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REPUBLIC OF CYPRUS

ESTIMATES OF TURKISH CYPRIOTS
AND SETTLERS FROM TURKEY

1974 - 1996

DEPARTMENT OF STATISTICS AND RESEARCH
MINISTRY OF FINANCE

Population Statistics: ● Series III ● Report No. 9

Obtainable from the Printing Office of the Republic of Cyprus

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AND SETTLERS FROM TURKEY

1974 - 1996

KIBRISYA SOSYALIST

BERÇEK LONDRA BÜROSU

FEB 2012

SOCIALIST TRUTH IN CYPRUS

DEPARTMENT OF STATISTICS AND RESEARCH
MINISTRY OF FINANCE

Population Statistics: ● Series III ● Report No. 9

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P R E F A C E

This Report provides estimates of the population of Turkish Cypriots and the number of settlers from Turkey in the Turkish occupied area of Cyprus for the period 1974-1996.

It is based on the demographic analysis of the latest available data in the Department of Statistics and Research as at the end of 1996. The sources used are official data of the Republic of Cyprus, published data of the "authorities" in the part of Cyprus occupied by Turkey and information appearing in the Turkish Cypriot press.

It aims at presenting the demographic evidence available on the diminishing number of Turkish Cypriots and the increasing number of Turkish settlers in the Turkish occupied area of Cyprus.

The Report was prepared by the staff of the Demographic and Social Statistics Division of the Department under the guidance of Mrs. I. Chappa, Head of the Division.

Dr. E.I. Demetriades
Director
Dept. of Statistics and Research

August, 1997

INTRODUCTORY NOTE

In this Report, any mention to any "authority" exercising power in the part of Cyprus which has been occupied militarily by Turkey since its invasion of Cyprus in July/August 1974 should be construed as reference to "authorities" established by Turkey as the Occupying Power. They are illegal in that they are contrary to:

- (a) the Treaties of 1960 establishing the Republic of Cyprus as well as to its Constitution,
- (b) International Law in general and especially to the four Geneva Conventions of 1949, and
- (c) the UN Security Council's Resolutions on Cyprus and especially to Resolutions 541 (1983) and 550 (1984) which deplored and condemned all Turkish secessionist actions in the occupied part of Cyprus and declared them illegal and invalid.

Also, in the text, the term "settlers" is employed to denote Turkish nationals who in violation of international legality as reflected in the U.N. Charter International Law and U.N. resolutions were transferred and implanted in the part of Cyprus occupied by Turkey in pursuance of its policy aimed to:

- (a) change the demography of the occupied part, and
- (b) create a majority of Turks from Turkey in that part.

The policy and practice is contrary, inter alia, to the Geneva Convention Relative to the Protection of Civilian Persons in Time of War, 1949, which in its article 49 stipulates that "the Occupying Power shall not deport or transfer part of its own civilian population into the territory it occupies".

TABLE OF CONTENTS

	<u>Page</u>
Preface	3
Introductory note	5
Table of contents	7
Executive summary	11
1. Introduction	13
2. Sources of statistical data	13
3. Population	14
4. Fertility	16
5. Mortality.....	17
6. Migration	19
7. Comparison of population data with other demographic variables	22
8. Estimate of the Turkish Cypriot population in the Turkish occupied area of Cyprus	23
9. Estimate of the number of settlers	28
10. Conclusion	30

Tables

1. Population of Turkish Cypriots prior to 1974 and population in the Turkish occupied area after 1974	15
2. Fertility, 1977-1994	16
3. Mortality, 1977-1994	18
4. Arrivals and Departures, 1974-1994	20
4a. Arrivals and Departures, 1974-1994 (with certain assumption) ...	21
5. Natural increase of the population, 1975-1993	22
6. Assumptions for the projection of the Turkish Cypriot population, 1960-1995	24
7. Turkish Cypriot population, 1960-1995 (Scenario A)	25
8. Turkish Cypriot population, 1960-1995 (Scenario B)	26
9. Turkish Cypriot Population Estimates, 1996	27
10. Estimate of the number of settlers, 1974-1996	29
11. Various estimates of the number of settlers	29

<u>References</u>	31
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**ESTIMATES OF TURKISH CYPRIOTS
AND SETTLERS FROM TURKEY**

1974 - 1996

EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

This Report provides estimates of the Turkish Cypriots and the number of settlers in the part of Cyprus occupied by Turkey. It is based on the demographic analysis of official data of the Republic of Cyprus and published data of the "authorities" in the occupied part, as well as information appearing in the Turkish Cypriot press.

Population figures and other demographic data on fertility, mortality and migration for the occupied part of Cyprus are presented and discussed.

Estimates of Turkish Cypriots are obtained on the basis of two projection scenarios. Both are based on the 1960 Census figures giving the population size, sex and age structure of Turkish Cypriots at the end of 1960.

In scenario A the projection assumes fertility and mortality of the Turkish Cypriots similar to the rest of the Cyprus population. With regard to migration assumptions, up to the middle of 1974 it was based on the stated intention of Turkish Cypriots on the departure cards of the Republic of Cyprus and from then onwards the net migration balance was taken as the balance of arrivals and departures of Turkish Cypriots as published by the "authorities" in the occupied part and reported in the Turkish Cypriot press. The result is an estimate of 89.200 Turkish Cypriots at the end of 1996.

In Scenario B the projection assumes from 1975 onwards fertility and mortality as published by the "authorities" in the Turkish occupied area and corrected for under-registration. Migration assumptions are the same as in scenario A. The result is an estimate of 80.500 Turkish Cypriots at the end of 1996.

Having estimated the number of Turkish Cypriots using the two scenarios the number of settlers can be obtained by deducting the number of Turkish Cypriots from the population in the Turkish occupied areas as published in the various reports of the "authorities" in the occupied part of Cyprus. The result is 109.000 settlers in 1996 according to Scenario A and 117.700 according to scenario B.

Another method of estimation used is based on the net migration of Turkish nationals, as shown by the balance of arrivals and departures, and their natural increase. The number of settlers as the end of 1996 is thus estimated at 80.000 on the basis of the data up to 1994 and assuming no migration for 1995-1996.

The report concludes that because of the high emigration of Turkish Cypriots their number is diminishing. They constitute roughly half of the population in the Turkish occupied area. If we also include the Turkish occupying forces (around 35.000) then the Turkish Cypriot community is clearly a minority compared to the Turkish nationals in the occupied area of Cyprus.

Furthermore, their share to the total population of Cyprus (in which illegal settlers from Turkey are not included as they are not part of the Cyprus population) has diminished to a mere 12%.

