

SOME REMARKS ON INTERNATIONAL
TOURISM IN THE MEDITERRANEAN
—With a Case Study in the Maltese Islands—

By KEIICHI TAKEUCHI*

I

A spectacular expansion of the tourist phenomenon on a world scale during the past quarter-century with the rapid growth of its economic and social importance is already widely recognized. Actual tourism is distinguishable by its mass character from the travel undertaken in the past. In the present-day world, human migration is reduced to three main categories according to its motives—labour, leisure and compulsory situations such as war or natural disasters. The first and second categories may be considered, up to a certain point, from a common perspective. As the favorite expression of the Munich School of Social Geography will have it, both represent a behavior pattern derived from the fundamental functions of human existence to form a spatial organization; the directions of the first two migrations are, in a general way, complementarily opposite with the rich going to poorer regions and the poor migrating to richer regions; hence both migrations have historically determined characters. Migration for labour motives has, in the contemporary world, predominantly taken the form of city-ward migration, directly reflecting the changing economic structure of society and consists of permanent, temporary, periodic and circular ones. Migration for leisure motives is, from the very nature of leisure, temporary, if we count out the retired people and those blessed exceptional few who can choose their residential locations without labour constraint. The mass movement of people from their home location to some other temporary location for a few days or weeks is a development very largely, if not entirely, of the period following World War II. The United Nations reported that in the ten-year period between 1955–65, the number of both domestic and international tourist arrivals (in some sixty to seventy countries) trebled, from around 5.1 million to over 15.7 million.¹ It is rather difficult to define concretely the term “non-permanent migrant labourer” (what about, for instance, a foreign labourer living with his or her family?) but, at least numerically, the migration of the second category far exceeds that of the first category, though it might turn out to be the contrary, if we compare the number of days spent by tourists and that by migrant labourers in the places they stay at.

In spite of this phenomenal magnitude in the number of persons concerned, in the area involved and from the point of view of its economic significance, relatively few treatises are

* Professor (*Kyōju*) of Social Geography.

¹ According to estimates of the *International Union of Official Travel Organizations*, there will be something of the order of 1000 million tourists on the move throughout the world by 1980.

dedicated to tourism. There should be some reason for this negligence in regards to this subject in academic fields and the retardation of studies thereon.² Undoubtedly the originality of the phenomenon has disorientated the researchers; there are multiple manifestations of tourism, complex factors—political, economic and ideological—at work in tourism and, in the worst instances, even the unconscious puritanism of academicians in regards to the profane, the unproductive or the apparently superfluous. The multiple manifestations imply, firstly, spatial ones; tourism is the interaction of the tourist-generating region and the toured region, and then, in the latter itself, there occurs a spatial differentiation consisting of the tourist centre, of the areas considered to be tourism resources with their scenery, cultural monuments, and exotic appeal, and of the tourism periphery. Multiple manifestation implies also a sectoral meaning; tourism involves, both in the tourist-generating region and the toured region and directly and indirectly, various economic sectors, not only travel agencies or tour operators, hotels, restaurants, bars and other installations for tourists. It also involves, through the so-called spread-effects or the multiplier, other tertiary and even primary and secondary sectors. That is why in many cases the public authorities give weight to tourism industries considering them as part of their strategies for the development of the country as a whole. This problem we will examine in a concrete case later on. The complexity of factors at work in the phenomenon called “tourism” is easily understandable if, for instance, we consider the reasons for the rapid increase in tourism and its influence on aspects of the social scene. The rapid increase of tourism is the outcome of many factors, such as increased leisure, higher standards of living, improved education and the development of the means of speedy and cheap transport and communication. As to the indirect factors we have to examine innumerable elements such as, for instance the, ideologies expressed in the pamphlets of tour-operators and guide-books in general, the social value system which may bestow a prestigious value on overseas or cultural tours, regarding them as a value heritage from the period of elite tourism. Also, the effects of tourist activities are not limited to economic aspects, but reach out over the vast spaces of the socio-economic and ideological spheres of both the tourist-generating region and the host region.

From this multiple and complex nature of tourism, we can summarize the following three existing trends in research under the heading of “geography of tourism.”³ 1) One can emphasize, according to the traditional settings of geography, the impact of tourism upon landscape. 2) Tourism can be treated also as an important agent of spatial organization. In this case special attention is paid to the spatial interplay of tourist demand and satisfaction, mainly relying on locational analysis. 3) Attention can be drawn to the socio-economic impact of tourism on the tourist area. Because the influence of tourism on the toured area is multifarious, there exist different approaches to this kind of study. Some of these approaches range from the micro level, such as the study of the changes brought about in the local community, to the macro level such as the study of the rôle of the tourism in the modernization of a developing country or in the balance of payments for that country. Other approaches range from a purely economic viewpoint to one encompassing cultural change such as in the value system of a population. The modern behaviorist ap-

² G. Gazes and A. Reinaud, A Propos de la géographie du tourisme. *Géographie du Tourisme* (Travaux de l'Institut de Géographie de Reims, 13-14) 1973, pp. 3-4.

