CHANGING PATTERNS OF DISTRIBUTION OF CYPRIOT SETTLEMENT

Robin Oakley

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Abstract

The pattern of geographical *distribution* of *Cypriot immigrants in Britain is* highly *distinctive*, and *in* marked contrast to that of other *immigrant* groups from the Commonwealth. *Cypriot* settlement *in Britain* as a whole *combines* a high degree of *concentration in* London with a widespread dispersal of the remainder among towns and cities throughout *Britain*. *This* pattern is explained by the initial settlement of pre-war Cypriot immigrants in London, and their occupational success in the catering and *clothing* trades, of which only the former permitted some degree of geographical *dispersal.*

Within London, *Cypriot* settlement has been concentrated to the north of the central zone in which Cypriots initially found employment. However, although Cypriots have tended to move outwards from the central area over *time*, the degree of *residential concentration* has *remained* high, as ethnic services and employment have moved out northwards also. Contrary to the expectations of urban sociological theory, Cypriots have displayed a *'moving concentration'* rather than a dispersal process. The specific, narrowly *sectorial* pattern of *Cypriot* settlement had been explained by a variety of factors, including the availability of bus and underground routes for travel into the earlier settlement areas where employment and leisure facilities continued to be available.

Introduction

Cypriots have often not been recognised as one *of* the main Commonwealth immigrant groups in Britain, and their numbers have certainly been fewer than those *of* West Indian or South Asian origin (although the latter, particularly, comprise a number *of* different and *of* course smaller - regional and religious groups). Nonetheless, Cypriots do represent a significant segment *of* the migration *of* peoples from the underdeveloped countries *of* the Commonwealth that has taken place during the post-war period (Krausz 1971, ch.1). They share the predominantly peasant agricultural background *of* most *of* the other Commonwealth immigrant groups and the possession *of* a distinctive language and distinctive traditional culture generally. Where they differ from other Commonwealth immigrant groups (apart from in cultural background) lies in two main respects. First, their settlement is highly concentrated in London (and indeed in certain parts *of* it), with the consequence that so far as most *of* Britain's population is concerned,
Cypriots are largely unnoticed and unknown. Secondly, they are not the bearers *of* a noticeably dark skin colour nor *of* any other particularly distinctive features and so they have not, by and large, been the recipients *of* racially exclusionist behaviour (Daniel 1968, p.6li; Smith 1977, p.ll0).

A white minority ethnic group accordingly commands interest for its potential to test for the significance *of* the 'racial exclusion' factor on the circumstances *of* immigrant minorities in Britain. Conversely, it enables a clearer view to be taken *of* the force *of* cultural variables in shaping choice among the economic and other opportunities available to immigrant groups (Ballard and Driver 1977). These considerations apply in the case *of* Cypriots hut they do not do so in an entirely straightforward manner. For among Cypriots there is also a further differentiation in terms *of* ethnic identification and culture - that between Greek Cypriots and Turkish Cypriots. The significance *of* this ethnic sub-division for the distribution *of* Cypriot settlement in Britain is a matter I shall return to later in the paper. It should be noted, however, that both Greeks and Turks *of* Cypriot origin form largely distinct groups from those originating from Greece and Turkey, who are not included within the scope *of* the present paper.

The study *of* patterns *of* distribution *of* settlement *of* social groups has a particular appeal within the social sciences, an appeal expressed most strongly in some *of* the more positivistic statements *of* the Chicago sociologist Robert E. Park. Park claimed that the reduction *of* social relations to spatial relations would permit sociology to attain the (supposed) objectivity and capacity for precise measurement *of* the physical sciences, thus elevating sociology to a plane *of* methodological rigour that had hitherto eluded it

(Park 1926; see also "Introduction" to Peach et al. 1981). What was not always clear, however, was whether the spatial dimension was deterministic of patterns of social relations or whether it was merely expressive of them. In so far as the latter was the case, this view would seem compatible with a second strand in Park's sociological thinking, that of social relations as interactional in character (Jackson and Smith 1981), i.e. of allowing also for choice and mutual determination within the context of a framework of meaning. From the point of view of the individual actor therefore (and thus of the social group), settlement patterns could be seen as an outcome of a combination of elements of 'choice' and 'constraint'.

The study of patterns of distribution of immigrant groups in Britain has been characterised by a debate cast largely in such terms. In the earlier of *two* studies of race relations in inner-city Birmingham Rex and Moore (J 967) employed an 'urban sociological' perspective, largely derived from that of Park and his Chicago colleagues, holding that the pattern of segregation of immigrant groups in the Sparkbrook area was largely a result of a process of racial exclusion. This view, especially in so far as it was taken to imply a generalisation about ethnic relations in Britain broadly, was countered by, among others, Badr Dahya (1974.), who pointed out that Pakistani immigrants in Britain had a number of social and economic reasons for preferring separate or different residential areas from the majority ethnic group and therefore tended to practise segregation voluntarily.

Subsequent research has been addressed to both national patterns and local variations as well as to the experiences of different ethnic groups (for examples of more recent work see Peach et al. 1981, and Jackson and Smith 1981). The specific groups studied, however, have mainly been 'black' or 'coloured' immigrant groups rather than 'white' ones - i.e. Asian or West Indian groups (though see Connell 1970 on Jews in Leeds and the various studies by Boal and others in Northern Ireland). Where white minority ethnic groups of New Commonwealth origin have been included on a comparative basis, the Census-based category "New Commonwealth Mediterranean" has usually been adopted, thus combining Cypriots with those originating in Malta or Gibraltar. One of the more substantial and systematic studies, referred to in more detail below, is that by Lee (J 977;
see also 1973) who analyses the residential patterns of immigrant groups in London. Lee
includes a category of 'white' immigrants ('Cypriot/Maltese') in his comparison of different ethnic groups, which is based on Census statistics. His study is primarily concerned with the West Indian group, and the Cypriot/Maltese group is referred to only intermittently and by way of contrast. In another study, in this case of occupational rather than residential concentration (Mayhew and Rosewell 1978), Cypriots are separated from others of Mediterranean origin and are incorporated in a residual and

very disparate category of "Other New Commonwealth". (Indeed the occupational characteristic of this residual group, virtually un-remarked by the authors, contrasts sharply with other ethnic groups identified, principally on account of the distinctive features of Cypriot occupations). For these reasons, therefore, it is not possible to deduce from previous work any coherent picture of the specific circumstances and significance of the Cypriot group as such.

In the present paper l it is my intention to present a more detailed account of the settlement patterns of the Cypriot group, and especially of Cypriot settlement in London. More precisely, I have set out to document the changing distribution of Cypriot settlement during the post-war period (from the end of the war until the 1970s) and to seek in the correlates of such change some possible factors of explanation. In the light of this analysis I attempt to draw out certain conclusions about both general trends and factors regarding patterns of ethnic segregation in post-war Britain and in particular the role of elements of 'constraint' and 'choice'.