Estimates of Turkish Cypriots and settlers from Turkey

1. Introduction

This study attempts to estimate by demographic analysis the number of Turkish Cypriots and the number of settlers from Turkey in the period 1974-1996 on the basis of data available to the Department of Statistics and Research, data published in reports of the "authorities" in the part of Cyprus occupied by Turkey and information appearing in the Turkish Cypriot press. All available data have been compared and assessed; only those found consistent and reasonable have been used. This is an updated version of a previous study prepared in 1996.

2. Sources of statistical data

Though there are various sources of information and references as to the number of settlers, the approach used in this study to estimate the numbers of Turkish Cypriots and settlers was based on official data of the Republic of Cyprus and published data of the "authorities" in the occupied part of Cyprus.

The following sources of statistical data have been used:

- Census of Population and Agriculture 1960, Republic of Cyprus. (The Census was conducted by the Department of Statistics and Research in 1960 at a time when Turkish Cypriots participated in all organs of the Government; it was jointly conducted by Greek Cypriots and Turkish Cypriots).
- Annual Demographic Reports of the Department of Statistics and Research, Republic of Cyprus.
- "Demographic Report 1980" of the "Turkish Federated State of Kibris"
- "Statistical Yearbooks" for the years 1978-1981 of the "Turkish Federated State of Kibris"
- "Statistical Yearbooks" for the years 1982-1994 of the "Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus"
- Article in newspaper Yeniduzen of 15.2.89 presenting a table on arrivals and departures from data of the "General Directorate of Security Forces" of the "TRNC".
- Articles in newspaper Yeniduzen of 5.2.92 and 6.2.92 giving arrivals of tourists and total arrivals and departures.
- Article in newspaper Kibris of 29.11.93 giving arrivals and departures of Turks.
- Table in newspaper Yenicag of 27.12.93 for arrivals and departures up to 1992.
- Article in newspaper Kibris of 27.12.96 giving the Census results of 15 December 1996.
- "Tourism Statistics 1994" of the "Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus".

3. Population

The population of Turkish Cypriots for the years before the Turkish invasion of Cyprus in July/August 1974 and the total population of the Turkish occupied area, as published in the various reports of the "authorities" in the Turkish occupied area, is presented in Table 1.

Except for the years for which population figures are given for a specific month, it is not clear whether the figures refer to the end of the year or the mid-year population or whether the "de jure" or the "de facto" concept is being used.

It is important to note that the data published by the "authorities" in the Turkish occupied area of Cyprus on the number of Turkish Cypriots in 1972 and March 1975 are more or less in agreement with the estimates of the Department of Statistics and Research for about the same period (April 1973). According to the data of the Micro-Census of April 1973, census enumeration and estimates for Turkish Cypriot enclaves, the Turkish Cypriot population totalled 116.000. The mean annual rate of growth was calculated at 0,9% in the intercensal period 1960-1973. According to the population figures of the "authorities" in the area of Cyprus occupied by Turkey the mean annual rate of growth of the population is calculated at 0,7% for the period December 1960 - March 1975.

In fact comparing the number of Turkish Cypriot emigrants in the period 1961-1972, which amounted to 9.330 out of a total of 48.586 (a share of 19,2%), to that of the Greek Cypriots, it is evident that during this period Turkish Cypriot emigration was proportionately slightly higher than the corresponding Greek Cypriot emigration, taking into account the population size of the two communities. This could justify somewhat smaller growth rates of the Turkish Cypriot population which are in agreement with the population estimates of the "authorities" in the Turkish occupied area of Cyprus for the year 1972 and March 1975.

It is obvious that the numerical increase of the population from one time period to the next and particularly during the period March 1975 - October 1975, October 1975-1976, 1976-1977, 1977-1978 and 1994-1996 as shown in Table 1 cannot be accounted for solely by the natural increase of the population, that is the difference between births and deaths, but indicates positive net migration balance of a large size. The same applies to the annual rate of population growth. Population growth rates of the order of 18,9%, 11,4%, 5,1%, 4,2%, 3,8%, 3,6% and 2,1% are indicative of the high migratory movements to Cyprus which are explained by the massive arrival of settlers.

On 15 December 1996 a Census of Population was conducted in the Turkish occupied area of Cyprus. Provisional census figures have been published in the Turkish Cypriot press (Kibris of 27.12.1996) and put the enumerated population at 198.215 persons.

Table 1.-Population of Turkish Cypriots prior to 1974 and population in the Turkish occupied area after 1974

Year	Population (a)	Numerical increase	Annual rate of growth (%)	
			(b)	(c)
1960 (December)	104.320			
1972	112.234	7.914	0,6	0,6
1975 (March)	114.744	2.510	0,8	1,0
1975 (October)	126.949	12.205	18,9	18,9
1976	130.136	3.187	3,8	2,1
1977	145.000	14.864	11,4	11,4
1978 (April)	146.740	1.740	1,4	3,6
1979	148.501	1.761	1,0	0,7
1980	149.610	1.109	0,7	0,7
1981	151.233	1.623	1,1	1,1
1982	153.239	2.006	1,3	1,3
1983	155.521	2.282	1,5	1,5
1984	157.984	2.463	1,6	1,6
1985	160.287	2.303	1,5	1,5
1986	162.676	2.389	1,5	1,5
1987	165.035	2.359	1,5	1,5
1988	167.256	2.221	1,3	1,3
1989	169.272	2.016	1,2	1,2
1990	171.469	2.197	1,3	1,3
1991	173.757	2.288	1,3	1,3
1992	175.118	1.361	0,8	0,8
1993	177.120	2.002	1,1	1,1
1994	179.208	2.088	1,2	1,2
1996 (15 December)	198.215	19.007	4,2	5,1

- (a) All population figures (except 1960) are extracted from Turkish Cypriot publications. Whenever revisions were made the most recently revised data have been used. For 1960, Turkish Cypriot publications give the figure of 104.942 which is in fact the number of Moslems.
- (b) Mean annual rate of population growth calculated on the assumption that population figures in column (a) refer to mid-year population unless otherwise specified.
- (c) Mean annual rate of population growth calculated on the assumption that population figures in column (a) refer to the end of the year population unless otherwise specified.

Sources: "Census of Population and Agriculture 1960, Volume III: Demographic Characteristics" Republic of Cyprus
 "Demographic Report 1980" of the "Turkish Federated State of Kibris"
 "Statistical Yearbooks" for the years 1978-1981 of the "Turkish Federated State of Kibris"
 "Statistical Yearbooks" for the years 1982-1994 of the "Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus"
 Newspaper "Kibris" of 27.12.1996 giving the provisional Population Census results of 15 December 1996.

4. Fertility

Data on registered births appear in the Demographic Report 1980 as well as in the annual Statistical Yearbooks of the "authorities" in the Turkish occupied area. The distribution of births by age of mother is also given and it is stated that about 95% of births are registered.

