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Responses to Tourism Development and Governance in a Core-Periphery Context

Samantha Ann Chaperon

A thesis submitted in partial fulfilment of the requirements of
Sheffield Hallam University
for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy

May 2009

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Glossary

AD	Alternattiva Demokratika (Green Party)
EU	European Union
GBC	Gozo Business Chamber
GTA	Gozo Tourism Association
MEPA	Malta Environment and Planning Authority
MLP	Malta Labour Party
MTA	Malta Tourism Authority
MTC	Ministry for Tourism and Culture
NP	Nationalist Party

Abstract

This study examines responses to the development and governance of tourism on a small peripheral island. The Mediterranean island of Gozo, the second largest of the Maltese islands, is used as a case study. Responses are evaluated for three groups of respondents: the residents of Gozo, specific tourism-related actors in Gozo, and for specific tourism-related actors from the neighbouring main island of Malta. Malta is situated on the southern periphery of Europe and although a member of the European Union it remains on the socio-economic and political margins. Gozo is both geographically and economically peripheral to Malta. This puts Gozo on the periphery of the periphery, and thus it faces especially difficult core-periphery relations.

Using interviews and other sources the study examines opinions about the processes of tourism development for the peripheral island of Gozo. Consideration is given to views about whether the processes of tourism development and tourism governance meet the needs of residents and specific tourism-related actors in Gozo. Attention is also paid to opinions about the most appropriate future development path for the island. Further, the differing perspectives between the residents and actors at the core and the periphery are evaluated. Core-periphery theory provides a geographical framework to understand disparities in power and development levels, and all these issues are evaluated in the context of core-periphery relations, and in the context of Gozo's internal and external networks of socio-economic and political relations, with some of these relations being largely local to the island and with others, by contrast, being with the main island of Malta and also further afield.

Many dependency and core-periphery theorists have argued that peripheral islands will inevitably be dependent on their respective cores for economic and political support. This study revealed instances which both support and challenge some of these assumptions. In terms of formal political power, control over Gozo's tourism development clearly lies at the core, primarily with the government but also with the Malta Tourist Authority and Malta Environment and Planning Authority. However, analysis at the micro-level also reveals several instances where Gozitans have shown they have the potential to influence decisions

at the core, albeit through indirect and informal channels. These results challenge the dependency theorists' common portrayal of a subordinate island that is controlled and manipulated by its core, and instead highlight the potential power of local level actors in creating 'room for manoeuvre' in tourism development arenas.

Acknowledgements

I would like to thank my Director of Studies at Sheffield Hallam University, Professor Bill Bramwell, for his valued advice, encouragement and support over these past 5 years. It was Bill that first suggested I do a PhD study, and although initially frightened by the prospect I am glad that he encouraged me, and thankful to have experienced the trials and tribulations of carrying out a research project of this depth. I would also like to thank Nicola Palmer, my first supervisor, for her advice throughout the process.

Many thanks must go to all the individuals that agreed to be interviewed, as without their assistance there would be no study! I thoroughly enjoyed my time in Malta and my stay in Gozo, and found the locals I met to be extremely friendly and very willing to help. Thank you to all those people that gave up their time to speak with me and for the fascinating insight into your beautiful islands.

Thank you to Steve for putting up with me being a student for as long as he has known me! I truly appreciate the support and encouragement he has given me.

Last, but certainly not least, I would like to thank my parents for supporting me throughout the past five years (and all my life!), both financially and emotionally. They have always been there for me when I have needed them, and I cannot thank them enough. I promised I would get there in the end! Many thanks and lots of love goes to both of them.

Chapter 1

Introduction

1.1 Introduction to the study aims

The central aim of this study is to examine people's perceptions of tourism development, and of the governance of this development, for a peripheral island. The Mediterranean island of Gozo, the second largest of the Maltese islands, is used as a case study. Perceptions are examined for the residents of Gozo, for specific tourism-related actors in Gozo, and for specific tourism-related actors from the neighbouring main island of Malta. All these views are evaluated in the context of core-periphery relations.

Using interviews and other sources the study examines opinions about the processes of tourism development for the peripheral island of Gozo, and in particular it examines the geographical, socio-economic, and institutional control of this development. Consideration is given to views about whether the tourism development and governance meets the needs of residents and specific tourism-related actors in Gozo. Attention is also paid to opinions about the most appropriate future development path for Gozo and the extent to which the island should remain less developed than Malta. Differing perspectives between actors at the core and at the periphery are explored. All these issues are evaluated in the context of Gozo's peripheral location on the socio-economic and political margins of Malta and also of Europe. They are also evaluated in the context of Gozo's networks of socio-economic and political relations, with some of these relations being largely local to the island and with others, by contrast, being with the main island of Malta and also further afield.

The overall intention of the study is to develop and assess the applicability and value of a conceptual model of responses to the development and governance of tourism in peripheral areas. The model is not intended to be entirely generalisable, but one which can be transferred to other similar settings.

1.2 Study objectives

In order to achieve these aims, the study has six specific objectives. These objectives are as follows:

1. To review secondary literature to identify issues associated with tourism development and tourism governance in peripheral areas and in the context of core-periphery relations.

2. To develop a conceptual framework which focuses on the responses to tourism development and tourism governance, and to assess its value based on its practical application.

3. To examine responses to tourism development and tourism governance at the periphery and in the context of core-periphery relations.

4. To evaluate views about the most appropriate scale and types of tourism for the periphery in the context of core-periphery relations.

5. To assess responses to specific tourism development proposals at the periphery and the associated socio-economic and political networks of local and external relations.

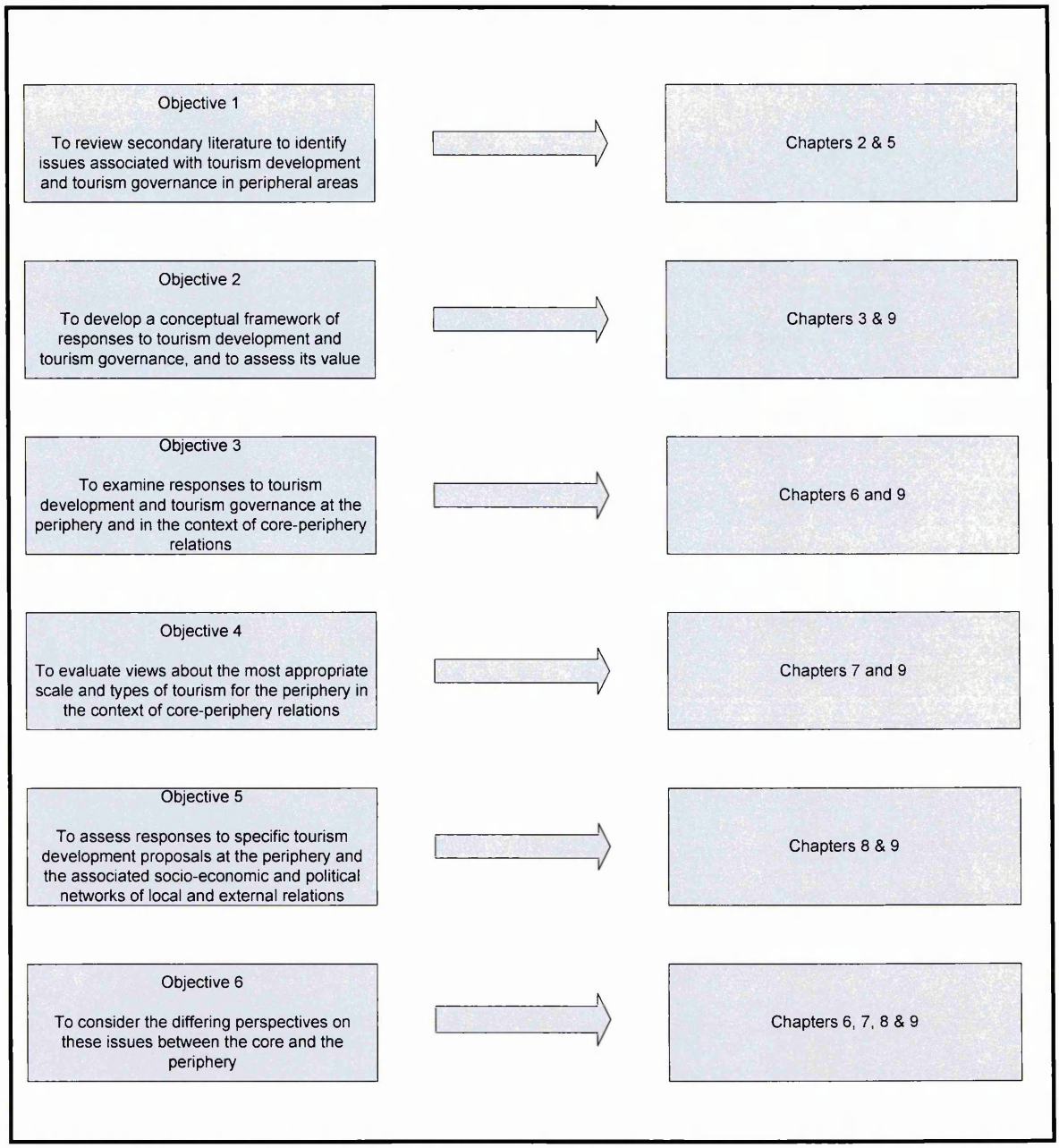
6. To consider the differing perspectives on these issues between the core and the periphery.

Each chapter of this study specifically addresses one or more of these objectives. Figure 1.1 lists the study objectives and indicates the relevant chapters where these objectives are addressed most directly.

1.3 Study context

The island of Gozo, the smaller sister island to Malta, is used as a case study. Malta is geographically situated on the southern periphery of Europe. Malta became a member of the European Union in May 2004, but it remains on the socio-economic and political margins of Europe. Gozo is both geographically and economically peripheral to Malta.

Figure 1.1: The study objectives and the relevant most directly related chapters



This puts Gozo on the periphery of the periphery, and thus it faces especially difficult core-periphery relations. When explaining the Maltese government's agenda for Gozo as an island region, Gozo Minister Giovanna Debono noted that 'The single most important defining characteristic of the island is perhaps its physical double insularity' (Times of Malta, 08/04/01). For these reasons, core-periphery relations are central to this study.

Core-periphery theory is closely associated with dependency theory and it provides a geographical framework to understand disparities in power and development levels. A core-periphery relationship is characterised by the power of the centre to determine events and conditions at the periphery (Scott, 2000). Cross and Nutley (1999) suggest that small islands lying offshore a much larger island state are particularly liable to economic and political dependency, and also to suffer from neglect by the larger and more politically powerful island. Britton (1982) suggests that tourism has the potential to exacerbate social and economic inequalities between the core and periphery. Further, it is argued that tourism can exacerbate uneven patterns of development within destinations themselves, particularly between dominant islands and peripheral islands. There has been very little research examining the significance of internal core-periphery relations for tourism development, and this study aims to fill this gap in research.

There has been a recent increase in demand for holidays in remote rural and unspoilt areas, of which peripheral regions tend to be prominent. Partly as a result, many of these areas actively seek tourism as a means of diversifying their economy. From this perspective, tourism has the potential to generate growth and development, but it can also enhance inequalities if the benefits reach only the local elite or if they are retained by external actors (Sharpley & Telfer, 2002). Gozo has the potential to diversify its economy through increased tourism development. This research will explore the views of Gozo residents and specific Gozitan and Maltese tourism-related actors concerning the most appropriate scale and types of tourism development for the periphery, and it will also assess their views on the networks of control relating to this tourism development. It is likely the core and the periphery will have different priorities relating to the future development path for Gozo's tourism, and these differing perspectives between the core and the periphery are explored. There is a wealth of research on residents' attitudes towards tourism and its perceived impacts, but to date there is little research on residents' attitudes to either local governance or to tourism development in peripheral areas.

This research will be based on an actor-oriented perspective, an approach advocated by Norman Long (2001) as a necessary move away from overly structuralist explanations. The actor-oriented approach recognises that there are structural pressures, but in that context it focuses on the importance of human agency, and on the multiplicity of social

actors and interests involved in development and social change. It encourages recognition that it is not only external centres of power that influence development – such as through core-periphery relations – and it allows the researcher to identify where the so-called less powerful actors can make their voices heard and in various ways also influence the course of events, despite the importance of structural influences. This study focuses on the actors' views of tourism development at the periphery, including the various discourses and knowledge frameworks that underpin these views. It is through these views that contestation and debate about development takes place, and it is this that affects the development process itself. There is very little existing research that applies an actor-oriented approach to views about tourism development and tourism governance, and this study is distinct in its use of Long's (2001) actor-oriented approach as a starting point for the research.

The research examines three specific tourism development proposals in Gozo in order to explore tourism issues and core-periphery relations at the micro-level. This local focus allows for consideration of issues in rich and contextual detail, but there is also consideration of how the broader macro-level influences interact reciprocally or dialectically with the local at this micro-level. The history of each development proposal and the debates that surround them are discussed, and the perceptions about the various locations of power for each of these development arenas are examined. Examining perceptions of development processes at the micro-level can help to provide a clearer understanding of the issues, debates and locations of power surrounding Gozo's tourism development at the macro-level. The tourism development proposals in Gozo include a golf course project at Ta' Cenc, an extension to the runway at the existing heliport in Xewkija to allow for fixed-wing aircraft, and a marina and tourist accommodation complex at Qala. The locations of these three development sites are shown in Figure 8.1, and they are discussed further in Chapter Eight.

1.4 Study outline

The study is presented in nine chapters, with each chapter focussing on one or more of the study objectives. A brief outline of the content of each chapter is presented in Figure 1.2. Following this introduction chapter, Chapter Two provides a review of the secondary literature related to tourism development and tourism governance in peripheral areas. The

Figure 1.2: Content outline for each chapter

Chapter 1 Introduction - This chapter provides an introduction to the study. It outlines the main study aims and objectives and describes the study context.

Chapter 2 Literature Review - This chapter examines the key conceptual ideas and debates explored in the research. It provides a review of secondary literature associated with tourism development and tourism governance in peripheral areas, and in the context of core-periphery relations.

Chapter 3 Conceptual Frameworks – Through an understanding of the theory and concepts discussed in the literature review, conceptual frameworks are developed which are then applied to the case study. These frameworks, which are assessed through practical application in later chapters, are first presented here.

Chapter Four Methodology – A constructionist theoretical approach to the research is used for this study, and an 'actor-oriented' approach is applied. The approaches to the research are examined here, and the research methods used in the study are discussed.

Chapter 5 Study Context – This chapter introduces the Maltese Islands, and in particular the island of Gozo, the case study location for this study.

Chapter 6 Responses to Gozo's Core-Periphery Relations – This is the first of three results chapters. The chapter focuses on responses to Gozo's tourism development and tourism governance at the macro-level and in the context of core-periphery relations.

Chapter 7 Responses to Gozo's Tourism Development - This is the second of three results chapters. The focus is on responses to the scale and types of tourism development that are considered appropriate for the periphery.

Chapter 8 Core-Periphery Relations and Responses to Three Development Projects – This is the final results chapter which focuses on responses to tourism development and tourism governance at the micro-level and in the context of core-periphery relations. The responses are specific to three tourism development proposals for Gozo.

Chapter 9 Conclusion – The conclusion chapter assesses the usefulness of the conceptual frameworks, presented previously in chapter 3, based on their practical application to the Malta-Gozo core-periphery context.

key ideas and theories used in the research are presented here. Chapter Three presents the conceptual frameworks which are applied to the case study and assessed in later chapters. There are five conceptual frameworks, all based on an understanding of the literature and theories reviewed in Chapter Two. Chapter Four explains the methodological approach to the study. This chapter includes a discussion of the constructivist approach chosen for the research and of the use of Long's (2001) actor-oriented perspective as a starting point for understanding, and it also explains and justifies the research methods employed. Chapter Five introduces the reader to the case study island of Gozo. This includes a brief discussion of the Maltese Islands' geographical location and the issues related to their peripherality. It also describes the islands' well-established tourism industries, and it identifies the authorities and organisations that play a significant role in their development. Further, the chapter explores key relevant characteristics of Maltese society and culture, including issues such as identity, religion, family, island life, and patronage. Politics are hotly debated in the Maltese Islands, and there is also examination of the current political situation for Malta and Gozo, and of how Gozo is represented in terms of governance. Overall, this chapter provides important contextual background for an understanding of the case study island. Chapters Six, Seven and Eight provide results and analysis of the data collected. Chapter Six focuses on responses to Gozo's tourism development and tourism governance at the macro-level, and in the context of core-periphery relations. Chapter Seven examines responses to the scale and types of tourism development that are considered appropriate for the peripheral island. Chapter Eight focuses on responses to three specific tourism development proposals for Gozo, allowing for an analysis of the responses to tourism development and governance at a micro-level. Chapter Nine presents the main conclusions from the study. It assesses the usefulness of the conceptual frameworks (presented in Chapter Three), based on their practical application to the Malta-Gozo core-periphery context. The key findings of the study are outlined, and the key features of the conceptual frameworks and of their contributions to social theory and development theory are presented.

1.5 Conclusion

This chapter has introduced the main study aims and objectives for the present study. Each chapter in this study addresses one or more of these objectives, and the chapter content and structure of the study was outlined in Figures 1.1 and 1.2. The case study island of Gozo

and its core-periphery context has been introduced, and the context of the study has been outlined. Some of the key ideas and theories used in the research, such as 'peripherality', core-periphery relations, and Long's (2001) actor-oriented approach have been introduced here very briefly. These theories, and other concepts related to tourism development and tourism governance, are reviewed much more fully in the next chapter.

