

**THIRD COUNTRY IMMIGRATION TO EUROPE:
EXPLORING THE CASE OF THE REPUBLIC OF CYPRUS**

THESIS

**Submitted in fulfilment of the requirements for the
Degree of Master of Science in International Relations and Diplomacy,
Social Sciences Faculty of Leiden University and
Netherlands Institute of International Relations Clingendael**



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Acknowledgements

During the past two years as a Masters student at the University of Leiden and the Netherlands Institute of International Relations Clingendael, I have benefited from numerous conversations with various dedicated Tutors. I owe a special thanks to Dr Madeleine Hosli for her invaluable advice and guidance during the early stages of this project. More than anyone else, I would like to thank my primary supervisor, Dr Peter van Ham, for allowing me to delve into the topic I was most interested in, and who encouraged me in every step of my research. My undergraduate lecturers, Prof. Paul Smith, Dr James Helgeson, and Dr Nick Baron believed in me and encouraged me to pursue post-graduate studies at Leiden: thank you. During my research in Cyprus, I have benefited a lot from the kindness and expertise of Dr Nicos Trimikliniotis of the University of Nicosia; Dr Trimikliniotis is an expert in the field of immigration in Cyprus and has helped me a lot in gaining access from several archival resources. In addition, Ms Marina Koukos of PEO, Ms. Thekla Demetriadou of the Office of the Ombudsman, Mr Constantinos Karmellos of the Ministry of Interior, Ms Loukia Makri of the Cyprus Statistical Services and Ms Fatima Ish of the University of Nicosia were generous in their time and attention. To my friends Lena, Christiana, Alexandros, Antonis, Cees, Chrissy, Jacopo, Susana, and Evangelia – thank you for making Leiden a happy place in which to live and study. A huge ‘thank you’ to my life-long friends from back home – Sotiris, Andys, Marianna, Elli, Nataly, Christiana and Athena – for putting up with all my stress and anxiety during these last two years. This is in loving memory of my grandmother who longed to see me finish my studies, and for my family: my brothers Yangos and Christos and my parents Theo and Georgia who have all been wonderfully supportive, and without whose help I could not have completed this thesis.

Abbreviations

DW Domestic Workers

ECRI European Commission against Racism and Intolerance

EU European Union

EUROKO Evropaiko Komma (European Party)

IMF International Monetary Fund

PEO Pancyprian Federation of Labour

TCNs Third Country Nationals

Abstract

Immigration in the European Union is a highly complex and complicated phenomenon. In recent years, there has been a steady increase in immigration from Third Country Nationals (TCNs). Immigration features in a very high position on the political and economic agendas of the European Union. It is an issue that is complicated by the recent economic recession in the EU and questions relating to integration. Cyprus, a full EU member since 2004, is one of various EU countries which are in deep recession and which have experienced incremental immigration over the last ten years. Rapid development on the island meant a steady increase in legal economic immigration. At the same time, as a Mediterranean island, located near North Africa and with 'open' borders, Cyprus is also a prime destination for illegal migratory streams. The regulation of legal migration so as to comply with international and European standards and the safeguarding of human rights for legal and illegal immigrants likewise are two of the most significant challenges Cyprus is facing at the moment. Ever since its accession to the EU in 2004, a lot of changes have been in regards to the migration policy of the country have been implemented, and new integration measures have been taken. As a relatively new European Union member country, the case of Cyprus is relevant to other recent members states.

Key words: European Immigration Policies; Globalisation; Third Country Nationals; Cyprus; Theories of Migration; Push and Pull Factors; Human Rights

1. Introduction: Migration, Globalisation and the European Union

‘Migration is a reality that most EU Member States have experienced over the past decades. A breakdown of the population by citizenship in 2010 showed that there were 20.1 million foreigners living in the EU (4% of the total population).’

(European Agenda for the Integration of Immigrants, Brussels 20 July 2011)

During the past five years, 5.6 million immigrants are estimated to have arrived in Europe (UN DESA, 2009 from IOM Thematic Study Paper, 2010). The main difference between the present period and the past on matters of immigration is that Europe now includes many more ‘non-Europeans, non-white, non-Christian people than ever before’ (Parson & Smeeding, 2006: 2). The EU’s Stockholm Programme and Europe 2020 Agenda have given renewed emphasis to immigration as a priority area in the European Union, highlighting the importance of migration for the competitiveness of the EU (IOM Thematic Study Paper, 2010) and emphasising the importance of developing integration programmes for TCNs. Taking into consideration the importance of immigration flow for the economic prosperity of the European Union, but also various problems relating to integration and social cohesion, this project seeks to answer the following question, by looking at a specific European country, Cyprus: *What factors contribute to the increase of the flow of immigrants into the European Union from non-EU countries?*

Before we turn to examine the factors that contribute to the increase of Third Country Nationals (TCNs) immigration to Cyprus, it is necessary, first, to consider TCNs immigration to the EU more broadly. It is widely held that the incremental immigration into the EU from

TCNs is related to globalisation. For this reason, it is necessary to offer a brief overview of the way in which globalisation has contributed to immigration in the EU.

It is by now a commonplace that we are living in the ‘age of globalisation’. Originally used to describe the increase in capital flow, transnational investment and international trade, *globalisation* is a term that now carries several connotations, many of which go far beyond mere economic vectors of influence. By focusing merely on the economic perspective and on the process of ‘enabling financial and investment markets to operate internationally, largely as a result of deregulation and improved communications’ (Collins, qtd. in Simon Jeffery’s article in *The Guardian*), we tend to ignore the fact that globalisation has had (and is having) a major impact on other social and behavioural norms, be they political, geographical or cultural.

One of the imminent effects of globalisation is the great impact it has had on immigration, another term that, describing a socio-economic phenomenon in which people move from one country to another, is invested with cultural connotations. Immigration often suggests displacement, alienation, and loss of identity. It is also ‘intimately tied to serious global economic pressures, the challenges of population ageing and welfare-state reform’ (Parsons & Smeeding, 2006: 1).

The levelling effects of globalisation could not but manifest themselves in the European continent. As the global and economic inequalities spread, migration becomes an indispensable component of global governance. There are various ways in which immigration is connected to globalisation. Bretell and Hollifield, in their analysis of the politics of immigration, recurrently refer to the importance of ‘networks’ (Bretell & Hollifield, 2003:

194) in regards to the inflow of migrants in a country. This idea, namely that networks and ‘transnational communities’ affect the spread of migration, is very much linked with globalisation. Moreover, globalisation and migration are very much correlated in the field of International Relations, in where migration is a part of ‘the inexorable process of globalisation over which states have little control’ (Bretell & Hollifield, 2003: 198). Globalisation is what has led to a ‘structural demand for foreign labor and a loss of control of borders’ (Bretell & Hollifield: 198). The fact that globalisation encourages as much as it enables mobility, the fusing of cultures and the crossing of borders means that present-day migration cannot be dissociated from globalisation. A related issue is transnationalism and integration: ‘migrants’ backgrounds and experiences, have a bearing on the ways in which they will be engaged in transnational activities’ (IOM Transnationalism and Migration, 2010).

The idea of a ‘global alien’ (Cetti, 2012: 9) trying to survive in a multicultural world has also affected the ‘Fortress of Europe’. This refers to ‘an area where internal mobility is promoted while barriers are erected vis-à-vis countries outside the EU’ (Talani, 2012: 61). The origins of the ‘Fortress’ go back to the European Council Regulation 1612/98 that separates the right of ‘free movement of nationals of Member States and the right of free movement of nationals of third countries’ (Talani: 62). The massive inflow of TCNs into the European Union shows once again the impact of globalisation in Europe as globalisation has led to ‘a structural demand for foreign labour and a loss of control of borders’ (Bretell & Hollifield, 2008: 204). As Europe becomes more ‘globalised’, it is faced with a process of ‘sucking in millions of workers from within and beyond regional borders’ (Cetti, 2012: 11). This inflow of TCNs challenges the extent to which the European Union has managed to maintain its economy, security and identity and not been influenced by exogenous migration factors. By looking at a European country case study, we can analyse the factors of why a

country changes from an emigration ton an immigration country and why the TCN might be attracted.

Globalisation is revisited in the next chapter, which surveys various immigration theories. In this chapter, I also elaborate on the theoretical framework employed here. Chapter 4 focuses on Cyprus, the case-study country examined here. It offers in brief the historical and political background of the country, with Chapter 5 examining in detail the factors that contribute to TCN immigration to Cyprus. The final chapter presents some concluding remarks and qualifies the findings of the study by noting its limitations.

2. Literature Review

This chapter reviews the existing body of literature on European migration. It focuses specifically on the important and most relevant to the purposes of the present study theoretical approaches to immigration. In doing so, it provides a useful background against which to understand the issues that are discussed in the study further below. How have experts theorised immigration? Are there any gaps in the scholarship that this present investigation can help fill?

2.1 Immigration: Fields, Sub-fields and Categories

As a plural and loaded issue, immigration cannot be said to have a unified ‘theory’. Yet various scholars in the last years have sought to theorise immigration: as Favell argues convincingly, however, any theory of immigration can only be described as ‘emerging’ (Favell, 1998: 4). The fact that immigration is a complex issue and given the fact that theories of immigration are only ‘emerging’, it is difficult to theorise European immigration. Moreover, since EU immigration politics is a new form of politics, it is a subject that is defined by governments and not so much by academics.

Scholars working on the subject of immigration include demographers, political scientists, economists, sociologists and anthropologists. It is of high importance to differentiate the way in which different fields approach the topic of immigration. Whereas sociologists are mainly preoccupied with the study of social relations as being ‘central to understanding the process of migration’ (Bretell & Hollifield, 2008: 5), demographers are concerned with population change in numbers, with economists keen to ‘address the question of who migrates’ (Bretell & Hollifield, 2008: 6) with a view to building micro-economic

models of *labour migration*. In the field of political science, regarding the study of migration there tends to be a division of different perspectives. Political scientists include those who are primarily concerned with a ‘more interest-based micro-economic approach’ (Freeman, in Bretell & Hollifield: 8) and those who are more concerned with giving institutional and cultural explanations. Both sub-fields agree on the importance of state involvement and on the way in which the State affects migration flows.

Boswell and Geddes divide up immigration into categories in order to show a fair taxonomy of why immigrants migrate into other countries. According to Boswell and Geddes, international migration should be defined as ‘the movement from outside the EU by people who are not nationals of a member state’ (Boswell & Geddes, 2011: 3). This includes the ‘extra EU migration’ notion, which involves immigration by ‘non-EU or Third Country Nationals’ (Boswell & Geddes, 2011: 3). Processes of ‘Europeanisation’, i.e. policies and the cultural identities of European citizen, are put under threat from the migration of Third Country Nationals. Moreover, immigration challenges matters of security, common migration policies and European integration; these are some of the key concerns of the European Union at the moment. Boswell and Geddes further divide up migration types (such as labour migration, family migration, and irregular migration), but they ‘recognise that categories are fluid and that people move between them’ (Boswell & Geddes, 2011: 21). This is a very important point to note: as this study makes it obvious, the different migration categories must necessarily remain fluid.

It would now be useful to consider different migration theories, beginning with economic theories; for as we will see, migration cannot be understood separately from economic considerations.

2.2. Economic Theories of Migration and Labour Migration

Economic theorists such as Nikolinakos have demonstrated how ‘migration is explained by the law of supply and demand’ (Nikolinakos, 1975: 6); moreover, that the waves of migration are chiefly affected by labour attractions. Other theorists such as Massey et al. suggest that the most apt theories for understanding immigration are *neo-classical* economic theories. These refer to macro and micro levels of economic analysis. Macroeconomic analysis supports the view that international migration is caused by ‘geographic differences between supply and demand for labour’ (Massey et al., 1993: 433), a theory that coincides with Nikolinakos’ prime theory. Microeconomic analysis suggests that international migration should be seen as an ‘investment into human capital’ (Massey et al, 1993: 434), an idea which in turn suggests that people move where they can be most productive, taking into consideration all costs, including the ‘material costs of traveling’ (Massey et al, 1993: 434). Both of these theories are of use in analysing the different taxonomies that exist in the case of Cyprus, but especially so macroeconomics analysis. These ‘general theories’, as Castles puts it, are theories that aim to separate people from low-to high income migration and relate to migration that is directly linked to the business cycle of a country’s economy (Castles & Miller, 2003: 22).

The most well-known economic theories of migration frame the effect of migration around so called *push-pull factors*. These theories are concerned with the factors that affect both the people who migrate, but also the receiver country in accepting new flows of migration. *Push factors* ‘impel people to leave the areas of origin’ (Castles & Miller, 2003: 24); *pull factors* ‘attract immigrants to a certain country’ (Castles & Miller, 2003: 24). Along the same lines lies the argument of Bretell and Hollifield, which also approaches migration

from an economic perspective and through the lens of push and pull factors. These scholars argue that economic migrants are those who ‘move from one place of work and residence to another, either within a country or across international boundaries’ (Bretell & Hollifield, 2008: 64).

Others, advancing a more anthropological or sociological approach, maintain that migration cannot be traced with certainty. This is because we can never know (but only predict) what really drives people to migrate. Such theorists go as far as to suggest that migration may not be even affected by the demand and supply of human capital or other economic factors. In this respect, Papadopoulos and Tsianos have argued that ‘migration is not a unilinear process of individual choice; it is not an effect of the push and pull mechanics’ (Papadopoulos & Tsianos, 2007: 226). The economic analyst Antigone Lyberaki, has challenged conventional views of migration. She has suggested that, in situations where there are absences of remittances and other transfers to the sending countries, the receiving countries are the ones who benefit from immigration. Indeed, Lyberaki asserts that ‘inequality in the distribution of factor income increases in the receiving country and is reduced in the sending country’ (Lyberaki, 2008: 8).