Based on the number of registered births which is taken to represent 95% of the total, the "true" number of births is estimated. Then the crude birth rate is calculated as well as the total fertility rate on the basis of births by age of mother. These figures are given in Table 2.

Table 2.- Fertility in the Turkish occupied area of Cyprus, 1977-1994

Year	Number of registered births (95%) (a)	Estimate of "true" number of births (b)	Crude birth rate (c)	Total fertility rate (d)
1977	2.923	3.077	21,2	
1978	2.613	2.751	18,7	2,381
1979	2.808	2.956	19,9	2,553
1980	2.587	2.723	18,2	2,277
1981	2.648	2.787	18,4	2,248
1982	2.501	2.633	17,2	2,02
1983	2.571	2.706	17,4	
1984	2.658	2.798	17,7	
1985	2.629	2.767	17,3	1,926
1986	2.558	2.693	16,6	
1987	2.416	2.543	15,4	1,696
1988	2.683	2.824	16,9	1,821
1989	2.502	2.634	15,6	1,665
1990	2.430	2.558	14,9	1,633
1991	2.637	2.776	16,0	1,811
1992	2.493	2.624	15,0	1,677
1993	2.342	2.465	13,9	1,598
1994	2.359	2.483	13,9	1,610

(a) Number of births published in the Statistical Yearbooks of the "authorities" in the occupied part of Cyprus.

(b) Calculated on the assumption that column (a) represents 95% of the total number of births.

(c) Calculated from column (b) and the population published in the Statistical Yearbooks.

(d) Calculated from column (b) and the distribution by age of mother as given in the Statistical Yearbooks.

Sources: "Statistical Yearbooks" for the years 1978-1981 of the "Turkish Federated State of Kibris"
"Statistical Yearbooks" 1982-1994 of the "Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus"

There is a downward trend in fertility during the period 1977-1994. The crude birth rate decreases gradually from 21,2 births per thousand population in 1977 to 13,9 in 1994. Similarly, the total period fertility rate decreases from 2,553 children per woman in 1979 to 1,610 in 1994. Already by 1982 the total fertility rate appears to have fallen below the 2,10 replacement level.

These figures are hard to believe; while the figures for the period 1977-1979 or even 1977-1981 seem reasonable, the sudden drop of fertility in the Turkish occupied area at this low level below replacement, already in 1982, is difficult to explain and accept.

What seems to be a reasonable explanation is that the completeness of birth registration is not constant at 95%, but has probably changed significantly. Particularly with the arrival of settlers from Turkey with a lower educational level than Turkish Cypriots, it is expected that the proportion of registered births must have decreased.

In the Demographic Report of 1980 the crude birth rate given for 1979 is 21 births per thousand population which corresponds to the level of the crude birth rate in the Government controlled area of Cyprus. Furthermore, Jones in his book on the Population of Cyprus comments that "Turkish fertility trends in Cyprus have been remarkably similar to those of the Greek Cypriots actually reaching the same low gross reproduction rate of 1,11 in 1978" (L.W. St. John-Jones, The Population of Cyprus, 1983, page 176).

It can be supported that the fertility of the Turkish Cypriots does not differ from the fertility in the Government controlled area of Cyprus. Also, for the period 1960-1972 the population growth rate as given by the "authorities" in the part of Cyprus occupied by Turkey implies a fertility level similar to the Greek Cypriot one.

The fertility of Turkish settlers is expected to be higher than that of the Turkish Cypriots and similar to the fertility of Turkey where the total fertility rate was 4,5 in 1975 and decreased gradually to 2,6 children per woman in 1995. (Council of Europe "Recent demographic developments in Europe, 1996).

In conclusion it can be put forward that the fertility data as published in the reports of the "authorities" in the occupied part are incomplete and that the fertility of Turkish Cypriots must not differ from the fertility in the Government controlled area of Cyprus.

An important piece of evidence of the existence of settlers in the Turkish occupied area is the fact that the Turkish Cypriots themselves published figures on registered births distinguishing between births to Turkish Cypriots and to Turks from Turkey, on the basis of the distribution of births by nationality of mother and father. This data were published only up-to 1982. Registered births of children with at least one parent from Turkey were around 36% in 1978-1979 decreasing gradually to 26% in 1982 and the corresponding births with both parents from Turkey around 22% and decreasing to 16%. These figures cannot represent the true share of settlers in the population of the Turkish occupied area, as birth registration is not complete, its degree of completeness may vary from year to year and it is expected to be much lower among settlers.

5. Mortality

Mortality data are more problematic than fertility data because the completeness of death registration is reported as only 25%. On the basis of registered deaths the "true" number of deaths has been calculated as well as the crude death rate (Table 3).

It is clear that this data cannot be realistic. The variation in the calculated crude death rate cannot be explained except by a varying registration completeness over the years. Thus, the reported constant 25% completeness of death registration is questionable. In the Demographic Report of 1980, the crude death rate given for 1979 is 10 per thousand population instead of 6,5 which is calculated for the same year in Table 3.

Table 3.- Mortality in the Turkish occupied area of Cyprus, 1977-1994

Year	Registered deaths (25%) (a)	Estimate of "true" number of deaths (b)	Crude death rate (c)
1977	236	944	6,5
1978	287	1.148	7,8
1979(d)	241	964	6,5
1980	208	832	5,6
1981	281	1.124	7,4
1982	340	1.360	8,9
1983	333	1.332	8,6
1984	490	1.960	12,4
1985	415	1.660	10,4
1986	561	2.244	13,8
1987	489	1.956	11,9
1988	505	2.020	12,1
1989	570	2.280	13,5
1990	621	2.484	14,5
1991	641	2.564	14,8
1992	680	2.720	15,5
1993	614	2.456	13,9
1994	636	2.544	14,2

(a) Number of deaths published in the Statistical Yearbooks of the "authorities" in the part of Cyprus occupied by Turkey.

(b) Calculated on the assumption that column (a) represents 25% of the total number of deaths.

(c) Calculated from column (b) and the population published in the Statistical Yearbooks.

(d) A crude death rate of 10 per thousand population is published for 1979, while the calculated crude death rate for the same year is only 6.5

Source: "Demographic Report 1980" and "Statistical Yearbooks" for the years 1978-1981 of the "Turkish Federated State of Kibris" and "Statistical Yearbooks" for the years 1982-1994 of the "Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus".

Mortality in the Turkish occupied area seems somewhat higher than in the Government controlled area. According to the life tables, life expectation at birth was in the Turkish occupied area 70,0 years for males and 72,0 for females in 1979 compared to 72,3 and 76,0 respectively in the Government controlled area in the period 1979-1981.