Chapter 2

Literature Review

2.1 Introduction

This review of literature examines key ideas used in the research. For this study, the attitudes to tourism development and governance are evaluated in the context of Gozo's peripheral and insular location. Therefore, the review begins with a discussion of 'peripherality' and the positive and negative factors associated with tourism development in peripheral areas, and the general characteristics of islands and the challenges they face in developing tourism. The study examines tourism development and governance in the context of core-periphery relations, and for this reason the review includes an overview of development and core-periphery theory, and of how this relates to tourist destinations. The study evaluates whether the processes of tourism governance are felt to meet the needs of Gozo's residents and specific tourism-related actors, and the roles of government and governance in tourism are examined in this chapter. Gozo can be described as being 'doubly peripheral' due to its location on the socio-economic and political margins of Malta and Europe, and attention is paid to the balance in decision-making between Malta and Gozo. Therefore, internal core-periphery relations are examined in this review, and studies of internal core-periphery relationships and tourism are also evaluated. Because the study evaluates community and actor responses to tourism development, the review considers these issues, and notably the question of how residents 'cope' with the presence of tourists. In order to illustrate this, relevant ethnographic studies are reviewed. Finally, Norman Long's (2001) actor-oriented approach to social research and to socio-economic development is discussed. His approach is proposed as an antidote to the excess of structuralist explanations in social change and development research. His perspective gives attention to the multiplicity of social actors and interests involved in development and to the importance of actors' discourses and knowledge frameworks. This is relevant because the study will use an actor-oriented perspective to examine residents' and actors' responses to Gozo's networks of socio-economic and political relations and to the island's tourism development.

2.2 Tourism development in peripheral areas

The case study focus for this research is the peripheral island of Gozo, and the aim of the study is to examine people's perceptions of tourism development and tourism governance in this peripheral context. This section introduces the concept of 'peripherality' and discusses the common issues associated with tourism development in peripheral areas. This section also defines the term 'perihperality' as used for the purposes of this study.

2.2.1 Peripherality

In geographical terms, the 'periphery' represents an area's outer limits or edge. However, as Brown and Hall (2000) suggest, an area's peripherality can be more than merely a notion of geographical distance. They suggest that in modern parlance to describe something as peripheral is often to dismiss it as unimportant, of no interest to the majority and of no significance to World events. A periphery can also be characterised as being on the margins of the processes of capital accumulation and of political decision-making.

An area's peripherality can be perceived in different ways. For example, peripherality can refer to the geographical situation where a place is a long distance from a centre, a core population or an accumulation of wealth or power, or else it can refer to people's subjective perceptions of a place as peripheral to a centre (Nash & Martin, 2003). According to Robbins (1997, as cited in *Ibid.*), in geographical terms there are various units of measurement of peripherality, not just these of physical distance. For instance, a destination with excellent motorway or rail links may be more accessible to a centre than closer destinations without such links. Journey time and cost, frequency of service and the necessity for interchange between services are all potentially important measures of accessibility. A region could also be described as peripheral in terms of distance from main gateways or main arrival points. However, Nash and Martin (2003:163) conclude that 'no matter how the region's peripherality is assessed it will invariably involve the very real fact that the location is relatively difficult to get to'.

Wanhill (1997) identifies various characteristics commonly associated with peripheral areas. In particular, peripheral areas suffer from geographical isolation. This means they are distant from the core spheres of activity, and as a result they have limited market opportunities. They also often lack resources or have a traditional agricultural industry in

decline which leads to their economic marginalisation. Many firms in peripheral areas are SMEs that are fragmented and lack know-how in areas such as marketing and innovation. These firms are often family businesses with little entrepreneurial drive and a shortage of finance. In peripheral regions there is usually a concomitant lack of infrastructure and a reliance on imports, which leads to significant economic leakages. These areas are largely rural settings, often with close-knit communities lacking in education, training, and capital (public and private). The population may well be low in total and declining or ageing. Life in such areas may also have changed little in recent years. Selwyn (1979) adds that it is common for peripheral areas to have poor information flows both within the area and also from and to it. In these places there is often a failure of private decision-making systems, which forces central government to take on a greater role.

For the purposes of this research the term 'peripherality' refers to a situation of geographic, economic and political peripherality to a centre or core. The Maltese Islands are considered peripheral in each sense. Firstly, the Maltese Islands are considered geographically peripheral to Europe. The islands are geographically peripheral to the EU core at Brussels and also to the rest of the EU member states. The Maltese Islands are also considered politically peripheral in terms of being on the margins of EU decision-making. Further, the Maltese Islands are considered economically peripheral as they have a lower than average GDP compared to many other EU member states. Malta's peripheral nature, and Gozo's 'double peripherality', is discussed further in Chapter Five.

2.2.2 Tourism development and peripherality

In marginal places the development of tourism is generally accepted as a promising option for industry-diversification and for facilitating the transition from an agriculture-based economy toward a service industry (Buhalis, 1999; Hohl & Tisdell, 1995; and Wanhill, 1997). Akin to any other form of industrial development, tourism is generally perceived by governments in peripheral regions as an opportunity for the inflow of capital and economic growth, as a way of creating jobs, and as a means of increasing the population's overall welfare (Keller, 1987). In addition, according to Nash & Martin (2003), tourism contributes to the preservation of rural life in peripheral regions.

Numerous peripheral regions actively seek to attract tourism, and many are well placed to do so because they possess destination features demanded by the tourism industry (Blomgren & Sorensen, 1998). Although peripheral locations can have major problems in terms of accessibility there is a potential contradiction in that there are also tourism advantages associated with remoteness. These centre on the increasing demand for remote, rural, and unspoilt areas, and these are commonly found in peripheral regions (Nash & Martin, 2003). Scott (2000) explains that the appeal of peripheral areas is based on their power to signify to the visitor the unspoilt, the pristine, and the traditional. This is in contrast to the symbolic associations of the centre (and increasingly of mass tourism resorts in the pleasure periphery) with the inauthentic, the spoilt, the jaded and the modern. Townsend (1990) suggests there is a shift in holidaying from resort areas to less built-up coasts and upland areas, which follows an increased interest in the environment. As traditional destinations become crowded, travellers search for regions that are more peripheral and off the beaten path (Timothy, 2001). The strong natural environments and remoteness of peripheral areas make them increasingly attractive for development at a time when 'green tourism' is in vogue (Wanhill & Buhalis, 1999). Isolation and remoteness represents peace, difference, even exoticism. Rurality means nature, an opportunity for mental contemplation, aesthetic appreciation or physical activity. The attributes of peripherality, long viewed as disadvantageous, are now being seen as opportunities. Paradoxically, it is the very symptoms of peripherality that now suggest an antidote to the economic and the social problems it causes (Brown & Hall, 2000).

Although the tourism development potential in peripheral areas appears quite strong, there are still many challenges. Some of these challenges result from the very characteristics exhibited by peripheral areas. For example, peripheral areas lack infrastructure, and consequently they may have deficient tourist infrastructure. They are distant from core spheres of activity, and therefore they have poor access to and from markets, making them more prone to market fluctuations. Accessibility problems can be compounded by weather conditions, which deter visitors and limit the length of the tourist season. Inadequate organisational structures and a lack of planning direction can result in a limited ability to appreciate demand trends and requirements. They also tend to suffer from out-migration, particularly among the young and able, which affects the availability of suitable human resources for the tourism industry. This problem is exacerbated by the lack of education

and training of the people that remain. Peripheral societies may be inward looking and may fail to appreciate and take advantage of global developments and opportunities (Wanhill, 1997; and Wanhill & Buhalis, 1999).

Decisions to use tourism as a potential development tool should be accompanied by a recognition of the possible consequences, not least the risk that development may eventually undermine the area's attraction for tourism (Blomgren & Sorensen, 1998). The product strengths of many peripheral areas lie in their strong natural environment and remoteness. If the lure proves too great or is inadequately managed, then the destinations that begin to prosper economically may become overcrowded, environmentally degraded or subject to pressure to modernise, thereby losing the very characteristics that encouraged their success. It must be remembered that peripheries are not static phenomena destined never to change, even if some tourists would prefer that (Brown & Hall, 2000).

It is not only the environment that may be impacted. Tourism development is likely to affect the often close-knit communities of peripheral regions. The interests of the local population, especially indigenous residents, might not be adequately considered by developers. Tourism is not easily accepted everywhere (Hohl & Tisdell, 1995). When considering the impact of tourism on the local community, the greater the differences in lifestyles between hosts and guests, and the less the former have been exposed to visitors, then the longer the period of adaptation is likely to be. Phasing tourism development over time and space is the underlying principle here, but it is difficult when communities, such as those in peripheral areas, lack the necessary skills, capital, organisational structures and information to progress (Wanhill & Buhalis, 1999).

It is frequently noted in the literature that tourism should not be seen as a solution to all problems. Hohl & Tisdell (1995) point out that tourism is a highly insecure industry, and for peripheral regions its viability is likely to be greatly reduced for several reasons. First, visitors may only spend a small amount of money in the region, and goods that are demanded by tourists may have to be imported, with high transport costs. Secondly, the region may appeal only to a very limited segment of the tourism market. Product diversification may be difficult because there are only natural attractions, yet tourists may like a mix of natural and man-made attractions. Further, the costs of developing tourist

facilities may be excessive in peripheral areas. Many tourists will choose not to visit a peripheral area because of the greater travel time involved from the core population centres. Tourism can be more insecure in the periphery because the industry may largely employ outside personnel because the local population lacks the necessary skills, and obtaining and retaining long-term experienced staff may be difficult. Natural conditions in the periphery can also lead to extreme seasonality in the tourism industry. Finally, peripheral regions may find that much of the incoming profits from tourism will be consumed and invested outside the peripheral economy. Development often leads to the peripheral tourism industry ultimately being controlled, managed and possibly exploited by developed core regions (Keller, 1987). Some have termed this phenomenon the 'core-periphery' conflict.

2.3 Tourism development on islands

This study examines people's perceptions of tourism development for an 'insular' location. In particular, the study explores opinions about the most appropriate type and scale of tourism development for the island of Gozo. This section discusses some of the general characteristics of islands, and also explores some of the opportunities that islands share and the challenges they face in terms of developing tourism.

2.3.1 Island characteristics

Islands vary greatly in terms of size, accessibility, climate, resources, and political power, but they share one important characteristic: by their nature, all islands are 'peripheral'. They can be considered peripheral either geographically, where they are isolated and marginal to core populations, or peripheral in an economic sense, or both (Timothy, 2001).

There are many common experiences for islands that go beyond their position as land masses surrounded by water. Islands are often vulnerable to external forces. They tend to be open to political and/or economic domination by outside nations or land areas of larger size and/or greater resources, that are usually able to overcome insular resistance. Islands usually experience external economic and political dependency, often in inverse proportion to their size and population. Small islands which lie offshore a much larger island state or continental mainland are particularly liable to demonstrate dependency. Island affairs can get neglected by the relevant central political power because of their relatively small size and lack of power (Cross & Nutley, 1999; Royle, 1989).

The insular or peripheral status of islands, often translates into economic marginality, and they usually face several constraints to traditional forms of economic development. Several generalisations are frequently applied to islands. First, they are rural in character and often rely on agriculture and/or fishing industries. Second, small island economies tend to suffer from diseconomies of scale in production, investment, consumption, transportation, education, and administrative services. The problem of scale diseconomies is exacerbated when islands are located far from large foreign markets. Islands are also stereotypically small in size with small and/or declining populations, and thus small markets. They have a scarcity of resources which means, particularly for small islands, they can face severe problems in providing their inhabitants with a living and they may find development restrictions because of the lack of a necessary basic resource, such as water. Their isolation can mean that residents are disadvantaged by being out of touch with the cultural mainstream. Islands' insularity can mean they never compete on equal terms with a neighbouring mainland location. Although efficient transport systems are available, the transportation costs are greater as one extra journey always has to be made, often requiring a transfer between modes of transport (Andriotis, 2002a; Butler, 1996; Cross & Nutley, 1999; Harrison, 2001; Kakazu, 1994; Royle, 1989; Royle & Scott, 1996; & Timothy, 2001).

2.3.2 Islands and tourism

2.3.2.1 General characteristics

Growing tourism demand can open up new opportunities for island development. Due to increases in the real incomes of island populations and expanded employment (although mostly seasonal), governments have seen tourism as a promising opportunity to reduce the prosperity gap between themselves and developed countries, as a means to modernise their economic base, and as a way to retain their population and promote social welfare. Additional potential benefits of tourism development include heritage and environmental preservation, creation of infrastructure, cultural communication and political stability (Andriotis, 2004).

Many island characteristics are similar to those discussed earlier for peripheral areas. The seemingly inevitable development of tourism in islands also mirrors that of peripheral

regions. However, islands have an extra dimension: the impediment of a marine barrier. As Royle and Scott (1996:111) note: 'the final crossing between the mainland and the island adds inconvenience and costs for both inhabitants and visitors'. Interestingly, the marine barrier is not seen by everyone as an inconvenience. Butler (1993:71) suggests that 'their appeal may relate to the very real feeling of separateness and difference, caused in part by their being physically separate, and perhaps therefore different from adjoining mainlands. Where such physical separateness is accompanied by political separateness, the appeal can be expected to increase, and given people's desires for the different while in pursuit of leisure, different climates, physical environments and culture can all be expected to further the attractiveness of islands as tourist destinations'. Baum (1997a:21) supports this and notes that there is something different about taking a boat or plane to reach a destination, as opposed to land-based driving or taking a train. He states that 'the feeling of separateness, of being cut off from the mainland, is an important physical and psychological attribute of the successful vacation'.

There are other reasons why islands can make attractive holiday destinations. For example, King (1993:14) describes an island as 'a most enticing form of land. Symbol of the eternal contest between land and water, islands are detached, self-contained entities whose boundaries are obvious; all other land divisions are more or less arbitrary. For those of artistic or poetic inclination, islands suggest mystery and adventure; they inspire and exalt'. Baum (1997b) suggests that there is something particularly appealing about islands and island living to visitors which cannot be replicated on the mainland. The appeal of small islands may be increased by their confined space, where sometimes all corners can be reached by walking, and their relatively large coastline in relation to land mass that makes them different from the adjoining mainland. Butler (1993) suggests that very small islands can be the most appealing to tourists. This could be because one can 'get to know' an island in a relatively short time. One can also have the feeling that a small place is likely to be more 'authentic', less developed or commercial than larger places. Other favourable characteristics include the perception of island life as being slower paced, and even a little further back in time. And there is the appeal of a potentially distinct culture and language, of a wilderness environment, of a water focused society, and of distinctive niche attractions (Baum, 1997a). All in all, the allure of islands as places where people go for relaxation and rejuvenation has a long tradition. Particular island destinations may come into vogue and

then fall from favour, but the special attraction of islands in general continues (Conlin & Baum, 1995).

2.3.2.2 Problems of island tourism development

The characteristics which are important for island tourism can also represent problems for economic development. Wing (1995) suggests that the remoteness of islands *per se* is not a problem, as it can be overcome by easy accessibility, but that isolation is an obstacle. Ironically, the appeal of isolation to potential visitors only becomes functional when islands become easily accessible. The true islands with the best connections generally attract the most visitors, thus they reap the benefits of the contribution they bring to local employment and the economy generally (Royle & Scott, 1996). Air and sea transport are crucial to link islands with the outside world, and advances in air and sea transport have assisted previously inaccessible islands to establish themselves in tourism markets (Andriotis, 2004). However, islands can be completely dependent on the services of airlines and shipping companies, and these companies may make decisions in the interests of their stakeholders rather than of the islanders. This is one reason why island tourism is more vulnerable to market vagaries than is mainland tourism (Conlin & Baum, 1995). As a result, many islands have little economic choice other than to accept as inevitable the expansion of conventional tourism, which is characterised by mass tourist arrivals, control by external actors and large scale facilities (Wilkinson, 1989). Because government is often located off-island and can frequently have different priorities and policies to those of the island population, local involvement in tourism policy-making can be limited. Island residents may lack political 'clout' in decision making. More generally, multinational companies may significantly control the development process, and thus the leakage of foreign exchange earnings may be high (Andriotis, 2004; Ryan, 2001).

The small economies of some islands mean that it can be difficult to raise capital for investment in tourism locally, thus control over tourism and its benefits can end up in the hands of outsiders who may not have local or national interests at heart. Overseas companies and investors that come into a country under pro-globalisation policies (e.g. tax breaks and other investment incentives) can push out small, local entrepreneurs who find they cannot compete. In addition, a significant proportion of the foreign exchange earned from tourism is needed to import goods and services required by the tourism industry,

meaning that the tourism multiplier tends to be low. An exception to this is where tourist accommodation is owned by local people as they are more likely to use local products and services, due to their local contacts and the direct interest they have in doing so (Scheyvens & Momsen, 2008b).

The small scale of an island's physical resources makes it far more susceptible to tourism's negative effects. Island smallness means that the influx of large numbers of tourists is likely to profoundly affect the destination in environmental, cultural, and social terms (Conlin & Baum, 1995). The size of the island and lack of resources also has implications for visitors' potential length of stay. Timothy (2001) notes that it is difficult to encourage visitors to stay for a long time in places that can be covered by foot or by car in a few minutes or even a couple of hours. Also, smallness in population terms limits the pool of qualified human resources, and therefore outside workers may have to be brought in. Tourism is generally more important in an economic sense for an island destination than it is usually for a mainland destination. This can lead to over-dependence on this one industry, an industry that is particularly unstable. Wilkinson (1987) suggests that tourism can bring rich rewards to small islands, but it is a 'fragile dependency'.

Scheyvens and Momsen (2008a) argue that tourism researchers tend to portray rather pessimistic scenarios of tourism in small island states, identifying only the development constraints facing islands, while failing to discuss their strengths. They contend that narratives suggesting that island peoples are unskilled and lack resources, and that their islands are 'tiny' and 'fragile', can undermine their pride and stifle their initiative, reducing their ability to act with autonomy to determine and achieve their own development goals. Scheyvens and Momsen (2008a) suggest that discourses which present island states as requiring help and advice from outside organisations and institutions, which invariably have their own political, environmental and economic agendas, need to be dispensed with if small island states are to be able to pursue self-determined futures. While some governments of small island states have rejected the need for outside assistance in solving their problems, many others have actively played upon their vulnerabilities when negotiating aid or concessions.