The principal data-base is the evidence .from successive post-war Censuses, ranging from 1951 to 1971, for the more recent of which I have made use of a number of unpublished tabulations.2 The Census data are supplemented by data drawn from other sources and from personal background knowledge of the Cypriot community. Most of the data for earlier years are drawn from my doctoral thesis on Cypriot migration (Oakley) 971). Preliminary inspection of available 1981 Census data has indicated that the trends and patterns identified above are continuing.3

Growth of Settlement in Britain

Cypriot migration to Britain is not merely a post-war phenomenon. Already by the outbreak of war in 1939 there was a community of some 7-8,000 Cypriots in this country, a settlement which seems to have been entirely confined to London (Oakley 1987 and in preparation). Emigration to Britain began soon after the First World War and although during the 1920s numbers remained small, in the mid to late 1930s many thousands of Cypriots made their way to Britain. The scale was such that from 1937 the colonial government introduced its own regulations for the conditions of issue of passports to emigrating islanders. Those who came to Britain appear to have been almost exclusively Greek Cypriots at this time. The great majority were young adult males: most were single, and the married ones, as was usual for emigrants at this period, came without their wives. The migrants found work mainly in the kitchens of hotels and restaurants in the West End of London, the more successful among them rising to supervisory positions or becoming waiters. They lived in rooms or lodging-houses in and around the Upper Soho

district: the area in which several Cypriot cafes and a few other small Cypriot businesses were set up during the late 1930s. This nucleus of pre-war Cypriot settlement was to have considerable significance for the pattern of settlement that developed in the post-war period.

After the war, the movement to Britain picked up again, many of the migrants being servicemen demobilised from the Cyprus Regiment which had been disbanded.1I Economic conditions in Cyprus together with employment opportunities in Britain combined to attract Cypriots (now Turkish as well as Greek) in rising numbers until the introduction of the first Commonwealth Immigrants Act in 1962. But it was as much, if not more, the changed economic climate in Britain than the 1962 Act itself that checked the migration. Nonetheless, for two to three more years Cypriot workers in more modest numbers continued to enter Britain under the special provision for sponsored job-holders, and it was only after 1965 that Cypriot migration was effectively curtailed. Between the end of the war and the time of the 1966 Census almost 75,000 Cypriots had emigrated from Cyprus to Britain (Oakley 1971, p.2?). Not all of these had stayed permanently in Britain of course and at the 1971 Census some 72,270 persons born in Cyprus were enumerated. Allowing for some 20,000 children born in Britain to Cypriot parents, the total size of the Cypriot community in Britain in 1971 was some 100,000 persons.

The great majority of Cypriot immigrants in Britain were migrants who arrived during the first two post-war decades. Subsequently, the number of new migrants has been small. Unlike some other Commonwealth groups, such as the South Asians, there has not been a continuing inflow of dependents, since in the post-war period Cypriots who were married tended to travel as a unit, or alternatively, with the wife and any children following the husband at a few months remove (Oakley 1979). It may be noted, however, that in *19711-5* there was one further inflow of Cypriots: these were the refugees and displaced persons who came as a consequence of Turkey's military occupation of northern Cyprus and the de facto partition of the island into separate Greek-Cypriot and Turkish Cypriot domains. An estimated 10,000 refugees originally entered Britain but the majority returned to the island and only some 3,000 eventually remained. No account is taken of this most recent phase of Cypriot migration in the present paper.

Demographically, then, Cypriot immigrants to Britain primarily constituted a cohort of immigrants consisting of young adults of both sexes together with young children who arrived during the 1950s and early 1960s. This group now form a modally middle-aged population and /T1any of their children are already themselves young adults forming their own families. Among them, Greek and Turkish Cypriots are present in overall proportion roughly as in Cyprus itself, i.e. in a ratio of about four to one.

I have already noted that in the pre-war period Cypriot settlement was exclusively concentrated in London. What has been the pattern of distribution of settlement across Britain as a whole during post-war times? The short answer to this question is that Cypriots have continued to be highly concentrated within London (Table O. At the time of the 1971 Census the proportion of those born in Cyprus who were resident in Greater London was far higher than for any other major New Commonwealth birthplace group. Seventy-three per cent of Cypriots were resident in London, as compared with 56% of West Indians (the next highest group), *119%* of Africans, *311%* of Indians, and 22% of Pakistanis - the overall percentage of New Commonwealth immigrants in Greater London being *112%* (Census 1971a). The Cypriot settlement pattern is therefore strikingly atypical in character and calls for explanation in terms that at least in part must be specific to the Cypriot experience.

T ABLE I

Concentration of Cvprus-Born Population in Greater London 1931-1971

Year	England & Wales	Greater London	%
1951	10,208	7,983	78.2
1961	*111,898*	*311,0110*	81.2
1966	59,200	*115,000*	76.0
1971	72,270	53,095	73.5

Source: Population Censuses

Outside London, Cypriot ,settlement involves almost exclusively Greek-Cypriots,5 and is highly dispersed geographically.6 Numbers are higher within those sections of the SouthEast Region that border upon Greater London, but this region apart, Cypriots are distributed in relatively small numbers throughout all areas of the British Isles, without any other regional concentration (see Table 10. There is some propensity for Cypriots outside London to have settled in other major conurbations, and the high figure for Cypriot concentration in conurbations generally might suggest at first sight that this as such is the key to the distribution of Cypriot settlement in the provinces. A closer inspection of Census data shows that this is far from being the case, since the conurbation concentration is almost entirely accounted for by the Greater London element, while the great majority of Cypriots outside London prove to be dispersed at a

TABLE 11

Regional Distribution of Cyprus-born Population of Great Britain. 1971

	Cyprus	All New Commonwealth	
	No.	%	%
NORTH REGION	815	1.1	1.5
Tyneside Conurbation	110	0.2	0.4
YORKSHIRE & HUMBERSIDE REGION	1590	2.2	6.7
West Yorkshire Conurbation	610	0.8	4.8
NORTH WEST REGION	2370	3.2	7.1
South East Lancs Conurbation	1170	1.6	4.1
Merseyside Conurbation	575	0.8	0.8
EAST MIDLANDS REGION	1535	2.1	5.3
WEST MIDLANDS REGION	2545	3.5	13.7
West Midlands Conurbation	1510	2.1	10.5
EAST ANGLIA REGION	1110	1.5	1.5
SOUTH EAST REGION	59125	80.7	56.3
Greater London Coburbation	53095	72.4	41.2
Outer Metropolitan Area	2885	3.9	9.2
SOUTH WEST REGION	2460	3.4	4.1
WALES	720	1.0	1.2
SCOTLAND	1025	1.4	2.7
GREAT BRITAIN TOTAL	73295	100	100

Source: Census 1971a

more localised level among a large number of lesser towns and cities. This indeed is most clearly evident from examination of the Greek Orthodox Church's wide-ranging network of parish organisations. This reflects the fact that wherever even a small settlement has been established, provision for Greek Orthodox worship is made (and in due course a formal parish and church established). Many organised settlements involve a few hundred persons only (or less), although in some cases (such as in Birmingham, Manchester and Leeds) the scale involves several thousand.

The manner in which these Cypriot settlements outside London have grown up and developed is a topic that can only be touched on briefly in this paper. In some cases the origin is associated with a pre-existing, but non-Cypriot, Greek nucleus of settlement, as in Manchester, Liverpool and Cardiff. Here, as in London itself in the nineteenth century, Greek trading families had established a small local community and church (Dowling and Fletcher 1915). In most instances though, the development owes its origin to one or more 'pioneer settlers' who, moving out of London after the war with savings to invest in business, opened restaurants, cafes or seaside hotels, and brought over relatives to help staff them, just as was done by entrepreneurs in London (Oakley 1979). In this way small, often close-knit, Cypriot communities, based on ethnic business enterprise, have developed in a large number of towns and cities up and down the country. By and large, their restriction to this economic base has limited their expansion, and being dependent on sponsored recruitment of additional labour direct from Cyprus, their growth has been effectively checked since the micf-1960s. Cypriot population movement between London and the provinces is very small, according to the 1971 Census'? and so provincial settlements are phenomena that have grown up largely independently of developments within the main settlement area in the metropolis.