It is difficult to accept the mortality and life table data, because these are based on the experience of only one year and while only 241 deaths have been registered the life table presents 1485 deaths, a number presumably obtained on the assumption of a crude death rate of 10 per thousand population. It could be that the mortality of Turkish Cypriots is higher than the mortality in the Government controlled area.

On the other hand, it could also be supported that the mortality of Turkish Cypriots is the same as that of Greek Cypriots while the mortality of settlers from Turkey is much higher resulting in an increased mortality in the Turkish occupied area as a whole. It is noted here that the expectation of life at birth in Turkey was 65,7 years for males and 70,3 years for females in 1995. (Source: Council of Europe "Recent demographic developments in Europe", 1996).

6. Migration

In addition to fertility and mortality, migration plays an important role in population developments. In the period after the Turkish invasion there has been an important migratory flow of Turkish Cypriots out of Cyprus along with a larger flow of Turkish settlers from Turkey to Cyprus, as shown by the statistical data of the "authorities" in the occupied part of Cyprus (Table 4 and 4a).

Table 4 presents for the years 1974-1977 the data published in Yeniduzen which refer to data of the "General Directorate of Security Forces" of the "authorities" in the occupied area while for the years 1978-1990 the data are extracted from the Statistical Yearbooks. It should be stressed that for the years 1975-1977 the data, which were published in Yeniduzen and related to total arrivals and departures and their balance, are also given in the "Demographic Report 1980" of the "authorities" in the occupied area though without any analysis by nationality or country of usual residence. Also, for the years 1978-1986 the figures given in Yeniduzen do not differ much from the corresponding figures published in the Statistical Yearbooks. For the years 1991 and 1992 the figures given are those published in Yeniduzen, Kibris and Yenicag. For the years 1993 and 1994 the figures are from "Tourism Statistics 1994" of the "Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus".

Table 4a is the same as Table 4 with some additional figures obtained on the assumption that the balance of "other tourists" in 1987 and 1991 for which data are not available is taken to be +370 based on their yearly average of the period 1974-1986, 1988-1990 and 1992.

Though the data of Tables 4 and 4a are not stated intentions of migration and refer to total arrivals and departures, their balance can be used to estimate the size of net migration. This is also done in the "Demographic Report 1980" where the balance of total arrivals and departures is given as net migration balance.

It is worth noting that during the period 1974-1994 there has been a negative net migration balance of Turkish Cypriots in the Turkish occupied area. Total departures of Turkish Cypriots from the Turkish occupied area to destinations abroad exceeded total arrivals by over 48.000 in the period 1974-1994. Along with this emigration a continuous and massive arrival of settlers is recorded. In the period 1974-1994 total arrivals of Turks from Turkey exceeded total departures by almost 58.000.

Table 4.- Arrivals and Departures in the Turkish occupied area of Cyprus, 1974-1994

Year	Turks			Other			Tourists			Turkish Cypriots			Total		
	Arrivals	Departures	Balance	Arrivals	Departures	Balance	Arrivals	Departures	Balance	Arrivals	Departures	Balance	Arrivals	Departures	Balance
1974	5.573	4.193	1.380	1.022	804	218	6.595	4.997	1.598	5.098	6.093	-995	11.693	11.090	603
1975	73.831	51.465	22.366	6.577	5.943	634	80.408	57.408	23.000	13.635	29.842	-16.207	94.043	87.250	6.793
1976	83.440	80.347	3.093	4.552	4.985	-433	87.992	85.332	2.660	30.764	31.454	-690	118.756	116.786	1.970
1977	108.016	97.142	10.874	5.130	5.377	-247	113.146	102.519	10.627	33.570	34.540	-970	146.716	137.059	9.657
1978	104.738	103.128	1.610	8.172	7.722	450	112.910	110.850	2.060	35.448	36.420	-972	148.358	147.270	1.088
1979	95.115	92.956	2.159	13.286	12.707	579	108.401	105.663	2.738	47.839	46.858	981	156.240	152.521	3.719
1980	69.808	68.727	1.081	14.703	14.082	621	84.511	82.809	1.702	51.204	53.245	-2.041	135.715	136.054	-339
1981	62.660	63.913	-1.253	15.474	15.515	-41	78.134	79.428	-1.294	53.233	52.371	862	131.367	131.799	-432
1982	65.018	66.166	-1.148	20.285	20.300	-15	98.934	96.686	2.248	58.918	60.660	-1.742	157.842	157.346	496
1983	78.649	76.386	2.263	19.781	18.844	937	113.114	109.247	3.867	57.123	56.472	651	170.237	165.719	4.518
1984	93.333	90.403	2.930	21.377	21.049	328	125.075	123.803	1.272	53.860	54.599	-739	178.935	178.401	534
1985	103.698	102.754	944	21.377	21.049	328	125.075	123.803	1.272	53.860	54.599	-739	178.935	178.401	534
1986	105.729	105.492	237	25.763	25.603	160	131.492	131.095	397	55.076	55.788	-712	186.568	186.883	-315
1987	147.965	147.965	0	36.372	36.372	0	184.337	184.337	0	59.297	59.297	0	243.634	249.800	-6.166
1988	173.351	169.501	3.850	56.050	53.966	2.084	229.401	223.467	5.934	60.178	62.243	-2.065	289.579	285.710	3.869
1989	214.566	209.837	4.729	59.507	58.562	945	274.073	268.399	5.674	68.583	68.212	371	342.656	336.611	6.045
1990	243.269	241.764	1.505	57.541	57.615	-74	300.810	299.379	1.431	74.681	73.731	950	375.491	373.110	2.381
1991	179.379	178.770	609	40.858	40.858	0	220.237	220.237	0	78.466	80.304	-1.838	346.084	346.729	-645
1992	210.178	209.045	1.133	57.440	57.380	60	267.618	266.425	1.193	78.466	80.304	-1.838	346.084	346.729	-645
1993	281.370	281.160	210	77.943	78.876	-933	359.313	360.036	-723	93.669	97.702	-4.033	452.982	457.738	-4.756
1994	256.549	252.813	3.736	95.079	94.514	565	351.628	347.327	4.301	109.787	113.012	-3.225	461.415	460.339	1.076
Balance (years)			62.308			5.918			63.473						15.845
			(74-86,88-94)			(74-86,88-90,92-94)			(74-90,92-94)						(74-94)

Source: For the years 1974-1977 data of the "General Directorate of Security Forces" of the "Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus" appearing in YENIDUZEN of 15.2.89 and for the years 1978-1990 data from the Annual Statistical Yearbooks of the "authorities" in the Turkish occupied area. For the years 1975-1977 the data relating to total arrivals, total departures and balance (last three columns) are also published in the "Demographic Report 1980" of the "Turkish Federated State of Kibris". For 1991 arrivals of tourists and total arrivals and departures from YENIDUZEN of 5.2.92 and 6.2.92. For the years 1991 and 1992 arrivals and departures of Turks from KIBRIS of 29.11.93. Arrivals and departures of Turks, other and Turkish Cypriots for 1988-1990 and 1992 also from YENICAG of 27.12.93. For 1993-1994 data from "Tourism Statistics 1994" of the "Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus".