In summary, many islands have characteristics that are important attractions in tourism terms. They may exhibit quaintness, cultural difference, political separateness, and

'otherness', these being characteristics that often have a greater tourist appeal than larger, more metropolitan locations. Even islands with little to offer by way of natural and cultural attractions may capitalize on the inherent attributes of smallness, foreignness, and islandness. It is also clear that isolation, smallness and peripherality may create important obstacles to successful tourism development (Timothy, 2001), and much of the investment in islands' tourism industries may come from overseas companies, which often leads to high economic leakages (Andriotis, 2004; Ryan, 2001). Further, it is argued that these obstacles to development and the weaknesses and vulnerabilities of small island states tend to be given more attention by tourism researchers than the strengths of the islands and their peoples (Scheyvens & Momsen, 2008a).

2.4 Development and core-periphery theory

All responses examined for this study are evaluated in the context of core-periphery relations. This section provides an overview of development theory and core-periphery theory and of how this relates to the development of tourism.

2.4.1 Development theory

The term 'development' has several meanings, including economic growth, structural change, autonomous industrialisation, capitalist or socialist paths to growth, self actualisation, and individual, national, regional and cultural self-reliance (Harrison, 1998). Initially, development was narrowly conceived as post-Second World War economic growth, with social and cultural factors only recognised to the extent that they facilitated this growth. The concept of 'development' was only later expanded to incorporate social, moral, ethical and environmental considerations (Telfer, 2002). Todaro (1994) has outlined three objectives of development. The first is to achieve sustenance and to ensure that basic human needs are met. The second is to raise people's standard of living, which might involve higher incomes, better education, more jobs and enhanced cultural and humanistic values, thereby promoting greater individual and national self-esteem. The third objective is to expand economic and social choices, so that individuals and nations are not dependent on other people or countries.

Development strategies are the means by which development processes are implemented. It is suggested that their aim is to achieve a specific development ideology (Hettne, 1995).

There are varied approaches to development theory, but Telfer's classification of the main paradigms is outlined here. These are modernisation, dependency, economic liberalisation, and alternative development. Each paradigm can be viewed, in part, as a reaction against the theories which preceded it.

Modernisation has been defined as socioeconomic development which follows an evolutionary path from a traditional to a modern society. There is a shift from agriculture to industry and from rural to urban, and the money market plays a central role. Modernisation theory posits that traditional society is both an expression of underdevelopment and also a cause of it. As such, tradition can form a barrier to development (Sofield, 2003). With modernisation the influence of the family declines, institutions become more differentiated, and modern values and institutions opposed by tradition are introduced (Harrison, 1998). Schneider *et al.* (1972) refer to modernisation as the process by which an undeveloped region changes in response to inputs (ideologies, behavioural codes, commodities, and institutional models) from already established, often industrial centres. Modernisation theorists would see no regret in a convergence towards western capitalism, believing that the sooner the world was modernised the sooner world poverty would be alleviated. It has been argued that tourism plays an important role in modernisation as it has the potential to transform traditional societies. Tourism has been promoted as a development strategy to transfer technology, increase employment, generate foreign exchange, increase GDP, attract development capital, and to promote a modern way of life with western values (Pi-Sunyer, 1989).

However, critics challenge the assumption that traditional values are not compatible with modernity. Broad generalisations about anti-developmental qualities of traditional societies have been modified by area specialists (e.g. Geertz), and it is suggested that tradition can be reconstructed, adapted and even harnessed for development and modernity. Modernisation theory is also questioned by critics such as Frank (1966) and Wallerstein (1974) as being historical and an apologia for colonialism. They believe that western societies force their 'superiority' and capitalist model on 'inferior' institutions of the traditionally oriented society, and that this accounts for their structure of underdevelopment. By the 1970s modernisation theory was considered a highly 'Eurocentric' view of the world, through its

insistence on measuring development in terms of a country's proximity to the institutions and values of western models (Sofield, 2003).

The dependency paradigm – sometimes referred to as underdevelopment theory – gained prominence in the 1960s as a critique of modernisation theory. Dependency theorists have argued that modernisation is an ideology used to justify western involvement and domination. They suggest that developing countries have external and internal political, institutional and economic structures which keep them dependent relative to developed countries. Dos Santos (1973:76) describes dependency as 'a conditioning situation in which the economies of one group of countries are conditioned by the development and expansion of others. A relationship of inter-dependence between two or more economies becomes a dependent relationship when some countries expand through self-impulsion while others, being in a dependent position, can only expand as a reflection of the expansion of the dominant countries, which may have positive or negative effects on their immediate development'.

Dependency theory has been one of the dominant theories used in tourism research. It is suggested that tourism is equivalent to a new type of plantation economy: the needs of the metropolitan centre are being met by developing countries and the wealth generated is transferred from the 'colony to the motherland' (Matthews, 1978). Some dependency theory supporters go as far as to claim that tourism is another form of colonialism or imperialism (Harrison, 2000:147). Buhalis (1999) suggests that tourism researchers have become increasingly critical about its real contribution. The long term outcomes of diversification through tourism do not always meet expectations. Keller (1987) highlights some of the criticisms of tourism development: that the destinations will ultimately receive only a fraction of the money spent by visitors; that a high percentage of personnel employed in tourism, and a high percentage of goods consumed by the tourists, are imported; that there is considerable leakage of capital and profit received from tourism; and that, over time, the destination is likely to lose control of decision-making processes governing the industry's development. Thus development often leads to developing countries' tourism industries being controlled, managed and possibly exploited by the developed industrial regions. Some have termed this core-periphery conflict, and this is discussed further in section 2.4.2.

Dependency theory has been criticised for being pessimistic, highly abstract, rhetorical, and for emphasising external conditions over internal factors. By the 1980s both modernisation and dependency theory were being criticised for using universal generalisations that fail empirically, and for giving little attention to explaining variation. A critique of dependency theory, with a focus on dependency theory related to small island states, is presented in sections 2.4.4 and 2.4.5.

The development of the third paradigm, economic neo-liberalism, was a reaction against the policies of strong state intervention, including those promoted by structural theorists, but this paradigm has received less attention than the others. This theory calls for minimalist state involvement in economic transactions, that is a 'laissez-faire' approach. It supports supply-side macroeconomics, free competitive markets and the privatisation of state enterprises. In order to help countries towards the 'correct' path of development, Structural Adjustment Lending Programmes (SALPs) have been implemented. SALPs are funded by the World Bank, the International Monetary Fund (IMF), and other international development agencies. The belief is that it is endogenous factors that serve as impediments to development and not exogenous factors as is argued by dependency theorists (Telfer, 2002).

Economic neo-liberalism has been criticised for its financial strategies (SALPs) and for the fact that it is dominated by western societies. The main focus of SALPs has been to reform the political economy without properly linking the measures to democratic processes. It is argued that this has resulted in the strengthening of national and trans-national elites in the new economic order. It has also been criticised for its neglect of socio-cultural and political relations, and environment and sustainability issues.

The fourth approach of alternative development resulted from dissatisfaction with mainstream development models, and a search for alternative, more people-oriented approaches. Indigenous theories of development are promoted as they incorporate local conditions and knowledge systems, and increased local involvement. They are linked to the concepts of empowerment and control over decision-making. Along with a focus on people, alternative development is closely connected with the environment and sustainability. The alternative paradigm has been adopted by tourism researchers in recent

years and it has much potential to inform tourism development as it addresses the concept of sustainability. Alternative types of tourism have been quite widely promoted, the most notable being the fast growing ecotourism industry. Using the concepts of sustainability and community involvement, ecotourism claims to preserve fragile and protected areas (Telfer, 2002).

Criticisms of alternative development are varied. It is argued that alternative development may impede economic growth in the long term; that it underestimates the importance of political change; and that in indigenous development there may be barriers to participation, a lack of accountability, and a lack of integration with international funding sources.

2.4.2 Core-periphery theory

One of the defining features of the core-periphery relationship is the idea of domination of the periphery by the core (Jordan, 2004). The core-periphery framework was first suggested by the UN Economic Commission for Latin America, and then expounded by John Friedmann (Friedmann, 1972). It is not, in fact, a theory; rather it is a descriptive model which admits a range of theoretical positions (King, 1982). 'Core-periphery' is most closely associated with dependency theory, and sometimes with a modernisation perspective, and it provides a fundamentally geographical framework to comprehend spatial disparities in power and development levels (Weaver, 1998). The political economy of tourism is perhaps best associated with Britton's research, in which he elaborated on how Third World destinations are exploited by metropolitan capitalist enterprises, which organise and control tourism development in the former.

Gottman (1980) suggests that the centre and periphery compliment one another. Once a centre is determined then there has to be a periphery around it. In geographical terms the farther away a point is from the centre, then the more peripheral it is. With a political spatial unit, such as a state, province or a county, the centre is normally where the seat of authority is located. In a political relationship, in terms of authority and power, a peripheral location means the subordination of authority to the centre.

North America, Western Europe, Japan, and Australasia are commonly described as the 'rich', 'developed', 'imperialist', or 'industrialised'. They are conveniently described as

the 'core' of the world system with the remainder referred to as the 'periphery'. Between the two there are big differences in levels of income, structures of employment, rates of fertility, and social conditions. Dependency theorists refer to 'core and periphery' as a set of structural relationships in which the core countries dominate. This core-periphery metaphor for the world is non-geographical: core countries are on both sides of the Atlantic. However, in Western Europe the centre can be used in a more literal sense. The more advanced countries (economically, politically, and socially) are grouped in the centre, and the others lie to the south and east, forming a partial ring periphery (Seers *et al.*, 1979).

2.4.3 Core-periphery theory and tourism

Boissevain (1979:130) states that 'many people concerned with development problems regard tourism as a typical manifestation of the abject dependency of an underdeveloped periphery on its metropolitan core'. Many core-periphery systems involve the migration of labour towards the core and tourist flows in the opposite direction. A country that is heavily dependent on migration and tourism is likely to exercise little control on foreign exchange outflows or the inflow of foreign agents. This can lead to vulnerability to labour and migration policies, and in the level of economic activity in the recipient country (Seers *et al.*, 1979). Because of the commercial power of foreign enterprises, the international tourist industry imposes a development mode on peripheral destinations which reinforces dependency on, and vulnerability to, developed countries (Britton, 1982). The centres are home not only to the world's tourists but also to the economic, commercial, and political interests which control the industry. Tourist destinations are often situated some distance from metropolitan centres, and thus they are cut off from the hubs of power and influence, instead servicing the leisure and recreation needs of the core. It is a relationship characterised by the power of the centre to determine events and conditions in the periphery, and also to construct the periphery as the 'pleasure periphery' in the metropolitan imagination (Scott, 2000).

Britton (1982) claims that the existence of core-periphery conflict is particularly true for small island economies. Alexander (1980) indicates several variations in the 'ideal' centre-periphery system when considering islands and island groups. While the 'ideal' system would be a well defined centre with an associated periphery, other patterns can develop. For example, in certain circumstances responsibilities are shared with the centre by regional

sub-centres; there may be two or more centres; the centres may be relatively small compared with the periphery; and the centre can be so distant that its periphery becomes isolated. Alexander also points out that island groups can be jurisdictionally divided, that is neighbouring islands can be controlled by different centres.

Britton's enclave model of Third World tourism emphasises that tourism both exacerbates social and economic inequalities both between core and periphery and also *within* the destinations themselves. In relation to tourism, there has been a lack of attention paid to significant internal core-periphery relations within countries, particularly where uneven patterns of development emerge between dominant islands/continental states and peripheral islands (Bianchi, 2002). Weaver (1998) highlights how tourism studies that employ the core-periphery perspectives have almost always focused on the international rather than domestic context. He states that internally induced core-periphery dynamics have been neglected as a framework for the analysis of Third World tourism, as if domestic involvement in the national tourism sector were somehow assumed to be either implicitly benign, or negligible.

Weaver (1998) explores interactions between tourism and the internal core-periphery relationships between the dominant islands of Trinidad and Antigua and the subordinate islands of Tobago and Barbuda. Weaver (1998) explains that the people of Tobago and Barbuda allude to a legacy of neglect and also feel threatened by a dominant island partner. He suggests that the emergence of a centrifugal, internal core-periphery relationship is hardly surprising given that islands are distinctive cultural, economic, and political entities. They also suffer isolation, and vary widely in their population size and power. This is especially true since 'power and perceived benefits...tend to gravitate to the largest islands at the expense of the smaller' (Lowenthal & Clarke, 1980:302). Weaver (1998) suggests that central government, while not hesitant to emphasize its own perceived status as a periphery oppressed by an external core, often appears unable to acknowledge the possibly exploitative nature of its own relationships with its small island partners, all the more so since in most cases the latter have often been given a theoretically significant degree of autonomy by central government.

Weaver's study identifies tourism as a centrifugal force which both reflects and amplifies existing core-periphery relationships. The dominant islands have the power to facilitate or restrict tourist arrivals and foreign investment, and have effective control over tourism policy, planning and development. There may be a considerable temptation to adopt an approach which deliberately employs tourism as a vehicle for further consolidating the dominant island's control over the subordinate island. Fostering increased dependencies can be done through the monopolisation of gateway functions and by controlling economic leakages.

2.4.4 Criticisms of dependency theory

The arguments of dependency theory are convincing: tourism is an industry which can be used by developed countries to perpetuate the dependency of developing countries. Instead of reducing the existing socio-economic regional disparities within developing countries, dependency theorists argue that tourism reinforces them through its 'enclavic' structure (e.g. Britton, 1982). However, dependency theory has been criticised for being pessimistic, highly abstract, and for not giving consideration to variations (Baldacchino, 1995; Campling, 1996; Oppermann, 1993; Scheyvens & Momsen, 2008). For instance, dependency theory claims that most or all tourism accommodation in developing countries is owned by the companies in developed countries, but in fact there are examples where tourist accommodation is clearly in the hands of local companies (see Din, 1990 as cited in Oppermann, 1993). Dependency theory tends to focus only on the impact of mass tourism and does not acknowledge other types of tourism – such as budget travellers – which may contribute significantly to the local economies of developing countries. Domestic tourism is a considerable factor in some developing countries, yet this tourism market is neglected by dependency theorists. A better understanding of the spatial impacts of tourism development would be gained if consideration is given to the various forms that tourism can take. A further criticism is that although dependency theory may highlight issues and problems associated with tourism development in developing countries, it fails to identify effective prescriptive strategies for securing greater benefits from tourism (Oppermann, 1993).

Dependency theorists take a pessimistic attitude towards the potential of tourism development to improve the socio-economic situation of developing countries. They argue

that the benefits will inevitably be reaped by the more powerful developed countries: 'The paradox arises therefore, where tourism is being used as a tool for the development of the periphery, but the entire organization and control of the industry reside in the core region' (Husbands, 1981:42 as cited in Oppermann, 1993:540). But, it is argued that dependency theory presents an inaccurate picture of the potential benefits of tourism development for developing countries. Tourism is the world's largest industry and has been an integral component of economic development strategies in developing nations for over half a century: 'The industry's potential to generate foreign exchange earnings, attract international investment, increase tax revenues and create new jobs has served as an incentive for developing countries to promote tourism as an engine for macro-economic growth' (Torres & Momsen, 2004:294-5). Indeed, statistics support the notion that tourism development can reduce poverty in developing countries. For 50 of the world's poorest countries, tourism is one of the top three contributors to economic development (WTO, 2000, as cited in Sofield, 2003:350). Further, there are just a handful of small island developing states (SIDS) for whom tourism is not an important economic sector and these are among the poorest islands states in the world (Connell, 1993).

2.4.5 Criticisms of dependency theory and small island states

Small island developing states are often portrayed as 'vulnerable' and inherently dependent on outside assistance and guidance, based on the suggestion that 'smallness is... synonymous with being powerless, vulnerable and non-viable' (Baldacchino, 2000:28). Scheyvens and Momsen (2008b) suggest that this presents an inaccurate picture of the development prospects for SIDS around the world, and that 'Tourism is an essential component for both economic development and poverty reduction in SIDS' (Ashe, 2005, as cited in Scheyvens and Momsen, 2008b:23). While narratives of vulnerability and dependency may provide an important warning to the governments of small island states which might see tourism as a solution to improving their economies, they also provide a rather biased picture of the possibilities of tourism development in these states. Specifically, they fail to recognise the potential of SIDS to chart their own paths in the global economy and provide self-determined futures for their people. 'Fatalistic' discourses of tourism development in SIDS have created an atmosphere of doubt concerning the abilities of small island states to lead self-determined, sustainable futures. Scheyvens and Momsen (2008a) suggest that discourses which present island states as

requiring help and advice from outside organisations and institutions, which invariably have their own political, environmental and economic agendas, need to be dispensed with if small island states are to be able to pursue self-determined futures. Instead, researchers should be focussing on the socio-economic and cultural issues in islands, as this would raise awareness of the strengths and adaptability of island peoples, their traditions, institutions and environments, showing that they have a number of qualities and resources which they can draw upon to determine positive development paths for themselves.