Distribution of Settlement in London

The distribution of Cypriot settlement in London shows a clear pattern of concentration and dispersal through time. Broadly speaking, Cypriots began by settling in the central area in and around the West End, and subsequently have extended steadily outwards, chiefly to the north, though to some extent also across the River Thames to the south. Very little settlement has taken place in the areas to the west and east of the central zone, although in small numbers at least, Cypriots may be found in almost any part of Greater London.

Before the war, settlement was largely confined to the West End area within the old borough of Holborn, St. Marylebone and St. Pancras (Oakley, in preparation). Turning to the post war period,8 by 1951, settlement had extended well north of the Euston and

Pentonville Roads, into Cam den and the neighbouring borough of Islington.9 By 1961, Islington had become the borough with by far the largest number of Cypriot immigrants since it had been the principal 'reception area' for migrants during the preceding decade. At this time, movement into boroughs further north remained limited to the southern parts of Haringey, and to a lesser extent into adjacent Hackney. In addition, settlement in boroughs south of the river had also become well established (chiefly in Southwark), though not at all on a scale corresponding to that to the north (see Diagram
.p.

During the subsequent decade of the 1960s, as shown by the 1966 and 197J Censuses, the distribution of Cypriot settlement at the borough level underwent substantial change. Camden, which incorporates much of the original area of settlement, now ceased to be a major area of Cypriot population, while Haringey to the north, had by 1971 become by far the largest borough of Cypriot settlement in Greater London. Further north still, Enfield emerged as a borough of substantial settlement, along with (to a lesser extent) Barnet to the west. To the south, the boroughs immediately across the river continued to feature as before. (see Diagram II)

The trend of these changes in the spatial distribution of Cypriots in London can be highlighted by examining the percentage change in the Cyprus-born population of the various areas. In the most general terms, the change can be described as a shift of population from the inner to the outer boroughs. Between 1966 and 1971 the Cypriot population of the inner boroughs declined by 6.9%, while that of the outer boroughs increased by 62.6%. During this time, however, the Cyprus-born population of the capital as a whole had increased by 18%, so it is obviously necessary to consider boroughs individually if a picture of actual population movement is to be gained with any validity.

DIAGRAM 1

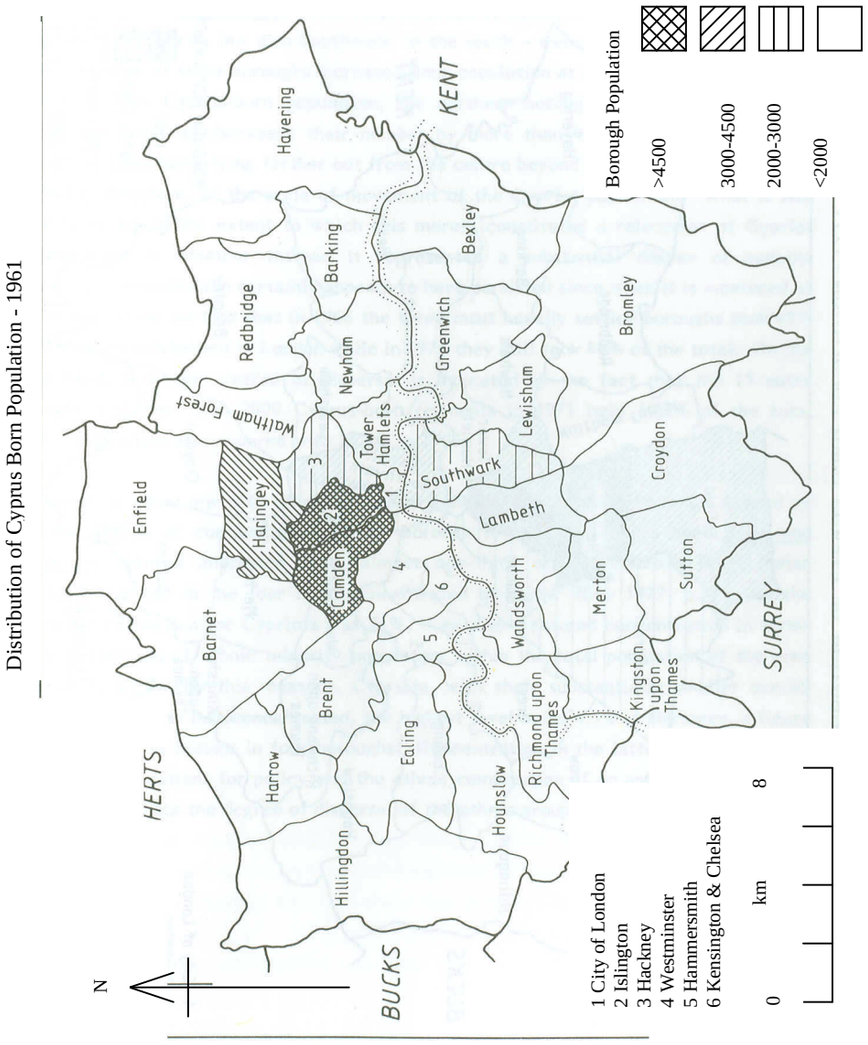
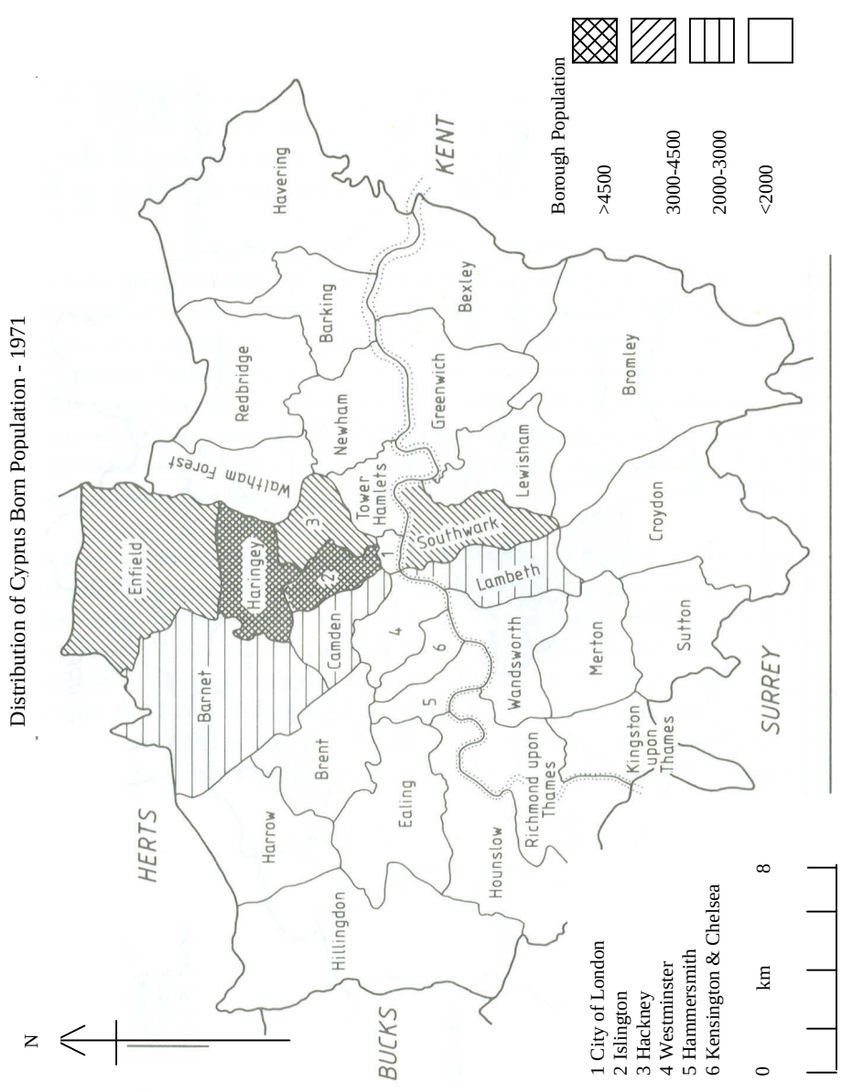