Table 4(a).- Arrivals and Departures in the Turkish occupied area of Cyprus, 1974-1994

Year	Turks			Other			Tourists			Turkish Cypriots			Total		
	Arrivals	Departures	Balance	Arrivals	Departures	Balance	Arrivals	Departures	Balance	Arrivals	Departures	Balance	Arrivals	Departures	Balance
1974	5.573	4.193	1.380	1.022	804	218	6.595	4.997	1.598	5.098	6.093	-995	11.693	11.090	603
1975	73.831	51.465	22.366	6.577	5.943	634	80.408	57.408	23.000	13.635	29.842	-16.207	94.043	87.250	6.793
1976	83.440	80.347	3.093	4.552	4.985	-433	87.992	85.332	2.660	30.764	31.454	-690	118.756	116.786	1.970
1977	108.016	97.142	10.874	5.130	5.377	-247	113.146	102.519	10.627	33.570	34.540	-970	146.716	137.059	9.657
1978	104.738	103.128	1.610	8.172	7.722	450	112.910	110.850	2.060	35.448	36.420	-972	148.358	147.270	1.088
1979	95.115	92.956	2.159	13.286	12.707	579	108.401	105.663	2.738	47.839	46.858	981	156.240	152.521	3.719
1980	69.808	68.727	1.081	14.703	14.082	621	84.511	82.809	1.702	51.204	53.245	-2.041	135.715	136.054	-339
1981	62.660	63.913	-1.253	15.474	15.515	-41	78.134	79.428	-1.294	53.233	52.371	862	131.367	131.799	-432
1982	65.018	66.166	-1.148	20.285	20.300	-15	98.934	96.686	2.248	58.918	60.660	-1.742	157.842	157.346	496
1983	78.649	76.386	2.263	19.781	18.844	937	113.114	109.247	3.867	57.123	56.472	651	170.237	165.719	4.518
1984	93.333	90.403	2.930	21.377	21.049	328	125.075	123.803	1.272	53.860	54.599	-739	178.935	178.401	534
1985	103.698	102.754	944	21.377	21.049	328	125.075	123.803	1.272	53.860	54.599	-739	178.935	178.401	534
1986	105.729	105.492	237	25.763	25.603	160	131.492	131.095	397	55.076	55.788	-712	186.568	186.883	-315
1987	147.965	147.965	0	36.372	36.372	0	184.337	184.337	0	59.297	59.297	0	243.634	249.800	-6.166
1988	173.351	169.501	3.850	56.050	53.966	2.084	229.401	223.467	5.934	60.178	62.243	-2.065	289.579	285.710	3.869
1989	214.566	209.837	4.729	59.507	58.562	945	274.073	268.399	5.674	68.583	68.212	371	342.656	336.611	6.045
1990	243.269	241.764	1.505	57.541	57.615	-74	300.810	299.379	1.431	74.681	73.731	950	375.491	373.110	2.381
1991	179.379	178.770	609	40.858	40.858	0	220.237	220.237	0	78.466	80.304	-1.838	346.084	346.729	-645
1992	210.178	209.045	1.133	57.440	57.380	60	267.618	266.425	1.193	78.466	80.304	-1.838	346.084	346.729	-645
1993	281.370	281.160	210	77.943	78.876	-933	359.313	360.036	-723	93.669	97.702	-4.033	452.982	457.738	-4.756
1994	256.549	252.813	3.736	95.079	94.514	565	351.628	347.327	4.301	109.787	113.012	-3.225	461.415	460.339	1.076
Balance (years)			57.794			6.658			64.452						15.845
			(1974-1994)			(1974-1994)			(1974-1994)						(1974-1994)

Source as in Table 4.

Assumption: Balance of other tourists +370 for 1987 and 1991 based on the yearly average of the period 1974-1986, 1988-1990 and 1992.

7. Comparison of population data with other demographic variables

Comparing the various demographic data published in the Statistical Yearbooks of the "authorities" in the part of Cyprus occupied by Turkey we find that these are not fully consistent.

Usually population data are based on Census results which are updated annually with data on births, deaths and migration. However, the population figures as published in the Statistical Yearbooks are not obtained from the population of the previous year with the addition of the natural increase and the net migration. It is noted, in this respect, that the population data are based on the Census results of 1978 which are projected at future dates using the statistical routines of FIV-FIV and SIN-SIN. This note appears in almost all Statistical Yearbooks. However the assumptions on which these population projections were based are not given.

It is noted here that this statistical package (which is also used by the Department of Statistics and Research for population projections) projects the population after five years from the base year using FIV-FIV and then SIN-SIN estimates the population at intermediate years using an interpolation technique. As a result it is not expected to have fully balancing population figures on a year by year basis.

For this reason the attempted comparison relates to the periods 1975-1978, 1978-1983, 1983-1988 and 1988-1993. Starting with 1978 which was a census year in the Turkish occupied area, the periods 1978-1983, 1983-1988 and 1988-1993 are 5-year periods. The implied natural increase of the population calculated from the population figures and the balance of total arrivals and departures is given in Table 5.

Table 5.- Natural increase of the population in the Turkish occupied area, 1975-1993

Year	Population	Numerical increase	Balance of arrivals and departures (total)	Implied natural increase	Annual natural increase	Annual rate of natural increase per thousand population
	(a)	(b)	(c)	(d)	(e)	(f)
1975	114.744					
1978	146.740	31.996	19.508	12.488	3.122	23
1983	155.521	8.781	482	8.299	1.660	11
1988	167.256	11.735	2.440	9.295	1.859	11
1993	177.120	9.864	-8.264	18.128	3.626	21

- (a) Population as in first column of Table 1.
 (b) Numerical increase in the period.
 (c) Balance of total arrivals and departures in the period as shown in the last column of Table 4.
 (d) Implied natural increase of the period calculated from (b)-(c)
 (e) Annual natural increase in the period calculated from (d) divided by the number of years in the corresponding period.
 (f) Annual rate of natural increase calculated from (e) divided by the population in the middle of the period.

Though the annual rates of natural increase of 23 or 11 or 21 per thousand population could be regarded reasonable if taken one by one (since 21-23 is approximately the rate of natural increase of the population of Turkey, and about 11 is the rate of natural increase in the Government controlled area) they are not internally consistent if considered together, because the change from 23 to 11 and then to 21 is too abrupt to have been recorded in any population under normal conditions.