The strengths of small island developing states in developing tourism – and the strategies developed which utilise these strengths – are important as a means of asserting an alternative discourse to that posited by the dominant discourses of fragility, vulnerability and dependency which are more often applied. While the diversity of small island states makes it difficult to provide a definitive statement about strengths which they all share, a number of positive attributes have been identified. Firstly, it has been proposed that small island states possess high levels of 'social capital': 'the resourcefulness of a people to respond positively, collectively and responsibly to an identified challenge' (Baldacchino, 2005:34). This 'resilience' to exogenous changes counters the alleged structural vulnerabilities of such places (*Ibid.*). Secondly, small land size and relative isolation means that small island states can offer an enticing tourism product that is much in demand around the world and this gives them a kind of competitive advantage. Third, analysis of a wide range of developing countries has revealed that many small states exhibit a strong economic performance, often related to the strength of their tourism sector. Tourism is a multi-faceted product and can be less vulnerable to the vagaries of the market than commodities. Further, one reason that tourism is said to offer great potential for small islands is that foreign exchange comes to the producer rather than having to incur the high transportation costs that make many products of small islands non-competitive on the world market. Fourth, small size can facilitate coordination of tourism development, making it easier to adapt and change to market demand (Scheyvens & Momsen, 2008a). Small size can also make cohesive tourism planning and policy-making practices which are flexible enough to incorporate local cultural values (Campling, 2006). Fifth, where there are high levels of local ownership of businesses in small island states and strong economic linkages between tourism and other local industries, they have the potential to develop tourism in a way that offers long-term economic growth without sacrificing their culture or environment

(Milne, 1997). Finally, small island states have political strength beyond what would be expected for their physical and demographic size. Many small islands, particularly sovereign states, have equal voting power to other much larger countries at the United Nations, and strategic positions in conflict situations: 'Due primarily to decolonization and the corresponding internationalization of sovereignty, SIDS are able to secure a disproportionately high level of power' (Campling, 2006:251). This may demonstrate further 'buoyancy' of small island states in the face of outside pressures (*Ibid.*). These strengths – and others – are common in small island states and provide reasons why tourism development can be particularly suitable and highly beneficial for them. Whereas much dependency literature has focused on the weaknesses of islands and the negative impacts of tourism development, the characteristics detailed here portray a much more positive picture of tourism development in islands and indicate that small island states do have the potential to have their own successful, 'independent' tourism industries.

A case study by Turegano (2006) examines the theories of tourism and development, focusing on the relationship between employment and tourism. His case study of Maspaomas, Gran Canaria, provided the opportunity to contrast empirically three of the main issues relating to dependency theory in tourism. First, the idea that tourism causes cash outflows away from destination communities; second, that it promotes poor labour conditions; and, third, that the best jobs are occupied by people coming from outside the destination societies. Findings from this case analysis suggest the opposite. Turegano found that the majority of non-hotel tourist accommodation in Maspalomas is locally owned and therefore the wealth created by tourism benefits local society to a great extent. His case study highlights that the ownership of the industry in a core destination can be mainly local and thus suggests that it can hardly be maintained that it is the tourism industry *per se* that produces cash outflow from peripheral areas in a typical dependent situation. Furthermore, the fact that the ownership of the tourist accommodation capacity is so widely dispersed, with more than 10,000 owners, makes it impossible to maintain that tourism benefits only some local elites. It was also found that labour conditions in the tourism industry in Gran Canaria could be considered better than in other tourism destinations in Spain, and thus a dependency situation does not seem to exist. Finally, the idea that it is tourism *per se* that always causes top positions in the industry to be occupied by foreigners is not entirely accurate. For, even though there is such a trend in the Canary

Islands' tourism industry, it is also present in other sectors and thus it does not seem to be a particularity of the industry. Turegano (2006) acknowledges that the factors operating in this case study may not be the same as every other tourist destination, but he suggests that it yields enough empirical information to reject theories such as dependency.

2.4.6 Relations between agency and structure

Development and core periphery relations may be understood more fully if use is made of the ideas of agency and structure, based on the notion of structural constraints and the room for active development initiatives from the periphery. The idea of relations between agency and structure is used extensively in this study of core-periphery interactions. Giddens (1984) provides an influential conceptualisation of social action in terms of the relations between agency and structure. Giddens' 'structuration theory' views social action as being affected by structural contexts, but he also emphasises the significant influence of agency. Giddens refutes the idea that social action is determined by mainly either structure or agency, but rather he suggests that society is produced by interactions between the two. He argues that people both produce the structures in society and are, at the same time, influenced by them. Therefore, social action is not only the product of people's agency but also of the social 'norms' that are particular to the system in which they live. Thus, Giddens' approach is that of an 'agency-structure' duality.

Giddens suggests that actors can be 'reflexive' in their actions, and can watch and learn from the actions of others in order to rationalise their own conduct. However, he also acknowledges that actors are often unconscious or unaware about their motivations for, and the consequences of, their actions. A key feature of this approach is that societal structures do not produce docile individuals who behave automatically; instead, individuals have room for manoeuvre – however limited – even within the most rigid constraints (Bramwell, 2007).

Giddens' structuration theory is important as a useful alternative to other views of agency-structure relations, but it has not had a great influence on tourism research. This is surprising, and the present study adopts these ideas in its assessment of core and periphery interactions, as will be explored more fully in section 2.8 in this present chapter and also in the next chapter, which sets out the study's conceptual frameworks.

2.5 Government and governance in tourism and development

This study examines perceptions of the governance that a peripheral island receives in relation to its tourism development and evaluates whether the processes of tourism governance are felt to meet the needs of Gozo's residents and specific tourism-related actors. The following section examines the roles of government and governance in tourism, including the influence of interest groups and clientelistic practices in the governance process.

2.5.1 The role of government in tourism

Governments generally regard tourism as a good thing, with most tourism policies intended to expand the industry. Tourism is regarded as a catalyst for economic regeneration and a medium for cultural and environmental preservation and political stability. Governments in Western nations use tourism as a tool in economic regeneration, while in the former state socialist countries of Eastern Europe and East Asia and for many less developed nations tourism is also regarded as an economic escape route (Hall, 1994).

Although tourism is sustained mainly by private initiative, it is generally assumed that it cannot be optimal if it is left entirely to the private sector. Private businesses are mainly motivated by quick and easy profit, and they tend to disregard the consequences of uncontrolled tourism development for the survival of environmental, social, and cultural resources (Cooper *et al.*, 1998). As a result, most democracies undertake an active role in tourism development and prefer a fairly high level of public sector involvement (Andriotis, 2002b). Wanhill (1987:54) states that 'every government must have a policy for tourism both at national and local level. To adopt a laissez-faire philosophy and stand on the sidelines is to court confrontation between hosts and guests leading to poor attitudes, bad manners and an anti-tourism lobby. Only the most determined tourists will visit those places where they are overtly made to feel unwelcome and where they perceive difficulties with regard to their personal safety'. Irrespective of a country's political structure, there is invariably some form of government intervention in tourism. It would be extremely difficult, if not impossible, for government to withdraw completely from involvement in tourism, and the issue is not whether government should have a role, but what that role should be (Hall, 1994).

Governments intervene in and encourage tourism through complex structures of governmental and officially recognised organisations that can be visualised as existing at multiple levels in a pyramid, with the national level at the apex and local levels at the base. Between the apex and the base most countries have an intermediate level which can be described as 'regional'. Coordination is needed both at each level and between these levels so that they work together in pursuit of a common objective (Jeffries, 2001).

Hall (1994) identifies five main functions of government in tourism: coordination, planning, legislation and regulation, an active entrepreneur role, and stimulation. In addition, the government can have a role in social tourism, and a broad role as public interest protector. Of all these roles, coordination is probably the most important. Tourism's complexity calls for coordination and cooperation, which arguably only governments have the authority and apparatus to organise (Jeffries, 2001). As Edgell (1990:7) points out, 'There is no other industry in the economy that is linked to so many adverse and different kinds of products and services as is the tourism industry'. Coordination is necessary, for example, between government and the large number of public organisations interested in tourism matters (Hall, 2000). Planning is another area of public sector involvement in tourism. Demands for government intervention in tourism planning and development processes are responses to tourism's unwanted effects, particularly at the local level (Hall, 2000). Planning is rarely exclusively devoted to tourism *per se,* it tends to be 'an amalgam of economic, social and environmental considerations' reflecting the diverse factors influencing tourism development (Heeley, 1981:61).

Government has legislative and regulatory powers which directly and indirectly impinge on tourism, ranging from policies on passports and visas, to land-use, labour and wage policy. At both national and local levels, general measures such as industry regulation, environmental protection and taxation policy will significantly influence tourism. Governmental regulatory and legislative powers depend on the national political system within which a government is situated. In Western nations the level of government regulation of tourism is a major issue, with the private sector sometimes calling for deregulation, increased competition, and for market forces to be allowed full reign (Hall, 1994 & 2000).

Government has long served an entrepreneurial role in tourism. In this role government provides basic infrastructure such as airports, sewage systems, and road networks. This is because the provision of such infrastructure is likely to be considered commercially unprofitable by potential investors, and all are clearly advantageous for the tourism industry (Bramwell, 2004). Government may also own and operate tourist ventures, including airlines, hotels, and travel companies. However, this government role is changing as less public intervention is being sought, and with more public-private arrangements appearing in tourism. In some ways, similar to an entrepreneurial role is government action to stimulate tourism development. Government can do this by offering financial incentives, such as low-interest loans or tax exemptions on tourism projects, in order to encourage development. Government can also sponsor research to provide both the government and the private sector with analytical support necessary for the effective planning of tourism. Yet it is argued that the dominant role of government as a stimulator of tourism is in marketing and promotion to generate tourism demand (Middleton, 1998).

2.5.2 The shift from government to governance

The term 'governance' has gained great currency in political science over the last decade, becoming the established concept to portray the changing character of the state. In broad terms, the notion of governance is suggested as a way to conceptualise the many new forms of government embraced in many liberal democratic states, such as Australia, Britain, Sweden, Denmark, the Netherlands, the USA, New Zealand, and Canada (Richards & Smith, 2002). In the past, Government has been regarded as the dominant actor in the policy arena, with governing essentially seen as a process of one-way traffic from those governing (Government) to those being governed (society) (Kooiman, 2000).

In the last thirty years, the state's capacity to direct society and the extent to which central government institutions have retained a monopoly on political power have been significantly challenged. The policy arena has become more diverse, with many more actors involved, and with new pressures such as globalisation altering the environment in which government operates. The boundaries between the public and private sphere have become less precise, and the government's command over policy processes has receded. The era where government was the predominant actor in the political arena, and where governing was a top-down hierarchal process, has changed to an era of governance. The

concept of governance recognises that there are many centres of power, with a diverse range of actors who affect the policy process, with these actors being located at local, regional, national, and supranational levels (Richards & Smith, 2002).

Krahmann (2003) makes various general distinctions between government and governance in policy-making arenas. His comparisons of government and governance assume ideal notions of each concept. First, government is commonly associated with the centralisation of political authority within the state, whereas governance tends to be associated with the fragmentation of authority, this often being manifested through decentralisation. Secondly, government is typically linked to administrative systems where several issue areas are directly and centrally coordinated by a unified public agency, such as a ministry. By contrast, governance is often associated with policymaking arrangements where different issue areas are regulated by multiple or separate, specialised agencies. Moreover, these agencies are not necessarily public but include independent bodies. The third aspect is the distribution of resources. While government is identified with centralised political structures that control most of the resources necessary for the development of public policies, with governance, the policy resources often remain dispersed among public and private actors who have to collaborate with each other in order to address common problems. Fourth, with government, the diverse interests of social, economic and political actors are reconciled within the nation state. Where public and private interests differ, it is presumed that individual preferences should be subordinated to the public interest. By contrast, governance acknowledges that actors' interests sometimes conflict and these actors are encouraged to pursue their own interests. Fifth, and linked to this perception of interests, government and governance are differentiated by their norms. Three sets of norms are linked to government: national sovereignty, command and control, and redistribution. Central to the shift from government to governance seems to be a devaluation of the norm of sovereignty and scepticism toward political institutions. Decision-making processes associated with government are also typically hierarchical, whereas governance is characterised by the horizontal dispersion of decision-making authority among numerous public and private actors at different levels, and the decision-making usually proceeds through negotiation. The sixth and final distinction between government and governance relates to who implements policies and how. Government policy implementation tends to be centralised, authoritative, and, if necessary, coercive. In

governance arrangements, implementation is typically described as decentralised, voluntary and self-enforced.

2.5.3 Decentralisation of government

The changes in governance discussed above have assisted a trend toward decentralisation. Encouraged by global economic restructuring, a growing support for neo-liberalism, and profound changes in society, public administration has been called upon to make policy processes more efficiently and effectively, notably by making bureaucracy smaller. There have been calls for greater direct participation by the public and interest groups in the policy arenas, as it is believed that those affected by policies should be involved in their formation (Bramwell & Lane, 2000). Decentralisation has been described as involving 'a transfer of authority to perform some service to the public from an individual or an agency in central government to some other individual or agency which is 'closer' to the public to be served' (Turner & Hulme, 1997:152). The concept describes a change from services being provided by national government, to their being provided in more decentralised and fragmentary arrangements involving diverse public, private and voluntary sector organisations.

There are several different forms of decentralisation, or transfers of authority from the central state. Each type of authority transfer can be distinguished by its territorial or functional basis. A territorial transfer of authority is where power is passed to a lower level in the territorial hierarchy that is geographically closer to public service providers and clients. A functional transfer involves a move to an agency that is functionally specialised but not based at a geographically lower tier (Yuksel, Bramwell, & Yuksel, 2005). It is suggested that decentralisation is potentially advantageous if it encourages greater participation, which in turn leads to greater unity and equity. It could also allow smaller groups to have a voice that may be denied to them at higher levels, and it can also encourage accountability and responsiveness.

The first form of decentralisation from central government is 'devolution'. Devolution is where central government gives added responsibilities to local or provincial tiers of government (Yuksel, Bramwell, & Yuksel, 2005). The term implies that power is devolved from the top to lower tiers of government. This level of institution may exist between the

local and national tiers, that is at a regional scale, and it does not necessarily rely on either local or national tiers for its legitimacy. Regional government can be responsible for a number of policies that have traditionally been controlled by central government institutions. In Europe, it has usually been stresses and pressures on the nation-state that have led to the creation of the regional tier (Hopkins, 2002). Burrows (2000) states that devolution can be part of the modernisation process applied to government, as it has arguably been in the UK. In this context it encompasses ideas of partnership, inclusiveness, accountability, clean politics, equality, and bringing government closer to the people.

A second type of decentralisation from the central state is termed 'deconcentration'. This type of transfer is when authority shifts within the public administrative or semi-independent parastatal structures. This type of transfer could be, for example, from the headquarters of a tourism ministry to its provincial branches. This retains responsibilities for officials appointed by the local state rather than dispersing them to local community representatives (Yuksel, Bramwell, & Yuksel, 2005). Deconcentrated authorities are the territorial representation of the central state, and as such, they are still accountable to central government and not to the territory that they serve (Hopkins, 2002). Therefore, deconcentration may raise government efficiency rather than promote local democracy.

The third type of transfer of authority from central government is that of 'privatisation'. This occurs when the state cedes some authority to a private sector organisation, either at a lower geographical tier or at the national scale. A fourth change of authority is 'delegation'. This involves delegation from the state to a non-governmental organisation (NGO), which could be an environmental group or a community group. The further type of transfer of authority from the central state is to a 'partnership'. The transfer can be from a state institution to a partnership involving various organisations, which may or may not include the public sector. It is important to note that in practice there are often multiple combinations or balances of how authority is decentralised. For example, there may be both devolution and deconcentration in a 'mixed authority' (Hall, 1994).

2.5.4 Tourism and governance

Tourism has become a multifaceted and complex industry. The shift from government to governance presents a major challenge for all destinations aspiring for a larger tourism

share, forcing them to reconsider their supporting structures. On the administrative front, national tourism administrations have had to build coordination among ministries into their strategies, in particular for transport, employment, the environment, culture, and industry. Cooperation has been necessary between different levels of the state, and between the private sector, non-governmental organisations, and professional and voluntary organisations. A benefit of this collaboration among stakeholders is that it has the potential to lead to dialogue, negotiation and the building of mutually acceptable proposals about how tourism should be developed (Bramwell and Lane, 2000). Embodied in the concept of governance is cooperation between the new 'actors' (players or partners) in tourism and their related sectors, as well as new arrangements and structures, and new forms of participation, communication and accountability (Goymen, 2000).

As tourism development is a newly emerging area of local authority concern, it would be reasonable to suppose that it would be one where the networking, brokering and partnership formation characteristic of the new local governance would find a place (Thomas & Thomas, 1998). Tourism is an activity which requires a degree of institutional flexibility and cross-institutional cooperation, so it might be expected to be at the forefront of the changes in local governance, and, indeed, to be one of the motors of that change. However, participation as a key aspect of governance is easier to advocate than it is to achieve. International experience suggests that the results of experimentation with devolution, participative, and partnership arrangements in tourism have often produced mixed results (Goymen, 2000). In Britain, tourism policy appears to remain at the margins of professional and political concerns, despite the reorientation to local governance. The relatively marginal nature of tourism development in local governance can mean that the organisational inertia and vested interests in the *status quo,* which can always retard organisational change, will frustrate the kinds of changes that might be expected (Thomas & Thomas, 1998).

2.5.5 Interest groups and tourism governance

The term 'interest group' tends to be used interchangeably with terms such as 'pressure group', 'lobby group', or 'special interest group'. Interest groups can be considered to be any association or organisation which makes a claim, either directly or indirectly, on government so as to influence public policy without itself being willing to exercise the

formal powers of government. Since World War Two there has been a proliferation of interest group involvement in policy-making processes. Initially, interest groups were primarily business association based. However, since the early 1960s there has been rapid growth in Western nations in the number of citizen and environmental groups. Nowadays, interest groups are an integral component of policy-making processes and of institutional arrangements in general. The expansion of interest groups, and therefore of the range of demands placed on government, makes it increasingly difficult for government to satisfy those demands (Hall, 1995). Indeed some commentators refer to interest groups causing government 'overload', and they have questioned how governments are supposed to formulate responses to complex policy questions in an environment characterised by so many diverse interests, many of them passionately expressed, with so few means to aggregate them (Cigler, 1985).