DIAGRAM_ II



Focussing on the major borough of settlement already identified, one can indicate a clear pattern of population movement outwards from the centre during the period 1966 to 1971 (see Table III and Diagram III). The original areas of settlement - chiefly Camden and Islington to the north, but also Southwark to the south - were net losers of population, while a number of outer boroughs increased their population at a rapid rate. Of boroughs with over 1500 Cyprus-born population, the northern boroughs of Haringey, Enfield, Barnet and Brent all increased their number by more than 1j.0%, as had the southern borough of Lewisham, lying farther out from the centre beyond Southwark. There can be no doubt, therefore, of the scale of movement of the Cypriot population. What is less clear however, is the extent to which this merely constituted a relocation of Cypriot concentration or whether instead it represented a substantial degree of genuine dispersal. Concentration certainly appears to have persisted since when it is measured at the borough level we find that in 1966 the three most heavily settled boroughs took 1j.9% of all Cypriot settlement in London while in 1971 they still took 1j.1j.% of the total. On the other hand, a modest degree of dispersal is indicated by the fact that the 15 outer .boroughs with less than 2000 Cyprus-born residents in 1971 held 11j..2% of the total London population as compared with 10.896 in 1966.

Compared to other minority ethnic groups in London, the Cypriots certainly showed an extreme degree of concentration at the borough level. Lee, in his book Race and Residence, seemed impressed that "almost one-third of the London's West Indian population resided in the four most concentrated boroughs" (Lee 1977, p.l7), yet the equivalent proportion for Cypriots was 51 %. Lee also measured concentration in terms of the proportion of ethnic minority population within the total population of the area (Lee 1977, p.15). By this measure, Cypriots, with their substantially smaller overall numbers, feature as less concentrated, the highest level being 1j..9% in Haringey, a figure exceeded by West Indians in four boroughs. Concentration in the latter sense may have important implications for policy and the ethnic composition of an area, but it does not necessarily indicate the degree of dispersal of the ethnic group.

TABLE III

Cyprus-Born Population of Greater London By Main Boroughs of Settlement 1961-71

	1961	1966	1971	% Change 1966-71	
Inner Boroughs					
Islington	9,760	10,300	7,300	-29.1	
Hackney	2,319*	3,400	3,985	+17.2	
Southwark	2,000*	3,410	3,310	-2.9	
Camden	4,728	3,690	2,850	-22.8	
Lambeth	1,709*	1,680	2,265	+34.8	
Lewisham	507	910	1,535	+68.7	
All Inner Boroughs		n.a.	28,890	26,900	-6.9
Outer Boroughs					
Haringey	(2,833)	7,960	11,865	+119.1	
Enfield	*444**	1,211	*11,020*	*+2211.2*	
Barnet	(508)	0	*2,6110*	*+1111.3*	
Brent	983	1,830	1,750	+53.5	
All Other Boroughs		*1,111 0*	16,110	26,200	+62.6
All Greater London		n.a.	*115,000*	53,095	+18.0

Notes:

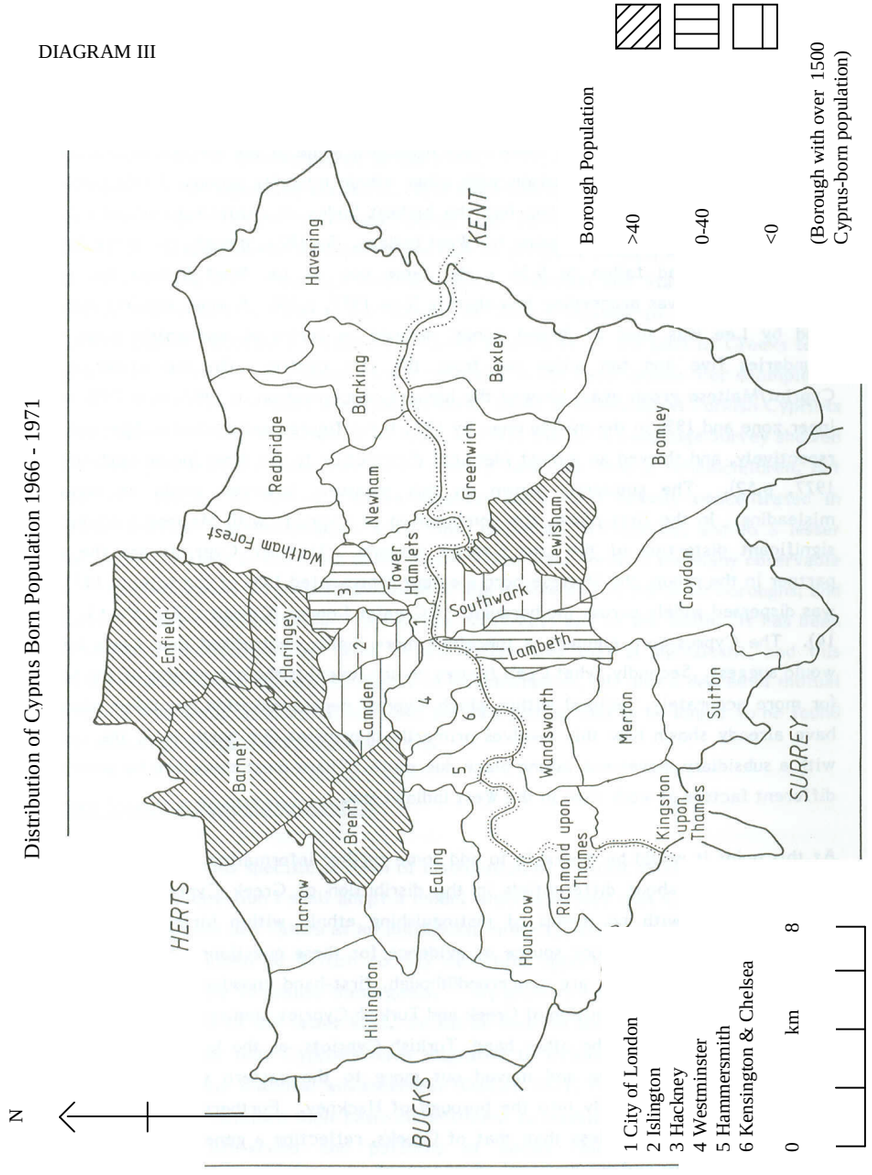
a) Asterisked figures include a minor element of estimation due to discrepancies between pre- and post-I9611 borough boundaries, or to numbers in pre-I9611 boroughs being too few to classify.

b) Bracketed figures omit one whole pre-I9611 borough for which numbers are not available.

c) Discrepancy between 1971 total and borough aggregation derives from source.

Source: Population Censuses.