³ A detailed examination can be seen in: H. Robinson, *A Geography of Tourism*, London 1976, pp. xxii—xvii.

proach and the approach of social geography generally underline the first and the second viewpoints.⁴ In handling the data regarding tourist demands from a tourist-generating region, however, there is always the danger of relying on methods with a bias in favour of urban and modern elements or in favour of the wealthy. Many recent studies which consider tourism to be an intrusive system belong to the third approach. The early attention of H. Boesch to the Alpine marginal areas rescued through the development of tourism⁵ and W. Christaller's locational analysis of tourism favouring peripheral regions⁶ were pioneer in this sense. Tourism, however, very often leads to obviously different, almost conflicting actions regarding landscape effects, i.e., the development of built-up areas, with installations for tourism industries, and the attempts to preserve and conserve the natural landscape as resources for tourism industries. Such contradictory effects of tourism cannot be explained by the logic of the tourism of the host society but only by the logic at work in the intrusive system, i.e., of tourist activities. Since, for the toured region, the decision-making of tourist activities is mostly external or delocalized, research on the third trend may lead one to assume that a rational, consistent logic is at work in the tourist activities; this might involve a double risk of neglecting the analysis of tourist behavior and of getting caught up into a vicious circle-type of argument, seeking the ideal type sequence of the development or modernization effects of tourism and establishing only positive aspects of modern tourism, which should be rational in the sense that it conforms to the market mechanism. The study of the phenomena of tourism in its total aspects affords us an opportunity to raise questions on the part played by natural factors and on the concept of the region, and to reflect on the significance and the ambiguity of the concept of spatial organization.⁷

II

Here we define the problem with two qualifications, "international" and "in the Mediterranean." The first qualification not only underscores the character of tourism as a form of exchange between regions, developed unevenly and differentially from each other, but also adds some specific characteristics proper to international tourism, as follows:

- 1) As a mass commodity, international tourism belongs to 20th century, a product of highly developed modern capitalism. As in the case of other commodities, it has inherited and commercialized the taste of the bourgeois elite of former times—pilgrimages to historical and cultural monuments, on the one hand, and the pursuit of sun, shore and pleasure on the other hand. But at the same time, as a mass production type of business, the international tourism industry has expanded its sphere of activities, raising it to a world-scale level, and availing itself of the maximization of uneven development among countries.
- 2) Often termed invisible trade, international tourism constitutes an item in the balance of payment of a country. In some countries, as, for example, in the cases of Spain and

⁴ For instance, K. Ruppert and J. Maier, *Zur Geographie des Freizeitverhaltens*. (München Studien zur Sozial- und Wirtschaftsgeographie Bd. 6) Kallmünz / Regensburg 1970, pp. 14f.

⁵ H. Boesch, *A Geography of World Economy*. 1964, pp. 228–229.

⁶ W. Christaller, Some Considerations of Tourist Location in Europe. *Papers, Regional Science Association*, XII 1964, pp. 95–105.

⁷ A. Reynaud, *Éléments pour une épistémologie de la géographie du tourisme. Le tourisme dans l'espace littoral* (Travaux de l'Institut de Géographie de Reims, 23–24) 1975, pp. 5–12.

Eire, the invisible exports accruing from tourism are equal to the values of major export items. On a world scale, tourism has become the largest single item in the world's foreign trade, currently amounting to US \$ 19,000 millions a year. Even after 1973, it continued, and still continues, to expand at the rate of 6 to 10% (though not so high as in the 1960's which had a growth rate of 12-16%). But the destinations of the majority of those tourists hailing from a limited number of industrialized countries are very unevenly distributed; or, in other words, the countries which can count on tourism as a dollar earner are still very limited. Though on the world level international tourism is apparently growing steadily, for any one given country it is often rather fickle. Unlike manufacturing industries, tourism does not necessarily require or bring about a development of the technological aspects of production; hence it is quite difficult for a country to establish herself as a tourism country on the basis of a technological tradition. On the contrary, in some cases, or, even as a rule, the more "virgin" the landscape and the more naive and primitive its inhabitants, the better.

3) Even the flow of commodities in general is strongly influenced by the activities of international, commercial and political organizations such as the multi-nationals, governmental institutions, etc. But in the case of international tourism, there are no absolute measures of comparison for the qualities of the goods, and little consumer supremacy because the "attractiveness" of each tourism district is qualitatively completely different one from another and the tourist makes his choice, in most cases, on the basis of information given out by the tour operators without directly examining the quality of the goods. In this regard, international tourism is an industry having a strong institutionalized and organizational character.