In tourism policy-making there are diverse groups seeking to have their goals satisfied: 'tourism is a highly crowded and complex policy environment' (Hall & Jenkins, 1995:51). Business as an interest group is often perceived to be the dominant group in tourism policy-making. Business performance affects employment, prices, inflation, production, growth, and the material standard of living, which are items used by government at all levels to measure success. Therefore, government may well be strongly influenced by business groups in order to achieve key public policy goals. Business tends to win disproportionately in policy debates with other interest groups because, while other interest groups compete using their members' own incomes and energies, business is able to use corporate resources, thereby giving them an advantage in funds, organisation, and access (Lindblom, 1977). Labour organisations are another interest group in the tourism policy-making process, but due to low levels of unionisation they may have little leverage in negotiations with business, and correspondingly little influence at the macro-level. Non-producer groups, such as public interest groups, consumer groups, conservation groups, and social justice groups, have had a dramatic impact on tourism policy-making over recent years. Environmental pressure groups, for example, are probably the most visible expression of contemporary environmental concern. Through their protest activity, lobbying and educational work they have become a political actor with a degree of influence on environmental policies in Southern Europe (Bramwell, 2004). It is suggested that in the specific context of the tourism sector 'it has been the environmental

organisations more than the media or political parties that have taken up the cause of environmental quality in tourism' (Pridham, 2001:288). Matching the growth of non-producer groups in tourism is the growth of single-issue interest groups. The majority of these groups are established in relation to tourism development issues at the local level and they are primarily resident action groups. One of their characteristics is their association with what is known as the 'NIMBY' or 'Not In My Back Yard' syndrome. Although there may be agreement in principle for a particular development, there can be arguments against development in particular neighbourhoods. NIMBYism poses particularly difficult problems for government, creating a great deal of turbulence in policy-making processes. However, the success of single-interest groups usually depends on their level of organisation, sophistication, and their ability to generate wider support.

One great problem in assessments of the role of interest groups in tourism policy-making is deciding what the appropriate relationship should be between an interest group and governments. It raises questions about the extent to which established policy processes lead to outcomes which are in the public interest. Incorporation, by which interest groups are co-opted into the formal policy-making structures of government, is a common response to interest-group demands (Hall & Jenkins, 1995). However, incorporation does not necessarily increase the influence of interest groups as it can blunt the effectiveness of their efforts in other areas, such as in direct action.

2.5.6 Corporatism and clientelism in governance

The tendency to privatise and commercialise functions that were once performed by the state has been widespread in Western nations since the late 1970s, and it has affected the nature of national government involvement in tourism. It is suggested that the reasons for this trend are that governments are interested in reducing the dependency of public enterprises on public budgets, reducing public debt by selling state assets, and in raising technical efficiencies (Hall, 1994). As a result of this trend, power relations between civil society and state actors can lead to corporatism in the form of private agreements or practices brokered between elite actors and the state for mutual rather than societal benefit. It could also lead to clientelism, that is to patronage relationships between government and selected actors. Both corporatism and clientelism limit the dispersal of influence and power (Bramwell, 2003). There is a general consensus in Western democracies that government

should avoid 'client politics', in which a few interests seem to have a disproportionate influence on policy areas. Mucciaroni (1991:474) notes that 'client politics is typical of policies which diffuse costs and concentrate benefits. An identifiable group benefits from a policy, but the costs are paid by everybody or at least a large part of society'. In short, both the corporatist and clientelist mentality can mean that government action for the public good is severely undermined (as cited in Hall, 2000:60).

2.6 Internal core-periphery relationships and tourism governance

2.6.1 Internal core-periphery relationships

As mentioned in section 2.4.3, studies of internally induced core-periphery dynamics have been neglected, 'as if domestic involvement in the national tourism sector were somehow assumed to be either implicitly benign, or negligible' (Weaver, 1998:293). There has been a particular lack of attention paid to internal core-periphery relations where uneven patterns of development emerge between dominant islands/continental states and peripheral islands. This section reviews the few key studies that do exist concerning tourism and internal core-periphery relationships. In particular, this section outlines Weaver's (1998) internal core-periphery model which significantly influences the development of the macro-scale conceptual framework for this study, presented in the next chapter.

The first key study, by Crush and Wellings (1983), looks at the South African domination of Lesotho and Swaziland. The second, Richez (1996) describes the situation for tourism development in Corsica, and its dependence on the national government of France. Next, Weaver (1998) addresses the significance of domestic tourism and the internal core-periphery relationships in Trinidad and Tobago, and Antigua and Barbuda. Also discussed here is Weaver's (1998) model that demonstrates interactions between the external core, the dominant islands/countries, and the subordinate islands/peripheral areas. Finally, a recent study by Jordan (2004) will be reviewed. This study explores the links between tourism and internal core-periphery relationships and also their related institutional arrangements.

2.6.2 Crush & Wellings' (1983) study of Lesotho and Swaziland

Crush and Wellings (1983) examine the role South Africa has played in tourism in Lesotho and Swaziland. In both Lesotho and Swaziland there is a well-developed rhetoric advocating disengagement from South Africa. Yet, both countries remain firmly tied to

their dominant neighbour and committed to development strategies tending to perpetuate such links. The tourist industry in Lesotho and Swaziland emerged as a supplier of forbidden fruit abrogated in South Africa itself by its own anti-gambling legislation, racist laws, and Calvinistic Puritanism. These small states became the 'pleasure periphery' for South African residents, and the intra-regional tourism is characterised by an almost entire dependence in Lesotho and Swaziland on South African tourist markets. Despite repeated attempts to diversify the market, the Republic's dominance as a source has persisted.

The origins of South African domination of tourism in Lesotho and Swaziland lies in the investment opportunities in these colonial and post-colonial states for South African tourism capital. South Africa now dominates as the provider of tourist infrastructure in these two states. South African wholesalers and retailers also now virtually monopolise the provision of all supplies to the major hotels there, so that local inputs have been further diminished. As a result, the impact of tourism as an exchange earner has been severely curtailed. The close economic linkages of South Africa with these two countries, including the large sums of capital invested there in manufacturing and primary industry, has led to a reasonably significant movement of white South Africans on 'business trips', and exacerbates their dependence on South African tourist markets. The intimacy of the South African connection has produced a very specific form of tourism with high social costs and strictly limited economic benefits, at least to the host countries themselves. For the residents of Lesotho and Swaziland, the tourism experience affords further evidence of the glaring inequalities of wealth endemic to the region. The capacity for independent action in relation to tourism by the governments in the subordinated states is severely circumscribed.

2.6.3 Richez's (1996) study of the island of Corsica

Another example of an internal core-periphery relationship is that between France and Corsica. For centuries, Corsica was controlled by the Italian Republic of Genoa. Then in the 1750s, France supposedly 'bought' the island from the Genoese, and it imposed Parisian rule and the French language on the Corsicans. As a result, for over two centuries, some Corsicans have rejected the French claim to the island (BBC News, 2003).

The Corsican rejection of French rule has been reflected in their attitudes to tourism development in their island. This development was seen as imposed from the outside, and

thus, many felt it should be rejected. In the 1950s French government officials had earmarked the island for tourism development, having determined that it was 'an incomparable location' for European tourists, in particular for those in search of sun and warm seas. A series of tourism development plans in the island were thus drawn up by the Paris administration. A section of local public opinion and many elected representatives hotly contested and protested against these plans, and tourism developments became the target of terrorist attacks. It could be said that this opposition reflected the island's desire to participate in the decisions concerning local development and also to ensure that development was compatible with local cultures and values.

In 1971, a Plan for the Development of Corsica – Schema d'Amenagement de la Corse – gave tourism on the island even greater importance. The French government's aim was to increase visitor numbers to the island from about 360,000 in 1970 to 2.2 million in 1985. Faced with this huge increase, environmentalists and supporters of regional autonomy alerted islanders to the dangers of such a large increase in tourism, which they felt they would be unable to control. A common local opinion was that the plan could only accelerate the island's exploitation at the expense of its inhabitants. The Paris government did not share this view, and its refusal to back down was met with terrorist action. Hotels under construction, holiday villages, holiday clubs, marinas, and second homes suffered bomb attacks. These attacks indicate the islanders' determination to reject the exploitation of their homeland and their desire to halt or slow the development process. One result is that the island's tourism development has been significantly restricted. Some visitors also feel uneasy and unhappy at the situation, even if they had not personally been affected by events, and some potential investors have turned their back on the island. Although Corsica has managed to avoid an 'all out' tourism policy, which could lead to over-development, tourism is, in fact, almost the only economic activity there (Richez, 1996).

2.6.4 Weaver's (1998) study of two twin-island states

Weaver (1998) addresses tourism and internal core-periphery relations by examining the Caribbean archipelagic states of Trinidad and Tobago, and Antigua and Barbuda, with each consisting of a dominant and a subordinate island. His choice of small island states or dependencies (SISODs) derives from the intensity of tourism within that region, and from the centrifugal legacy of 'West Indian particularism', that is a combined legacy of

geography (insularism) and history (separate colonial development) in which residents of a given island habitually view neighbouring islands with a combination of suspicion and jealousy. He explains that strong internal core-periphery relationships are often present there as a result of their physical isolation, significant inter-island disparities in population and power, and the strong representation of the international tourist industry. The power of the core over the periphery often results in small island dissatisfaction (Paddison, 1983), and this dissatisfaction has, in fact, been a common feature of the Caribbean archipelagic colonies long before the emergence of mass tourism.

The discussion here focuses on Weaver's (1998) work on Trinidad and Tobago as an example of tourism and internal core-periphery dynamics. Tobago suffers from small island dissatisfaction, with Tobagonians alluding to a legacy of neglect, dominance from outside, and inequitable budgetary allocations on the part of the Trinidad-based central government. This dissatisfaction tends to be channelled to the dominant island, whose presence is more direct and whose intentions and actions are always interpreted through the veil of particularism. He explains that the central government's denial of a foreign proposal, whether warranted or not, is often interpreted as an outrageous interference in the rights of the subordinate islanders, while approval of the same can also be interpreted as occurring only because the project benefits the self-interest of the dominant islanders.

Tobago experiences a high level of domestic tourist visitation. Trinidadian's motives for visiting Tobago as domestic tourists include the scarcity of comparable beaches on Trinidad, extensive familial links between these islands, and government subsidisation of inter-island air and ferry rates. These visitors have been linked to a variety of social and economic problems. For example, Trinidadians only pay subsidised ferry fares, and tend to travel with their own vehicle on the ferry. They also pack their own food and drink, and consequently there is only a relatively limited demand for locally available goods, which contributes to a low economic multiplier. Trinidadians also account for many of the workers in the Tobagonian tourist industry, which partly results in Tobago residents feeling effectively excluded from positions of power. For example, Tobagonians who participate in the accommodation sector tend to do so only in the small-scale guesthouse sector. Furthermore, perceptions exist that Trinidadians are responsible for an inordinate share of crime in Tobago. Considering the effect that domestic tourism has on Tobago, its people

have long complained that all critical decisions concerning tourism are made in Trinidad. In response to such concerns, the Tobago House of Assembly (THA) was given responsibility for the formulation and implementation of tourism policy. However, THA decisions are subject to ministerial over-ride. Furthermore, the central government continues to have control over crucial tourism related functions such as immigration, civil aviation, and foreign affairs.

Weaver (1998) explains that the central government for Trinidad and Tobago has a tendency to react with a combination of contempt, surprise, and hostility to local expressions of a desire for Tobago's autonomy. While central government is not hesitant to emphasise its own perceived status as a periphery oppressed by an external core, it appears loathe (or unable) to acknowledge the possibly exploitative nature of its own relationships with its small island partners. It also feels that in most cases it has already conceded a theoretically significant degree of autonomy to these smaller islands. There may be temptation to deliberately employ tourism as a vehicle for the further consolidation of the dominant island's control over the subordinate island, such as through increased government investment and gateway monopolisation. However, he argues that as tourism becomes more established on the subordinate islands, central government policies will have to recognise local sensibilities by implementing appropriate mechanisms which ensure local empowerment in the decision-making process, and in this way centrifugal outcomes will be minimised.

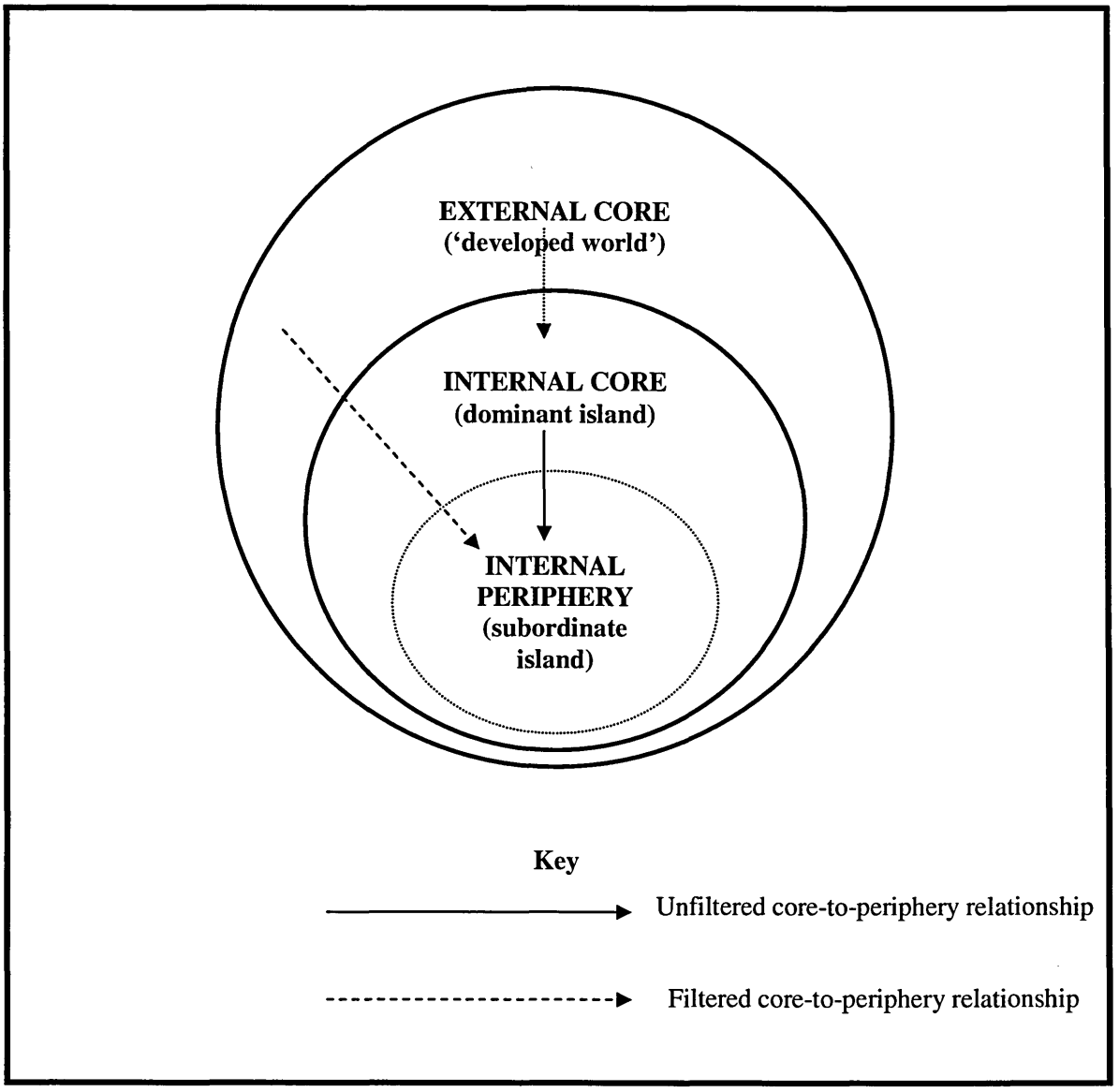
2.6.5 Weaver's (1998) internal core-periphery model

Weaver (1998) constructs a model, presented in Figure 2.1, to demonstrate interactions between a subordinate island or peripheral area, a dominant island or country, and an external core. It is not clear whether the model is devised inductively or deductively, but it is most likely to be constructed from his research findings. He suggests that the interaction between the subordinate island(s), the dominant island, and the external core may be perceived as a series of nested core-periphery relationships. The model indicates that the dominant island (i.e. Trinidad) is a core with respect to the subordinate island, but a periphery with reference to the external core. The subordinate island (Tobago) is a periphery with respect to both the dominant island and the external core. However, he identifies a fundamental difference in the nature of the two core-to-periphery vectors, or

arrows on the model shown to demonstrate influence. He explains that the prerogatives of sovereignty (e.g. border controls) constrain the external core's intervention in the dominant island, and thus is shown as a filtered core-to-periphery vector. The dominant island, effectively, faces few substantive barriers in dealing with the subordinate entity and is therefore demonstrated to have an unfiltered core-to-periphery vector. The external core, in dealing with the subordinate island, is still subject to the same filtering process which moderates its influence over the dominant island; therefore any projects, imports or exports, travel, etc., relating to the subordinate island have to be approved by central government agencies based on the main island. The subordinate island is thus faced with a sort of 'double exploitation'.