DIAGRAM III



The pattern of distribution of Cypriot settlement in London is therefore quite specific to the Cypriot group, and is characterised by a high degree of concentration at borough level, along with a shift in the locus of this concentration outwards from the central area, primarily directly north. Lee's study highlights some of the distinctive features of the Cypriot pattern by comparison with other ethnic minority groups. Lee's combined Cypriot/Maltese birthplace group had the highest 'index of centralisation', of 0.53, in 1961; the next highest figure being for West Indians. By 1971, though, the index for the Cypriot group had fallen to 0.36 - the same now as for West Indians for whom decentralisation was proceeding less sharply (Lee 1977, p.53). A more explicit measure used by Lee was that of 'broad zones' defined in terms of concentric rings with boundaries five and ten miles out from the city centre. On this criterion the Cypriot/Maltese group again showed the highest concentration in 1961, with 76% in the inner zone and 19% in the middle one. By 1971 these figures had shifted to 50% and 44% respectively, and showed an almost identical distribution to the West Indian pattern (Lee 1977, p.52). The similarity shown on this measure, however, could be seriously misleading. In the first place, the combination of Cypriots with Maltese introduces a significant distortion of the true Cypriot pattern. Although Cypriots are the main partner in the group, the Maltese-born element represented 14% of the total in 1971 and was dispersed widely across the boroughs of Greater London (Census 1971c, Part I, Table 14). The Cyprus-born element is therefore more highly centralised than Lee's figures would suggest. Secondly, what Lee's figures do not reveal is the narrowness of the sector (or more accurately, sectors) within which Cypriot decentralisation has taken place. I have already shown how this involves primarily movement due north from the centre, with a subsidiary movement taking place due south. There must therefore be some very different factors at work than in the West Indian case.

A t this point it would be desirable to add some further information, both ahout change since 1971, and about differentials in the distribution of Greek Cypriots and Turkish Cypriots. But with no means of distinguishing ethnic within birthplace groups in Censuses, there is no major source of evidence for these questions. So far as ethnic differentials in particular are concerned though, first-hand knowledge leaves no doubt that the settlement distribution of Greek and Turkish Cypriot immigrants overlapped to a substantial degree. On the other hand, Turkish Cypriots, as the later arrivals, settled initially more in Islington and moved out more to the eastern side of the Cypriot settlement area, especially into the borough of Hackney. Furthermore, the ~ of their decentralisation is less than that of Greeks, reflecting a generally lower level of material well-being and occupational advancement.

The one data source that can potentially provide reliable statistical information of this sort is the record of language and ethnic origin of children in schools. The ILEA have regularly maintained records of this type, but since the DES ceased to require collection of birthplace data on schoolchildren in the early 1970s, most outer London boroughs do not possess any corresponding statistics. It is therefore not possible to use such a source to provide a full picture of recent trends and ethnic differentials in settlement patterns. A certain amount of information can be gleaned, though, about inner London boroughs from the ILEA language censuses (ILEA Research and Statistics Group). In particular, the steady decline in the number of Greeks relative to Turks in the ILEA school population indicates a persistently higher propensity on the part of Greeks to be geographically mobile from London's inner boroughs to the outer areas. For example, in the late 1960s, Greek-Cypriots were almost three times as numerous as Turkish Cypriots in Inner London schools. A decade or so later, in 1978, the ILEA Language Survey showed that Greek was stilI the most common minority language among schoolchildren, but Turkish was closing up behind. Greek-speakers were most heavily concentrated in Islington, whereas Turkish-speakers were most numerous in Hackney, and to a lesser extent in the boroughs to the south of the river. These data confirm the many observable signs of Greek-Cypriot preponderance north of the centre and in the outer boroughs, and of Turkish-Cypriot concentration more to the north-east and to the south. It has been the overlap in distribution, as much as the differences that is significant, and this reflects not only the substantial similarity in circumstances, but also a degree of mutual acceptance and social interaction between the two groups that is no longer to be found on the island' of Cyprus itself (Ladbury 1977).

Factors Affecting Spatial Distribution

What accounts for this specific pattern of distribution of Cypriot settlement in London? In answering this question I shall adopt a model which supposes that Cypriot immigrants hold specific motives and values as an immigrant minority, and that a number of factors in the new environment of British society constitute opportunities and constraints as regards their capacity to realise these goals. ID My primary concern in the present paper is to explore factors of the latter kind. So far as motives are concerned, I merely note for present purposes that Cypriots have migrated to Britain primarily for economic reasons, i.e. to attain material advancement (Oakley 1971, Part I). As regards values, adult migrants have retained their basic commitment to traditional Cypriot social values, both as regards life-styles and patterns of social relationships (Oaldey 1970; Constantinides 1977). Residential proximity is therefore desired both as a means to maintaining these and as an end in itself. The desire to maintain or recreate social relationships is particularly important in this respect, and the capacity of Cypriots to

achieve this has been considerably enhanced by the 'chain' character of the migration process, in which individuals and families moved along lines of kinship and patronage, thus reconstituting groups and relationships in the British setting (Oakley 1979). This factor in turn has affected the use Cypriots have made of employment and housing opportunities. I now turn, therefore, to consider the role of such environmental factors in shaping Cypriot residential patterns, examining first employment, then housing patterns, and finally considering some specifically geographical factors.

(a) Employment Patterns

I have already described how the early pre-war settlers in London found employment mainly within the catering industry. After the war, despite the growth in settlement over several decades, this pattern of industrial and occupational specialisation persisted, along with some diversification into the clothing industry and into other service occupations (such as hairdressing, shoe repairs, and other traditional types of craft-skill work) and into the distributive trades. What was happening here was what I have described elsewhere as the development of a specific form of ethnic economy, with both internally and externally oriented components (Oakley 1970). Internally, retail and traditional craft-skill services were offered to make the first-hand provision for the consumer needs of the ethnic community, while externally, clothing and catering production oriented to the wider economy provided employment on a larger scale and also earnings drawn from outside. Of course, Cypriots are also engaged in a wider range of occupations than those just mentioned. What is significant, however, is that these occupational areas accounted for some two-thirds of Cypriot men in employment in 1961, and that this pattern of occupational concentration remained essentially unchanged through 1966 and 1971.11 The same must be said of Cypriot women's occupational distribution which has remained highly concentrated in clothing work. It is therefore not any change in occupational distribution, but rather the lack of it that may account (if only in part) for the specific development of Cypriot spatial distribution in London. Two particular features call for further exploration.

The first is that in the pre- and early post-war years, the Cypriot specialisation in the catering and clothing trades entailed working in the restaurants and hotels, and the small sweated workshops, located in London's West End. Many women clothing workers worked at home, but they too needed to be close to their employers for fetching and delivering. Residence therefore needed to be within easy reach of the West End, and this accounts for the fact that the early post-war residential distributions show a particularly high degree of centralisation. A corollary of this has meant that it is within this centralised zone that 'ethnic service' provision has grown up, entailing a further range of

employment opportunities as already described, and thus further pressure to maintain centralisation.

The second feature, which must be introduced to explain subsequent developments in the first, concerns changes in the ethnic economy as such. :As migrants began to accumulate savings, many were able to realise a characteristic Cypriot (and especially Greek) ideal of attaining personal autonomy and il)dependence in the sphere of work, i.e. by becoming self-employed. Cypriots were initially helped in this direction by their wartime fortune in being able to take over many cafes and restaurants from Italians, and the scale of ethnic business grew rapidly, not only in catering and other services, but also in the clothing trade where Cypriot entrepreneurs began to compete with their erstwhile Jewish employers. In this way, there has taken place a steady shift in the pattern of socioeconomic status among Cypriot immigrants, reflected no doubt also in the level of earnings. In 1961, there were already 2096 of Cypriots self-employed, either as employees/managers of small establishments, or as own-account workers, and this had risen to 2796 in 1971, despite the fact that many young people who had migrated as children would also by then have become included in the total numbers of those in employment.12 Not only does this indicate material advance on the part of those involved, but also a significant rise in status in terms of the traditional values of the Cypriot community.

