i>		1. Less than 3 months <input type="checkbox"/> 2. 3 months - 1 year <input type="checkbox"/> 3. More than 1 year <input type="checkbox"/>	Day _____ Month _____ Year _____ <i>Completed.</i>	<input type="checkbox"/>
2	Name _____ Surname _____	1. Female <input type="checkbox"/> 2. Male <input type="checkbox"/>	1. Yes <input type="checkbox"/> 2. No <input type="checkbox"/>	1. Within the country <input type="checkbox"/> District: _____ Sub-district: _____ Village: _____ <i>Completed.</i>		1. Less than 3 months <input type="checkbox"/> 2. 3 months - 1 year <input type="checkbox"/> 3. More than 1 year <input type="checkbox"/>	Day _____ Month _____ Year _____ <i>Completed.</i>	<input type="checkbox"/>
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4	Name _____ Surname _____	1. Female <input type="checkbox"/> 2. Male <input type="checkbox"/>	1. Yes <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> 2. No <input type="checkbox"/>	1. Within the country <input type="checkbox"/> District: _____ Sub-district: _____ Village: _____ <i>Completed.</i>		1. Less than 3 months <input type="checkbox"/> 2. 3 months - 1 year <input type="checkbox"/> 3. More than 1 year <input type="checkbox"/>	Day _____ Month _____ Year _____ <i>Completed.</i>	<input type="checkbox"/>
5	Name _____ Surname _____	1. Female <input type="checkbox"/> 2. Male <input type="checkbox"/>	1. Yes <input type="checkbox"/> 2. No <input type="checkbox"/>	1. Within the country <input type="checkbox"/> District: _____ Sub-district: _____ Village: _____ <i>Completed.</i>		1. Less than 3 months <input type="checkbox"/> 2. 3 months - 1 year <input type="checkbox"/> 3. More than 1 year <input type="checkbox"/>	Day _____ Month _____ Year _____ <i>Completed.</i>	<input type="checkbox"/>
6	Name _____ Surname _____	1. Female <input type="checkbox"/> 2. Male <input type="checkbox"/>	1. Yes <input type="checkbox"/> 2. No <input type="checkbox"/>	1. Within the country <input type="checkbox"/> District: _____ Sub-district: _____ Village: _____ <i>Completed.</i>		1. Less than 3 months <input type="checkbox"/> 2. 3 months - 1 year <input type="checkbox"/> 3. More than 1 year <input type="checkbox"/>	Day _____ Month _____ Year _____ <i>Completed.</i>	<input type="checkbox"/>

In this section record every member of the household whether they are present or not present at the time and visitors who have their usual place of residence elsewhere, beginning from the reference individual. But do not include household members, who are not present and are / will stay in hostel, nursing home, prison, hospital and military quarter for compulsory military service in TRNC for more than one year.

Number of household members and visitors present:

**SECTION IV: LIST OF HOUSEHOLD MEMBERS AND VISITORS**

Household member or visitor	Name of surname? A. Write the household members present, starting from the reference individual. B. Write the household members not present (including individuals abroad for education or work) C. Write individuals who are not household members as "visitor" whether they are relatives or not.	.....'s relationship to the reference individual (write in letters who are not household member as "visitor") 1. Reference individual 2. Spouse 3. Daughter / Son 4. Mother / Father 5. Sister / Brother 6. Mother in Law / Father in Law 7. Daughter in Law / Son in Law 8. Grandchild 9. Other 10. Visitor (Fill Section V Individual Questionnaire)	is _____ present at home?	Where is _____ at the time? (if within the country write district, sub-district, village name, if abroad write country name.)	Reasons of being abroad? 1. Higher Education 2. Work 3. Short-term education 4. Travel, tourism 5. Duty (on mission, meeting, etc.) 6. Work - visit 7. Other	Total duration of _____'s being abroad?	Date of birth?	For those who will fill Section V Individual Questionnaire put "X" sign in this column.
1	Name <input type="text"/> Surname <input type="text"/>	1. Female <input type="checkbox"/> 2. Male <input type="checkbox"/>	1. Yes <input type="checkbox"/> 2. No <input type="checkbox"/>	1. Within the country <input type="checkbox"/> District: <input type="text"/> Sub-district: <input type="text"/> Village: <input type="text"/> <i>Completed.</i> 2. Abroad <input type="checkbox"/> Country: <input type="text"/>		1. Less than 3 months <input type="checkbox"/> 2. 3 months - 1 year <input type="checkbox"/> 3. More than 1 year <input type="checkbox"/>	Day <input type="text"/> Month <input type="text"/> Year <input type="text"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
2	Name <input type="text"/> Surname <input type="text"/>	1. Female <input type="checkbox"/> 2. Male <input type="checkbox"/>	1. Yes <input type="checkbox"/> 2. No <input type="checkbox"/>	1. Within the country <input type="checkbox"/> District: <input type="text"/> Sub-district: <input type="text"/> Village: <input type="text"/> <i>Completed.</i> 2. Abroad <input type="checkbox"/> Country: <input type="text"/>		1. Less than 3 months <input type="checkbox"/> 2. 3 months - 1 year <input type="checkbox"/> 3. More than 1 year <input type="checkbox"/>	Day <input type="text"/> Month <input type="text"/> Year <input type="text"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
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4	Name <input type="text"/> Surname <input type="text"/>	1. Female <input type="checkbox"/> 2. Male <input type="checkbox"/>	1. Yes <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> 2. No <input type="checkbox"/>	1. Within the country <input type="checkbox"/> District: <input type="text"/> Sub-district: <input type="text"/> Village: <input type="text"/> <i>Completed.</i> 2. Abroad <input type="checkbox"/> Country: <input type="text"/>		1. Less than 3 months <input type="checkbox"/> 2. 3 months - 1 year <input type="checkbox"/> 3. More than 1 year <input type="checkbox"/>	Day <input type="text"/> Month <input type="text"/> Year <input type="text"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
5	Name <input type="text"/> Surname <input type="text"/>	1. Female <input type="checkbox"/> 2. Male <input type="checkbox"/>	1. Yes <input type="checkbox"/> 2. No <input type="checkbox"/>	1. Within the country <input type="checkbox"/> District: <input type="text"/> Sub-district: <input type="text"/> Village: <input type="text"/> <i>Completed.</i> 2. Abroad <input type="checkbox"/> Country: <input type="text"/>		1. Less than 3 months <input type="checkbox"/> 2. 3 months - 1 year <input type="checkbox"/> 3. More than 1 year <input type="checkbox"/>	Day <input type="text"/> Month <input type="text"/> Year <input type="text"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
6	Name <input type="text"/> Surname <input type="text"/>	1. Female <input type="checkbox"/> 2. Male <input type="checkbox"/>	1. Yes <input type="checkbox"/> 2. No <input type="checkbox"/>	1. Within the country <input type="checkbox"/> District: <input type="text"/> Sub-district: <input type="text"/> Village: <input type="text"/> <i>Completed.</i> 2. Abroad <input type="checkbox"/> Country: <input type="text"/>		1. Less than 3 months <input type="checkbox"/> 2. 3 months - 1 year <input type="checkbox"/> 3. More than 1 year <input type="checkbox"/>	Day <input type="text"/> Month <input type="text"/> Year <input type="text"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

**SECTION V: INDIVIDUAL QUESTIONNAIRE**

24. Your Name and Surname? Individual Order No:    
 Name  Surname

25. Your Sex? Male  Female

26. Your Date of Birth? Day  Month  Year

27. Your Place of Birth?   

TRNC	Nicosia 11	South Cyprus	Nicosia 16	3. Turkey	<input type="checkbox"/>
	Famagusta 12		Famagusta 17	4. Other Country	<input type="checkbox"/>
	Kyrenia 13		Larnaca 18		
	Güzelyurt 14		Lemesos 19		
	Iskele 15		Pafos 20		

28. Your Mother's Place of Birth? 1. TRNC  2. Turkey  3. Other Country

29. Your Father's Place of Birth? 1. TRNC  2. Turkey  3. Other Country

30. Your Citizenship? 1. TRNC  2. TRNC and Other Country  Indicate  3. TR  4. Other Country  Indicate  → Go to Question 31.

31. Your Nationality? 1. Turkish  2. Greek  3. British  4. Maronit  5. Other

32. Your TRNC Identity Card Number? (Ask those aged over 11 years)

33. Is this your usual place of residence? 1. Yes  → Go to Question 35. 2. No

34. Where do you reside? Within the Country  Abroad   
 District   
 Subdistrict  → Go to Question 35.  
 Village

35. What is your reason for being in TRNC? 1. Travel, tourism  2. Duty (conference, meeting etc.)  3. Work - visit  4. Short - term work  5. Other

36. Have you been living in TRNC since you were born? 1. Yes  → Go to Question 38. 2. No  (Indicate year)

37. What is your reason for coming to TRNC? 1. Migration from South  2. Working  3. Appointment / Duty  4. Education  5. Marriage  6. Migration due to dependence on one of the household members  7. Return to the country  8. Other

38. From which country did you come? (Do not ask those registered in TRNC) Country name

39. Where did you reside one year ago? (Do not ask those aged less than one year)  
 1. TRNC  Nicosia 11  Famagusta 12  Kyrenia 13  Güzelyurt 14  Iskele 15