8. Estimate of the Turkish Cypriot population in the Turkish occupied area of Cyprus

On the establishment of the Republic of Cyprus, the population of Cyprus totalled 573.566 according to the 1960 Census results. Classification by ethnic group gave 442.138 or 77,1% Greeks, 104.320 or 18,2% Turks and 27.108 or 4,7% others, mainly Armenians, Maronites, Latins and British. The Greek community comprising of Greek orthodox together with Armenians, Maronites and Latins, who have opted according to the 1960 constitution to belong to the Greek community, numbered 452.291 and the Moslem/Turkish community 104.942 giving a ratio of 4,3 of the Greek community to the Turkish community. In April 1973, according to the Micro-Census results the total population of Cyprus was 631.778 of which 498.511 belonged to the Greek community, 116.000 to the Turkish community⁽¹⁾ and 17.267 others mainly British, with the ratio of the Greek community to the Turkish community remaining 4,3. By the end of 1996 the Greek community was estimated at 629.500 and the population in the Government controlled area 651.800.

In order to estimate the number of Turkish Cypriots who are now in the Turkish occupied area we have taken as base population the Turkish Cypriot population by age and sex as at December 1960 (Census figures) and we have projected the population at future dates on the basis of two different scenarios. The assumptions of each scenario on fertility, mortality and migration are summarised in Table 6.

The projection method used is the cohort-component method which projects the population by five-year age groups at five-year intervals of time, taking into account separate assumptions on the components of population change that is fertility, mortality and migration. Thus, on the basis of the population size and age structure of the Turkish Cypriots at the end of 1960 we can estimate what the population would have been in 1965, 1970, 1975 etc. until the end of 1995. Then by extrapolation population estimates for 1996 are obtained.

(1) Using as base population the Turkish Cypriot population by age and sex in 1960 as published in the Census of Population and Agriculture 1960 (Volume III, Table 4, page 9) the population of Turkish Cypriots was estimated at 116,000 in April 1973. The same estimate has been obtained making a projection with assumptions of fertility and mortality as actually recorded for the whole Cyprus population during that period and migration as actually recorded among Turkish Cypriots.

Table 6.- Assumptions for the projection of the Turkish Cypriot population, 1960-1995

Assumptions	1960-1965	1965-1970	1970-1975	1975-1980	1980-1985	1985-1990	1990-1995
Scenario A							
1. Fertility							
Total fertility rate	3,50	3,00	2,74	2,24	2,46	2,38	2,29
2. Mortality							
Life expectation at birth (West Model Life Table)							
Females	70,10	70,60	71,10	74,90	76,00	78,60	79,50
Males	66,20	67,30	68,40	71,90	72,30	74,10	75,00
3. Migration							
Annual net migration	-1,085	-569	-4,016	-738	-572	-696	-4,753
Scenario B							
1. Fertility							
Total fertility rate	3,50	3,00	2,74	2,47	2,18	1,70	1,67
2. Mortality							
Life expectation at birth (West Model Life Table)							
Females	70,10	70,60	71,10	71,60	72,30	72,80	73,70
Males	66,20	67,30	68,40	69,50	70,60	71,70	72,80
3. Migration							
Annual net migration	-1,086	-569	-4,016	-738	-572	-696	-4,753

In scenario A, fertility and mortality are taken to be those actually recorded in the years before the Turkish invasion of July/August 1974 as well as after the invasion in the Government controlled area. It was, thus, assumed that during the 30-year period the natural increase of the Turkish Cypriot population was similar to the rest of the Cyprus population, an assumption which is supported by the data previously analysed. With regard to migration assumptions, negative net migration was assumed, taken from the stated intentions of Turkish Cypriots on the departure cards of the Republic of Cyprus up to the middle of 1974 and from then onwards the negative net migration balance as presented in Table 4a as the balance of Turkish Cypriot arrivals and departures. For 1995 for which there are no available migration data, it was assumed that the net migration balance was -2.400 following the diminishing trend of 1993-1994.

The results of the population projection according to scenario A are presented in Table 7. Total figures rounded in hundreds are given below.

Table 7.- Turkish Cypriot Population, 1960-1995 (Scenario A)

Age-group	1960	1965	1970	1975	1980	1985	1990	1995
Females								
0-4	7.404	6.005	5.762	4.762	4.229	4.935	4.758	3.373
5-9	6.424	7.041	5.812	4.792	4.590	4.095	4.783	3.769
10-14	6.539	6.133	6.845	4.832	4.622	4.457	3.937	3.725
15-19	4.569	6.222	5.924	5.355	4.576	4.423	4.305	2.926
20-24	4.441	4.201	5.966	4.022	5.024	4.319	4.249	3.171
25-29	3.616	4.124	3.993	4.314	3.736	4.798	4.074	2.636
30-34	3.674	3.364	3.969	2.894	4.116	3.582	4.563	2.555
35-39	2.520	3.460	3.233	3.312	2.774	4.014	3.396	3.374
40-44	3.060	2.357	3.344	2.681	3.199	2.686	3.868	2.541
45-49	2.131	2.891	2.260	2.848	2.574	3.105	2.588	3.334
50-54	2.593	1.983	2.770	1.925	2.746	2.491	3.005	2.173
55-59	1.464	2.417	1.867	2.450	1.832	2.643	2.403	2.708
60-64	1.177	1.328	2.245	1.619	2.313	1.736	2.527	2.141
65-69	1.057	1.038	1.182	1.966	1.486	2.144	1.621	2.263
70-74	885	867	858	937	1.703	1.303	1.927	1.349
75+	1.295	1.271	1.257	1.186	1.335	2.062	2.242	2.758
TOTAL	52.851	54.707	57.295	49.905	50.861	52.800	54.253	44.796
Males								
0-4	7.740	6.390	6.149	5.135	4.540	5.299	5.087	3.422
5-9	6.669	7.324	6.185	5.048	4.905	4.361	5.080	3.640
10-14	6.678	6.311	7.119	5.132	4.830	4.735	4.152	3.683
15-19	4.296	6.293	6.130	5.961	4.890	4.641	4.587	3.208
20-24	4.072	3.858	6.069	4.473	5.607	4.615	4.512	3.825
25-29	3.113	3.712	3.663	4.552	4.151	5.345	4.393	3.147
30-34	3.053	2.868	3.575	2.834	4.363	4.001	5.095	2.861
35-39	2.698	2.843	2.741	3.068	2.718	4.258	3.783	3.747
40-44	2.640	2.501	2.724	2.361	2.967	2.637	4.097	2.914
45-49	2.276	2.467	2.390	2.445	2.278	2.884	2.542	3.660
50-54	2.322	2.114	2.345	2.166	2.350	2.194	2.760	2.106
55-59	1.756	2.121	1.973	2.102	2.048	2.230	2.059	2.309
60-64	1.217	1.559	1.919	1.734	1.941	1.896	2.060	1.690
65-69	1.048	1.030	1.342	1.624	1.536	1.727	1.700	1.747
70-74	830	814	813	1.032	1.341	1.274	1.455	1.337
75+	1.059	1.037	1.035	1.005	1.248	1.607	1.787	1.903
TOTAL	51.469	53.251	56.179	50.678	51.718	53.712	55.155	45.201
GRAND TOTAL	104.320	107.958	113.475	100.584	102.579	106.513	109.409	89.997