This development may of course be linked up to changes in housing patterns and I shall return to this point in the following section. But while on the one hand the necessarily central location of much of the externally-oriented Cypriot employment acts as a constraint on decentralisation, on the other hand, the growth of self-employment (and the development of Cypriot enterprise within the clothing trade in particular) has permitted a greater flexibility as to the location of workplaces. Hence, ethnic businesses have to a certain extent followed rather than predetermined the location of Cypriot settlement, with clothing factories - and, of course, retail and craft services offered to the community - being increasingly located further out *from* central London.13 What has been happening therefore, at least up to a point, is that the ethnic economy is itself moving outwards along with the residential settlement, thus enabling the high level of residential concentration to be maintained despite the trend towards decentralisation.

(b) Housing Patterns

I have already commented that a general (if unequally distributed) rise in the standard of economic well-being among Cypriots in London is to be associated with changes in housing and residential patterns. This may be demonstrated by examining indices *for*

housing characteristics of the Cyprus-born population as revealed in successive Censuses.l4

Occupancy rates show the change clearly. In 1961, over half of Cypriot households in London had an occupancy rate in excess of one person per room, whereas by 1971 the proportion had fallen to 28%. Low density occupation rose correspondingly, with densities of ~ one person per room rising from one-fifth of the total in 1961 to 45% in 1971. (It should be noted that these figures exaggerate the degree of change slightly, due to a change in room definition between the 1961 and 1966 Censuses). The change is more effectively revealed by contrasting the occupancy rates of Cypriot households in inner and outer boroughs. Thus in 1971, 39% of Cypriot households in Islington had an occupancy rate in excess of one per room, as compared with 22% in Haringey and only 14% in Enfield. On the other hand, 71% of Enfield households had a density of less than one per room, as compared with only 40% in Islington.

Along with the move to more spacious and generally better quality housing has come a considerable shift in the pattern of tenure. The level of owner-occupation has increased sharply, although a large minority remain in privately rented accommodation. The proportion of owner-occupied households in London generally has increased between 1961 and 1971 from just over one-third to one-half (the figure for all birthplace groups in 1971 being two-fifths). But the shift is again more evident if inner and outer boroughs are compared. In Cam den, for example, only 18% of Cypriot households are owner occupiers, although in Islington the figure is much higher at 34%. In Haringey, by contrast, 67% of households are owner-occupiers, while in Enfield to the north the figure is over 80%.

Clearly where the proportion of owner-occupation is so high, little use is made of rented or local authority provision. In the inner areas, though, privately rented provision has continued to be of importance, with furnished accommodation being used by as many as 35% of households in Islington, where, as the principal 'reception area' for settlement in the 1950s and early 1960s, most of the investment by Cypriot landlords in multi-occupiable dwellings had taken place. Use of local authority provision has increased since 1961, but in the outer areas like Haringey and Enfield was virtually non-existent, being largely confined to inner boroughs such as Cam den, and also Southwark, where households that had not moved out had become eligible for and had taken up council tenancies.

Housing patterns such as these suggested that Cypriots have been able to exercise a relative degree of choice in housing matters as compared with other minority ethnic

groups. Of course Cypriots have like other groups been affected by a number of general changes in housing patterns in inner-city areas, such as the decline in private rented housing, Council redevelopment, and the process of gentrification. The latter may have particularly affected Cypriots insofar as they were initially concentrated in the boroughs of Camden and Islington - two inner London boroughs which have been especially subject to this process. On the other hand, surveys of racial discrimination have indicated very little experience of discrimination among Cypriots, just as for other white minority groups. A number of Cypriot estate agents have been well-established in north London for two decades or more, thus mediating Cypriot access for the housing market. These factors together with increased self-employment and general material advancement have enabled many Cypriots to realise cultural aspirations for higher quality owner-occupied housing, and to do so in proximity to their fellow-Cypriots and to ethnic services and employment.

An outcome of this process has been a high level of concentration of Cypriots at both ward and ED levels in settlement areas of this kind. Lee's data on ward concentration of ethnic groups shows the index of dissimilarity from the majority population (ID) for the Cypriot/Maltese group to be 45, as compared with the highest figure of 49 for the West Indian group. In both cases the degree of segregation had declined since 1961 by some 6 to 7 points (Lee 1977, p.64). As already noted, patterns distinctive to the Cypriot group may be masked by their combination with the Maltese. Peach, using disaggregated data, has in fact shown that the ID for Cypriots alone is higher by more than two points than that of the West Indians, with Cypriot immigrants thus having the highest index of dissimilarity from the native-born population of all birthplace groups analysed (Peach 1975a). Again, using an 'index of concentration' derived from location quotient scores for wards, Lee found that the proportion of Cypriot/Maltese living in wards with high concentration levels was on the decline, although he noted that where ward concentration was highest, the levels of concentration had increased (Lee 1977, pp.6162). I myself have looked more closely at the social composition at ED level in wards of this kind, and it is striking that in no case was density in excess of one-third, although a substantial number of ED's in the more concentrated settlement areas held in the region of 20% of Cyprus-born population. 15 If children born in Britain were to be included in these figures, it could well be that towards one-half of the population of some of these ED's would be ethnically Cypriot.l6

(c) Geographical Factors

Despite all these considerations of employment factors and of, housing and residential preferences, the question still remains: why have Cypriots developed their particular

sectorial pattern of distribution and change in their settlement in London? Parts of the explanation, such as reasons for centralisation and decentralisation, have already been given. But why have Cypriots not moved out eastwards or westwards from the centre, let alone diagonally? Why, moreover, has the main movement been to the north rather than to the south?

One factor contributing to this pattern is undoubtedly the availability of appropriate housing stock and its location. This in particular would explain why Cypriots have not moved out into the east side of London, where traditional working-class housing has been superseded by redevelopment and by local authority estates further beyond. Nonetheless, housing for owner-occupation and rental comparable to that in north London may be found in many other parts of the metropolis.

A second possible factor takes the form of locational barriers. Given the location of Cypriot work-places in the West End, both to the east (the City) and to the west (high class residential areas), geographical barriers lay between work and potential residential areas. To the south, the river and the riverside functional zones also lay between work and potential housing, though in this direction the barrier was slighter, and settlement in boroughs on the south bank did take place as I have shown. On the north side, however, appropriate housing for the pre- and early post-war settlers lay directly adjacent to the
original Soho centre of Cypriot activities. Mornington Crescent and Cam den Town became the initial residential areas for Cypriot migrants, who could take one of a variety of buses down the Tottenham Court Road to get to and from work. After the war, Camden Town itself became a social if not employment centre for Cypriots in London, with the first Greek-Cypriot church together with shops, cafes, and other services, to the
extent that it became known locally as 'Little Cyprus'.

The choice of the northern side for settlement on account of the lack of barriers still left open a number of possibilities for further developments in Cypriot residential patterns in London. The first of these developments was dictated primarily by the substantial inflow of immigrants from Cyprus during the 1950s and early 1960s. At this stage, cheap and accessible housing was at a premium, and so the adjacent borough of Islington (to the east of Cam den on the inner ring of the pre-I964- boroughs) became the major 'reception area' for settlement at that time.