2.3 Migration Theories from the Perspective of International Relations

Citrin et al. argue that European immigration should be understood less by resorting to economic factors (material interests) and more by taking into account policies of the nation, such as multiculturalism, integration, and concepts like cultural identity. Residents of countries with large immigrant populations are less likely to oppose immigration than less multicultural countries. There is, however, no conclusive evidence about whether the threat to which people respond is perceived as personal (‘to me’) or as collective.

Hollifield explains that there are mainly three schools of thought within International Relations: 1) realism or neo-realism; 2) liberal institutionalism; and 3) transnationalism. The first refers to the classical approach of realism, which privileges state sovereignty and sees the state as a unitary rational actor. There are many different sub-schools within this school, including defensive and offensive realism. Both offensive and defensive realism focus on the state as the most important actor in international politics. According to this view, migration flows will increase or decrease according to the national interest of states. Consequently, migration will be the result more of what is in the national interests of states rather than of the imperatives of the international economic system.

According to Hollifield ‘few if any theorists have taken a purely realist approach to the study of international migration’ (Hollifield, 2008: 201). This is mainly because international migration does not just depend on the power of the state. If realism is to be understood as the idea that ‘states are being caught in a security dilemma, forced to be ever attentive to the protection of their sovereignty’ (Hollifield, 2008: 201), then we can assume that states are the primary actors which will decide whether or not they will accept the new immigration flows. This theory would have been much more apt in the Cold War period, when, for example, the communist states did not allow their citizens to migrate. The situation has changed drastically now as people are ‘freer to move, but not so free to enter’ (Gibney et al., in Bretell & Hollifield, 2008: 200).

Unlike realism, neo-liberal institutionalism believes that international institutions can act as mediators for achieving peaceful solutions. In the case of immigration, the neo-liberal

institutionalist would invest his or her hope on the EU and other bodies controlling immigration. The third theory, that of transnationalism, is the most flourishing.

The new emerging transnational theory of migration is directly concerned with the rapid ‘improvement of technologies in transport and communication’ (Castles & Miller: 29). It is thus intricately connected to the processes of globalisation, as it takes into account the impact that globalisation on migration with regard to matters of distance and business, both of which are linked to migration. According to Portes et al., transnationalism as a theory can be separated into two categories: transnationalism from above; and transnationalism from below. The former refers to migration activities that are ‘conducted by powerful institutional actors’ (Portes et al., in Castles & Miller: 29). The latter refers to activities taken by ‘grass-root initiatives of immigrants and their home country counterparts’ (Portes et al., in Castles & Miller: 29).

Transnational migration can be traced back to the idea of ‘diaspora’, which, even though it is not, strictly speaking, part of the domestic economy or culture of a country, it acts transnationally and globally. However, temporary immigrants who work abroad and send remittances back home do not count as ‘trans-migrants’, and neither do permanent immigrants who lose any contact with their home countries. Transnational migration exists where transnational communities manage to keep affiliations with their members, something that greatly affects immigration flows worldwide.

2.4 Political Migration

As has already been noted, a lot of the literature relating to migration emphasises the economic factors relating to migrations and pays attentions to the economic reasons dictating

labour migration. It is only fairly recently that political scientists have started looking at migration from a political perspective. As Favell puts it, the theory of political immigration can only be described as ‘emerging’ (Favell, 1998: 4). This makes it difficult to theorise European immigration. Nonetheless, Favell suggests that ‘national immigration policy typically has always been a strictly defined competence of interior ministries (or home offices), combining immigration policing functions (border control and enforcement or social order issues) with legal and social policy functions’ (Favell, 1998: 6). Since EU immigration politics is a new form of politics, it is a subject that is defined by governments and not so much by academics. As Favell further suggests, the new ‘progressive policies on immigration and integration in Europe (i.e. anti-discrimination laws, multiculturalism or ethnically sensitive policing) indeed were almost always developed paternalistically by state elites’ (Favell, 1998: 7).

Hollifield and Bretell’s work on the politics of migration is of prime importance when trying to see how the area of politics on international migration can affect International Relations at large. Hollifield and Bretell focus on the impact of politics in international migration, thus extending the role of domestic politics and foreign policy of a country in matters of regulating immigration. They raise a set of questions that are directly linked to the politics of international migration, even if their main argument is that migration is politically affected by *control*, *security* and *incorporation*. The notion of *control* refers to the role that the State plays in controlling the rules of entry and exit. *Security* refers to the impact that migration might have on the security of the state, such as on its sovereignty. *Incorporation* refers to the impact of ‘immigration on citizenship, political behaviour and the polity itself’ (Hollifield: 185). These three key characteristics describe the political genre of migration, since they go beyond the usual ‘supply and demand’ interactions that are often used to explain

migration. *Control, security, and incorporation* are three key facets of migration, linking state power with immigration.

According to Hollifield, the main challenges for political theorists examining migration are: a) to hypothesise the demand and supply of immigration policies (liberal or strict); and b) ‘the outcomes of those policies in regards to migration’. For Hollifield, (a) and (b) are two separate dependent variables (Bretell & Hollifield, 2008: 191). For Freeman, the main independent variables for a political study on the aspect of immigration are ‘influence, power and authority’, i.e. the main ‘organised interests of the state’ (Bretell & Hollifield, 2008: 192). Freeman believes that factors of organised interests can be broken down into ‘economic sectors’ (Bretell & Hollifield, 2008: 193) so as to distinguish skilled and un-skilled workers and their political role. Hollifield offers a ‘liberal’ alternate, that of the state acting as a unitary actor on its own. He thus allows for the possibility that migrants might be attracted to a country due to the welfare opportunities that the country in questions offers.

2.5. Interdisciplinary Approaches

As already mentioned, Papadopoulos and Tsianos’ approach downplays the economic drivers of migration; instead, they suggest that ‘migration adapts differently in to each particular context; it changes its faces, links unexpected social actors together’ (Papadopoulos & Tsianos: 226). This approach is part of various ‘interdisciplinary approaches’ to migration, which incorporate ideas and approaches from various disciplines in an attempt to capture the complex nature of migration. Following the very valuable economic theories of migration, some of which were discussed above, it is now important to consider a relatively new interdisciplinary approach based on the classical *migration system theory* (Castles & Miller: 26).

This theory assigns special importance to relationships between sender and receiver countries; it examines ‘both ends of the flow and linkages between the places concerned’ (Castles & Miller, 2003: 26). Migration System theory suggests that the factors pushing a citizen to migrate include close links to the receiver country that are based on ‘trade, investment or cultural ties’ (Castles & Miller, 2003: 26). Migration System theory surpasses neo-classical economic theories of migration, paying greater emphasis than traditional economic neo-classing to both macro and micro structures. Macro structures are large-scale factors that are closely tied to institutional regulations. Micro structures focus on an individual’s particular beliefs. The result of this merging of macro and micro is found in the migration system theory, and is composed by ‘meso-structures’ (Castles & Miller, 2003: 27).

These meso-structures are of high importance in analysing migration factors. Through these meso-structures, we can find a ‘migrating industry’ developing that emerges from the tendency of employers in a globalised economy to take advantage of the unstoppable flow of immigrants in a the receiving country. At the same time, there is a migrating industry that the immigrants themselves form in order to survive in a new environment. The Migration System theory incorporates macro, meso and micro structures to give a holistic picture of migration.

Building on the valuable existing literature on migration, it is now possible to form a theoretical framework, around which the case of Cyprus can be examined.

2.6 A Theoretical Framework

We have so far overviewed the most important theories of migration, covering economic theories, theories from the field of International Relations, political theories, and

interdisciplinary approaches. Combined together, these theories provide a holistic theory for understanding migration.

In what follows, I choose to follow the classic approach of *push and pull* factors that follows from the valuable work of Bretell and Hollifield. For each of my hypotheses, I discuss whether the independent variable acts as a *push* or *pull* factor. From the field of International Relations, I borrow theories of transnationalism. Transnationalist theories take into account the influence of globalisation, which has had a great impact on migration flows in both the sending and the receiving country. Globalisation has managed to accelerate the development of communication and has strengthened the importance of networks, which, in turn, have empowered (however problematic their situation remains) the immigrant communities around the world, and have brought into attention their numerous problems.

The dependent variable is the ‘flow of migrants in Cyprus’. The four independent variables are:

H1: Cyprus’ Economic Growth

H2: Human Rights, Education and Welfare

H3: Law Amendments for Changes in the Migration Policy Following Cyprus’ Accession to the EU (2004)

H4: The Recent Economic Recession

All four hypotheses will be examined from the perspective of both economic and transnationalist considerations. This ensures that economic factors are taken into account, without ignoring the sociological aspect of migration. The reason for choosing not to follow

Bretell and Hollifield's political approach on *control, security and incorporation* is because I believe that *push* and *pull* factors cover all three while also distinguishing who is gaining the most from each factor. In other words, 'control, security and incorporation' *are* essential components for the good management of immigration in the country, yet they still fall under the categorisation of *push* and *pull* factors. In addition, *push* and *pull* factors set more clearly the important reasons for why immigrants choose a certain country of origin over another. As regards transnationalist theories, they explain why migration cannot be understood without consideration of human rights and legal aspects of immigration.

Before moving on to the methodological approaches and the research design for these five hypotheses, it is useful to consider the migration history of the case study country, Cyprus. This is necessary because it will allow us to tailor our methodology and research design. For the purposes of this study, I divide the island's migration history into two periods: the pre-accession to the EU (before 2004) period; and the post-EU-accession period (after 2004).

3. Case Study: Cyprus

This chapter sheds light on the historical and political background of Cyprus in an attempt to conceptualise the immigration effects on the island. It charts the history of Cyprus from 1878 onwards and briefly discusses the events that led to partition in 1974, the formation of the buffer zone, and the transformation of Cyprus from an emigration to an immigration country. It concludes with a presentation of the taxonomy of immigrants in Cyprus.



Map of Cyprus. The blue line marks the buffer zone. Source: www.globalsecurity.org

3.1 Cyprus: A Brief History

Cyprus has historically been considered as a country of emigration than immigration but this has changed, especially after Cyprus's accession to the EU. Before we consider the periods before and after the country's accession to the EU, in order to fully appreciate the

context of immigration into Cyprus it is useful to consider the various idiosyncrasies of the country, the most important of which is the on-going communal conflict and the separation that has been in effect since 1974. What follows is a brief historical overview of Cyprus.

From 1878, when the British inherited Cyprus from the Ottomans, up until 1960 when it gained its independence, Cyprus was a British colony. Under British rule, the two main communities on the island (Greek Cypriots and Turkish Cypriots) grew increasing apart, with Britain politicising the different nationalistic views. The Greek Cypriot community was seeking *enosis* (union) with Greece, whereas the Turkish Cypriot community was going against union with Greece with the theme of *taksim* (partition). The two communities and their differences were the prime actors of the Cypriot conflict. Moreover, looking back with the benefit of hindsight, it is evident that the main root causes of the conflict were ethnic nationalism and exaggerated cultural differences.

In 1960, an agreement was reached between the various parties (the two communities, Greece, Turkey and the UK) with the signing of the Zurich agreement, which granted Cyprus independence and excluded both union with Greece and Turkish-Cypriot partition. The agreement had as main guarantors Britain, Greece and Turkey, but it had only managed to increase the differences between the two communities. The constitution gave Turkish Cypriots a Veto in parliament and considerable administrative powers that appeared to alienate the Greek Cypriot community. Furthermore, the Greek and Turkish armies gained a contingence on the island, with Britain retaining two large areas that were to become sovereign military bases. Fears that the island would be divided were realised in 1963, when the first inter-communal fighting took place.

The series of events, and the creation of underground extremist groups led to the 1974 ‘junta-engineered coup’ (Hadjipavlou-Trigeorgis & Trigeorgis, 1993: 344) against the elected President of the Republic, Archbishop Makarios; this, in turn, led to the Turkish invasion or intervention (depending on which side’s point of view) of 1974. There is now an enforced partition between the North (Turkish Cypriots) and the South (Greek Cypriots) along roughly the ‘Green Line’, as the ceasefire line is called, drawn up by UN forces in 1963. Only the Republic of Cyprus (South) is internationally recognised, and only this part is a member of the EU.

3.2 Cyprus and Migration

The historical and political turbulence on the island helps explain Cyprus’ history of emigration and immigration. Following the events of 1974, Cypriots found themselves migrating from the North to the South and vice versa. Before 1974, Cyprus was an emigration country, with many citizens migrating to richer countries in search of a more stable political climate and a more prospering, advanced economy. As a former British colony, on gaining independence many Cypriots chose to immigrate to the UK. Some emigrated to Australia or South Africa: half the population had moved abroad. The war of 1974 accelerated the emigration as the conflict had damaged the Cypriot economy causing mass poverty and high unemployment.

Yet these devastating events also opened the doors for a new era for a more modernised Cyprus. The 1980s saw the economy starting all over again, while young Greek Cypriots were only emigrating so as to study abroad. When they returned they were high-skilled professionals. As a result of this, the Cypriot government made a lot of effort for finding ways to fill up the labour shortage. By the 1990s, the Cypriot government had ‘abandoned the

restrictive migration policy in an effort to meet low-skilled labour shortages generated by an economic development model based on tourism’ (Trimikliniotis, in Triantafyllidou & Gropas, 2007: 46). As well as tourism, other industries necessitated immigration. In 1992, the George Vasiliou administration recruited 1,600 foreigners to meet specific needs in the construction sector, the hotel industry and clothing/footwear. This turned out to be the beginning of a huge influx of immigrants into Cyprus. The constant inflow of migrants has kept rising each year since.