Weaver suggests that while the model depicted in Figure 2.1 is applicable to both Trinidad and Tobago and Antigua and Barbuda, the actual tourism-related dynamics in each case study are distinctive. In the Trinidad/Tobago situation, Trinidad has emerged as a full-fledged 'tourism participatory internal core', with full participation or involvement in all elements of Tobagonian tourism. A significant outcome of this internal core variant is that the dominant island, through its mass tourists and resort investments, takes on many of the appearances and functional characteristics of the external core, without being constrained by any of the formal mechanisms normally utilised by independent political entities to control their own affairs. Essentially, the global core-periphery dynamic decried by the dependency theorists seems to have been reproduced at a domestic scale through the agency of the tourism industry. The Antigua/Barbuda situation differs in that Antigua is a 'tourism facilitating core'. The involvement of the dominant island in the tourism sector of the subordinate island is limited to the facilitation or restriction of foreign investment and tourist arrivals, and to its effective control over tourism policy, planning and development. Antiguan participation as domestic tourists or investors is inhibited by Antigua's small, relatively poor population, limited investment resources, Barbuda's communal system of tenure, and the availability of tourism opportunities within Antigua itself. The dominant island serves mainly as a 'broker' for interests concentrated within an international core which cannot be more closely emulated due to the reasons mentioned.

Figure 2.1: Nested core-periphery relationships within LDC archipelagic states (Weaver, 1998)



Weaver concludes that smaller and weaker archipelagic states tend to foster tourism facilitating internal cores, whereas the larger and stronger entities generate a participatory variant which in some ways may be more exploitative given the unfiltered nature of the core-to-periphery relationship. In either instance, tourism appears to reflect and reinforce existing core-periphery relationships.

2.6.6 Jordan's (2004) study of institutional arrangements in twin-island states

Few tourism researchers other than Weaver have focused on the internal core-periphery relationships often present in small twin-island states, and little effort has been made to determine if those relationships have tourism-related impacts. Recently, Jordan (2004) addressed this gap in tourism research for institutional arrangements by examining their links for tourism in small island states with the internal core-periphery model. The study uses the twin-island states of Antigua and Barbuda, Trinidad and Tobago, and St Kitts and Nevis. It is argued that internal core-periphery relationships, as well as earlier historical forces which shaped political, economic and social structures throughout the region, have fostered specific institutional arrangements with respect to tourism development and management in each of these twin-island states. Institutional arrangements are important components of the tourism public policy process in that they influence 'the process through which the policy agenda is shaped, problems are defined, alternatives are considered, and choices are ultimately made' (Brooks, 1989:131). Institutional arrangements are affected by a variety of conditions and circumstances, and it is important to identify those which have the most influence. As such, Jordan (2004) argues that no discourse on institutional arrangements for tourism in the Caribbean would be complete without a discussion of the role of internal core-periphery relationships.

One of the defining features of internal core-periphery relationships is dominance of the periphery by the core, and resultant small island dissatisfaction (Padisson, 1983). The people of the subordinate islands of Barbuda, Tobago, and Nevis have all complained of neglect and exploitation by their dominant island partners. Such mistreatment (whether real or perceived), combined with the subordinate islands' distinctive cultural and historical identity, has fostered ambivalent core-periphery relationships.

The relationships between the central/federal governments and peripheral local government bodies in each of the twin-island states have also been fraught with problems. Jordan's (2004) study involved interviews with employees from public sector tourism organisations on each island. The results suggest that the internal core-periphery relationship has been the framework within which the institutional arrangements for tourism have been formed and have continued to evolve. These relationships have contributed to conflicts and

tensions between key public sector organisations responsible for tourism, and have led to weak institutional arrangements for tourism. These weak institutional arrangements are characterised by the following: an unclear distribution of power within the tourism policy-making process; ineffective constitutional and legislative frameworks related to public sector tourism organisations; and the centralisation of tourism policy and decision making. Further characteristics are a lack of clearly defined roles for public sector tourism organisations and their actors; poor communication between these public sector tourism organisations; a limited degree of inter-organisational collaboration and cooperation; a lack of a shared vision concerning tourism development; difficulty in maximising the benefits of public-private sector partnerships; and an inability of public sector organisations to develop and manage tourism in a controlled, integrated and sustainable manner.

Jordan (2004) identifies the political organisation of the state as one of the most important factors to influence the design and effectiveness of the institutional arrangements. In the context of twin-island states, one common device implemented as a means to manage conflicts between core and periphery is decentralised internal autonomy (Premdas, 2000). Antigua, Trinidad, and St Kitts have attempted to accommodate Barbuda, Tobago, and Nevis by establishing the Barbuda Council, the Tobago House Assembly (THA), and the Nevis Island Administration (NIA) respectively. However, the capacity of each of these arrangements depends on the type of government system operating in each country. For example, St Kitts and Nevis has a federal system of government including two autonomous government levels: the Federal Government and the Nevis Island Administration (NIA). These two bodies are not in a dominant/subordinate relationship, but rather they enjoy more or less complete discretion in matters under their jurisdiction. The NIA is exclusively in charge of tourism development and tourism policy-making for Nevis. This means that Nevis is not heavily reliant or dependent on St Kitts for resources or assistance, and tourism policy-makers in St Kitts are fully aware that they have no authority to dictate policy matters to Nevis. On the other hand, both Antigua and Barbuda, and Trinidad and Tobago have unitary government systems. Despite the existence of the Barbuda Council and the THA, Antigua and Trinidad still hold the advantage as the islands with the seat of central government and ultimate power. They can dictate tourism policy for Barbuda and Tobago, as well as the size of budgetary allocations for the islands. These are significant powers for one island to have in relation to another. The result is that the periphery is more dependent

and manipulated by the core, and consequently this creates resentment by the smaller islands towards the core.

Jordan (2004) concludes by suggesting that it is important for tourism practitioners and policy-makers to be aware of the way in which core-periphery relationships shape, influence, and determine aspects of tourism's institutional arrangements. Such an understanding will undoubtedly assist small island states to develop institutional arrangements for tourism that are best suited to their geographical, political, social and economic realities.

2.7 Community responses to tourism

This study evaluates community and actor responses to tourism development. This section discusses how community residents often respond to tourism development and notably how residents 'cope' with the presence of tourists. Relevant ethnographic studies are reviewed in this section to illustrate this. These include Boissevain's (1996) study of Mdina in Malta where tourist presence is keenly felt and 'covert' resistance has emerged and Herzfeld's (1991) study of residents' responses to the historic conservation of their homes for the purposes of tourism in the Cretan town of Rethymnos.

2.7.1 Introduction to studies on community responses

There is evidence that, in general, communities often respond quite favourably to tourism. In many cases, their support for tourism is due to the real and perceived economic benefits it provides. Pearce *et al.* (1996) provide a review of survey studies concerning community responses to tourism, and they highlight that locals are much more likely to be positive about tourism if they have an economic dependency on it. For example, Mansfeld (1992) revealed from his study that residents employed in tourism are more positive about tourism; Rothman (1978) concludes that economic dependency on tourism relates to more positive perceptions of tourism; and Prentice (1993) suggests that there is a positive relationship between perceived benefits of tourism and positive perceptions of tourism. Barke's (1999) study of Spain's coastal regions in the 1960s also suggests that the community's support for tourism was partly due to the historical association in the minds of many Spaniards between the growth of tourism, the overall growth of the national economy, and the massive increase in material prosperity. Local residents may realize that tourism causes

certain social and environmental problems, but they are often willing to put up with the problems because of the benefits it may provide. For example, studies of tourism in Malta from the 60s to the mid 80s show that many residents appear to have tolerated mass tourism's unwanted effects because of their perception of its substantial economic benefits (Bramwell, 2003). Boissevain (1977) suggested in the mid 70s, that 'the average Maltese, when he thinks about it, considers that tourists are in part responsible for the increase in his standard of living'. It could be argued that individuals balance the costs and benefits of tourism, and their support for tourism depends on the outcome of this cost-benefit equation.

Early studies of how communities respond to tourism involve an ethnographic case study approach, and stage models form the conceptual background to this research. In general, these stage or step models suggest that as tourism development increases at a destination, then the host communities suffer from a variety of negative impacts and almost inevitably become hostile to tourism. For example, Doxey (1975) assesses host-guest interactions and relationships using his irritation index or 'irridex' scale. Doxey's scale has four steps: these are euphoria, apathy, irritation and antagonism. At first, the community experiences 'euphoria', they are delighted to have contact with visitors. The euphoria then turns to 'apathy', and an increasing indifference to large numbers of visitors. This is followed by 'irritation', they feel concern and annoyance over price rises, crime, rudeness, and cultural rules being broken *etc.* Finally, the community expresses 'antagonism', and are covertly and overtly aggressive to visitors. Another stage development model is proposed by Butler (1980). Butler's destination life cycle model is less concerned with direct tourism impacts and more concerned with the general issue of the evolution of tourist areas, but the attitudes and community support for tourism are discussed as part of the larger process. He describes tourist areas as evolving through stages of exploration, involvement, development, consolidation, stagnation, and then either decline or rejuvenation. He suggests that the rising number of tourists and their changing types over the cycle can increase negative resident perceptions. A further model is Smith's (1978) typology of tourists and their impact on the host community. She describes the development of tourism in terms of seven waves of tourist types: these are explorer, elite, off-beat, unusual, incipient mass, mass, and charter. She suggests that each tourist type has a varying degree of impact on the community, dependent on their number. The explorer type is the least in

volume and correspondingly creates the least impact. The incipient mass and mass tourist types are the largest in number and consequently have the most impact on the community.

There are certain criticisms of all three models. Firstly, there is poor demarcation between stages. It is unclear whether shifting from one stage to another precludes the continued existence of the previous stage. Also, it is not clear whether the order of the stages is invariant. Furthermore, in the final stages of the Doxey (1975) and Butler (1980) models it is unclear whether the whole community becomes hostile to tourism or only sections of the population. In general these models are seen as too simplistic as there are often many other changes that coincide with tourism. As Bramwell (2003) argues, community responses to tourism are best understood when examined in relation to the varied relationships affecting them, and therefore detailed attention should be given to the socio-economic, political, and cultural influences on local attitudes. In his study of Maltese responses to tourism in the context of the socio-cultural and political influences he indicates that their acceptance of the industry may have been encouraged by the long history of foreign rulers, notably the fairly recent and reasonably friendly relations with the British, as this helped to reduce the 'culture shock' that can result from the interaction with tourists. The nation's ability to adapt to cope with tourism has been enhanced by their adaptability and resilience. Hosts have the capacity to develop various strategies to deal with tourism, and these strategies mediate their perceptions of tourism, adding another dimension to be considered. It is evident that, although economic benefits are a significant influence in community support for tourism, there are many other factors that can influence residents' attitudes to tourism.

Social surveys have also been used to assess community responses to tourism. This research typically attempts to determine which variables influence host perceptions of tourism in their region. The majority of studies compare the responses of samples drawn from communities in two or more destinations which are believed to differ in terms of level of tourism development. The differences in attitudes or perceptions of different subsections of the sample are also examined. Many different variables are studied in various locations, such as, the distance of residents from the areas of tourism development (Sheldon & Var, 1984; Keogh, 1990; Mansfeld, 1992), the level of contact with tourists (Pizam, 1978; Rothman, 1978), respondent demographics (Ritchie, 1988; King *et al.* 1993; Lankford, 1994), community attachment (Lankford & Howard, 1994; McCool & Martin, 1994), and

the general economic conditions of a community (Perdue *et al.*, 1990; Johnson *et al.*, 1994). But, in general few consistent patterns or relationships are revealed. For example, in some places, residents living closer to areas of higher concentrations of tourism are more positive about tourism, while in other cases such residents are more negative than those living farther away. However, some evidence is found for the existence of equity or social exchange processes (Lankford & Howard, 1994; Perdue *et al.*, 1990).

In the same way that the stage models are criticised for treating hosts as a single homogenous group, the social survey studies can be criticised for treating tourism as a homogenous phenomenon and tourists as a single homogenous group. Even those studies that explicitly examine different levels of tourist development do not take into account differences in types of tourism or tourists associated with different levels of tourism. In other studies there is evidence that hosts respond differently to different types of both tourism and tourists (Pearce *et al.*, 1996). For instance, Ross (1992) found that older residents of an Australian community were more accepting of American and Australian visitors than of other visitors, although younger residents were less positive about American than Japanese visitors.

In most community survey studies, respondents are asked to rate in some way a list of tourism impacts, but unfortunately, very few studies develop this list from respondents themselves or give their respondents an opportunity to add to or comment on these lists. In addition, only a few studies have asked respondents to rate or assess the importance of the various impacts. Thus, as Pearce *et al.* (1996) argue, we currently have a very limited view of the nature and content of host perceptions of tourism. It could be argued that qualitative methods are more appropriate for such research because it involves analyzing people's views. Galani-Moutafi (2004) indicates that the majority of research in Greece that is concerned with the interactions between locals and tourists has used qualitative ethnographic methods. The present study is concerned with similar issues, and thus this review focuses on key qualitative studies that use ethnographic perspectives. The studies have been selected because they adopt qualitative approaches, because their research themes relate to community responses to tourism, and because of their geographical location in the Mediterranean.

The first study is Jeremy Boissevain's (1996a) edited collection concerning European reactions to mass tourism. This book, 'Coping with Tourists', draws together anthropological field studies by eight authors in various European locations. The second study, by Michael Herzfeld (1991), examines how the inhabitants of a Cretan town deal with the attention paid by others, notably tourists, to the physical fabric of their homes and neighbourhood. He explores the extent to which historic conservation can impinge on people's private lives.

2.7.2 Boissevain's study of how residents cope with tourists

Boissevain's 'Coping with Tourists' examines how individuals and communities dependent on the presence of tourists learn to cope with the commoditisation of their culture and attention of outsiders. He provides a valuable overview of ways in which locals at a destination may react to tourists, and he suggests that host communities can take specific, active measures to protect their values and customs threatened by outsiders. They can develop strategies to protect themselves from tourists bent on encroaching on their privacy to experience the 'authentic'. These are presented as a typology of strategies for coping with tourists, and they include covert resistance, hiding, fencing, ritual, organised protest, and aggression. These responses will be considered throughout this literature review, but each is described briefly.

Firstly, there is covert resistance, which may be seen through sullen waiters, rude bus drivers, and grumbling and gossiping locals. Secondly, locals can 'hide' from the tourists. For example, communities may hold celebrations at times and in places that enable them to avoid the attention of outsiders, such as after the tourist season. These insider-only events are important for maintaining solidarity in communities threatened by being overrun by outsiders. Also, locals can 'fence off' private areas and events so as to make the boundaries clear to tourists. Fourthly, 'ritual' can provide one means for coping with the stresses caused by tourism. Tourism is a source of change and uncertainty, and ritual can help to re-establish the camaraderie and identity that may be worn away by the changes. Finally, local citizens can 'organise protest', that is take part in protest action against those marketing their back regions and rights to the tourist industry, especially if it is felt to be without their consent. Furthermore, people occasionally use aggression and resort to violence to defend themselves against intrusive tourists.

Boissevain developed this typology in part by drawing on his own anthropological fieldwork in Malta, where he has lived for several years. In one article (1996b) he seeks to understand the apparent growth in the scale of public rituals since the early 1970s in Malta and also elsewhere in Europe. The explanation often given for a growth in public rituals is an increase in commercialisation and tourism. However, Boissevain's study concludes that the persistence, if not the increase, of celebrations is not entirely the consequence of the commercialisation of culture for touristic purposes. He suggests that the chief factor behind their growth is a desire to combat the social distance created between erstwhile neighbours by the rapid changes that have occurred in Malta since independence. Developments related to Malta's rising prosperity, such as expanding work opportunities in tourism and industry, and an increase in car ownership has encouraged people to work outside of their place of residence. As a result, contact and interdependence between neighbours has been reduced. The increase in parish celebrations is a reaction to the increasing isolation from each other and is a manifestation of a desire to do something together.

Boissevain also studied the Maltese medieval walled town of Mdina where covert resistance and organised protest emerged as a means of coping with tourists. Mdina is vigorously promoted by the National Tourism Organisation and it is one of the island's foremost tourist attractions. This small town has a population of only 300, and it is visited by three out of four tourists. In 1993 some 750,000 persons visited Mdina, so the tourist presence is keenly felt. Their attitude towards tourists is, also not surprisingly, more reserved than the generally more favourable opinion held by the Maltese public at large. The constant exposure to increasing numbers of tourists and the effects this has on their lives and surroundings is creating a hostile attitude to tourism among a growing segment of Mdina's residents. Increasingly they feel that they are being asked to sacrifice the privacy and the tranquility of their small, intimate town for the national good, without receiving compensation from either government or tour operators. Many complain that tourists peer in to their homes uninvited, they block narrow roads, they are often indecently dressed, and that encroaching commercial interests are changing their town's character. It is evident that the residents are becoming increasingly fed up with tourists, and their strategy to cope appears to be covert resistance. For years, the friendliness of the Maltese was noted by visitors, but this traditional friendliness appears to be cracking. During the high season

more complaints than ever from tourists were heard regarding poor standards, pollution, and grudging service, resulting in visitors feeling that they are no longer welcome.

In the past, residents had grumbled, but had not openly criticized the government for marketing their town and way of life without consulting them. This is because any public criticism of the policies of the incumbent government can be viewed as siding with the rival opposition party, considered an unwise thing to do. More recently, the residents have found their voice through writing letters to editors of the local newspapers. Perhaps they see this as a safer way of releasing their anger towards tourism. There is also evidence of using organised protest to cope with the effects of excessive tourist interest. And Mdina residents have become increasingly vocal in protesting against the tourist presence through the new Local Councils.

The Mdina example illustrates that residents of a tourist destination will only tolerate so many tourists before they rebel and make their visitors feel unwelcome. Tourists are unlikely to visit a destination where they are made to feel unwelcome, and therefore, the cooperation of the residents at that destination is vital. The key is to ensure that residents experience a satisfactory balance between inconveniences caused by tourists and the benefits they bring.

Boissevain suggests that locals can more easily cope with seasonal tourism because they have the winter months to recover. It is when boisterous holidaying strangers are present in the winter months that inconveniences are no longer overlooked, and tension mounts. In places where tourism is all year round, and where there is no respite from the constant demands of tourists (such as in Mdina), hosts can become enervated and their behaviour can become hostile towards tourists (Boissevain, 1996a).