4) International tourism implies the movement of persons, currency and capital, and information across national boundaries, which inevitably brings upon it governmental regulations such as, for instance, immigration control, exchange control, custom control and censorship. Although many tourist countries have adopted measures to relax control procedures in order to encourage and facilitate tourism industries, there always exists some kind of screening of the movement implied by international tourism, which does not exist in the case of domestic tourism. With the purpose of improving the balance of payment, the authorities of tourist-generating countries may shift the destination of their tourists, persuading them to confine themselves to domestic tours. One cannot tour a country which has no diplomatic relations with one's country. A host country can promote the indigenization or the nationalization of tourism industries imposing selective custom and exchange controls. On the other hand, however, some developing countries are caught in a dilemma between the dictatorial, oppressive political systems controlling them and the economic necessity of encouraging tourism. In the case of Spain, did not the development of tourism industries contribute even a little, after all, to liberalization in cultural and social spheres under the Franco regime?

5) The phenomenon of tourism always accompanies the contacts and the interactions between different social and cultural systems, that is those of visitors, which are intrusive, and those of the hosts, which are residentiary. Those which suffer more are naturally the latter; for the tourist, a tour is an escape from ordinary life, then the holiday ends, the image is abandoned and life, along with consumption, returns to normal. For the host, however, the effects are not as limited, or circumscribed, because new tourists arrive and tourism sets up chains of new needs which must be satisfied, if the industries are to remain viable. In

the case of international tourism this characteristic accruing from the contact and the interaction of two kinds of systems becomes much more accentuated, for, in this case, the difference between the two is much bigger. Under such circumstances, for the host country tourism policies become very complicated, having to aim in contradictory directions. At the very least, some measures to bring about a transformation in the residentiary system, such as the development of infrastructures, are required. Social change, as a consequence of contact with the intrusive system, is inevitable and also necessary, so far as tourism policies must keep in view multiplier effects, modernization or growth maximization. On the other hand, the traditional, the untouched, the original, the exotic or things of this kind constitute resources for tourism industries, hence they must be carefully conserved. In spatial terms, the new use of land, under the influence of tourism industries and even promoted by tourism policies, tends to overlap with the previous land usage, the study of which is important because this overlap expresses the articulation of tourism with other types of spatial exploitation.⁸

III

As for the second qualification, that is, "in the Mediterranean," there are also some remarks to be made as to the characteristics of international tourism in this region. The Mediterranean lands were the classical grounds of elite tourism (which originally had, at least in part, the character of pilgrimages) and were hence the first to become the objects of mass-tourism. They were furthermore so, for their rich cultural patrimony, also for the sun, sandy shores and natural and cultural features exotic for the northwestern European.⁹ Although some classical tourist spots, such as La Côte d'Azur, still remain the exclusive districts of elite-tourism, as the result of a kind of sorting through of the market mechanism, the Mediterranean lands have properly gained popularity in mass-tourism because of their vicinity to the heartland of industrial Europe, and because of the low cost of travel and of stay there due to the low living standard of their people. I am not concerned here with—nor is it necessary to discuss here—any form of historical and environmental determinism regarding the economic backwardness of the Mediterranean lands. But, actually, it is this economic backwardness that has promoted the development of tourism industries and so in the Mediterranean lands, except for the French Riviera, international tourism predominates over domestic tourism.

The areas directly subjected to tourist activities are always very restricted parts of the territory as a whole; the early beginning of tourism development there means that tourism has affected the Mediterranean region more deeply and more extensively than any other. The tourism industry has always exploited a new tourism frontier, involving it into the tourist area. Hence, in the Mediterranean region, the most advanced form of spatial differentiation of the tourist districts can be seen; old tourist centres, which are frequented by elite-tourists and sacred to them, and exclusive of the "banal" and "noisy" masses (some parts

⁸ A very interesting presentation of this view point with concrete case studies is: A. Black and P. Sant Cassia, *Tourism as an Antidote to Underdevelopment—The Implication. Tourism and Development Conference Paper*, University of Malta, Extension Studies Board, Malta 1977.