Today, the total number of non-Cypriot residents is estimated to be 97,638 EU citizens and 82,557 TCNs (Morphitis, 2011: 8). According to Zelia Gregoriou, the taxonomy of immigrants ranges from short-term residence to long-term residence, and it is also evident that there are a lot of irregular immigrants such as ‘crossers of the Green Line (Greek Cypriots and Turkish Cypriots), settlers and migrants to North Cyprus and illegal migrants (illegal migrants who enter the Republic from the north by crossing the Green Line or migrants who enter legally the Republic on short term visas’ (Policy Analysis Report, 2009). Most immigrants are employed in domestic work, the service industry (tourism, trade), the manufacturing industry, agriculture, and construction in low-paid and low-status jobs (Trimikliniotis, in Triantafyllidou & Gropas, 2007: 52).

Table 1: Distribution of Third Country Migrant workers in Sectors of the Economy

ECONOMIC ACTIVITY	2005	2008	2010	2011	2012*
Agriculture, Forestry and Fishing	4,107	3,764	4,399	4250	4060
Mining and Quarrying	49	54	51	51	47
Manufacturing	3,654	3,797	3,795	3329	3008
Utilities	14	23	114	143	140
Construction	4,085	5,064	4,533	3955	3569
Wholesale and retail trade, Motor Repair	4,623	6,512	7,331	6829	6528
Hotels	2,305	1,966	1,587	1696	1347
Restaurants	4,249	5,247	4,358	3669	3430
Transport, communication and storage	684	964	1,896	1868	1801

Financial Intermediation	229	571	871	987	1108
Real estate (Previously including all other business activities)	2,417	2,986	225	225	221
Support activities for business, other service activities			1,271	1986	949
Science, professional and technical activities			1,869	1006	2066
Other community, social activities		1,604	926	1006	940.5
Arts and entertainment	1,374		656	693	693
Public administration	842	1,207	1,283	1335	1369
Education	529	585	700	657	680
Health and Social Work	785	1,071	1,161	1082	1050.5
Employment in private households	16,221	19,560	24,541	25801	25032.5
With extra-territorial organizations	61	77	89	917	101
Non-stated economic activity		641		97	932
Total*	46,225	55,692	61,656	61,581	59,071

* January and April Average figures 2012

Source: Ministry of Labour, Social Security Division, Cyprus.

3.3 Pre-accession Period

1990 marked a remarkable year of change for immigration to Cyprus. This is because immigration, which was already upwards, during this year coincided with the collapse of the USSR and the further growth of tourism, which attracted more immigrants for labour reasons. The collapse of the USSR brought a lot of Eastern European immigrants, including Bulgarians and Romanians (which have been members of the EU only since 2007). There were also flows of immigration from former Yugoslavia and in particular Serbs (this was reinforced in 1999 with the war in Serbia). Meanwhile Russians had found a welcoming ground in Cyprus due to the similarity in religion and customs (Trimikliniotis, in Triantafyllidou & Gropas, 2007: 53). In addition, the Israeli-Palestinian conflict, the Gulf War, and the war in Beirut attracted Lebanese, Kuwaitis, Palestinians and other citizens from Arab countries (Trimikliniotis, in Triantafyllidou & Gropas, 2007: 53).

Cyprus' economy prior to the country's accession to the EU was dependent largely on the flows of migration to the island. Russian immigrants, for example, were issued visas a lot

easier than after Cyprus' accession to the EU. As a result, Russians managed to build solid offshore businesses and use the island as a tax haven. A lot of Russian churches, schools and small enterprises emerged on the island during this period. The 'tripartite' system that was established in 1991 between the Cypriot government, the trade unions and employers' organisations further enhanced immigration. This 'tripartite' system, which was 'compiled in 1991 and reaffirmed in 2004, stipulated that migrant workers are granted the same employment terms and all other rights enjoyed by Cypriot workers' (Trimikliniotis, in Triantafyllidou & Gropas, 2007: 47).

3.4 Post-accession Period

Only relatively recently has the EU started to consider immigration as a key aspect of European policies. It was not until the Lisbon Treaty was ratified in 2009 that the issue of TCNs was fully mentioned in many articles, including in the treaty. In particular, Articles 77-80 'set out provisions on borders, asylum and migration' (Boswell & Geddes: 10) of which Article 78 and 79 have specific provisions for TCNs. They reiterate the importance of protection and rights for TCNs.¹

The Cyprus National Reform Program stated that non-Cypriots make up 21,6 per cent of the labour force (Trimikliniotis & Demetriou, unpublished research). Following Cyprus' accession to the EU, there was a need for 'Europeanising' the influx of immigrants in the country. Upon its accession, Cyprus tried to adopt the notion of 'Fortress of Europe' by taking stricter measures for the inflow of migrants. In 2005, the Ministry of Labour adopted a 'quota' system for controlling the immigration flow, but it was rather 'vague and general' (Trimikliniotis, Triantafyllidou & Gropas, 2007: 48). It meant to 'set a compulsory 30 per

¹ Article 78 of the Lisbon Treaty refers to 'a uniform status of asylum for TCNs valid throughout the EU' and 'a uniform status protection for TCNs'. Article 79 marks the 'definition of the rights of TCNs legally residing in a member state including free movement and residence in other member states' (Boswell & Geddes: 11).

cent maximum quota for TCNs for all businesses and also per sector without clearly specifying the various sectors' (Trimikliniotis, Triantafyllidou & Gropas, 2007: 49). This adjustment did not prove to be efficient because quotas did not work and did not put an end to the permanent stay of TCNs.

The process of 'Europeanisation' of Cyprus started making the island more attractive for immigrants and asylum seekers. This was because Cyprus serves as a 'prime instance of a southern European country which functions as the "entrance hall"' (Trimikliniotis, Triantafyllidou & Gropas, 2007: 49) to the EU. Many migrants who have Northern Europe as their final destination stop by Cyprus. This has led to a need from some individual political parties to advocate new policies for stopping the flow of immigrants to the island. It has also led to a series of initiatives by NGOs and trade unions for integrating and offering new opportunities to immigrant workers.

Thus, after Cyprus' accession to the EU in 2004, the immigration became a hot topic of political discussion and public debating. By looking at the official law documents for Migrants and Illegal Migrants in Cyprus, it is obvious that a lot of amendments from 2003 (a year before Cyprus' accession to the EU) and after 2004 (the year of the accession) were put forward. Going through some of these amendments allows us to draw some conclusions on whether immigrants from Third Countries found it harder to immigrate to Cyprus following the island's accession to the EU. Through a series of sources, we can analyse our hypotheses so as to see what affects the inflow of TCNs into Cyprus. Before we do that, however, it is useful to briefly discuss the taxonomy of TCNs in Cyprus.

3.5 Taxonomy of TCNs in Cyprus

TCNs come from one of three areas of origin: Asia; Eastern Europe; and the Middle East. Illegal immigrants arrive mainly from Asia and the Middle East, with the vast majority arriving to the Republic of Cyprus via Turkey and the North, and through the Green Line, that is the dividing line between the North and the South of Cyprus (Migration Policy of the Republic of Cyprus, issued in January 2011).

Table 2, obtained by the Ministry of Labour, categorises TCNs and records immigration numbers annually. The majority of TCNs come from Sri Lanka, Bangladesh and Philippines:

Table 2: Third Country Permits currently in force*

Country	2010	2011	2012*	Country	2010	2011	2012*
Afghanistan	8	59	3	Equator	4	4	4
Albania	119	208	74	Eritrea	2	4	1
Algeria	3	14	1	Ethiopia	85	172	38
Angola	1	4	5	Fiji		1	-
Argentina	37	41	9	FYROM	26	23	6
Armenia	197	307	125	Gabon	2	1	-
Australia	43	73	19	Gambia	6	6	
Azerbaijan	9	4	4	Georgia	379	912	174
Bahrain		3	2	Ghana	68	71	44
Bangladesh	2717	2125	925	Green Cape	1	1	-
Belize	6	4	1	Grenada	4	1	-
Belorussia	561	579	207	Guatemala	1	7	7
Benin		3	-	Guiana	2	2	-
Bolivia	1	1	-	Guinea	76	57	-
Bosnia- Herzegovina	24	38	18	Honduras	1	1	-
Brazil	56	56	22	Iceland	1	7	-
Burkina Faso	3	6	2	India	3518	3890	1412
Cameroon	246	182	71	Indonesia	63	108	22
Canada	121	141	41	Iran	285	1304	142
Chile	3	4	1	Iraq	575	390	295
China	1754	1326	401	Israel	148	193	99
Colombia	21	21	12	Ivory Coast	6	6	3
Comm. of Dominica	-	1	1	Jamaica	-	1	-
Costa Rica	10	3		Japan	17	19	5
Croatia	30	32	21	Jordan	165	184	61
Cuba	16	19	8	Kazakhstan	92	103	36
Cyprus	1	10	-	Kenya	63	59	19
Dominican Republic	20	19	4	Kiribati	-	1	--
DR. Congo	36	43	14	Kuwait	8	7	-
Dutch Antilles	-	14	-	Kyrgyzstan	30	37	11
Egypt	2886	1967	1194	Laos	1	2	
El Salvador	2	5	2	Lebanon	369	477	157
Chad	-	-	1	Latvia	-	-	3
Chibuti	-	-	1	Myanmar	-	-	64

*Up to 2012, specifically up to 2.8.2012

(Table 1, continued)

Country	2010	2011	2012*	Country	2010	2011	2012
Lesotho	2	2		Seychelles	2	7	2
Liberia	1	3	1	Sierra Leone	24	16	4
Libya	58	63	41	Singapore	8	10	5
Madagascar		1		Somalia	9	21	3
Malawi	1	1	3	South Africa	110	149	33
Malaysia	17	5	2	Sri Lanka	5852	10665	3398
Mauritius	5	5		Sudan	7	14	3
Mexico	12	17	8	Surinam	1	1	
Moldova	2442	2000	774	Switzerland	23	137	
Mongolia	11	7	4	Syria	1593	1459	653
Montenegro	11	4	11	Tadzhikistan	3	5	3
Morocco	117	91	30	Taiwan	2	3	2
Mozambique	38	28		Tanzania	5	11	7
Myanmar	122	106		Thailand	118	99	59
Namibia	2	2		Togo	3	1	1
Nepal	799	583	257	Trinidad and Tobago	1	2	
New Zealand	9	16	6	Tunisia	5	6	3
Nigeria	213	223	168	Turkey	63	356	38
Nigeria	3	2	1	Turkmenistan	6	6	1
Norway	43	200	-	UAE	1	3	1
Oman	1	1	-	Uganda	8	7	1
Pakistan	1476	1562	549	Ukraine	2717	3057	1181
Palestine	876	987	430	Uruguay	4	6	1
Panama		1		USA	320	401	135
Peru	10	17	2	Uzbekistan	104	95	34
Philippines	6825	12129	4387	Venezuela	15	20	20
Republic of Korea	10	12	-	Vietnam	4962	13077	1853
Russia	5231	6742	2772	Yemen	3	9	2
Rwanda	3	4	-	Yugoslavia	227	307	57
Saudi Arabia	7	4	1	Zambia	3	6	3
Senegal	8	10	1	Zimbabwe	74	79	44
Serbia	241	211	113	Total	49796	70437	22902
Nicaragua	-	-	1				
United Kingdom	-	-	1				

Source: Ministry of Interior, Cyprus. 18.5.2011

Official reasons for TCNs migration, as recorded in the Cyprus Statistical Services, are employment, education, family formation, or reunification. There are both short-term and long-term migrants who receive a permission of stay for a certain period. Table 3 shows the actual number of TCNs who were granted a permission to stay during the period 2003-2013:

Table 3: TCN permits 2003-13.

Year	Number of TCN permits
2003	48657
2004	42054
2005	37313
2006	37307
2007	47914
2008	54487
2009	60560
2010	49845
2011	49068
2012	37777
2013	17125

Source: Immigration Office, Cyprus, 2013

Table 4 below shows that the majority of TCNs who came to Cyprus arrived as DW. However, one must take into account the fact that many TCNs registered as students also get a job at the same time as being students. This must alert us to the fact that the ‘official’ reasons for coming into the country are often misleading.

Table 4: TCNs’ Categories of Employment.

Category	Permit Type	Number
A.S	DW EMPLMNT	4
GEN	DW EMPLMNT	32217
CY	EMPLOYMENT	2798
CREATIVE ARTIST SUP. STAFF	EMPLOYMENT	1
ARTIST	EMPLOYMENT	7
PERFORMING ARTIST	EMPLOYMENT	176
GEN	EMPLOYMENT	3561
BCS	EMPLOYMENT	2626
EU	MEU1	917
EU	MEU.1.B.A	1
EU	MEU2	4635
GEN	MEU2	4

EU	MEU.2.A	1
EU	MEU3	62
EU	MEU.7.A	1
EU	MEU.7.D	1
FR	MFR1	1664
LT	MLT1	260
GEN	PUPIL	888
BCS	PUPIL	1
A.S	SPECIAL PERMIT/EMPLOYMENT	4079
ARTIST	SPECIAL PERMIT/EMPLOYMENT	6
A.S	SPECIAL PERMIT/VISITORS	16
GEN	STUDENT	3531
GEN	VISITOR	2328
BCS	VISITOR	198
CY	VISITOR	2381
A.S	VISITOR	3

62367

Source: Ministry of Labour, Cyprus, 2013

Table 4 shows that the majority of TCNs who came to Cyprus arrived as domestic workers (DW) or for employment. However, one must take into account the fact that many TCNs registered as students (PUPIL permit) also get a job at the same time as being students. This must alert us to the fact that the ‘official’ reasons for coming into the country are often misleading. There are also many TCNs who migrate to Cyprus to reunite with an EU family member (EU). Finally, Cyprus has hosted a number of asylum seekers (A.S).