The choice of Islington, and in particular the Caledonian Road, again highlighted the crucial factor of communications in explaining Cypriot settlement patterns in London. The bus route 14-, in this instance, could take Cypriots directly down into the Tottenham Court Road, and thus into the West End. And in the same way, as Cypriots began to seek

improved quality housing, particularly for owner-occupation, so it has been that they have moved successively out along the bus and also underground routes that lead back into the central area (see Map). But route 134- runs out through Camden Town to Archway and Muswell Hill (on the edge of Haringey borough) to Barnet. Bus route 29 perhaps the Cypriot bus route - runs out also through Camden Town, then to the northeast a little to Finsbury Park, and then due north up Green Lanes through the heart of Haringey borough to Wood Green and on eventually to Enfield. Bus route 14-, which takes in Islington rather than Camden Town proceeds up the Caledonian Road to Holloway and Hornsey Rise. Between them, these three bus routes link almost all the major locations of Cypriot settlement north of the river with the main areas of Cypriot social and economic activity, especially at the centre. They are supplemented by the facility of the Northern and Piccadilly Underground Lines, which link the inner and outer zones of the Cam den and Haringey/Islington areas respectively with one another and with the West End.

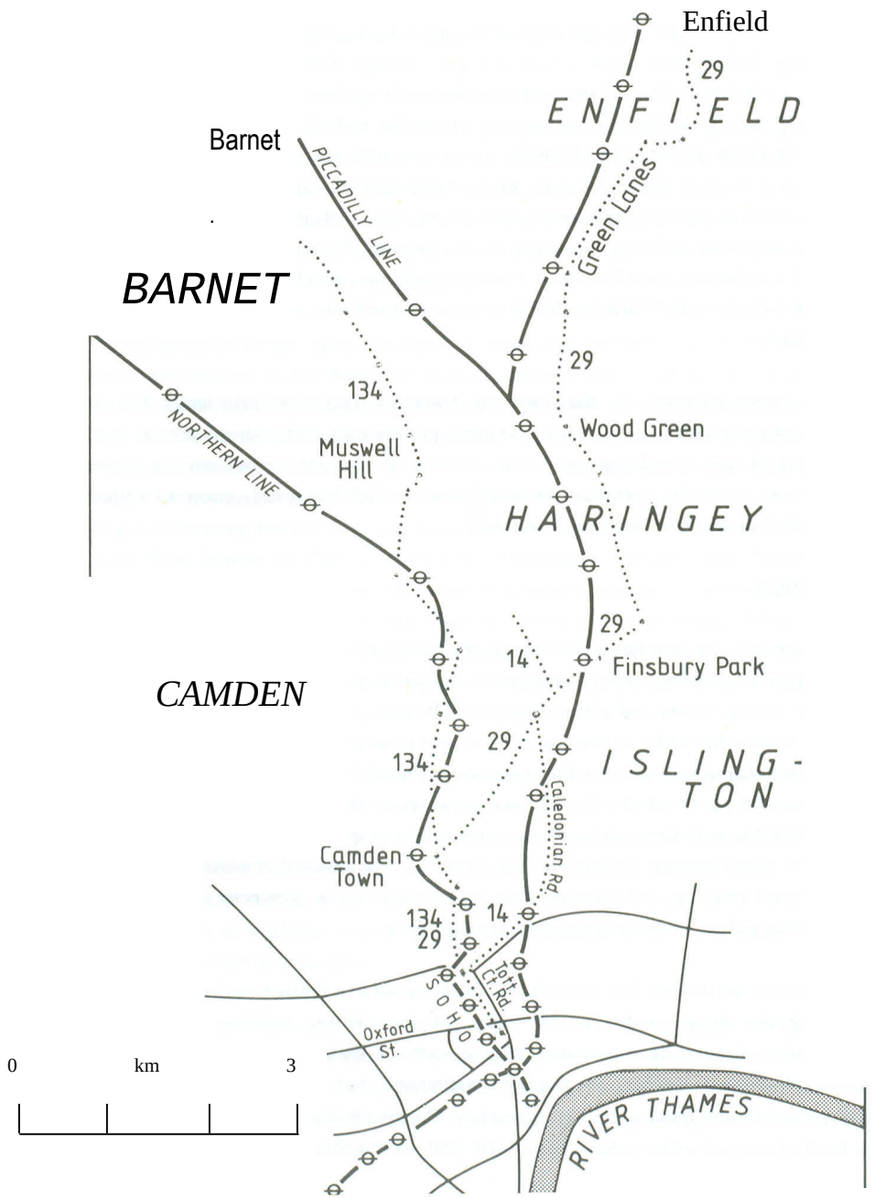
Lines of communication, in the form of transport facilities (principally bus and underground routes, though perhaps increasingly private cars also), appear crucial to the explanation of the specific geographical pattern of Cypriot settlement in London, characterised as it is by a gradual decentralisation, which has mainly occurred within a narrow sector or segment of the metropolis.17

CONCLUSION

This enquiry into the distribution of Cypriot settlement reveals a pattern which combines a high degree of concentration of immigrants in London with widespread dispersal of the remainder among towns and cities throughout Britain. This pattern appears to have remained relatively stable, at least among the first generation of settlers with whom this paper is primarily concerned. At this most general level of distribution, the pattern is to be explained in terms of the initial concentration of pre-war Cypriot settlement in London, together with Cypriots' post-war exploitation of specific economic 'niches' in the service and manufacturing industries. In London this has involved employment primarily in the central catering and clothing industries, while in the provinces it has involved catering also, but on a much smaller and localised scale.

Within London, settlement has been highly concentrated in a limited number of boroughs, comprising one major sector to the north of the centre, together with a lesser concentration directly to the south. Within each of these sectors, time has seen a process of decentralisation of Cypriot settlement, but one which .has not been accompanied to any great extent by dispersal. On the contrary, the trend has been for the level of concentration to have been fairly well maintained, with the locus of MAP

BUS AND UNDERGROUND ROUTES LINKING
CYPRIOT AREAS OF SETTLEMENT IN LONDON



concentration moving outwards from the centre. That is to say, decentralisation has occurred without any major reduction in borough-level concentration, nor indeed in the degree of residential segregation at the more local level (as measured by ward and ED data).

The initial (and in part continuing) centralisation of Cypriot residential patterns in London has been explained in terms of the occupational concentration in the centrally located catering and clothing industry. Decentralisation has been a product of rising standards of living as expressed by improved quality housing and a transition from private rented to owner-occupied tenure patterns. It has further been made possible by a number of economic factors, including a high level of self-employment, together with the capacity for clothing production to become more decentralised, and for the wide range of services offered by ethnic entrepreneurs within the 'internal' ethnic economy to follow the residential shift also. These economic factors, along with other social factors, have helped to maintain a high degree of residential concentration in these new areas of

Cypriot settlement. The specific sectorial location of Cypriot settlement, and in particular the residential movement northwards, have been explained primarily by reference to certain locational barriers and to the availability of suitable bus and underground routes that provide transport to and from the central areas of employment and early settlement concentration. Such transport facilities do not account for the motivation or capacity for geographical mobility as such, but it is suggested that they have played a significant part in shaping its direction and concentration.