⁹ In 1864, Thomas Cook, who founded his company in 1841, organized the first guided tour of Italy and starting in 1868, "Thomas Cook and Sons" arranged regular tours of Switzerland and Northern Italy.

of the Riviera, for instance), prosperous tourist centres realizing to the maximum economies of scale and concentration, peripheries of tourist districts, and the new frontiers of tourism where modern adventurers and explorers, hippies and anticonformists, etc., act as vanguards of mass tourism (for instance, some remoter parts of North Africa). Some countries or districts declined or lost their leading positions in the tourism industries for various reasons; raised cost for staying, as a consequence of the economic growth of the host country, the caprice of tourists following the fashion, deteriorated economic conditions in the main client country, political and social disorders which hinder the safety and the ease of tourists, and so on. Mediterranean tourism is diversified also in regards to the variety of physical and cultural features—from the mountain spots for winter sports, for instance, to the ancient monuments in the Tunisian desert, and from the Greco-Roman tradition to the Berber-Islamic style. We can also add to the features of Mediterranean tourism the variety of nationalities of tourists, each nationality demonstrating its own inclinations towards specific districts or countries—North Americans to places having historical and cultural interest, Britons to the Balearic Islands and the Maltese Islands, Germans to Yugoslavia, and an increasing number of Libyans to Malta, etc.

Transformation of indigenous culture in contacts with the intrusive system in the form of international tourism on the one hand and the commercialization of the indigenous culture for the purpose of the development of international tourism on the other hand constitute both sides of the shield, which is “ethnocide.” The degree of the intrusion of tourism in the cultural sphere differs greatly from region to region in the Mediterranean, depending especially on whether a region has a history of colonialism or not. As a heritage of colonialism, the influence of the culture of a former metropolitan country is apt to increase more and more with time, even in the development of tourism, in the non-European Mediterranean countries.¹⁰ After all, with all its variety, the Mediterranean is just like a museum of the varied manifestations of tourism.

IV

The Maltese Islands, which now constitute the Republic of Malta, lie in the narrow channel joining the eastern and western basins of the Mediterranean. Its mere 315.6 km² of surface is densely populated with 315,000 inhabitants (995 per square kilometer) and, in fact, the islands have sent out more than 400,000 emigrants during the last one hundred years. Historically, this small, poorly endowed island group has had a strategic importance; besides the advantages of its geographical position, the Maltese island group possesses a good harbour and was still big enough to hold a large garrison and its equipment, provided it could be supplied with foodstuff from outside. In historic times, this character of the Maltese Islands was especially significant in the period of the dominance of the Order of the Knights of St. John (1530–1798) and in the period of British rule (1814–1964). In these periods, the main purpose of the exterior powers, the Knights and Britain, in taking possession of the islands was not the exploitation of the economic resources of Malta, although they sought to increase agricultural production in order to provide food for their garrison,

¹⁰ C. Zarka, *Le tourisme international: un état de fait colonial. Options Méditerranéennes*, no. 3, 1970, pp. 26–29.

but was one of a military character. Economically, in these periods, the islands lived on external resources; except for some pirate-like enterprises, the Knights lived in their incomes and donations from their home countries. In the British period, the Islands' main resources were the consumption economy of the military bases and the remittances from the Maltese living abroad, the number of whom increased from the middle of the 19th century. After the independence act of 1964, the character of the Maltese economy did not change drastically.¹¹ But gradually there appeared new trends in the workings of the Maltese economy: the decreasing role of the military base, due to the world-wide reduction of the armed forces of the United Kingdom on the one hand, and to policies aiming at independence from power bloc affiliations of the Labour Government, which was returned to power in 1971; an increasing number of foreign tourists since the beginning of the 1960's, which has contributed

TABLE 1—GROWTH OF TOURISM IN MALTA

Year	Cruise Passengers	Holiday Tourists	Settlers
1960	8,676	19,689	N.A.
1965	16,937	47,804	N.A.
1970	64,998	170,853	5,534
1975	49,219	334,519	3,162

Sources: Government Gazette.

remarkably to the expansion of the Maltese economy and to foreign exchange earnings (see Tables 1 and 3); and the advancement of industrialization, with governmental investments for the creation of several industrial estates, and with improvements in management and work technique at the drydock. However, the industrialization in Malta is rather restricted by the lack of natural resources, especially of industrial water, by the limited domestic market which makes it impossible to obtain the economy of scale, and the land use competition with tourism and agriculture. In fact, the seven-year development plan for 1973–1980, the results of which do not seem to be, as yet, falling short of expectations, clearly aims at a breakaway from the dependence on the foreign military base by 1979¹² with industrialization and the development of tourism (see Tables 4 and 5).

TABLE 2—GROWTH OF THE MALTESE ECONOMY (in millions of Maltese Pounds)

Year	G.D.P. (Factor Cost)	Gross Domestic Export
1960	44.52	1.4
1965	46.68	4.2
1970	82.2	12.4
1975	150.6	50.3

Sources: Annual Abstracts of statistics.

¹¹ Under a Defence Agreement concluded with Britain in 1964, the British Forces were entitled to remain in Malta for ten years. Under a Financial Agreement, Britain undertook to provide, during the same period, capital aid in the form of grants and loans, for the diversification of the economy and for assistance for emigration up to a total of £ 50 million. Under the New Agreement signed in 1972, Malta receives £ 14 million in rent annually until 1979, a further sum of £ 7 million part grant, part soft loan from the NATO countries and £ 2.5 million aid from Italy. In addition, to compensate for sterling devaluation an additional sum of £ 800,000 was contributed by NATO countries, excluding Britain.