	1960-1965	1965-1970	1970-1975	1975-1980	1980-1985	1985-1990	1990-1995
	Mid-period indices for five-year time periods						
Population size	106.129	110.694	106.900	101.578	104.534	107.954	99.387
Yearly births	2.654	2.499	2.248	1.821	2.105	2.022	1.611
Yearly deaths	840	827	811	683	746	746	740
Net yearly migrants	-1.086	-569	-4.016	-738	-572	-696	-4.753
	Yearly rates per thousand population						
GFR=Births/Fem. (15-44)	116,4	99,7	91,8	79,2	89,1	83,8	77,3
Birth rate	25,0	22,6	21,0	17,9	20,1	18,7	16,2
Death rate	7,9	7,5	7,6	6,7	7,1	6,9	7,4
Natural increase	17,1	15,1	13,4	11,2	13,0	11,8	8,8
Net migration	-10,2	-5,1	-37,6	-7,3	-5,5	-6,4	-47,8
Population increase	6,9	10,0	-24,1	3,9	7,5	5,4	-39,1

Table 8.- Turkish Cypriot Population, 1960-1995 (Scenario B)

Age-group	1960	1965	1970	1975	1980	1985	1990	1995
Females								
0-4	7.404	6.005	5.762	4.762	4.558	4.210	3.296	2.288
5-9	6.424	7.041	5.812	4.792	4.582	4.417	4.051	2.305
10-14	6.539	6.133	6.845	4.832	4.618	4.446	4.255	2.991
15-19	4.569	6.222	5.924	5.355	4.570	4.414	4.288	3.240
20-24	4.441	4.201	5.966	4.022	5.015	4.307	4.234	3.150
25-29	3.616	4.124	3.993	4.314	3.727	4.779	4.053	2.614
30-34	3.674	3.364	3.969	2.894	4.104	3.564	4.532	2.526
35-39	2.520	3.460	3.233	3.312	2.765	3.991	3.366	3.331
40-44	3.060	2.357	3.344	2.681	3.187	2.668	3.828	2.500
45-49	2.131	2.891	2.260	2.848	2.562	3.079	2.554	3.274
50-54	2.593	1.983	2.770	1.925	2.729	2.464	2.953	2.120
55-59	1.464	2.417	1.867	2.450	1.816	2.602	2.343	2.621
60-64	1.177	1.328	2.245	1.619	2.283	1.695	2.433	2.037
65-69	1.057	1.038	1.182	1.966	1.456	2.066	1.525	2.093
70-74	885	867	858	937	1.652	1.228	1.743	1.179
75+	1.295	1.271	1.257	1.186	1.281	1.878	1.855	2.107
TOTAL	52.849	54.702	57.287	49.895	50.905	51.808	51.309	40.376
Males								
0-4	7.740	6.390	6.149	5.135	4.885	4.521	3.536	2.280
5-9	6.669	7.324	6.185	5.048	4.897	4.699	4.296	2.088
10-14	6.678	6.311	7.119	5.132	4.827	4.725	4.486	2.897
15-19	4.296	6.293	6.130	5.961	4.886	4.635	4.574	3.538
20-24	4.072	3.858	6.069	4.473	5.601	4.607	4.503	3.809
25-29	3.113	3.712	3.663	4.552	4.146	5.334	4.383	3.137
30-34	3.053	2.868	3.575	2.834	4.357	3.993	5.080	2.849
35-39	2.698	2.843	2.741	3.068	2.714	4.248	3.770	3.729
40-44	2.640	2.501	2.724	2.361	2.961	2.630	4.082	2.897
45-49	2.276	2.467	2.390	2.445	2.272	2.876	2.531	3.637
50-54	2.322	2.114	2.345	2.166	2.340	2.185	2.742	2.087
55-59	1.756	2.121	1.973	2.102	2.035	2.215	2.037	2.276
60-64	1.217	1.559	1.919	1.734	1.922	1.874	2.022	1.648
65-69	1.048	1.030	1.342	1.624	1.514	1.698	1.651	1.678
70-74	830	814	813	1.032	1.313	1.243	1.392	1.254
75+	1.059	1.037	1.035	1.005	1.205	1.529	1.642	1.690
TOTAL	51.467	53.242	56.172	50.672	51.875	53.012	52.727	41.494
GRAND TOTAL	104.316	107.944	113.475	100.584	102.780	104.834	104.036	81.870

	1960-1965	1965-1970	1970-1975	1975-1980	1980-1985	1985-1990	1990-1995
Population size	106.129	110.694	106.900	101.685	103.811	104.442	92.519
Yearly births	2.654	2.499	2.248	1.983	1.821	1.431	1.172
Yearly deaths	840	827	811	803	841	892	855
Net yearly migrants	-1.086	-569	-4.016	-738	-572	-696	-4.753
Yearly rates per thousand population							
GFR=Births/Fem. (15-44)	116,4	99,7	91,8	86,3	77,3	59,6	56,3
Birth rate	25,0	22,6	21,0	19,5	17,5	13,7	12,7
Death rate	7,9	7,5	7,6	7,9	8,1	8,5	9,2
Natural increase	17,1	15,1	13,4	11,6	9,4	5,2	3,4
Net migration	-10,2	-5,1	-37,6	-7,3	-5,5	-6,7	-51,4
Population increase	6,9	10,0	-24,1	4,3	3,9	-1,5	-47,9

The population of Turkish Cypriots has increased from 104.320 in December 1960 to 108.000 in the end of 1965 then to 113.500 in the end of 1970 and it is estimated that it reached 116.000 in April 1973. After the invasion as a result of the high emigration the Turkish Cypriot population decreased to 100.600 in the end of 1975. A gradual increase of the population followed until 1990 when the Turkish Cypriot population reached 109.400. In the subsequent few years heavy emigration resulted in an abrupt drop of the population which reached 90.000 in end 1995.