40. Are you physically or mentally disabled? 1. Yes  2. No  → Go to Question 42.

41. Type of your disability? 1. Seeing disability  2. Hearing - speaking disability  3. Physical / orthopaedic disability  4. Mental disability  5. Other

*Ask those aged 6 years and over.*

42. What is the highest level of education that you have attained? 1. Never attended school  2. Primary school  3. Secondary school  4. General high school  5. Vocational and technical high school  6. Vocational higher education (2-3 years)  7. University  8. Master or doctorate

43. From which department have you been graduated?  → Go to Question 45.

44. Can you read and write? 1. Yes  2. No  → Go to Question 42.

45. Are you attending to an educational institution? 1. Yes  2. No  → Go to Question 42.

46. At which level are you continuing your education? 1. Primary school  2. Secondary school  3. General high school  4. Vocational and technical high school  5. Vocational higher education (2-3 years)  6. University  7. Master or doctorate

*Questions of those aged 16 years and less is completed.*

47. What is your marital status? 1. Never married  2. Married  3. Divorced  4. Widowed

*Ask women aged 15 years and over.*

48. Have you given birth to any live child? (Whether dead or alive now) 1. Yes  2. No  → Go to Question 52.

49. How many live children have you given birth to? 1. Female  2. Male

50. How many of the children you have given birth are alive now? 1. Female  2. Male

*Ask women aged 15 - 50 years.*

51. Within the last preceding year have you given birth to any live child? 1. Yes  → Indicate number of child  2. No

*Ask those aged 15 years and over.*

52. Did you work in any kind of job for money or for payment in any kind? (Indicate those who did not work last week by any means like house, illness, travelling etc. and for seasonal reasons as "did not work but has a job") 1. Worked  2. Did not work but has a job  3. Did not work  → Go to Question 53.

53. What kind of work did you do last week or the job that you continue to hold? (For example: farmer, mechanical engineer, bank manager, secretary, general. Do not list names like public servant, worker, self - employed.)

54. In what kind of place, institution or work - place are you working or continuing to hold a job? (For example: field, municipality, security directorate, directorate of highways, grocery, house, primary school, secondary school.)

55. What is the main activity of the place, institution or work place that you work or continue to hold a job? (For example: public service, retail trade, banking, manufacture of refrigerator, construction, stock breeding, poultry.)

56. What was your status in the place where you worked or continued to hold a job last week? 1. Employee  2. Employer  3. Self - employed  4. Unpaid family worker

57. Where is the place that you work or continue to hold a job? 1. TRNC  Nicosia 11  Famagusta 12  Kyrenia 13  Güzelyurt 14  Iskele 15

58. Are you retired from a retirement institution? 1. Yes  2. No  *Completed*

59. Are you looking for a job? 1. Yes  2. No  → Go to Question 61.

60. Did you apply for a job within the last 6 months? 1. Yes  → *Completed* 2. No

61. What is your reason for not working or not looking for a job? 1. Found one, willing to start  2. Student  3. Retired  4. House - wife  5. Income recipient  6. Seasonal worker  7. Other  *Completed*







## Is the Turkish Cypriot Population Shrinking?

The demography of north Cyprus is one of the most contested issues related to the island's division. In particular, the number of indigenous Turkish Cypriots and Turkish immigrants living in the north has long been a source of dispute, not only among the island's diplomats and politicians but also among researchers and activists. Until recently, the political use of demography has hindered comprehensive study of the ethno-demographic make-up of the north, while at the same time making a thorough demographic study all the more imperative. The present report addresses this situation by providing an analysis of the results of the 2006 census of north Cyprus, comparing these figures with the results of the previous census. The report focuses mainly on identifying the percentage of the population of north Cyprus who are of Turkish-mainland origin and also possess Turkish Cypriot citizenship – an important factor given claims that such citizens play a significant role in elections in the north. In addition, the report examines the arrival dates of Turkish nationals in order to analyze patterns of migration. This, in turn, is indicative of the numbers of naturalized Turkish Cypriot citizens who have arrived in Cyprus as part of an official policy.

The report also presents estimates for Turkish Cypriot emigration to third countries, based on immigration and census figures from the two main host countries: the United Kingdom and Australia. Following analysis of these latter figures and the results of the 2006 census, it is argued that claims of massive emigration by Turkish Cypriots to third countries are largely misleading. Contrary to the common assumption that the Turkish Cypriot population has shrunk since 1974, this study suggests that it has in fact grown. Thus, in addition to analyzing the latest census results, the report also represents a step towards improved understanding of how demography has been used in Cyprus as a means of achieving wider political goals at both the local and the international level.

### The report can be ordered from:

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### This report can be downloaded from:

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