¹² The number of job losses directly due to the cutting down of the British Services sector during the period 1973–1979 will be of the order of 4,900.

Though efforts to develop Malta's economy on the basis of the development of tourism and manufacturing industries had begun in the late 1950's, when Britain decided to cut down on its military and naval establishments in the Mediterranean, prior to independence the islands had few visitors; in 1962 there were only 23,000. By 1969 there were 170,000 tourists who spent some £ 10 millions. The main target for the tourism of the plan period 1973-1979 is the raising of tourist arrivals from 211,000 in 1973 to 370,000 in 1979. This target will be attained, with the increase in hotel facilities and in the direct employment in tourism industries, if we judge from the fact that, in 1976, the number of tourists already reached 339,537. Assuming that, at conservative levels, an average length of stay of a tourist will be 12.9 days at an average daily expenditure of £M 5.8 per tourist, gross foreign earning through tourism in 1976 would be £M 25.4 millions¹³; while gross foreign earnings are estimated to reach more than £M 27.6 millions in 1979. Already in 1975, foreign exchange earnings from tourism exceeded development plan targets, and the gross tourist expenditure represented more than half of the gross earning from domestic exports. Such a volume of expenditures should have good income and employment multiplier effects, and indicates the importance of tourism to the Maltese economy. It has also provided the government with important new sources of direct revenue such as that gained from the high price of

TABLE 3—FOREIGN EXCHANGE EARNINGS FROM TOURISM
(in millions of Maltese Pounds)

Year	Gross Earnings	Net Earnings
1960	0.97	0.49
1965	1.89	0.97
1970	9.82	5.6
1975	27.7	14.3

Sources: J. Boissevain, *Tourism and Development in Malta. Seminar on Tourism and Development*, University of Malta, Extension Studies Board, 1977.

fresh water used by hotels and from airport taxes, which in part offsets the heavy expenses of tourist infrastructure.

Some 70% of the tourists are British and the number of British residents retired in Malta is about 3000 who spend more than £M 3 million a year.¹⁴ The share of British tourists in the total number of foreign visitors is decreasing and the British are followed by the Italians, the Libyans and the Germans. 39% of the tourists come in the three months from July to September, but in Malta, even in winter, from October to April, there still come 34% of the total tourists of the year. This is a very advantageous feature of the Maltese tourism industries; in other Mediterranean tourist districts, the concentration rate in July-September is generally over 50% of the total for the whole year. In Malta, in fact, about a half of the hotel and restaurant employees are engaged on a whole-year basis. The rest are mainly absorbed in the agricultural sector in winter, which is a busy period for the main

¹³ According to the official estimation of the national accounts for the year 1976, expenditure by foreign tourists in Malta is estimated at £M 28,695 million (*Annual Abstract of Statistics*, No. 30, p. 234, Table 7, Composition of Private Consumption Expenditure). This figure corresponds to 21.14% of the total private final consumption expenditure.

¹⁴ The Labour Government has eliminated the low income tax rate, that the previous government used in order to attract foreign settlers.

TABLE 4—SECTOR CONTRIBUTION TO GROSS DOMESTIC PRODUCTS (1973 PRICES)
ACCORDING TO THE DEVELOPMENT PLAN

	1973	1976	1979	Average Annual Rate of Change 1973/79	1980
	£M million	£M million	£M million	%	£M million
1. Agriculture and fisheries ...	7.3	8.2	9.2	4.0	9.6
2. Construction and quarrying ...	4.4	5.8	6.2	5.9	6.7
3. Manufacturing, ship-repair and ship-building ...	26.7	37.6	52.7	12.0	58.0
4. Government enterprises ...	3.9	4.6	5.4	5.5	5.8
5. Hotels and private services ...	6.6	9.7	11.7	10.0	11.8
6. Other services ...	22.4	25.2	28.2	4.0	29.4
TOTAL PRODUCTION & TRADE ...	71.3	91.1	113.4	8.0	121.3
7. Public administration ...	15.8	17.8	20.3	4.2	21.2
8. Military Base Depts. ...	6.2	5.1	0.5	-34.3	—
9. Property income from domestic sources ...	7.5	8.1	8.8	2.7	9.0
GDP at factor cost ...	100.8	122.1	143.0	6.0	151.5

Sources: *Development Plan for Malta, 1973-1980*, Malta 1974, p. 110.

crops. This must constitute one reason that productivity per head in different sectors, including private service and agriculture, are very similar and that the Maltese economy does not face any acute underemployment problems.¹⁵

At least from the viewpoint of the national economy, as mentioned above, we can say that tourism is a success in Malta. The reasons for this success are manifold. First there are the rich tourism resources; though geomorphologically lean and bare, the Maltese Islands, surrounded by the sea, have plentiful sunshine and a cultural legacy. Deliberate government policies to provide infrastructures, and to facilitate tourist activities have certainly contributed remarkably to the development of tourism. These also include advertising abroad and the establishment of the government-run airline company, Air Malta, in 1974,

¹⁵ M.M. Metwally, *Structure and Performance of the Maltese Economy*. Malta 1977, pp. 16-17.