Four categories therefore emerge: those who migrate for work; those who migrate for studies and/or training (European Parliament Focus Study on Cyprus); those who migrate for family reunification; and asylum seekers. These categories are discussed below. It should be noted that the majority of immigrant workers in Cyprus are women. According to a study conducted by the University of Cyprus, more than half of the immigrants who came into Cyprus during the 1980s-90s are women (Trimikliniotis, IOM Report, 2009: 2). The majority of women (54%) are household keepers (Trimikliniotis, IOM Report, 2009: 2). 49% of women immigrants come from Asian countries, 23% from Eastern European countries and

18% are European nationals. The majority (77%) came to the island for job employment and the rest for family reunification.

Work immigrants

Most immigrants are on the island for job opportunities. Most TCNs Domestic Workers (DW), working in services and agriculture and as unskilled workers. Work immigrants must have a temporary residence permit, which may last up to four years. This can be extended for further years.

Students

Students are granted ‘temporary student permit’ under certain educational criteria so as to avoid ‘false’ documented migration.

Family Reunification Immigrants

Legislation refers to ‘a family reunification immigrant’ when a TCN has a family member who has ‘a right of residence in the territory of Cyprus for a period of longer than three months’ (European Parliament Focus Study on Cyprus). It can also be when a person has TCNs living in Cyprus and wants to reunite with them but must fulfil a set of criteria. They must: ‘Have resided lawfully in the Republic of Cyprus for a period of at least two years’; ‘Possess accommodation regarded as normal [...] and meets the prescribed health standards’; and ‘Possess health insurance in respects of all risks covered for Nationals of the Republic’ (European Parliament, Comparative Study of the Laws in the 27 EU Member States for Legal Migration: Cyprus).

Asylum Seekers and Political Refugees

In recent years, the majority of asylum seekers seeking refuge to Cyprus originate from Syria, Sri Lanka, Iran, Pakistan, West Bank, Georgia, India, Iraq, Bangladesh, China,

Turkey, Afghanistan, Philippines, Cameroon and Egypt. In 2010, the majority were Palestinians from Gaza and Iraq.

The above taxonomy of immigrants correlates with some of the hypotheses examined in this study: H1 refers to the labour migration in times of economic growth, while H4 refers to labour migration in times of economic recession. All the hypotheses are discussed extensively in the chapter that follows.

4. Research Design / Methodology

In order to answer my main research question – *What factors influence the immigration flows of TCNs in Cyprus?* – I offer here a brief review of the research design and methodology that I follow. Each hypothesis will be examined separately and will be tested against data I have obtained through primary and secondary research. The four independent variables will be: economic growth; economic downturn; integration programmes; and migration policy changes. I also consider the role of private recruitment agents. The dependent variable is increase in immigration flows.

For all the hypotheses, I base my analysis on two principal sources of evidence. These are: a) the already existing census data from the Cyprus Statistical Services, the Ministry of Interior and the Ministry of Labour that show TCNs demographics in numbers; b) 6 originally-conducted interviews with key actors in the field of immigration in Cyprus; and c) a typed-written interview given out to 50 randomly selected TCNs in Cyprus. The conducted interviews with key actors include a politician/policy maker from EUROKO (right wing party in Cyprus), a police officer, an immigrant student in Cyprus, the Senior Director of the Ombudsman office in Cyprus, the Head of Staff at the Ministry of Labour, and a member of a left-wing trade union PEO. Talking to these 6 key actors, I have gained access into how officials treat the question of immigration, while I have also gained insight into the views of the TCNs themselves. In addition, I was also able to gauge the present situation regarding immigration in the country as well as to speculate on some future concerns that relate to immigration. ‘Semi-structured interviews’, that is interviews ‘when the researcher has a list of themes and questions to be covered, although these may vary from interview to interview’ (Saunders, Lewis and Thornhill, 2007: 312) allowed me to be flexible. Secondary data,

mainly censuses (documents ‘carried out by governments’ (Saunders, Lewis and Thornhill, 2007: 249) meant that my research was grounded on solid evidence. For the verification of the secondary census data and the semi-structured interviews there is triangulation of data. This refers to ‘the use of different data collection techniques within one study in order to ensure that the data are telling you what you think they are telling you’ (Saunders, Lewis Thornhill, 2007: 139).

For H3, I carry out *theory-oriented process tracing*. This allows us to identify the causal relationship between the migration law policies taken decided by the Republic of Cyprus in comparison to our pre-accession period to the EU and the post-accession period. The reason for the use of process tracing for H3 lies in the fact that this method of analysis offers a unique way of assessing causal patterns between the independent and dependent variables which might lead to similar outcomes in different situations (George & Bennett 2004: 215).

4.1 Scope and Limitations

The rationale behind examining five hypotheses is to try to look at the various important factors that lead TCNs to immigrate to Cyprus. These five hypotheses cover both social and economic reasons, thus providing a holistic picture. Looking at already established census data allows us to examine how far these hypotheses are valid. At the same, I apply the *push* and *pull* factors theory.

There are, of course, many limitations to this kind of research. Participant interviews are only as good as the accuracy of the participants’ observations and recollection. As for the process-tracing method used to examine H3, it should be remembered that a disadvantage lies in the trap of not having an efficient process-tracing method since it is only examining one

case. Some political scientists argue that ‘causal explanation requires case comparisons and that single case has limited uses’ (George & Bennett: 220). In this study, I only use one case study. This limits the chances of following a successful process-tracing method. It has also been argued that the single case observation ‘is not a useful technique for testing hypotheses unless it is compared with other cases’ (George & Bennett: 220). That is one of the reasons why I am only using process tracing for H4 and not for the rest of the hypotheses: so as not to limit our perspective by using just one method of analysing. Process tracing does offer an opportunity to examine the links between the examined variables.

5. Discussion: Four Hypotheses

Dependent Variable: Increase of the flow of TCNs into Cyprus

5.1 H1: The better the economic conditions of Cyprus, the higher the number of TCNs in Cyprus

Existing literature shows that there are many reasons why some immigrants prefer Cyprus as their destination country. One of the main reasons is its until-recently economic prosperity. Individuals who decide to migrate search for a country that will offer them better conditions and job opportunities. Cyprus is a country that offered many opportunities for migrants to work and it complies with all the norms of a democratic regime. Due to its geographical position, Cyprus is a short distance from the Middle East, and thus facilitates the movement of migrants from surrounding countries. Moreover, Cyprus has traditionally had a shortage of unskilled workers because young high school graduates continue their studies until university. This lack of low-skilled workers is replenished with foreign workers.

Census data collected by the Cypriot Statistical Service reveals the demographic evaluation of TCNs annually, categorising sex, age, country of origin and job. The annual report of 2010-2011 (which is the more recent), divides TCNs into low-skilled labour and high-skilled labour. It allows us to identify the reasons why immigration might be decreasing or increasing. For instance, if there were more low-skilled immigrant workers than low-skilled native Cypriots, that would suggest that Cypriot people might be moving abroad to achieve full potential of their educational background, thus making immigrant, low-skilled workers all the more needed.

Such opportunity for labour counts as a *push* factor for an immigrant to migrate, but it also acts as a *pull* factor for the host country whose economy is growing and whose economy is benefiting from low-skilled labour. Yet for the receiver country in this case this can be both a negative and a positive situation. While increasing number of immigrants tends to lower labour costs for enterprises and thus sustain development, it can also increase unemployment for domestic workers who may have the same skills, with various social, political and economic implications (Christofides et al., 2009: 52).

The period between 1995 and 2005 marked a ‘boom’ for the Cypriot economy. For some economist, reasons why the economy was performing so well included that there were sufficient resources for new enterprises, but also the fact that there was a steady inflow of immigrants at the time which helped keep salaries competitive. It is therefore accurate to claim that cheap labour provided by TCNs contributed towards the island’s ten-year economic prosperity. For Antigone Lyberaki, in situations where there are absences of remittances and other transfers to the sending countries, the receiving countries are the ones who benefit from immigration. However, as Lyberaki adds, a consequence of this is that ‘inequality in the distribution of factor income increases in the receiving country and is reduced in the sending country’ (Lyberaki, 2008: 9). For Borjas (1994), natives do benefit from immigration flows as immigrants take the low-skilled working jobs thus leaving the chances of high-skilled workers (who are mostly natives) to benefit from them. This increases social mobility amongst the locals. Counterfeiting the commonplace argument that immigrants take jobs away from nationals, it may be the case (as in Cyprus during the boom) that immigrants compete and take the jobs that the nationals do not want.

Census data provided by the Cypriot Statistical Service depicts the annual GDP%, while census data obtained from the Department of Migration shows the annual number of TCNs granted residence permit. These two sets of data are very useful in considering H1. The first thing to note is that these data only cover legal migrants and not the illegal ones; this is a limitation. Moreover, these data span the years 2003 (the earliest I could obtain) and 2012 (the most recent).

Looking at the figures on Table 5 below we note that the annual GDP for 2003 was 11,630, for 2004 12,522, reaching 13,402 in 2005:

Table 5: GDP in Relation to Inflow of TCNs.

Year on Year Change	GDP Values TCN Values	
	2003	11,630.6
2004	12,522.3	42054
2005	13,402.0	37313
2006	14,432.5	37307
2007	15,829.7	47914
2008	17,157.1	54487
2009	16,853.5	60560
2010	17,406.0	49845
2011	17,979.3	49068
2012	-	37777
2013	-	17125

Source: Personal Compilation from Cystat sources (on GDP) and Immigration Office (TCN Values), Cyprus, 2013

From the table we can see a steady expansion of the economy. However this does not always correlate with increase in TCNs, whilst from 2003 to 2005 it fell sharply from 48657 to 37313. These figures complicate the hypothesis that the better the economic standards, the higher the number of TCNs.

There are two possible ways to explain these figures and the relationship between GDP and inflow of TCNs immigration. The first is to take into account Cyprus' accession to the EU in 2004. Even before joining the Eurozone in 2008, Cyprus' accession spiralled inflation. It is not difficult to think that expensive life without larger salaries slowed down the inflow of TCNs into Cyprus. A much more plausible reason is the stricter immigration policies that have been implemented following Cyprus' accession to the EU in 2004; this factor is discussed at length in H3.

The other possible way of explaining this relationship is because of the limitations in my research: I have not examined other variables. There seems to be no direct causal relationship between GDP and immigration flows in numbers, thus it is very likely that there are other things that influence the relationship not examined here. Moreover, we should not ignore the fact that Table 5 only lists 'legal immigrants'; it may well be that the number of immigrants has increased proportionately to the GDP but that these immigrants were illegal.

Nonetheless, the hypothesis that the better the economic situation in a country (as measured from annual GDP date from 2003 to 2012) the higher number of immigration flows of TCN seems difficult to accept unconditionally.

5.2 H2: The better the state of human rights (including education and integration programmes), the higher the number of TCNs in Cyprus

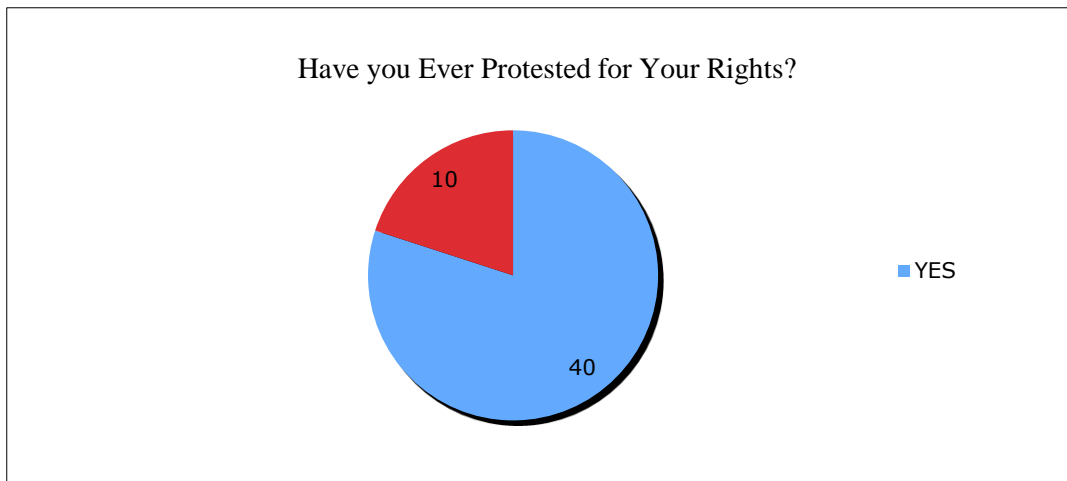
The impact of human rights for migrants should be considered as an essential need for individuals (not only political asylum seekers) to live in a safe democratic environment. These rights are an important *push* factor for TCNs to migrate to an EU country. Taking for example Sri Lanka, which has been for the last thirty years 'one of the principal trouble spots of South

and South East Asia' (de Silva, 2010: 1), it would be easy to see why Sri Lankans are attracted to Cyprus. Internationally known as a conflict-ridden state, the country faces the challenge of seeking reconciliation between the two ethnic communities that are the primary actors in this conflict: the Sinhalese and the Tamils. This troubling situation has led to its people wanting to migrate away from their country in need for a more country in which the political situation is less tumultuous and which also respects and follows human rights.