Urban sociological theory, deriving from the work of the Chicago School sociologists in the 1930s, has generally supposed that change in the settlement pattern over time of immigrant minorities involves a tendency towards dispersal outwards towards the periphery of the city. This dispersal model has been shown to require qualification in the case of black or coloured minorities who experience racial discrimination and thus exclusion from white residential areas, and thus face confinement to a greater or lesser degree in a centralised 'ghetto' area. In his study of West Indians in London, Lee (1977) has shown that despite evidence of some degree of dispersal, West Indians remain highly centralised in their settlement pattern, while other post-war immigrant groups are, or are becoming, more decentralised.18

In some respects, Cypriot settlement patterns are in accord with this general model, with their high degree of initial immigrant centralisation, and their subsequent, racially unimpeded, residential movement outwards from the centre. The basic model presumes, however, that along with the centrifugal movement there occurs simultaneously a process of dispersal. The evidence from the present paper indicates that this is by no

means necessarily the case since a high degree of residential concentration may be maintained despite the shift in location. Whether or not this happens will depend on a number of factors among which the following have been identified in this paper: the social and cultural values and skills (including linguistic) of the ethnic group, employment patterns (and in particular the nature and locational requirements of the ethnic economy), availability of and access to desirable housing stock, and availability of transport connecting residential areas to centres for work and leisure. In these respects it is the experience of Britain's earlier Jewish immigrants and their descendants, rather than that of any other Commonwealth origin groups, which is closest to the pattern displayed by London Cypriots (see Connell 1970 for Jews in Leeds, and Brotz 1955, pp.138ff, for London).

The capacity of Cypriots to have maintained a high degree of concentration in conjunction with geographical and social mobility suggests a substantial degree of *'choice'* in residential matters and an absence of 'constraint'. Certainly Cypriots have preferred certain residential areas to others in view of their housing stock, amenities and accessibility; and in the absence (as a white minority) of the experience of racial discrimination, they have been able to use their newly-acquired wealth to realise these preferences. 'Choice' here has clearly allowed the possibility of choosing to remain segregated spatially as well as socially, despite mobility.

Yet to oppose *'choice'* and 'constraint' in this manner tends to be superficial, and entails a false antinomy. It is superficial because it relates only to the level of overt discrimination, as a level on which groups may be impeded in their attempt to exercise power to command resources. As the present paper has been concerned to point out, there are also numerous covert ways in which a group may be constrained as regards the kinds of resources available and accessible to them, and these constitute 'environmental constraints' of a socio-economic or geographical kind. In this sense, urban environment as such, being variable in character through time and space, must be recognised too as limiting or constraining social opportunities. That is say, the opportunities available to a social group are always more or less circumscribed, so that some degree of 'constraint' is an integral part of the situation.

In the case of Cypriots, the element of *choice* is enhanced not merely by the absence of racial categorisation, but also by the increased wealth that in turn brings greater command over resources generally. The attainment of relative affluence and its future prospects are a function primarily of developments within the ethnic economy, and this in turn is dependent on the continuing existence of an exploitable 'niche' for Cypriot labour and entrepreneurship in the service and clothing industries. It is not possible to

isolate and oppose the elements of *'choice'* and 'constraint' in this situation, for it is essentially the interaction between Cypriots and their environment that produces the form of the relationship at anyone time. To speak of "choice or constraint" is inherently unrealistic, therefore, since any circumstances entail elements of both *choice* and constraint. Analytically, one can of course postulate these as two extremes of a continuum, at one end of which complete 'constraint' entails a total lack of *choice*. Strictly speaking, however, it is not *choice* that should be opposed to constraint, but the concept of 'freedom', for it is this that connotes the total absence of constraint. *Choice*, in this sense, has a dual dimension - a degree of constraint, and a degree of freedom. In reality, however, what this amounts to is variation between people and groups in their degrees of freedom to exercise *choice. Choice* and constraint are not alternatives. Choice entails constraint; for if it did not, there would be no need to choose.

Footnotes

1. The present paper is a slightly revised version of a paper read at the School of Geography, University of Oxford, and elsewhere during the period 1982-83. I would like to thank John Edwards, Sasha Josephides and Ceri Peach for comments on an earlier draft.

2. Unpublished tabulations from the 1971 Census prepared for the Greater London Council. I am grateful to Mr John Hollis for arranging for me to have access to these.

3. It had been my intention to update the paper in the light of the 1981 Census, but in the absence of fully comparable published data regarding birthpalce, it seems appropriate to make the present analysis (of developments up to 1971) available to interested readers. I hope in due course to undertake further analysis of 1981 data and to incorporate it in a revised version of this paper.

4. F or the post-war period up to 1966, see Oakley 1971.

5. There are small Turkish-Cypriot settlements in Luton and in Manchester.

6. For an analysis of the distribution of the New Commonwealth immigrant population outside London which excludes consideration of the Mediterranean group, see Jones 1978.

7. Of current Greater London residents who had changed address within Britain during the past five years, only 3.2% had moved into the capital from outside. Among former residents of Greater London who had moved likewise, 5.4% had moved out into the provinces during the same period. Towards a half of this movement took place between London and the rest of the South East region. (Figures derived from Census 1971b, Part II, 10% sample).

8. For the post-war period up to 1966, see Oakley 1971 (Part II). For 1971, data are drawn from Census 1971c (Part I) and 1971d.

9. Unless stated otherwise all references to London boroughs are to the configurations that resulted from the 1963 reorganisation of local government in London. Pre1964 statistics have been combined and, where necessary, adjusted for comparability: see notes to Table II in text.

10. cf. Tambs-Lyche 1980, who sets out a more sophisticated version of a model of this kind than I adopt here.

11. Oakley 1971 (ch.12); Census 1971, 10% sample, unpublished Draft Table 1239, reproduced in Ladbury 1979.

12. Oakley 1971, ch.12; Census 1971d. The latter figure is for Cypriot/Maltese combined and is thus likely to further underestimate the actual figure for adult Cypriot migrants.

13. An analysis of changes in the location of Cypriot business enterprise could be undertaken based on the business directories which have been intermittently published in the Greek Cypriot and Turkish Cypriot communities.

14. Oakley 1971 (ch.l3); Census 1971d. As before, the latter figures are for the Cypriot and Maltese birthplace groups combined. However figures for the individual boroughs of greatest Cypriot concentration may be regarded as reliable indicators of actual Cypriot settlement, in view of the proportionately very small number of Maltese. In such boroughs, the Cypriot proportion of the total ranges from 90% in Hackney to 98% in Haringey (Census 1971c, Part I).

15. Census (l971d). E.g. Green Lanes and Hornsey in the borough of Haringey.

16. Further evidence on this point could no doubt be obtained by examination of the electoral registers for wards in these areas.

17. A further possible factor contributing to the specific sectorial pattern of Cypriot settlement in London could be the avoidance by Cypriots of areas already substantially settled by other immigrant groups, either to avoid competition or on account of ethnic prejudices held by Cypriots themselves. This does not appear to be the case to any major extent, however, in view of the substantial overlap of major Cypriot settlement areas with those of other immigrant groups, particularly the West Indians, as Lee's work has shown (Lee 1977).

18. See Lee (1977) for a discussion of this literature and its applicability to the situation in Britain generally and London in particular. Lee rightly refrains from drawing the contrast between West Indians and other ethnic groups too sharply, pointing both to general differences between Britain and the 'ideal type' cases of American cities, and to specific differences among the various ethnic groups. However, his claim (p.160) that the high degree of West Indian centralisation does not have an important racial dimension seems very questionable, not least because it rests on an exaggerated emphasis on the degree of West Indian dispersal, which itself is in doubt in the light of the indices of residential dissimilarity presented in Tables 4.6 and 4.7 (p.65).

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