TABLE 5—BALANCE OF PAYMENTS CURRENT ACCOUNT IN DEVELOPMENT PLAN

	1973 £Mm	1976 £Mm	1979 £Mm	Average Annual Rate of Change 1973/79 %	1980 £Mm
EXPORTS:					
Goods (f.o.b.) ...	35.9	53.9	80.1	14.3	91.6
Services	39.3	46.4	46.7	2.9	46.1
TOTAL	75.2	100.3	126.8	9.1	137.7
IMPORTS:					
Goods (c.i.f.) ...	88.1	112.2	134.5	7.3	145.0
Services	9.9	11.0	12.5	4.0	13.0
TOTAL	98.0	123.2	147.0	7.0	158.0
BALANCE OF TRADE	-52.2	-58.3	-54.4		145.0
BALANCE ON GOODS AND SERVICES ...	-22.8	-22.9	-20.2		13.0
Net investment income from abroad ...	7.5	8.7	9.0	3.0	9.2
Current transfers (net)	9.0	9.5	11.1	3.5	11.4
Military Base Rent, grants, etc.	18.9	15.0	1.0	-38.7	1.0
CURRENT A/C BALANCE	+12.6	+10.3	+0.9		+1.3

Sources: *Development Plan for Malta, 1973-1980*, Malta 1974, p. 117.

in order to gain, at least partially, selfreliance in the tour-operating business, and to diversify the client countries of tourism industries outside Britain.¹⁶ Last but not least, an important attraction of Malta for foreign visitors is the low cost of staying there. The medium level of the international standards of average per capita national income (£M 727 or US \$ 1682 in 1975) should indicate one of the reasons for the low cost of staying in Malta.

With the rapid development of international tourism in Malta, which has certainly contributed to the growth of the national economy and the general leveling-up of the living standard, there have also appeared contradictions or problems, some of which are inherent in international tourism and others of which are proper to the Maltese Islands.

1) Though a small state, economic development, especially the development of tourism, has unevenly affected the different parts of the Maltese Islands. From the examination of the population dynamics of each parish in these decades, we can know that the population has increased in most of the parishes of the Inner and Outer Harbour Regions while, in other parts of the Maltese Islands, many parishes registered a population decrease. This means

¹⁶ Before the establishment of Malta Air in 1974 with the capital participation of Pakistan International, there were no direct flights connecting Malta with France, Germany, Netherland and Scandinavian countries. Now Malta Air or other carriers operate these direct flights.

TABLE 6—SECTORAL CONTRIBUTION TO INCOME AND EMPLOYMENT IN MALTA IN 1974.

Sector	Contribution to GDP		Contribution to Employment	
	£M'000	%	No.	%
Agriculture & Fishing	8311	7.01	6874	6.72
Mining, Quarrying and Construction	6179	5.21	5026	4.91
Manufacturing	33665	28.38	30519	29.83
Government Enterprises ¹	4518	3.81	1148	1.12
Transport, Storage and Communication	4104	3.46	4650	4.55
Wholesale and Retail Trade	17709	14.93	11808	11.54
Banking, Insurance and Real Estate	5392	4.55	1595	1.56
Public Administration } ²	18345	15.46	27802	27.17
Military Services }	5932	5.00		
Private Services	7518	6.34	9111	8.91
Others ³	6941	5.85	3777	3.69
GDP at Factor Cost	118614	100.00	—	—
Total Gainfully Occupied	—	—	102310	100.00

- Notes: 1. Public Corporations except drydocks.
 2. Including Malta Pioneer Corps, Government Service departments (industrial, non-industrial and Protective and H.M. Forces).
 3. The income side refers to income from Property and the employment side includes community and business services, recreation services and diplomatic missions.

Sources: *National Accounts of The Maltese Islands, 1975. Annual Abstract of Statistics*, No. 28, 1974. M.M. Metwally, *Structure and Performance of the Maltese Economy*, Malta 1977, p. 17.