Following the Treaty of Lisbon, Cyprus implemented a series of amendments that were designed to secure and guarantee the human rights of immigrants. One of the most important amendments was Article 6 of the TEU, which refers to the Union members recognising the rights and freedoms of the immigrants as they are set out in the Charter of Fundamental Rights of the EU of 7 December 2000: 'The rights, freedoms and principles in the Charter shall be interpreted in accordance with the general provisions in Title VII of the Charter governing its interpretation and application and with due regard to the explanations referred to in the Charter that set out the sources of those provisions' (Peers, 2011: 441). The principle of human rights for immigrants is to be respected by all member-states. Following the Lisbon Treaty, there are now 'three separate sources of human rights protections in the EU legal order: the Charter, the ECHR and the general principles' (Peers, 2011: 441).

Although these rules and regulations were duly implemented, my research shows that 1 in 5 TCNs believe that their rights are not protected (or that they feel they are not protected):

Figure 1: TCNs on Protesting for their Rights.



Source: Based on my own research, Cyprus May 2013

TCNs often complain about bad employment conditions in Cyprus, the lack of regularisation and constant labour disputes between themselves and their employers. The current situation in Cyprus is rather disappointing as far as TCN rights are concerned. This is because TCNs feel that issues that are related to the duration of their stay are not respected. First of all, there are existing 'restrictive conditions' that do not allow TCNs or immigrants in general to have active political participation in the domestic elections 'unless full citizenship is granted' (Trimikliniotis, in Triantafyllidou & Gropas, 2007: 54); at least there is no formal prohibition from any sort of organised participation in trade unions, NGOs or other forms of protest organisations. This right (freedom of association) is 'guaranteed by the Constitution and the laws of trade unions' (Trimikliniotis, in Triantafyllidou & Gropas, 2007: 54).

My interview with the office of the Ombudsman in Cyprus (Annex 2, Interview 2) confirmed that TCNs have been reporting cases of domestic violence and long working hours. The interview with the representative of women's rights of PEO (left-wing trade union) gave a more clear picture on the current situation. Both directors confirmed that the current institutional framework in Cyprus is not providing any guarantee for the protection of human

rights for TCNs. The director of PEO emphasised the important role that the trade unions played in making sure that there would be a regularisation on 'criteria' upon the entrance of a TCN into the country.

This regularisation of criteria started in 1991 when some trade unions including PEO insisted on drafting a regulation that would set out clear criteria for controlling the inflow of TCNs in the country and also for establishing some certain rights both for the immigration labour but also for Cypriot unemployed people. The Ministry of Labour adopted the criteria as these were set out by the trade unions in 1992. On the document adopted in 1992,² the regulation sets out some specific criteria for TCNs. These include: adjustments for better working conditions; health insurance; and TCNs not having to pay for their own costs of transportation (Section B of the 1991 criteria for immigrants).

In addition, another 'push' factor for immigrants is education. In Cyprus there are many TCNs who are registered as students, even if many of them also work long hours. For the year beginning 2013, there were 3272 TCNs registered students, ranging from short term and long term residents depending on the year of study. In my interview with Fatima Ish, a student at the University of Nicosia, I enquired why she chose Cyprus for her studies (Fatima is from Bangladesh). Her reply was that the fees in Cyprus are very competitive and also that Visa regulations were relatively easy to obtain. On the question of whether integration programs do or do not matter for TCNs students, she replied that 'even though we are aware of some integration programmes for foreign students, I still do not feel accepted by the society'.

² The criteria are available at www.mlsi.gov.cy/mlsi/dl/dl.nsf

The current institutional framework for TCNs and immigrants in general in Cyprus does not ‘provide the space for civic participation’ (Trimikliniotis, in Triantafyllidou & Gropas, 2007: 53). Even though the constitution of the Cyprus government provides for participation in trade unions for every single citizen of the island, in reality ‘this is hardly ever brought to attention of the migrant applying for a work permit’ (Trimikliniotis, in Triantafyllidou & Gropas, 2007: 55). Therefore, even though Cyprus claims to be in accordance with human rights regulations, there is lack of awareness for the actual rights for voting and political participation. As Trimikliniotis puts it, even if the worker ‘discovers the unconstitutional dimension of this provision, the cost of pursuing such a case is probably higher than the benefit will bring’ (Trimikliniotis, in Triantafyllidou & Gropas, 2007: 53).

Regarding integration programmes, a promising development plan called *Action Aid* was introduced. *Action Aid* is a collaboration between various NGOs, trade unions and other organisations fighting for human rights violations against TCNs. The enhanced project is called ‘Action Plan 2010-12’ for the ‘Integration of Immigrants’ into the Cypriot society. The Action plan consists of different pillars with different priorities and all of them include the topic of integration of TCN. The Cabinet of Ministers approved the Action Aid Plan 2010-12, setting as its priorities: 1) the information and transparency of human rights issues; 2) the participation of TCNs in trade unions; 3) the access by TCNs to education and language learning programmes; 4) the availability to TCNs of health benefits; 5) better quality of life and social protection; 5) active participation of TCNs in cultural events; and 6) integration through several programmes of TCNs, by allowing them to express their opinion freely in all organisations.

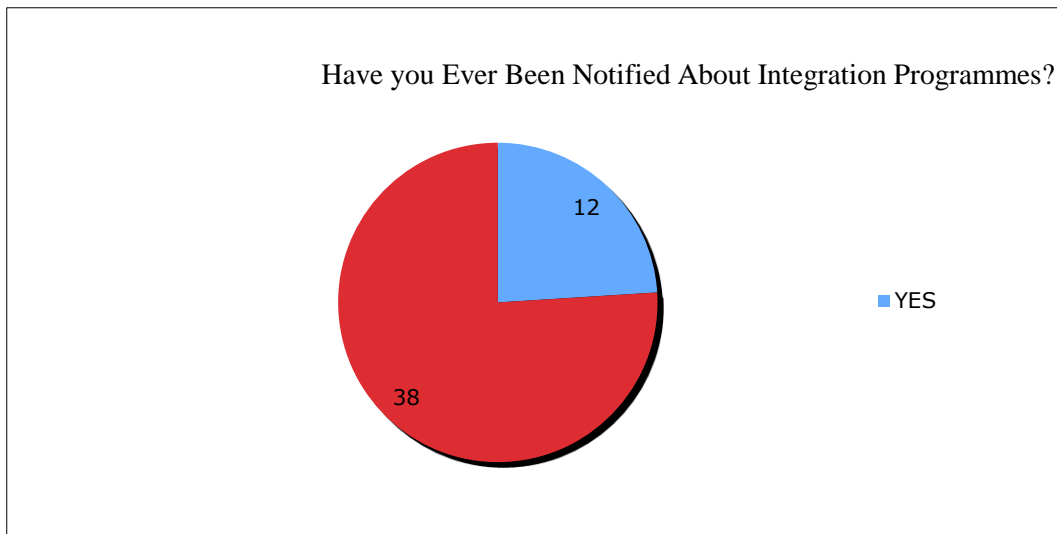
Action Aid was drafted by following ‘11 Common Basic Principles for Integration’, a programme conducted by the EU and adopted by the Justice and Home Affairs Council in November 2004. Its aim was to ‘form the foundations of the EU initiatives in the field of integration’³ Even though these principles are not binding, they do provide a good foundation for a future integration policy.

Following Cyprus’ accession into the EU, there was some criticism about Cyprus from ECRI, which noted how Cyprus was discriminating against TCNs. The most recent ECRI report on Cyprus, from 2011, reiterates the lack of a full and proper ‘integration policy’ and registers its dissatisfaction at widespread ‘negative attitudes towards migrants, asylum seekers and refugees [as] commonly expressed in political discourse and in the media’ and also pointing out at a constant ‘racist attitude in schools’ (ECRI report, 2011).⁴ Therefore, while there are some encouraging developments regarding the integration of TCNs into society and a general recognition that TCNs must have some sort of political participation, nevertheless, there is no evidence to suggest that human rights are respected or well known to the TCNs. It is telling that, when asked if they are familiar with integration programmes, the majority of the respondents answered negatively:

³ These 11 principles are available here: http://ec.europa.eu/ewsi/en/EU_actions_integration.cfm

⁴ See ECRI report, available at <http://www.coe.int/t/dghl/monitoring/ecri/country-by-country/cyprus/CYP-CbC-IV-2011-020-ENG.pdf>

Figure 2: TCNs Awareness of Integration Programmes



Source: Based on my own Research, Cyprus May 2013.

While there are reasons to think that human rights, as an independent variable, can be categorised as a strong *push* factor for a TCN, and that it can also be considered a *pull* factor for the human rights development and democratic advancement of the receiver country, in the case of Cyprus it appears that it is not the primary *push* factor for TCNs deciding to immigrate to Cyprus.

5.3 H3: *The stricter the official legal amendments in Cyprus, the less the TCNs*

This hypothesis tries to identify any causal relationship between immigration policy regulations and inflow of TCNs to Cyprus. In doing so, it is useful to turn to ‘process tracing’, a method that allows us to examine the development of these policies. More specifically, we are here using the simplest form of ‘process tracing’, namely ‘linear causality’. This refers to ‘a direct chain of events that characterises simple phenomena’ (George & Bennett, 2005: 212). This method allows us to chart the development of the Immigration Law of Cyprus and

also see if in the various adjustments conducted annually we can find causal mechanisms leading to those amendments.

The First Immigration Law was introduced in Cyprus in 1952 under the British administration on the island. This the preamble for the ‘Aliens and Immigration Law’ introduced in 1972, under the autonomous Cypriot government. The main law that controls and regulates immigration in Cyprus is the ‘Aliens and Immigration Law, Chapter 105’. It is complemented by the ‘Aliens and Immigration Regulations’ of 1972 and the ‘Aliens and Immigration (Visas) Regulations of 2004’ (Comparative Study conducted by the IOM on Cyprus: 2008).⁵ The law of Aliens and Immigration is mainly concerned with the refusal of illegal immigrants into Cyprus.

Effective use of the Alien and Immigration Law took place in the 1990’s due to the sudden inflow of non-EU immigrants as part of an increase in labour immigration. As has already been discussed in Chapter 3, in 1992 there was an obvious need for labour immigration due to the rapid economic development of Cyprus and the demand for low-skilled workers (e.g. to work in construction, industry and tourism). Following incremental inflow of immigrant workers, Cyprus, now immigration rather than emigration country, turned to the Alien and Immigration Law to try to control the inflow of immigrants.

The legal basis for immigration matters in Cyprus consists of:

- 1) The Constitution of the Republic of Cyprus and of the European Union *acquis communautaire*
- 2) The Alien and Immigration Law

⁵ The Alien and Immigration Law can be found at <http://www.refworld.org/cgi-bin/texis/vtx/rwmain?docid=3fbde7762>

- 3) The Alien and Immigration Regulations
- 4) Decisions taken by the Council of Ministers
- 5) Decisions taken by the Council of Ministers Committee
- 6) Decisions taken by the Chief Immigration Officer⁶

Article 32 of the Constitution of the Republic of Cyprus (1) of 1960 provided regulations for immigration issues, which have had to comply with International Law. When Cyprus began harmonising with EU directives, there was already a good basis for building on the new EU directives. Following Cyprus' accession to the EU in 2004, there have been some significant changes in existing immigration policies and laws. Harmonisation during accession to the EU came at a time (2004) when Cyprus was fast becoming an attractive destination not only for TCNs but also from EU nationals. The major EU amendments were eventually adapted to the Alien and Immigration Law.

The new Directives brought about by the transposition of the *acquis communautaire* are as follows:

- Directive 2004/38/EC assures the free movement of EU citizens and their family members; it was adjusted to the Alien and Immigration Law in 2007.⁷
- Directive 2003/109/EC and Directive 2004/114/EC refer to TCNs who are long-term residents and who immigrate for educational reasons; it was adjusted in 2007,
- Directive 2003/86/EC fortifies the principle of family reunification; it was adjusted to the Alien and Immigration Law in 2007.

⁶ See 'Migration Policy Plan', issued by the Ministry of Interior of Cyprus, January 2011.

⁷ As Trimikliniotis writes, 'the Cyprus government failed to transpose this Directive in 2006' (Trimikliniotis, in Triantafyllidou: 49). The Directive was voted in by the Parliament in 2007.

- Directive 2007/71/EC regulates matters that control the inflow of TCNs for ‘scientific research’ reasons into the country; it was adopted in 2009.

All of the above Directives are designed to ‘open up’ Cyprus to EU citizens and also to re-regulate the TCNs’ entrance criteria. Thus, the Directives promote an intra-EU migration, regulating job opportunities for EU citizen into an EU member state.

The Alien and Immigration Law (2&3) divides TCNs into those who are immigrating on their own (e.g. students and the self-employed) and those who are family related to EU nationals. This separation was intended to introduce a clear taxonomy of immigrants, in order to control the permanent stay of TCNs in Cyprus. It is for this reason that permits are issued on a short-term basis and depending on the individual’s occupation. Until recently, the permit could only be renewed to four years; now it can be renewed for up to six years (Comparative Study, Legal Immigration: 2008). This Law provides definitions for the categorisation of immigrants on the island and sets clearly the order of regulations. It is not just concerned with illegal immigration, but also with the group of immigrants who are exempted from certain rules and who can have special privileges.