In scenario B the population of Turkish Cypriots was projected using again as base population the 1960 Census population and with same assumptions of fertility, mortality and migration up-to 1974 as those used in scenario A. From 1975 onwards the fertility levels were taken to correspond to those reported by the "authorities" in the Turkish occupied area for the same period and corrected for under-registration. In the mortality assumptions, the expectation of life at birth was assumed to increase gradually each successive five-year period from the level reported by the "authorities" in the Turkish occupied area for 1979. Migration assumptions are the same as in scenario A. Thus, this scenario differs from the previous scenario only in respect of the fertility and the mortality assumptions of the period after the Turkish invasion.

According to scenario B the population of Turkish Cypriots is estimated at 100.600 in 1975, 102.800 in 1980, 104.800 in 1985, 104.100 in 1990 and 81.900 in 1995. (Detailed results of the projection of the Turkish Cypriot population according to scenario B are presented in Table 8).

Estimates for 1996 are obtained by extrapolating the projection results by one year using the yearly number of births and deaths in the period 1990-1995 as obtained for each scenario and assuming a diminishing negative migration balance of -1700 for 1996 (Table 9). Thus, according to scenario A the population of Turkish Cypriots is estimated at 89.200 at the end of 1996, whereas according to scenario B it reaches only 80.500.

Table 9. Turkish Cypriot Population Estimates 1996.

Population components	Scenario A	Scenario B
Population end 1995	89.997	81.871
Births	1.611	1.172
Deaths	-740	-855
Net Migration	-1.700	-1.700
Population end 1996	89.168	80.488

Scenarios A and B provide a reasonable range of the population development of the Turkish Cypriots which is estimated between 80.500 and 89.900 in 1996.

9. Estimate of the number of settlers

There are many pieces of demographic evidence, all reported in documents of the "authorities" in the part of Cyprus occupied by Turkey, which prove the existence of settlers in the Turkish occupied areas, such as the abrupt increase of the population much in excess of natural increase, births of children with both parents from Turkey, excess of almost 58,000 of arrivals of Turks over departures in the period 1974-1994, etc.

One method of estimation of the number of settlers can be based on the total population in the Turkish occupied area as reported by the "authorities" in the Turkish occupied area and our estimates of the Turkish Cypriot population.

If we accept the provisional population figures as obtained from the most recent census of population and other figures published in the Statistical Yearbooks and other reports of the "authorities" in the Turkish occupied area, the population of the Turkish occupied area was 198.215 at the end of 1996. It is obvious that this figure includes Turkish Cypriots and Turkish settlers as well and since the population of Turkish Cypriots was estimated at 89.200 according to scenario A, then the number of settlers including their natural increase would be about 109.000 at the end of 1996. Similarly we can estimate the number of settlers in 1975, 1980, 1985 and 1990 at 26.800, 47.000, 53.800 and 62.100 respectively.

According to scenario B as regards the Turkish Cypriots and the population published in the reports of the "authorities" and press in the occupied area we estimate the numbers of settlers as: 26.800 for 1975, 46.800 for 1980, 55.500 for 1985, 67.400 for 1990 and 117.700 for 1996.

Another method which could also be used is based on the net migration of Turks as shown by the balance of arrivals and departures and their natural increase. At the end of each year the number of settlers is estimated by applying to the population of settlers at the end of the previous year their natural increase and adding the net migration of settlers due to arrival of new settlers (or subtracting when departures exceed arrivals). In this method it was assumed that net migration during the year does not contribute to the natural increase of that year.

Starting with 1.380 settlers at the end of 1974 the figure of 55.486 is reached at the end of 1985, 67.137 at the end of 1990 and 77.523 at the end of 1994. Even if it is assumed that there was no further arrival of Turks after 1994, since no data are available, the population of settlers would have been 78.748 at the end of 1995 and 79.992 at the end of 1996 (Table 10).

Table 10.- Estimate of the number of settlers in the Turkish occupied area, 1974-1996

Year	Net migration (a)	Natural increase rate per (b)	Natural increase (c)	Population of settlers in the end (d)
1974	1.380	24,1	0	1.380
1975(e)	22.366	22,7	31	23.777
1976	3.093	22,2	528	27.398
1977	10.874	22,2	608	38.880
1978	1.610	22,2	863	41.354
1979	2.159	22,2	918	44.431
1980(e)	1.081	22,1	982	46.494
1981	-1.253	22,5	1.046	46.287
1982	-1.148	22,1	1.023	46.162
1983	2.263	21,6	997	49.422
1984	2.930	21,1	1.043	53.394
1985(e)	944	21,5	1.148	55.486
1986	237	18,9	1.049	56.772
1987	-4.514	21,4	1.215	53.473
1988(e)	3.850	22,0	1.176	58.499
1989(e)	4.729	21,9	1.281	64.510
1990 (e)	1.505	17,4	1.122	67.137
1991 (e)	609	17,4	1.168	68.914
1992 (e)	1.133	17,0	1.172	71.219
1993	210	16,6	1.182	72.611
1994	3.736	16,2	1.176	77.523
1995		15,8	1.225	78.748
1996		15,8	1.244	79.992

- (a) Net migration of Turkish nationals (column 3, Table 4a).
- (b) Source: Council of Europe "Recent Demographic Developments in Europe" 1996 and previous issues.
- (c) Calculated by applying the natural increase to the population at the end of the previous year.
- (d) Calculated by adding to the population at the end of the previous year the net migration and natural increase of the year.
- (e) Revised figures of natural increase.

Comparing the various estimates of the number of settlers which are the result of different methods (Table 11), their number would be in 1996 109.000 according to scenario A, 117.700 according to scenario B and at least 80.000 on the basis of the net migration balance and its natural increase. Though these figures differ, their order of magnitude is the same giving a reasonable estimate of the number of settlers of around 109.000 in 1996.

Table 11- Various estimates of the number of settlers, 1975, 1980, 1990 and 1996

Year	Scenario A	Scenario B	Net migration and natural increase method
1975	26.800	26.800	23.800
1980	47.000	46.800	46.500
1985	53.800	55.500	55.500
1990	62.100	67.400	67.100
1996	109.000	117.700	80.000 (1)

Note: There is no available data on the net migration balance for 1995 and 1996 thus this estimate assumes no migration for 1995-1996 (see Table 10)

10. Conclusion

The statistical evidence provided on the presence of Turkish settlers in the Turkish occupied area cannot be disputed, neither can the magnitude of the problem. What remains to be ascertained with accuracy is the growing number of settlers at a given point in time.

Also undisputed is the high emigration of Turkish Cypriots resulting in a diminishing number of the Turkish Cypriot community in the occupied area.

In this analysis it is shown that the Turkish Cypriot community constitutes less than half of the population in the Turkish occupied area. If we include also the Turkish occupying forces (around 35,000) then the Turkish Cypriot community is clearly a minority compared to the Turkish nationals in the Turkish occupied area of Cyprus.

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