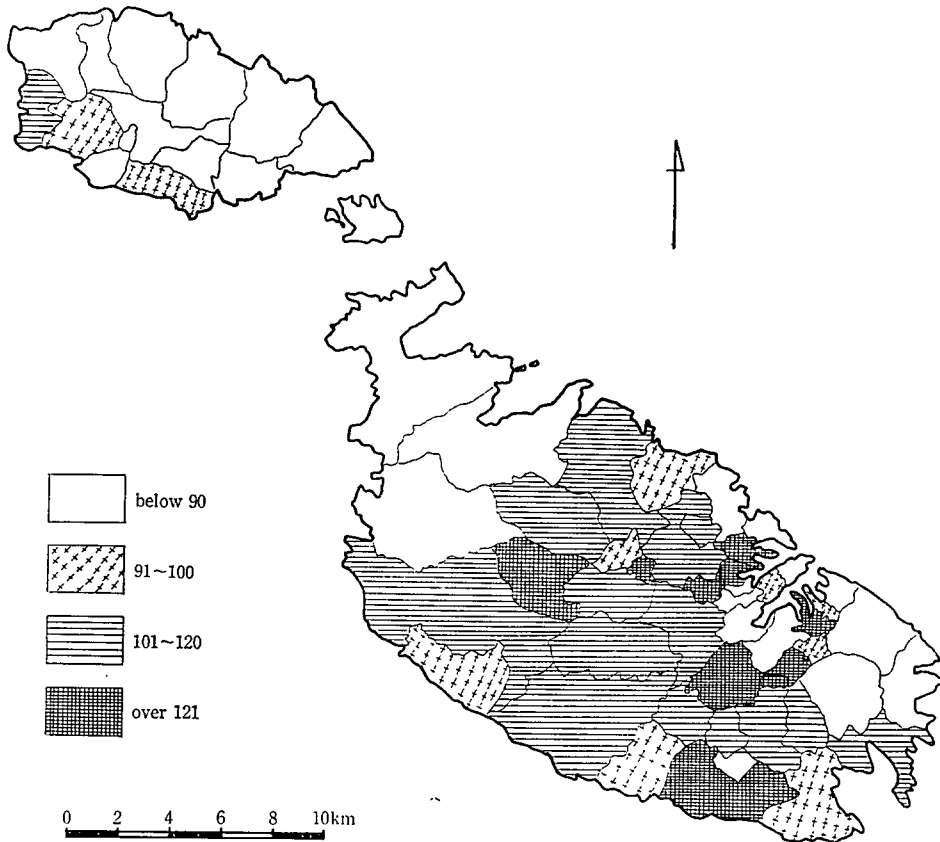
that the Maltese population is concentrated in the Harbour Metropolitan areas and in a few tourist and industrial centres. In the urbanized Harbour area there are also some active tourist centres such as Sliema, but the population increase of this area has been caused mainly by industrialization and the development of commercial and administrative sectors. Unlike other tourist spots in the Mediterranean, the zoning regulation here is rather strictly observed; most of the rural areas are designated as rustic areas and must maintain their traditional features; tourist areas, in which the construction of hotels and other tourist facilities are allowed, are of a very limited extension. Generally speaking, most of the direct expenditure by foreign tourists for lodging and the purchase of souvenirs is spent in these limited areas. Even in tourist areas, the most obvious centres for tourism development are quite separated from the social space of villagers,¹⁷ thus direct interaction between the tourists and the Maltese is also spatially restricted.

The indirect effects of tourism on the social, economic and cultural aspects of Maltese life are, naturally, not limited to the tourist areas.¹⁸ But very often such effects are difficult

¹⁷ In the island of Gozo a land use plan was made recently after the proposal of I. Masser. This proposal reflects very clearly the concern for the conservation of the unity of traditional landscapes as tourism resources, and the spatial separation of the tourist centres from the urban and industrial areas. (I. Masser, *A Plan for Goo, A Case Study of Problems of Tourism and Conservation. Town Planning Review*. Vol. 40, p. 169, pp. 233-250).

¹⁸ In regards to this topic, I examined the problems based on a case study in the island of Gozo in K. Takeuchi, *Alcune considerazioni sull'insularità di Gozo, Isole Maltesi*.