Regarding issuing Visas and other regulations sections, the law categorises immigrants to those who can enter the country and to those who are permitted only under strict conditions. The law defines different categories of candidate immigrants. These include: ‘poor persons’; ‘insane persons’; ‘person suffering from contagious disease’; ‘person with criminal offense’; ‘prostitute’; and ‘anyone who is considered by the Council of Ministers as unwanted’ (Comparative Study conducted for the IOM, Cyprus, 2008: 172). The category of ‘poor person’ describes that individual who ‘in the opinion of the Chief Immigration Officer,

is or is likely to become unable to support himself or his dependants, or is likely to become a burden on public resources' (Comparative study conducted for the IOM, Cyprus, 2008: 171). These criteria (often deliberately vague) are set out in a way so as not permit everyone to enter the country, thus giving the immigration authorities more flexibility in controlling the inflow of TCN. There are some safeguards, as the law also defines the responsibilities of the Chief Immigration Officer. It also regulates marriages of convenience with an EU native, procedures for legal actions, offences and penalties, orders of imprisonment and illegal employment (mostly sanctions against employers and employees).

Cyprus has also a major issue to confront, namely, that of asylum seekers and political refugees. The table included in the Appendices (Annex 3) reveals the number of asylum seekers, including those who have secured residence permit. Only a limited number end up being granted political asylum; this is due to legal amendments making the criteria stringent and also due to the recent financial crisis which hit the island in March 2013 and which has made it very tough for asylum seekers (this factor is discussed in H4). Following Cyprus' accession to the EU, there was a need for restructuring Directives concerned with matters of asylum. Asylum matters are legislated by the Refugee Legislation, which was voted in in February 2000 and the Asylum Service that was implemented in February 2004. Both are designed to meet EU regulations. The legal basis for matters of asylum are controlled by the *acquis communautaire*, the Refugee Legislation, and the Regulations for Refugees. Of particular interest for our study are:

- 1) Regulation 343/2003, which was implemented in the National Legislation in 2004 and prescribes for the examination of the candidate procedures.

- 2) Regulation 2725/2000, which complies with Dublin Regulation II.⁸
- 3) Directive 2005/85/EC for minimum criteria for the procedure for the right of asylum, which was implemented in the National Legislation in November, 2009.
- 4) Directive 2004/83/EC that sets the regulations that asylum seekers need to fulfil and which was implemented in the National Legislation in July, 2007.
- 5) Directive 2003/9/EC that refers to minimum criteria for the inflow of asylum seekers and Directive 2001/55/EC that defines the minimum benefits for asylum seekers in case of a massive inflow of several asylum seekers from different origins. The latter is mainly preoccupied for the fair distribution of benefits among asylum seekers.

Most legislation for asylum was implemented after Cyprus' accession to the EU. Given the number of successful asylum seekers, this shows that, indeed, the stricter the immigration laws, the less the inflow of TCNs including political refugees and asylum seekers.

All in all, the hypothesis that *the stricter the immigration laws the less TCN* is true. Following Cyprus' accession to the EU, new directives make it more difficult for TCNs to be issued a Visa than for an EU citizen in what is a clear attempt to enable intra-EU immigration over immigration from Third Countries. This is shown by the number of EU migration inflows from EU nationals from 16.888 in 2003 to 49.848 in 2010:

⁸ 'Council Regulation (EC) No 343/2003 of 18 February 2003 establishes the criteria and mechanisms for determining the Member State responsible for examining an asylum application lodged in one of the Member States by a third-country national'. See www.europa.eu/legislation.

Table 7: EU immigration

<u>Year</u>	<u>EU Citizens into the Country</u>
2003	16.888
2004	21.397
2005	21.799
2006	22.273
2007	28.715
2008	41.684
2009	42.086
2010	49.848

Source: www.cystat.gov.cy

Cyprus will continue to face problems with ‘illegal migration’ as long as the island is divided. The ‘Green Line’ buffer zone that cuts the South part of the island from the North serves as a gateway for illegal immigrants. Measures are taken to prevent the illegal crossing of the roadblocks. In part, these are provided through the ‘Alien and Immigration Law’, but are complicated by the on-going lack of communication between authorities in the South and North and the UN’s failure to liaise successfully between the two.

As we will now see, it remains the case that the most important reason stopping TCNs from immigrating is the decline in demand from employers. This decline in demand from employers is examined in the next and final hypothesis.

5.4 H4: The worse the economic conditions in Cyprus, the less the TCNs in Cyprus

The last hypothesis examines the current European crisis and its impact on immigration flows from TCN in Cyprus. Starting from the premise that Cyprus has been majorly affected by the current economic crisis from 2009 onwards, with the crisis culminating in March 2013, the aim is to examine the change in GDP, unemployment rate, and the change in numbers of

the flow of TCNs into Cyprus. It is, of course, too soon to have full results showing the effect of the financial meltdown of March 2013. However, data that exists is revealing of how the crisis might affect TNCs immigration. For this reason, this study is all the more relevant.

According to a survey conducted by the IOM in 2010, ‘workers from non-EU countries were particularly affected by worsening employment conditions’ all around Europe (IOM publication). This has had a great impact on countries for which the majority of their immigration flows was based on labour migration. In the case of Cyprus, the Euro Crisis of 2009 marked an important change in numbers on immigration from TCNs, as there was a significant drop in the net immigration flow but not that of EU nationals. Net immigration flows (Table 8) shows a long-term positive net migration flow from 2000 until 2011. However, there is a large increase in unemployment rates (Table 9), due to the economic crisis. Characteristically, unemployment increased from 6.9% in 2010 to 14% in 2013.

Table 8: Migration movements 2000-2011*

Year	Total Immigrants	Total Emigrants	Net Migration	Net Migration Rate (%)*
2000	12,764	---	+3960	+5,7
2001	17,485	----	+4650	+6,6
2002	6940	1474	+5466	+7,7
2003	7981	1696	+6285	+8,8
2004	9003	1913	+7090	+9,7
2005	10320	2192	+8128	+11,0
2006	13077	2778	+10299	+13,7
2007	19,328	4016	+15222	+19,9
2008	21060	4474	+16586	+21,1
2009	22581	4797	+17784	+22,0

2010	20206	4293	+15913	+19,2
2011	23036	4895	+18142	+21,4

Source: The Cyprus Statistical Service (2012)

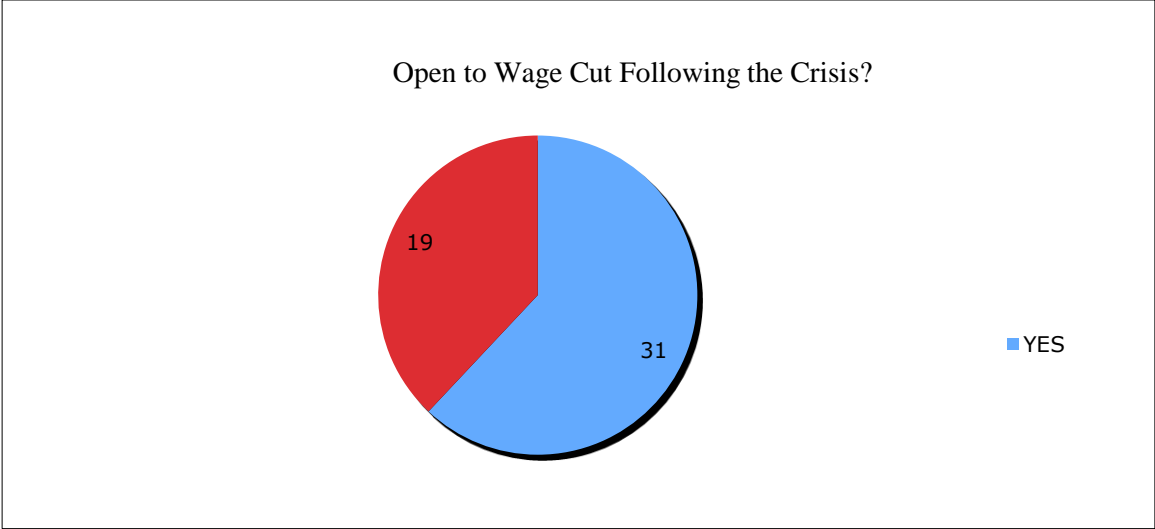
Table 9: Cyprus Unemployment Rate



Source: Eurostat (www.tradingeconomics.com)

There are various points to make. Firstly, at times of economic crises, many native workers lose their jobs and domestic workers. For many years, young Cypriot educated people would not work for low-skilled jobs or low salaries. Following the Banking Crisis, many more native workers are after low-skilled jobs no matter their educational background. Secondly, employers at this time can choose to hire low-wage workers in an attempt to save money, and also sometimes to respond to increasing demand. Employers will often choose a TCN (traditionally low-wage workers) than a Cypriot national, not least because a TCN is expected to be more adaptable to wage cuts. For example, a standard salary of €700, even if cut down to €600, would still be a high enough wage for a TCN from Sri-Lanka rather than return back home. That TCNs would be open to wage cut is revealed in my research. Question

14 on my questionnaire asked 50 random samplers answered whether they would be open to wage cut following the recent financial meltdown:



As a tax haven relying on services, Cyprus has been widely diagnosed as having a ‘hypertrophic’ banking system. The Cypriot economy had already been wooed by the European financial crisis, since the two largest private banks had bought Greek bonds. As a result of their attempts to buy Greek bonds, Cypriot banks did not hold reserves. Cyprus was left exposed to the Greek financial crisis with catastrophic results, whilst its status as tax-haven contravened world regulatory standards as set by the Basel Committee. Indeed, what happened to Cyprus might become the norm with other tax havens that are in the EU, and which are being treated with suspect by the IMF and Eurogroup. In addition, the EBD and Troika are now faced with a North-South economic opposition, something that shows that Southern EU countries are closer to financial bankruptcy than ever before. The model proposed of undertaking ‘haircuts’ of up to 40% on people’s savings (in Bank of Cyprus) and ‘haircuts’ of up to 80% over 100,000 Euro (in Laiki Bank) is ominous for Luxembourg and Malta.

In the case of Cyprus, where the economic system was based on foreign investments, especially by Russians (who are considered TCNs), TCNs immigration will be affected. Russians will not invest any more in the country and might even avoid from visiting due to bad publicity or ill feeling. Another big investor for the Cypriot economy are wealthy Chinese business people. The Chinese have now started to become the new emerging economic income power to the island, but maybe they will choose to avoid investing in Cyprus.

Thus it is easy to see how the recent economic crisis will have an impact on TCNs immigration. Another aspect that needs to be considered is the role of private recruitment agencies, which play a really important role in regards to labour immigration (which is what will be affected by the economic crisis).

Private Recruitment Agencies:

Even though there are not accurate accounts of the number of private legal recruitment agencies existing before 2012, their role is of immense importance for the inflow of immigrants into the island. Private recruitment agencies are responsible for the inflow of TCNs into Cyprus, either as domestic workers or for primary sector employees (for primary sectors such as agriculture and manufacturing). There has been an on-going debate between politicians in Cyprus on whether there should be a more controlled observation on the activities of private recruitment agencies since there have been many scandals on exploitation of immigrants from many offices which are unregistered at the Department of Immigration (and are therefore illegal).

Private recruitment agencies act as ‘mediators’ between private recruitment agencies in the sending countries and between the employers who are in need of TCNs. Through this

process, private recruitment agencies take advantage of TCN's payment for bringing them to the country and for granting them Visa permission.

These private recruitment agencies were one of the first industries to suffer following the Banking crisis in March 2013. This is indicative of the way in which the demand for private domestic workers fell dramatically. The group who are in real need of domestic workers are pensioners and families with young children. Given that pension funds in Cyprus will suffer from the financial crisis, and given the increased expenditure suffered by young families, it is easy to see why there is less demand for domestic workers. Fewer TCNs will be asked by private recruitment agencies to come to Cyprus.

As gathered from the above, the relationship depicted by H4 is proven correct: the worse the economic condition, the less the inflow of TCNs. Moreover, having looked at different indicators, we must conclude that H1 and H2 are inaccurate, whilst H3 and H4 are fair and accurate.

6. Concluding Remarks

This study has surveyed and discussed some of the major approaches to migration, ranging from political to social and economic perspectives in an attempt to do justice to the interdisciplinary nature of migration. It has sought to answer the following question: *What factors affect the immigration flows of TCNs to Cyprus?* By paying attention to the social and political history of Cyprus, we saw how Cyprus transformed from emigration to immigration country. The on-going conflict was revealed as one of the reasons – and complicating factors – of ‘illegal’ immigration. Nonetheless, we have been able to draw an accurate taxonomy of TCNs immigration to Cyprus. In order to examine the multifaceted issue of immigration, I turned to a range of research methods and collected both primary and secondary data. The testing of the four hypotheses – which looked at the economic conditions of the country (growth and recession), human rights and legal and policy amendments – has produced interesting results.

When I began this project I was intent on giving great emphasis on surveying related immigration literature, since migration theories can be seen through many disciplines. An overview of the literature is presented in Chapter 2. This review of the literature has enabled me to choose a suitable methodology based on classical theory of immigration and conceptual analysis according to *push* and *pull* factors. Yet, while analysing each hypothesis by identifying the independent variable as either *push* or *pull* factor, I have also used transnationalism to analyse these hypotheses, so as not to neglect the importance of globalisation.