Boissevain's (1996a) study reveals that as tourists search for the culture they have paid to see, they cross thresholds and boundaries to penetrate authentic back-stage areas which are normally closed to outsiders. He suggests that such infringements of privacy will continue to occur as cultural tourism is marketed to the masses. One way of combating this problem is by 'fencing off' areas. Through fencing off private spaces, and closing or even locking doors, tourists can be deterred from intruding. Boissevain suggests that commoditisation

and staged authenticity can protect the back regions and privacy of local inhabitants by keeping tourists focused on the commercialised front region. Locals are creative in inventing and staging events that offer entertainment and provide information on their culture, which often deflect the tourist gaze from private space and activities. Also, through the physical separation of the commercialised front (*i.e.* tourist accommodation, souvenir shops, restaurants *etc.*) from the local residential areas, the tourist gaze can be focused away from private spaces.

Boissevain (1996a) explains that one of the most striking characteristics of tourism is the way it promotes self-awareness, pride, self-confidence, and solidarity among those being visited. This is especially pronounced if the host community is remote or in other ways peripheral. They feel pride at the fact strangers choose to admire their community. This has encouraged reflection about their own traditions and culture, and some communities have even discovered themselves through the interests of tourism. It has stimulated the preservation of moribund crafts and rituals, which in turn has led to the revitalisation of celebrations. This heightened self-confidence in part compensates for some of tourism's negative aspects.

2.7.3 Herzfeld's study of residents' responses to historic conservation

The overall theme of Herzfeld's (1991) book is the disputed ownership of history. The study is based on the Old Town of Rethemnos in Crete that represents the largest and best-preserved domestic complex of late medieval and Renaissance architecture in the Mediterranean. The State has declared the Old Town to be a national historic 'monument'. In order to preserve the 'traditional' appearance of the Old Town, the government has forbidden virtually all new building and strictly enforced a ban on even minor alterations to residents' homes. A battle has resulted between government, local planning authorities, the historic conservation office, and local inhabitants over the extent to which each should be able to control the future of the past.

Rethemnos not only belongs to its citizens, it is also part of a modern nation state. The State desires to create 'traditional neighbourhoods' and 'archaeological monuments' out of what, for residents, are the streets where their friends and enemies live and die. The significant attention that historic conservation receives may be because it appears to serve

sets of social, economic, and ideological goals in a country. For Rethemnos, it is very much about the relationship between Greek culture and the idealised entity called 'Europe' (p. xii). The aim of Herzfeld's study is to examine the efforts of the present-day inhabitants of Rethemnos to come to terms with the significance that has been attached to the physical fabric of their homes by others, notably tourists. It examines how residents react to restrictions imposed on them and their homes, and to the costs they incur for, what many see as, the benefit of others.

Of course, feelings towards historic conservation will vary. Some Rethemnos residents are pleased that the town's Venetian core is to be saved and that it is to take its rightful place in monumentalised history. They are proud of their heritage and their monuments. From a more practical perspective, the picturesque pays. Tourists are attracted to the romantic, the quaint, and the traditional. Preservation of such features may indeed work to many residents' long term economic advantage. However, Herzfeld's study reveals that monuments are exactly what the majority of residents insist they do not want to inhabit. Some residents feel that the term antiquity is arbitrarily applied, and that it should be confined to monumental architecture. They recognize that some buildings and certain landmark constructions deserve to be preserved as monuments, as this brings tourism and therefore money, but also feel that this should not apply to their own houses. To them, domestic quarters are not archaeology, '*arkheoloyia*' is an obscenity in their mouths and an economic sickness in their lives' (p.34).

Many of the houses in the Old Town are in very bad condition and do not conform to the social and physical requirements of a modern family. Yet, residents who want to carry out even the smallest amount of renovation work are often not allowed to do so. The question that arises here is whether it is fair that residents should be made to live in traditional, old fashioned conditions when those around them are able to enjoy the comforts of living in a modern world? The question is made more poignant when one considers that most of the visitors to places such as Rethemnos come from the modern, industrialised world. The same can often be said about those who make the decisions, they rarely live in the area they are controlling and are unlikely to suffer the consequences of any restrictions that they impose.

'Residents resent their enforced role of picturesque peasants for the tourist trade while others glory in comfortable, modern homes in the New Town, and reap the profits of renovated properties in the old' (p.192). The dilemma is whether the high costs of historic conservation should fall on the private citizens, or whether it would be fairer for the State, or even the visitors, to foot the bill. Few indeed are those who can afford the prohibitive cost of conformity to the requirements of the historic conservation office. The additional requirements are often so cripplingly expensive that residents simply let their homes decay. Those who are able to do so are entrepreneurs who, having made their money in another business, can now afford to equip an entire house for tourist use, and continue to live in the New Town.

The restrictions imposed on residents can impact more that just their living conditions, their culture and beliefs can also be affected. For example, inhabitants are no longer allowed to build additional floors on their houses, as has been done for many years, to provide dowry houses for their daughters. They are also prevented from breaking up the offending *Kloskia,* window boxes that recall the days of Turkish oppression, and resent having to restore architecture that reminds them of poorer times. There are some residents that have benefited considerably from the presence of tourists. In fact, the economic benefits of tourism have, over time, undercut the stridency of opposition to the conservation programme. However, not all residents are willing to sacrifice their family values and culture for the sake of tourism, even if tourism brings financial benefit. It appears that the residents and the authorities do not share the same priorities.

The ways in which residents of Rethemnos react to the requirements of tourism are reflected in Boissevain's 'coping' typologies. Methods of resistance have been used (some more covert then others!). It is apparent that people do not always adhere to the principles of conservation merely because the state tells them to. In fact, it is common for Rethemniots to calculate that the fines they may receive from disobeying the authorities, cost less than waiting interminably for a permit that may never be granted and losing business because of the delay, (delays of up to five years have been known). Others will do the necessary work to their homes 'secretly' under the cover of darkness. Whole houses have been demolished in a single night since the authorities can never reverse a 'fait

accompli'. Most residents profess to believe that since the government consists of 'thieves' at all levels any force of resistance is justified.

There are several key issues that arise from Herzfeld's study: who does heritage belong to; who should make the decisions regarding its future; and to what extent should the desire to preserve ancient heritage be allowed to impinge on the lives of those who inhabit it. These issues are not unique to Rethemnos, as historic conservation has become increasingly common all over the world.

2.8 Actor-oriented approach

Norman Long's (2001) actor-oriented approach to research is reviewed in this section. This study uses an actor-oriented perspective to examine residents' and actors' responses to Gozo's tourism development and the networks of socio-economic and political relations surrounding this development.

2.8.1 Introduction to the actor oriented approach

The actor-oriented approach stresses the importance of human agency in social change and development, and it draws substantially from the ideas on structure-agency relations developed by Anthony Giddens, as explained earlier in section 2.4.4. This section introduces Norman Long's actor-oriented view on the structure-agency dialectic, this being an agency-led variant of the approach developed by Giddens. This view accepts that external forces impact on structural changes, but argues that these forces are first negotiated at the micro level. An actor-oriented perspective takes into account the interplay and mutual determination of 'internal' and 'external' factors and relationships, and recognises the central role played by human consciousness. The use of an actor approach is valuable in attempting to understand people's conceptions of power, influence, knowledge frameworks, discourses, values and interests, and in gaining an insight into their views about the character and processes of tourism development and governance.

2.8.2 Norman Long's (2001) actor-oriented approach

Norman Long, a development sociologist, has long advocated an actor-oriented perspective to development sociology. He identifies the approach as a significant advance and antidote to the excess of structuralist explanations in the areas of social change and development

research. Structuralist models of development (i.e. modernisation theory and Marxist and neo-Marxist theory) see development and social change as emanating primarily from external centres of power via global capital intervention by the State or international bodies, and as following some broadly determined developmental path. According to these models, so-called 'external' forces encapsulate the lives of people, reducing their autonomy, and in the end undermining local or endogenous forms of cooperation and solidarity, resulting in increased socio-economic differentiation and greater central control. Long (2001) accepts it may be true that important structural changes result from the impact of outside forces, but he argues that all forms of external intervention necessarily enter the existing lifeworlds of the individuals and social groups affected, and then are mediated and transformed by these same actors and structures. He argues that the structuralist perspective fails to give significant attention to the multiplicity of social actors and interests involved. Nor does it appreciate the extent to which, under certain circumstances, so-called less powerful actors can make their voices heard and dramatically change the course of events.

Long (2001) favours a more 'actor' or 'agent' focused approach which recognises the central role played by human consciousness and agency. He believes that it is the complex interlocking of actors' 'projects' and practices, and their intended and unintended outcomes, that compose the constraining and enabling frameworks of social action. He seeks to understand the processes by which particular social forms or arrangements emerge and are consolidated or reworked in the everyday lives of people. That is, he analyses the heterogeneous social and discursive practices enacted and interpreted by social actors in the making and remaking of their lives and those of others. He suggests that an actor-oriented perspective offers valuable insights into these processes of social construction and reconstruction. As such, an 'actor' focused approach can offer valuable insights into the processes of social action that surround tourism development.

An actor approach adopts as a point of departure actor-defined issues or critical events. It takes into account the fact that actors' interpretations and responses to circumstances will often differ, even if the conditions appear relatively homogeneous. Actors' responses will vary because they are influenced by their own values, interests, knowledge frameworks, and discourses. The actor approach identifies the actors relevant to the specific arenas of

action and contestation, and involves documenting ethnographically their situated social practices, and the ways in which social relationships are deployed. The approach focuses on the organising and ordering processes (rather than 'order' *per se*) that are relevant to the different arenas and institutional domains. It involves tracing the critical sets of social relationships and networks, as well as the meanings and values, generated and negotiated within the different arenas and scenarios. It explores the critical interfaces that depict the points of contradiction or discontinuity between the different (and often incompatible) actors' lifeworlds. It elucidates the processes of knowledge/power construction entailed in the arenas and interfaces of contestation and negotiation, giving special attention to the reconfiguration of patterns of authority and control. It analyses how matters of scale and complexity shape organising practices and are themselves the product of them. Finally, it identifies analytically the discursive and practical underpinnings of newly emergent social forms and connectiveness.

2.8.3 Verbole's (2000) application of an actor-oriented approach to tourism policy

A rare example of an actor perspective directly applied to research on tourism policy is by Verbole (2000). She explores the complex social relations involved in rural tourism policies and development in a small rural community in South-Eastern Slovenia. She evaluates the interests of the social actors, their organising practices and strategies, their power relations, and their different discourses in relation to the development of tourism. She took an ethnographic approach to her research so she was better able to identify the problems and concepts as perceived and presented by the social actors themselves, and look for similarities and/or differences in their social interpretations and to investigate the types and content of the social relationships among them. All of these things are central to using an actor-oriented approach.

2.9 Conclusion

The review has outlined the key areas of literature that further an understanding of issues related to views concerning the development and governance of tourism on a small island. It focused on key approaches and concepts in the literature that are directly relevant to those that have been developed in this study. The review highlighted the significance of core-periphery relations in tourism development, and the socio-economic and political networks of local and external relations. As the demand for tourism in peripheral regions is growing, and the need for peripheral regions to diversify their economies is also expanding,

research is needed to help ensure that their governance and the development of tourism is sustainable and meets the needs of its residents. The next chapter explains how the ideas in the literature identified in this chapter have been incorporated in the approach and concepts used in this study of core-periphery relations.

Chapter 3

Conceptual Frameworks

3.1 Introduction

An important objective of the study is to develop a conceptual model of responses to the development and governance of tourism in peripheral areas, in the contexts of core-periphery relations and the socio-economic and political networks of local and external relations. Through an understanding of the theory and concepts discussed in the literature review, a number of conceptual frameworks are developed and subsequently applied to the case study. These frameworks are primarily based on core-periphery theory, as this is the context within which all responses to tourism development and to tourism governance issues will be examined. The frameworks are also strongly influenced by agency-structure theory and Long's (2001) actor-oriented approach. A further important consideration in the development of the frameworks is the literature on the political and personal characteristics of Maltese society.

The use of these conceptual frameworks implies a deductively driven research study, but the intention is only to use these frameworks as a loose guide for the research, not as theories to be tested. All the frameworks are applied to the Malta and Gozo case, and are thus adapted to fit with this. This chapter will begin with a review of the main principles underpinning the development of the conceptual frameworks, and it will then describe each framework in turn, with a focus on the specific theory and models that have shaped their development.

3.2 The theoretical basis of the conceptual frameworks

All of the conceptual frameworks developed for this study are primarily based on an understanding of 'core-periphery' theory. Once a centre or 'core' has been determined then there has to be a periphery around it. In geographical terms, the further a point is away from the centre, then the more peripheral it is. In a political relationship, in terms of authority and power, a peripheral location means the subordination of authority to the

centre (Gottman, 1980). Fundamentally, core-periphery theory provides a geographical framework to comprehend spatial disparities in power and development levels (Weaver, 1998), and development theorists suggest that one of the defining characteristics of a core-periphery relationship is the idea of domination of the periphery by the core (Jordan, 2004).

Tourism is often regarded as a typical manifestation of the dependency of the periphery on the core (Boissevain, 1979b). This link between dependency theory and tourism is perhaps best associated with Britton's research, in which he elaborated on how Third World destinations are exploited by metropolitan capitalist enterprises. He argued that it is the commercial power of enterprises in the developed – or western world – which organises and controls tourism development in less-developed countries; the international tourism industry imposes a development mode on peripheral destinations which reinforces dependency on, and vulnerability to, developed countries (Britton, 1982). Furthermore, the developed 'core' is home to the world's tourists that holiday in peripheral tourist destinations, creating what has been termed as the 'pleasure periphery' (Scott, 2000).

It is argued that tourism can exacerbate social and economic inequalities, not just between countries at the core and at the periphery, but also within the destinations themselves. Weaver (1998) suggests that the emergence of a centrifugal, internal core-periphery relationship is hardly surprising given that islands are distinctive cultural, economic, and political entities, and core periphery conflict is likely to occur since 'power and perceived benefits...tend to gravitate to the largest islands at the expense of the smaller' (Lowenthal & Clarke, 1980:302). Bianchi (2002) suggests that there has been a lack of attention paid to significant internal core-periphery relations within countries, particularly where uneven patterns of development emerge between dominant islands/continental states and peripheral islands. This study aims to fill this gap by examining the internal core-periphery relationship experienced by Malta and Gozo. Theories relating to core-periphery relations – and the perceived impact that tourism can have on the balance of power in core-periphery relationships – strongly influence the development of the conceptual frameworks for this research.

The 'agency-structure' dialectic also strongly influences the development of the conceptual frameworks. An examination of the relationship between agency and structure, and the

power that one has over the other, can help to provide a greater understanding of the core-periphery relations. The power that exists at the core and the lack of power at the periphery can be considered as the 'structure', and the people at the periphery may have a degree of 'agency' within that structure. Dependency theory suggests that those countries at the core will undoubtedly have control over the periphery, and the periphery will be in a state of clear dependency on the core. Structuralist theorists argue that control emanates from central government at the macro-level, with no significant influence from the local level. Thus, both structuralist theory and core-periphery theory share the similar contention that power is inevitably 'top-down'.

Giddens' (1984) 'structuration theory', in particular, has influenced the development of the conceptual frameworks for this research, at both the macro and micro scale. Giddens' approach to social action is that of an 'agency-structure' duality, where society is both affected by structural contexts and is significantly influenced by agency. Giddens refutes the idea that social action is determined mainly by either structure or agency, but rather society is produced by the interactions between the two. A key feature of the agency-structure duality is the acknowledgement that individuals' actions are not simply the product of the structural system in which they live, but rather they have the agency to influence the system as they see fit.