FIG. 1. POPULATION INCREASE OF EACH PARISH DURING THE PERIOD 1948-1976 1948=100



Sources: *Demographic Review of the Maltese Islands for the Year 1976*
Census of Maltese Islands, 1948.

to distinguish from the general features of the modernization process of the traditional Malta. Even if we limit our consideration of the obvious effects caused by tourism development, such as the increase in employment and the demand for agricultural products and handicraft goods, we can observe a big difference in the situations among regions or among parishes.¹⁹ Employment effects depend much on the commuting distance to tourist facilities, hence are not so remarkable in the peripheral areas. The influence of tourism on agriculture can appear in multiple ways; it may encourage agricultural production creating new demands especially for vegetables, milk, fruit, wine and meat; it may also cause deterioration of agricultural activities, causing a kind of social fallow, as a result of the shifting of labour forces to non-agricultural activities; it may also erode the agricultural land by the construction thereon of the premises of tourist facilities. In the Maltese Islands where the problem of

¹⁹ In the Maltese Islands, the parish morphologically and socially constitutes a village, that is, a settlement unit.

water resources is vital, in order to secure a huge amount of water for tourist use, the development of irrigation agriculture is, in one way or another, hampered through the competition for the allocation of water resources among different economic sectors. The encouraging effects vary according to the types of crop; such effects are well observed in the irrigated areas of the island of Malta. The erosion of agricultural land due to tourism uses is fortunately inconsiderable, because the Maltese are very conscientious about conserving the fertile soil. But there are still some cases of decrease in arable land in active tourist centres as, for example, in Mellieha, where it was necessary to remove the fertile soil overlaying the rock before constructing any buildings, as prescribed by the law. The social fallow is commonly expanding in the areas of marginal productivity in the dry field districts.

2) Tourism differentially affects various social groups. Tourism has certainly furthered social inequality; by and large, those possessed of skills and capital—hotel and restaurant owners, wholesale dealers of commodities for tourists, etc.—have gained from the advent of tourism. This problem is however, at least partly, reduced to the problem of income allocation at the phase of the economic growth of a given society. Wealthy foreigners competed with and outbided working class Maltese for “houses of character,” building materials and construction labour. The Malta Labour Party promised to do something about the fact that “Malta is being sold to foreigners.” This promise helped it to win the very close election in 1971,²⁰ and, since elected, the Labour government has taken some measures to further social equality, though it has not yet eliminated to any radical degree the mechanism reproducing the social disparity brought about by the process of economic growth.

As for the penetration of foreign capital invested in Maltese tourism, which should be an expression of the growing international inequality as a result of tourism development, I have no exact data available. According to my limited observation, foreign capital has increased during these past years; besides British capital, Italian and Libyan capital has also been invested in the tourism industries. But foreign investment seems to be still limited to a few luxury hotels and a small number of small pensions having a homely atmosphere whose owners wish to attract their compatriots; numerically the majority of hotels and restaurants are owned by the Maltese. This constitutes a big difference between the tourism industries and the manufacturing industries in Malta, which have a great share of foreign capital.

3) Because the influences of international tourism parallel those of the diffusion of the mass-media, travel abroad, expanding education, industrialization and changing attitudes of the Roman Catholic Church etc., we should be very cautious when considering some of the effects of tourism on Maltese life to be negative. Moreover, to conclude something to be “negative” implies also a value judgement. There certainly exists a tourism-induced inflation in Malta, which menaces the future of Maltese tourism industries.²¹ But may not the price hikes be a reflection of the improved living standards of the people, which, if it were true, should be most gratifying for Maltese society? The essential problem should be whether Malta will succeed in the import substitution industrialization by the time of possible tourism decline.

²⁰ J. Boissevain, op. cit. pp. 9–10.

²¹ On this point, I am not so optimistic about the future of Maltese tourism. But I agree with neither O. de la Grandville (*Malte—Realité géographique et perspective économique*. Genève 1968, p. 236), nor E. Biagini (*Le Isole Maltesi*, Genova 1974, pp. 163–164, 193–194) regarding their reasons for pessimism on the future of tourism in Malta.

One may discuss the abandonment of the petrochemical plant project on the shore of Marsaxlokk Bay, as an example of the resource allocation competition between the tourism and the manufacturing industries, in which the latter was hindered by the former. For the conservation of clean air and water and of scenery, a huge oil refinery or petrochemical plant was incompatible with tourist Malta. But the environment is vital not only for foreign tourists but also for the Maltese people. One cannot lament over a failure of the petrochemical plant if, in the end, the people are saved from environmental pollution. If tourism means, at least partially, a re-creation of the alienated man of industrial society, it can suggest other contents of the concepts of recreation and of economic development than that now existing in that industrial society.

In this respect, we can make a positive appraisal of the phenomenon of the so-called pseudo-folklore or "fakelore." The demand of tourists, who mistakenly but ingeniously follow the leaflets of tour-operators, that in the Mediterranean islands there must be always folk music and dance, has created the folk music industry, which provides folk music and dances, most of which were invented only a few years ago, for restaurants and cabarets. Eut this has unquestionably helped the Maltese to preserve their limited traditional instruments and also to discover their own cultural heritage. The word "fakelore" has already some implication of the disdain shown toward mass-tourism by the elite. In order to find positive aspects of international tourism it might be necessary to realise some moments of solidarity of the host people with the touring masses through this kind of very artificial, but essential rediscovery of the indigenous culture.