The case study country of Cyprus has lent itself to interesting, valuable and original research. Cyprus has been greatly affected from inflows of migration. It is a full EU member, making it interesting to see how a country within the EU handles immigration. Moreover, Cyprus is in the unfortunate position of a country in great economic turmoil; it is interesting to examine its relationship to immigration and speculate how the financial crisis might (and in what ways) influence immigration and integration programmes. In addition, Cyprus is a small state within the EU with a largely services-based economy. This idiosyncrasy makes it a particularly interesting country to analyse, not least because there are many other services-based small countries in the EU or aspiring to join the EU.

Using the classical *push* and *pull* theory, we have avoided using correlated theories and getting overwhelmed with their similarities. Although this offers a clear theory for immigration factors, however, it is not an implicating one. Nonetheless, whereas we have managed to come up with some concluding factors that can act as ‘push’ and ‘pull’ factors categories:

Table 8:

PUSH Factors	PULL Factors
Employability/better economic conditions (H1)	Job vacancies in primary sectors due to good economic conditions
Democratic regime / better condition of human rights (H2)	Good record of human rights/open to immigrants
Asylum/refuge (mentioned in H3)	Complying with EU regulations in allowing a certain number of asylum permissions

Table 8 shows some of the *push* and *pull* factors for both the sending and the receiving country that this study has yielded. However, a number of limitations must be factored in.

Our choice of independent variables, such as ‘stricter legal regulations’ and ‘economic recession’, do not fall in either of these categories. They both fail to persuade a citizen to migrate and the receiving country to accept immigrants. This has meant that the chosen theory has made our hypotheses difficult to argue. In addition, the fact that I chose to analyse only one case study country did not leave any space for comparison with another case study. Although this was done for practical reasons, and also to prioritise depth over breadth, it is difficult to come up with a conclusion about what it is that differentiates Cyprus in terms of its laws, regulations and policies. That I chose to analyse the immigration flows of only TCNs to move into Cyprus, again for practical and research reasons, meant that we only considered the impact of EU nationals on the island in passing. The category ‘EU nationals’ includes nationals from poorer countries, and given recent debates within the EU about controlling intra-EU migration this was a missed opportunity. However, the benefit of examining all independent variables – law regulations, policies and human rights violations – from the perspective of TCNs is that it pays emphasis on this category of immigrants who are finding it difficult to integrate.

Throughout our analysis we have covered aspects and revealed things that are often left outside of the public realm in Cyprus. For example, the Action Aid plan of 2010-2012, the new EU regulations that the Alien and Immigration Law had to adapt, and the rights of TCNs to be associated with trade unions and other political organisations are not things that are known to many. We have seen that the factors that affect immigration flows are mainly economic ones. The majority of immigrants from Third Countries are in Cyprus as labour

migrants. Other reasons for immigrating such as ‘cultural similarities’, ‘human rights’ and ‘in search of human rights’ also do play a part, even if minor.

The analysis has successful shown the following:

- a) The importance of human rights as a determining factor in migration
- b) The taxonomy of Cyprus’ immigration population, which helps us understand immigration in a more informed manner
- c) The views of various key actors in the field of immigration, offering invaluable qualitative information

At the same time, the following must be taken into account:

- d) Had I chosen to study more case studies, we would have had a better idea of the legal amendments that should have been taken in Cyprus and are not yet in action
- e) The fact that two out of our four hypotheses proved falsified shows that better independent variables could have been controlled for analysis.

Policy Recommendations

After looking at the conclusion of our analysis, we can now suggest some policy recommendations to complement the existing policies and regulations. In March 2013, Cyprus went through a big shock signalling the most acute crisis in its economic history post-1974. This crisis has affected the country’s growth and dramatically shut one of its main

sources of income: foreign investments. This economic recession, the full effects of which are still to make themselves obvious, will adversely affect TCNs immigration, most of whom work as labour workers. Even if they don't work in service jobs, fields such as tourism, construction and agriculture will be hit by lower consumption. At the same time, Cypriot nationals, deprived of stable income and with lower unemployment benefits and pensions, will suffer. Economic crises have various social and political implications. With immigration being a particularly sensitive one, special attention should be given on the aspect of immigration.

Mr Morphitis (in Interview 3) proposes a redefinition of priorities so as to help Cypriot nationals find a job, thus in effect helping the economy, i.e. prioritise employment availabilities to Cypriots. This traditionally right-wing view need not be dismissed straight away. However, it must be treated with a lot of caution, and its political implications must be thoroughly defined, for the fault should not be put on TCNs or other EU nationals. Rather, employers must stop taking advantage of TCNs and other EU nationals who are employed in low-paid jobs. With higher, equal salaries, everyone will have a fair chance. The fact that the country is undergoing a severe crisis should alert policy makers in the Ministry of Interior in re-regulating minimum wages for primary sector jobs (agriculture, building industries) and making them equal for both native workers and other immigrants. This suggestion is difficult to implement, but giving equal chances to both native and immigrant workers must become a priority for the government since Cypriot nationals are facing high percentages of unemployment at the moment, something which unfortunately translates into alienation, disaffection and, as with the example of Greece, racism. Thus making wages equal might prevent extreme and misguided reactions.

In addition, it was not until recently that a Migration Policy (2011) was drafted for the Republic of Cyprus that includes programmes for social integration and promotion of multiculturalism. Cypriot policy makers should consider immigration as an integral part of the society and must learn to live in the multicultural country that Cyprus has become. Because of this lack of information on immigrant integration programmes, there has been a lot of media misinformation on the negative effects of immigrants in the country. Many journalists and politicians put the blame on immigrants for the lack of job opportunities and for the loss of cultural identity. The issue of immigration is frequently connected to ‘unemployment, and job stealing’ (Trimikliniotis, in Triantafyllidou & Gropas, 2007: 55); it is also a commonplace that ‘Cyprus is too small to absorb the current number of foreign workers’ (Trimikliniotis, in Triantafyllidou & Gropas, 2007: 55). It is part of the responsibility of being an EU member state to accept being part of a large community that has to accept the new challenges of European integration.

We are living in times of economic crisis. At times such as these, we should seek to pay increased attention to the sensitive subject of immigration issue. Cyprus need to control the inflow of immigrants, regulate their rights and living conditions, and must become open to accept multiculturalism and seek further integration with foreign workers.

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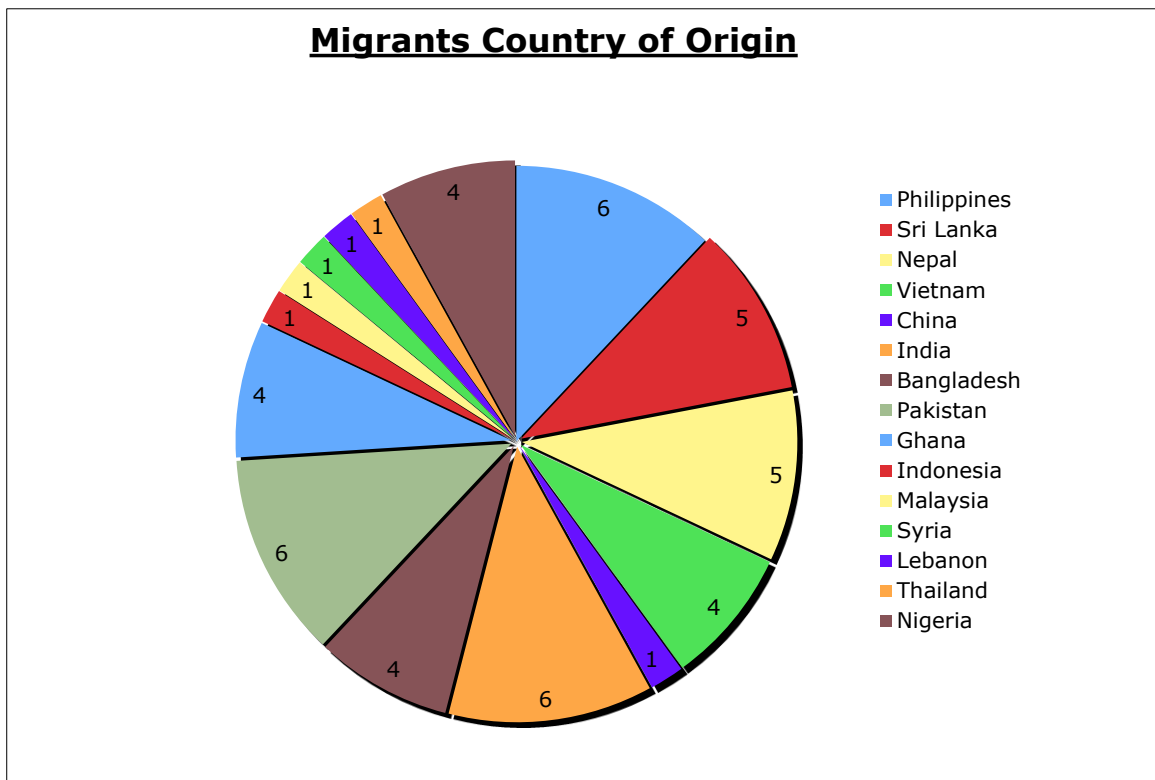
Ministry of Labour <www.mlsi.gov.cy/mlsi/dl/dl.nsf>

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Appendices

Annex 1: Questionnaire Results from 50 Random TCNs

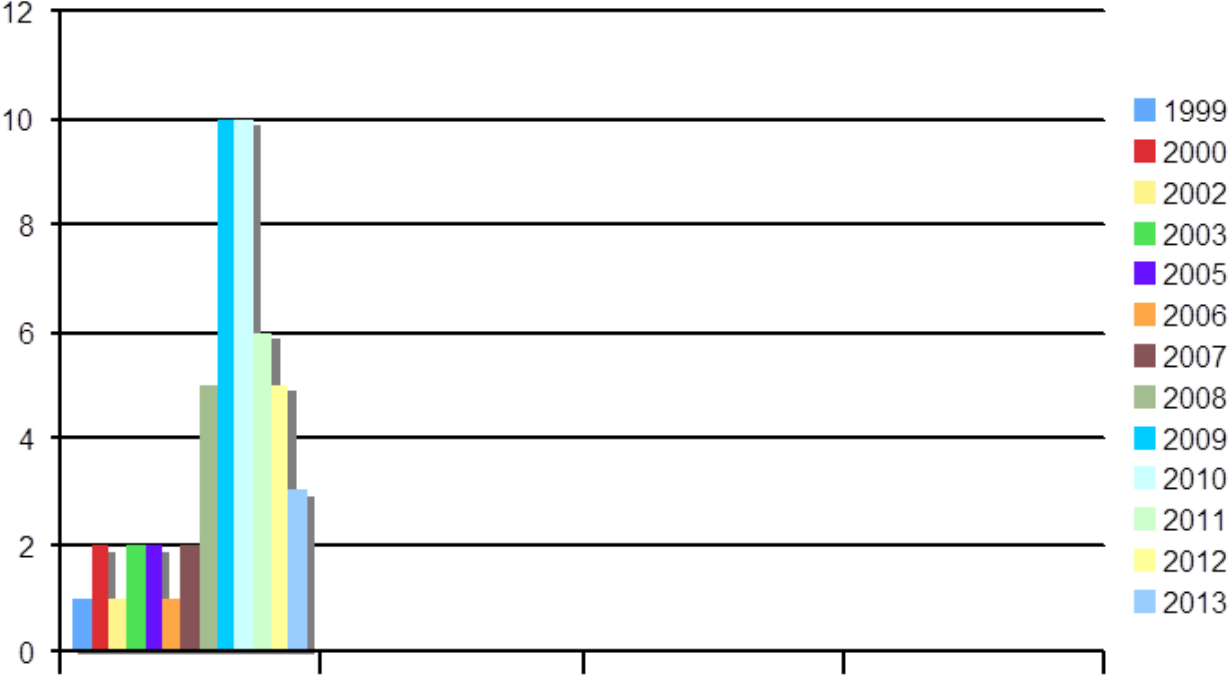
Question 1: Country of Origin



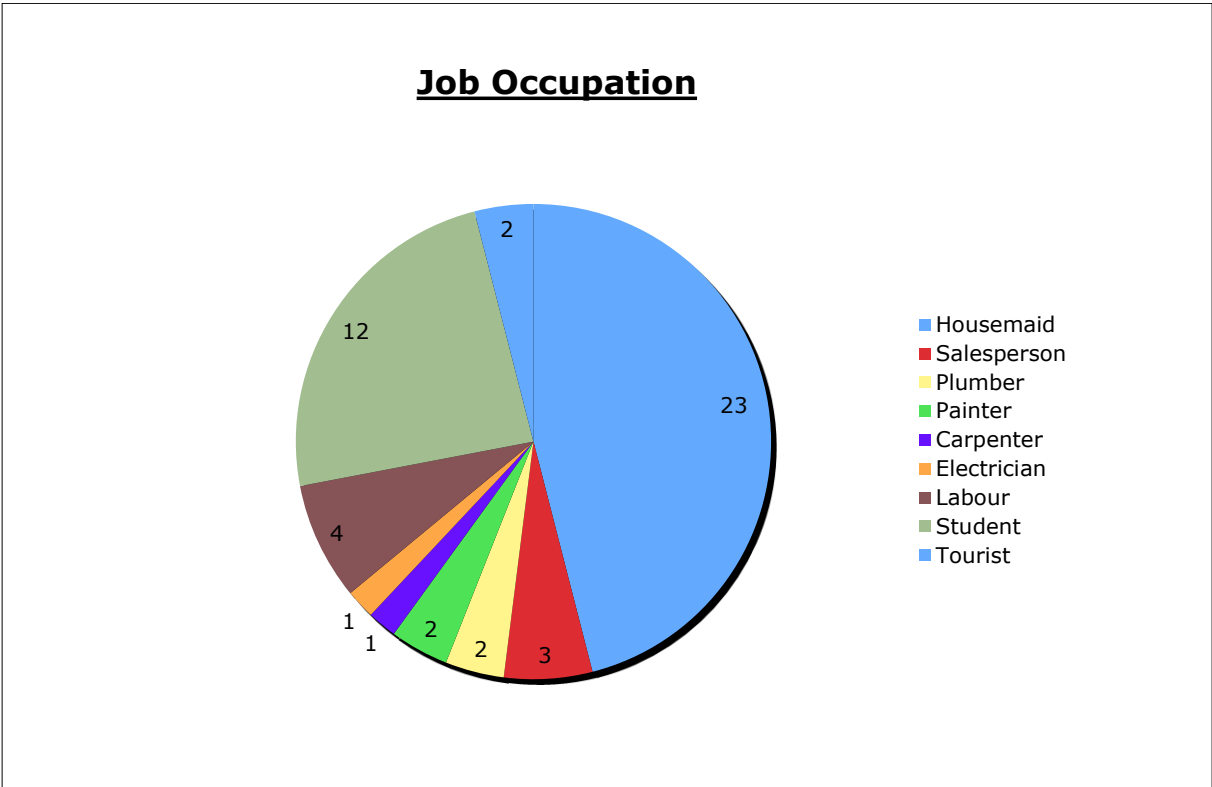
Annex 2:

Question 2: Date of Arrival:

Date of Arrival



Question 3: Job Occupation



1. Interview with Ms Marina Koukou (in charge of the human rights violations of household keepers/domestic) for PEO (Pancyprian Federation of Labour)

The Interview was recorded on 28.5.13 at 12.00 at the PEO premises in Nicosia. The interview lasted for 38 minutes.

Codification: D.H are my initials, M.K are for Ms Marina Koukou

D.H: Good morning and thank you for your time. In your opinion, what are the main reasons for a TCN to come to Cyprus?

M.K: Good morning. There are three main reasons for a TCN to migrate. The first one can be personal choice for either cultural or for experience reasons. This category falls into a minority option. The second ‘push’ factor is for finding better job opportunities and because they want to move away from their countries’ repressing political regimes. These immigrants are under direct and indirect coercion from their countries.

D.H: From which countries do immigrants come from?

M.K: It is mostly from Sri Lanka, Philippines, Bangladesh and Vietnam. The most important reason for their inflow is because of labour migration.

D.H: How do they get informed for job vacancies in Cyprus?

M.K: Most TCN come via private recruitment agencies. Employers go to a private recruitment agency in Cyprus asking for an employee (mostly low-skilled jobs) and then in collaboration with other private recruitment agencies in the sending countries they manage to issue Visas to TCN. These businesses tend to take advantage of the immigrants in their home countries since they ask for money than it is actually necessary. Vietnamese migrants had to give 8000 dollars to both their private recruitment agencies back home and to the one in Cyprus which is an incredibly high amount of money for their Vietnamese economic standards. In order for Vietnamese women to be able to pay this amount of money, they would work as prostitutes in order to be able to pay the amount back to their agencies.

D.H: When did the first massive inflow of immigrants start?

M.K: In 1989, with a rapid growth of the GDP (4%), there was an immediate need for low-skilled workers to fill in the vacancies for agriculture, and tourist industries. In addition the unemployment rate was really low, 3%. Thus, employers sought to find cheap employment from immigrants. The reason for choosing immigrants as workers in these industries was mainly because of the low salaries, which immediately led to a competition between native workers and immigrants. For this reason, many employers ‘froze’ the salaries for native workers and they would not give higher wages as they could find cheaper employment from immigrants.

D.H: What were the benefits for immigrants when they first entered the country in the 1990s?

M.K: Employers would provide housing benefits for immigrants and food, health insurance and salaries. For allowing them to have these benefits, the employer would keep the 10% for their residence and 15% for food and shelter. However, there was an exploitation of working hours, thus imposing them to do as many job tasks as possible.

Also, some employers would hold the employees' passports, and residence permits so as to let them stay and work.

D.H: Were there any significant changes from the 1990s until today as far as the countries of origin of immigrants are concerned?

M.K: From the end of 1990s until the beginning of 2000, we started having a massive inflow of immigrants from Romania and Bulgaria. At the beginning they would come with the same benefits as TCN but today and they were preoccupied with employments such as household keepers. However, after Cyprus' accession to the EU in 2004, and Romania's and Bulgaria's accession to the EU in 2007, they can have the same working conditions as Cypriot citizens since they are also EU nationals. For example, now Romanians and Bulgarians work in jobs that are insured by the EU Court Orders, such as shop assistants (jobs that Cypriots would have liked to do).

D.H: Are there any significant changes for the duration of residence permits?

M.K: Yes, after Cyprus' accession to the EU the residence permit for TCN can now be renewed to 7 years for exceptional circumstances(normally the residence permit goes up to four). However, after the 7 years of residence, immigrants can apply for the Cypriot citizenship and this is one of the reasons why their permits are not renewed to 7 years.

D.H: Thank you for time and patience

M.K: My pleasure.

2. Interview with Ms. Thekla Demetriades (The Office of the Commissioner of Administration/ the Ombudsman)

The Interview was recorded on the 29.5.13 at 09.00 am at the Office of the Ombudsman, in Nicosia, Cyprus. The interview lasted for 28 minutes.

Codification: D.H stand for my initials, T.D stand for Ms. Thekla Demetriades

D.H: What are the responsibilities of the Office of the Ombudsman?

T.D: It started as a committee for complaints against the government institutions, for complaints against discrimination. It does not have an executive power. From 2011 onwards the Ombudsman has in its mission to ensure legality, the promotion of good administration, the rights of those administered as well as the protection of the rights of the citizen and the human rights. The Office respects the Human rights formed by the UN Charter.

D.H: What are the main issues that you have to deal with?

T.D: Sex, religion, racism, sexual orientation, handicap and racial discriminations.

D.H: What are the most common complaints you get to hear from TCN?

T.D: Mostly it is about residence permits, political asylum, sexual discrimination and prostitution.

D.H: Who can apply for political asylum?

T.D: Anyone who can be recognised as political refugee from countries that lack state protection and who have a political proof. These legislations go in accordance to the Human Rights protection from the U.N. The host state should cover his health and housing needs.

D.H: Were there any changes in the Migration Policy for the last few years after our country's accession to the EU?

T.D: For the last 20 years, the Migration Policy remains the same with the difference that after 2004, there is a priority for EU nationals, Cypriots and lastly the TCN. There has been an addition of Independent Rights Authority solely for the conditions of immigrants under (kratoumenoi) for asylum seekers – Annual Report for these instances

D.H: Where do you refer these complaints?

T.D: We report at the Council of Ministers, and we ask for legal action against racism and discrimination. We don't have executive power, we are mediating with persuasion.

D.H: Thank you for your time and patience.

3. Interview with Andreas Morphitis (EUROKO), member and Former Officer at the Ministry of Labour who has done extensive research on immigration

The Interview was recorded on the 22/5/13 at 17.00 pm and lasted for 35 minutes at the EUROKO offices in Nicosia, Cyprus

Codification: *D.H stand for my initials, A.M stand for Mr. Andreas Morphitis*

D.H: **How immigration policies of different governments have affected the immigration flows?**

A.M:

In 1992, the then government had decided to allow 1600 foreign workers from Third Countries based on the following reasons:

- 1) convenient arrangement to assist in the shortage of labour
- 2) cover the shortage of labour
- 3) lower cost than local labour costs

After 2003, the then government with growth rate of 4% and a very low unemployment rate of only 3% decided to introduce a quota on the flow of foreign workers and their employment was restricted on areas of agriculture and farming. In 2004 upon Cyprus' accession to the EU no provision was made to restrict labourers from Romania, Poland and Bulgaria whereas Spain and the U.K had made such provisions. In 2008, we had a new left-wing government, they had a different philosophy regarding free movement of workers and as such we have seen a huge influx of such workers of coming to Cyprus for employment purposes. This has resulted in an influx of huge numbers of workers displacing to a very great extent the local workers.

D.H: **Which specific problems have resulted in the labour relations in Cyprus?**

A.M: The hottest issue regards the fierce competition from EU workers who accept a lower wage than the locals and also they are prepared to work on flexible hours. Today, as a result of the economic recession the government has to provide all these EU workers with labour subsidies and benefits because they are out of work.

D.H: **How do you foresee the government in improving this situation?**

A.M: We have to renegotiate the accession treaty to the EU and in particular the Chapter regarding foreign EU citizens working in Cyprus. In the case of Belgium, they have renegotiated this issue on the principle of posing undue burden on the social cohesion of the society. Belgium, has succeeded in expelling a large number of workers on the basis of the above principle. In my view, they should give priority to Cypriot workers and only in cases where the vacancy cannot be filled by a Cypriot to an EU worker.

D.H: **Thank you for your time and patience**

4. Interview with Ms. Fatema Islam, an immigrant student at the University of Nicosia

The interview was recorded on the 28.05.13 at 9.00 am, at the student café of the University of Nicosia. The interview lasted for 20 minutes.

Codification: D.H stand for my initials and F.I for Ms. Fatema Islam

D.H: Fatema, how does it feel being a student in Cyprus?

F.I: Being a student in Cyprus has both its goods and its bad moments. I now feel legal! It took some time to adjust and learn the language and I have seen a lot of difference in people's attitude since the day I started speaking Greek. By being a student in Cyprus, I feel like I am a citizen who has the right to live here, having a paper(residence permit that is) and now I have chance to travel a lot more easily than before.

D.H: Have you been informed for any kind of integration programmes for foreign students?

F.I: I am actively involved in many integration programmes and cultural exchange programmes. However, there are not many students who get the chance to get involved because they are simply not aware of them. Also, there are many foreign students who wish to learn the Greek language. However, there are no convenient and flexible language classes for a university student. Most of the students I know are studying and working at the same time so there should be more flexibility on language programs. Also, foreign students are not aware of our human rights. There were a lot of protests for an unawareness of the Action Aid plan.

D.H: Why did you choose Cyprus to study?

F.I: The main reason is because it was cheaper for me to come here from Bangladesh rather than going to another EU country. In addition, it is not that far away from my home country.

D.H: Have you been a victim of discrimination?

F.I: Yes, there was an incident at the airport while I was coming back at the Airport of Larnaca (Cyprus). They would not believe that I am a student and that I am legal until the time I started talking in Greek and explaining them the reason of visiting.

D.H: Were the procedures of Visa permission for students clear to you?

F.I: Yes, there is a special office at the University especially for Visa issues for students and during my study years in Cyprus I have seen a tremendous increase in the number of students from TC.

D.H: Thank you for your time and patience

Annex 3: Asylum Seekers / Applications for Residence Permit

	2013		2012		2011		2010		2009		2008		2007		2006		2005		2004		2003		2002		Σύνολο/ Total		
	cases	persons	cases	persons	cases	persons	cases	persons	cases	persons	cases	persons	cases	persons	cases	persons	cases	persons	cases	persons	cases	persons	cases	persons	cases	persons	
Αιτήσεις που έχουν υποβληθεί (Applications)	77	92	1405	1630	1611	1770	2542	2882	2663	3199	3449	3922	5905	6789	4286	4545	7291	7746	9285	9872	4032	4407	839	952	43308	47714	
Αποφάσεις Υπηρεσίας Ασύλου (Decisions)	62	77	1347	1639	2455	2963	2371	2785	5830	7017	7537	7912	6749	7184	5295	5601	5500	5805	4998	5345	404	411	126	143	42612	46805	
Αριθμός αιτητών Ασύλου που αναγνωρίστηκαν ως Πρόσφυγες (Recognised Refugees)	0	0	35	80	28	53	11	31	21	49	27	64	15	36	19	37	16	41	15	30	0	0	0	0	187	421	
Παραχώρηση Ανθρωπιστικού Καθεστώτος (Humanitarian Status)	1	1	9	15	15	15	8	25	19	33	76	163	115	191	85	151	51	123	26	56	10	10	0	0	414	782	
Παραχώρηση Καθεστώτος Συμπληρωματικής Προστασίας* (Subsidiary Protection)	0	0	9	10	1	1	214	370	564	1287	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	788	1668
Απόσυρση αιτήματος** (Withdrawals)	19	32	185	261	218	284	187	203	267	285	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	857	1033
Αριθμός Απορριφθέντων Αποφάσεων (Rejections)	42	44	1083	1240	2154	2559	1843	2032	3034	3325	3848	4001	2123	2316	1674	1779	2988	3133	2504	2734	267	274	126	143	21644	23536	
Αριθμός φακέλων που έχουν κλείσει (Closed Files)	0	0	26	33	39	51	108	124	1925	2038	3586	3684	4496	4641	3517	3634	2445	2508	2453	2525	127	127	0	0	18722	19365	
Εκκρεμούσες υποθέσεις (Pending)	907	1294	892	1279	827	1203	1672	2390	1192	1797	4479	5833	8567	9823	9411	10218	10420	11274	8628	9332	4341	4805	713	809			