Long's (2001) 'actor-oriented' approach is very closely related to, and influenced by, the concept of agency and structure, and his approach has also strongly influenced the development of the conceptual frameworks employed for this research. The use of his actor-oriented approach is predicated on the need for a move away from a reliance solely on structuralist explanations of development, and that is what this study aims to do by beginning with analysis at the local level. According to structuralist models of development, so-called 'external' forces dominate the lives of people, reducing their autonomy, and in the end undermining local or endogenous forms of cooperation and solidarity, resulting in increased socio-economic differentiation and greater central control. Long accepts it may be true that important structural changes result from the impact of outside forces, but he argues that all forms of external intervention necessarily enter the existing lifeworlds of the individuals and social groups affected, and they then are mediated and transformed by these same actors and structures. In short, Long argues that the

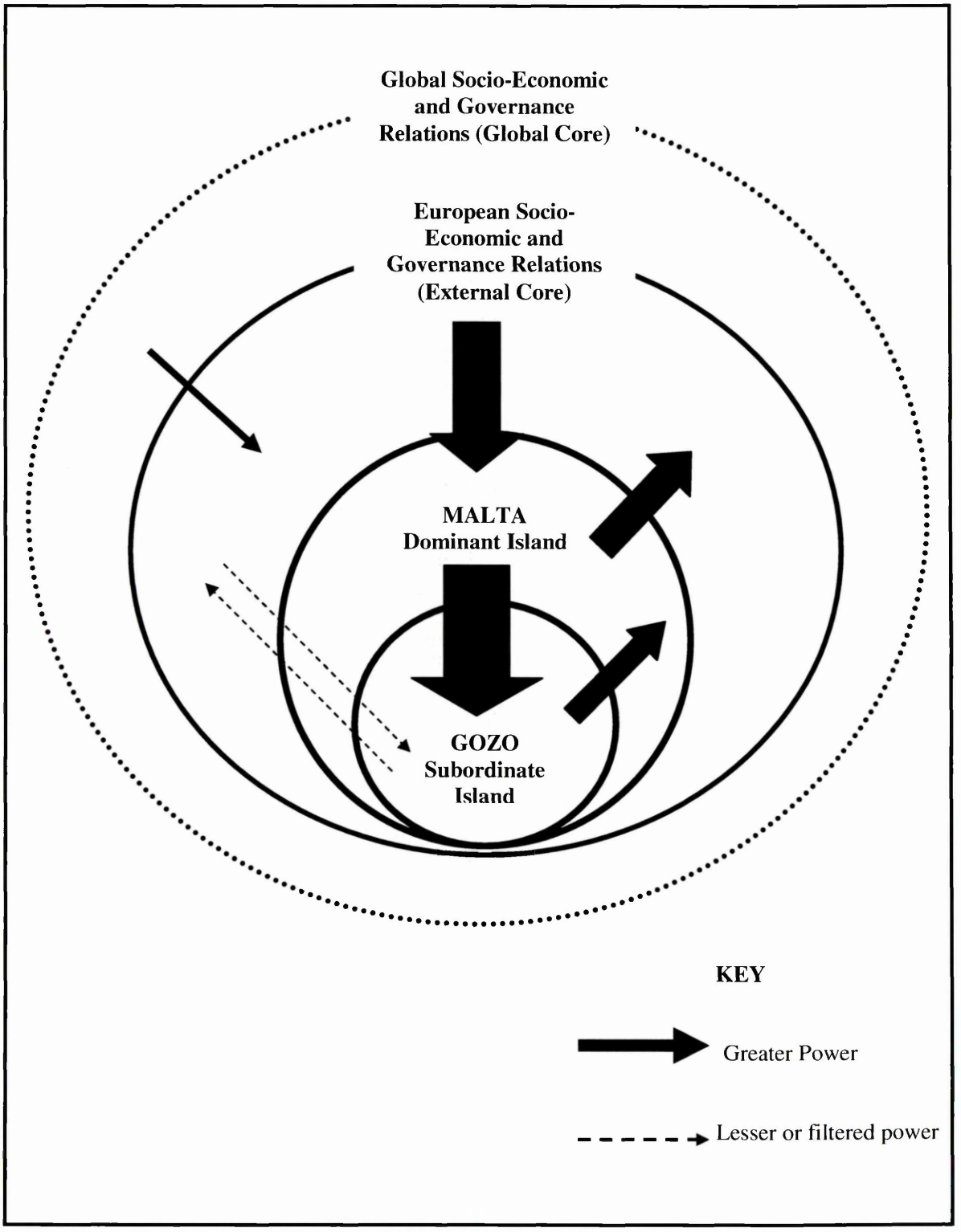
structuralist perspective fails to give significant attention to the multiplicity of social actors and interests involved. He favours a more 'actor' or 'agent' focused approach which recognises the central role played by human consciousness and agency. He believes it is the complex interlocking of actors' 'projects' and practices, and their intended and unintended outcomes, that compose the constraining and enabling frameworks of social action. This study aims to explore the perceived role and influence of actors in relation to tourism development decision-making for Gozo.

3.3 Two macro-scale conceptual frameworks

The first macro-scale conceptual framework developed for this study, shown in Figure 3.1, represents the overall balance of decision-making power, and the external processes that affect this balance, in the context of core-periphery relations; it represents the 'big picture'. The external processes identified in the framework are the socio-economic and governance relations at the global and Europe levels. Core-periphery theory provides a framework to comprehend spatial disparities in power and development levels, and the macro-scale framework represents the potential channels of power between the core and the periphery for this case study. Weaver (1998) suggests that his internal core-periphery model, presented in section 2.6.5, may have implications for a broader array of destinations, and his framework has influenced the framework developed for this case study.

Both Weaver's (1998) model and the macro-scale framework for this study (Figures 2.1 & 3.1) indicate that all elements – the external core, the dominant island, and the subordinate island – are affected by global relations, though their impact will be realised more immediately and more fully at the external core. The global impacts are then filtered from the external core to the dominant island, and then filtered from the dominant island to the subordinate island. Weaver suggests that it is the prerogative of sovereignty that partly constrains the global core's intervention in the external core, and also the external core's influence over the dominant island. Still, the external core has quite considerable power over the dominant island, and the dominant island is a core to, and has considerable power over, the subordinate island. The power of the external core over the subordinate island, and vice versa, is filtered by the dominant core, and lessened. As a result, the subordinate island is doubly peripheral; it is controlled by both the external core and the dominant island.

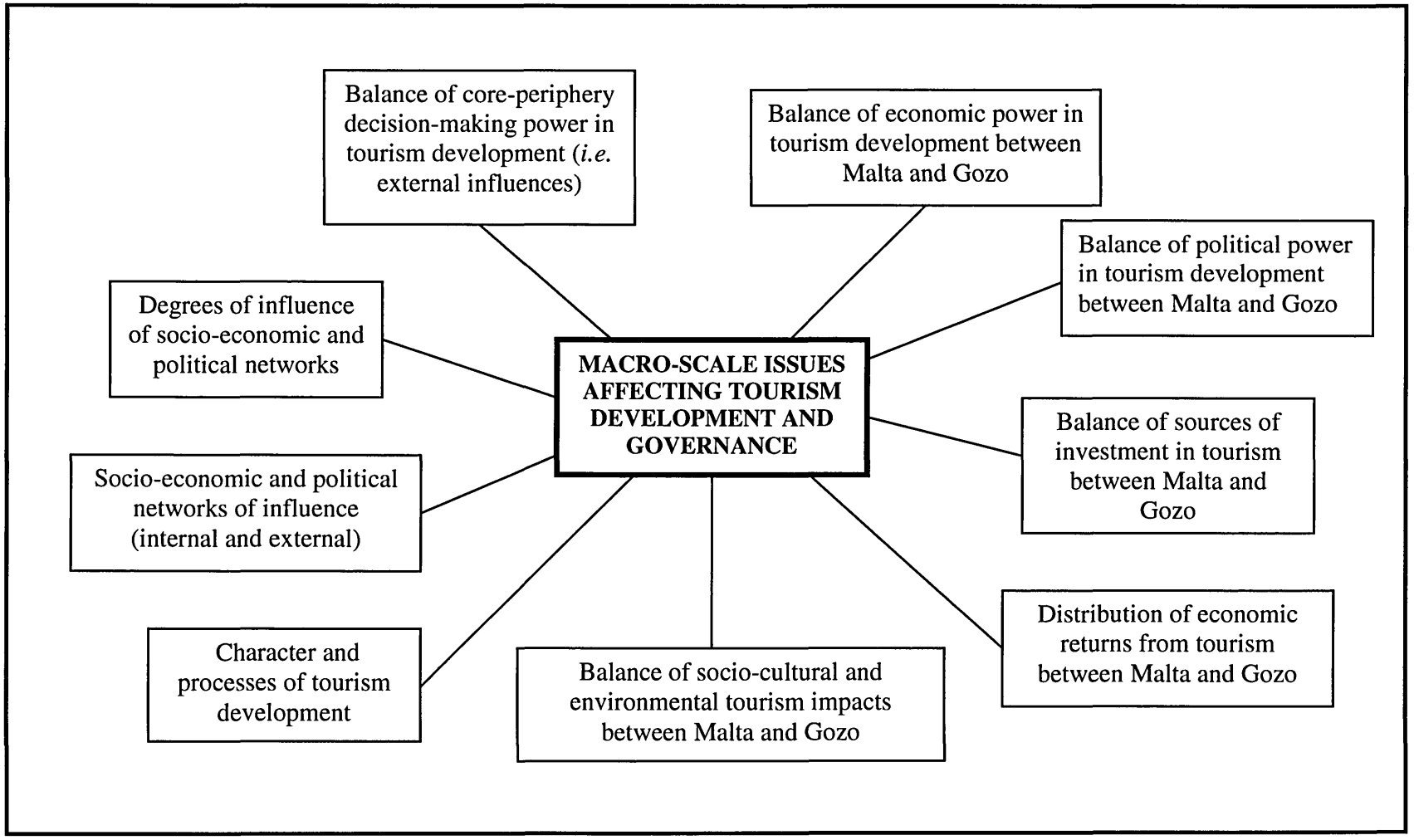
Figure 3.1: Macro-scale processes affecting tourism development and governance in the context of core-periphery relations



Although Weaver's model has significantly influenced the conceptual model for this study, there are some noticeable differences. Weaver does not acknowledge that the subordinate island has any influence over the dominant island. This is an important deficiency, and it is resonant of structuralist theories that focus on central control and do not give significant attention to the importance of human agency in the processes of development at the local level. This study aims to move away from such structuralist explanations of social action, and it begins with analysis at the local level. Thus, the present model (Figure 3.1) acknowledges that the subordinate island may have some influence over the dominant island, albeit limited, and this is demonstrated by a thin arrow. Weaver's model also ignores the potential dealings that the subordinate island can have with the external core. The model for this study acknowledges the potential of the subordinate island to manipulate and coerce from the periphery to the external core, without any intervention from the dominant island. However, this influence is considered to be on a much smaller scale, and to be less likely to occur, and it is therefore demonstrated in the model with thinner arrows. The key element of all the conceptual frameworks for this study is that the periphery potentially has some power over the core – or agency over structure – and this is demonstrated clearly in the first macro-scale conceptual framework as it acknowledges the potential influence that actors at the micro-level can have over tourism governance and tourism development at the periphery.

The second macro-scale conceptual framework, shown in Figure 3.2, represents the various elements that are likely to affect tourism development and governance in the context of core-periphery relations. Whereas the first macro-scale framework represents the processes affecting the balance of power, the second focuses on the elements that may affect – and be affected by – these processes. These elements inform the questions used in the data collection phase. Residents and tourism-related actors are asked for their views about tourism development and governance in Gozo. Factors to be discussed include the balance of economic and political power between Gozo, Malta, and elsewhere; the socio-cultural and environmental impacts of tourism development and the differences in these between the core and the periphery; the most appropriate scale and types of tourism development for Gozo; and the socio-economic and political networks involved in Gozo's tourism development. Examination of the balance of power between the periphery, the core, and the external core, as perceived by Maltese and Gozitan respondents, is vital as this

Figure 3.2 Macro-scale issues affecting tourism development and governance in the context of core-periphery relations



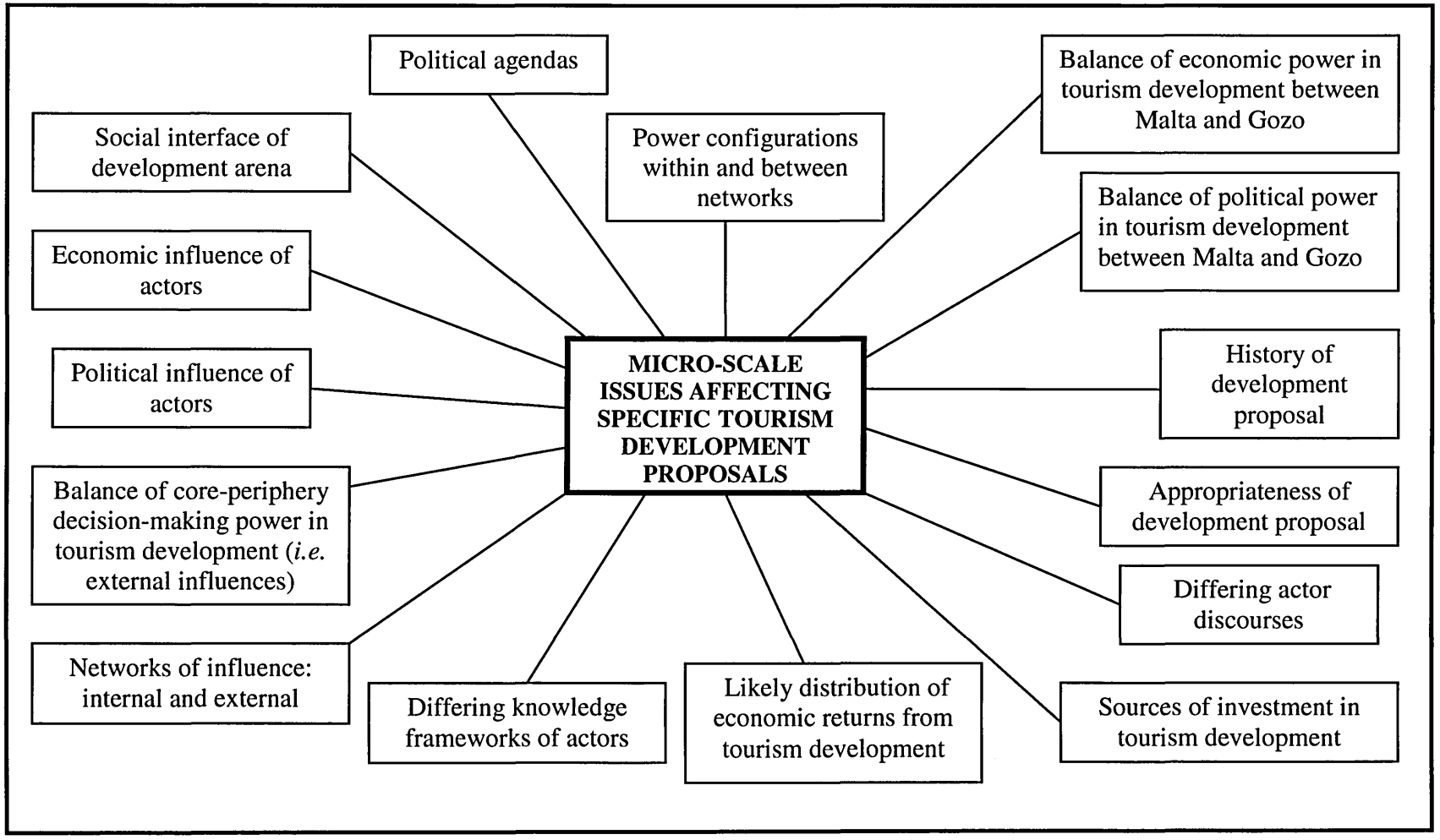
is the context within which all other responses will be evaluated. Peripheral areas are generally well placed to attract tourism because they possess the natural destination features demanded by the tourist industry: the unspoilt (Scott, 2000). It is important to examine the extent to which Maltese and Gozitan respondents are aware of Gozo's tourism potential as a 'peripheral destination'. It is useful to examine their views on the potential impacts of tourism, and their thoughts on the merits and downfalls of tourism development in Malta and also in Gozo, as this will inevitably influence their opinions on the most appropriate scale and type of tourism for Gozo in the future. Finally, it is important to analyse the socio-economic and political networks involved in Gozo's tourism development in order to fully assess the influence that local actors can have over the macro-scale decision-making processes, and also the extent to which the macro-scale framework can be applied to the core-periphery setting of this case. Thus, the second macro-scale framework represents the general issues associated with tourism development and governance in Gozo, which will be discussed in the context of core-periphery relations, as presented in Figure 3.1.

3.4 A micro-scale conceptual framework of issues affecting specific tourism development proposals

The micro-scale conceptual framework, shown in Figure 3.3, represents the various issues and processes at the local-level which are likely to affect actual tourism development proposals at the periphery in the context of core-periphery relations. This framework represents some similar elements for discussion as at the macro-level, but here they are related to three specific tourism development proposals for Gozo. These tourism development proposals were introduced in Chapter One and they include a golf course, an extension to the existing runway to allow for fixed-wing aircraft, and a marina and tourist accommodation complex. The actor-oriented approach employed in this study stresses the importance of micro-analysis and human agency in the development of tourism, thus the micro-scale framework represents a more situated and contextual analysis of issues and processes affecting tourism development and governance in Gozo.

The actor-oriented approach involves unravelling the discourses utilised by the various actors and actor groups involved in the three specific tourism development proposals for Gozo, also referred to as 'development arenas'. Respondents interviewed for the study are asked about their knowledge of the history of the development proposals, and their views

Figure 3.3 Micro-scale issues affecting specific tourism development proposals in the context of core-periphery relations



are also sought regarding the degree of economic and political influence of the various actors in each development arena. Networks of socio-economic and political relations are likely to emerge as part of the tourism development process and respondents are asked for their views on these. Respondents' opinions regarding how these networks emerge, whether they are largely local or external, and the power configurations that result are analysed and discussed. Overall, respondents' views are sought concerning tourism development proposals at the micro-level in order to understand more fully their perspectives on the tourism development and governance processes that affect Gozo in the wider contexts of core-periphery relations.

3.5 An actor-oriented conceptual approach

An actor-oriented conceptual approach is a particularly relevant and useful approach for this research. As outlined in more detail at the beginning of this chapter, the use of Long's (2001) actor-oriented approach is predicated on the need for a move away from a reliance solely on structuralist explanations of development, and that is what this study aims to do, such as by beginning with analysis at the local level. This approach has significantly influenced the development of each of the other frameworks used in this study as it encapsulates the notion that the power of 'actors' deserves more attention. It is used to examine the views of respondents at the periphery on issues related to tourism development and governance, and to assess the extent to which the power of 'human agency' influences macro-level decision-making.

Long (2001) uses several key concepts and terms in his actor-oriented approach, and those that are most relevant to this study are introduced here. These key concepts and terms are used throughout the study as they provide a useful way of explaining the processes that occur in the tourism development 'arenas'.

Central to the actor-oriented approach is the social **actor**. Actors are active participants in the development process who process information and strategise in their dealings with various other local actors, as well as with outside institutions and personnel. Emerging patterns of social organisation result from interactions, negotiations, and struggles that take place between several kinds of actor. These interactions are present not only in given face-

to-face encounters, but those actors who are absent can also influence the situation and affect the actions and outcomes.

Actors can be said to have **agency**. The notion of agency is based upon social actors possessing 'knowledgeability' and 'capability'. This refers to the capacity of actors to process their and others' experiences, make decisions and to act upon them, even under the most extreme forms of coercion. Agency, therefore, may be recognised when particular actions make a difference to a pre-existing state of affairs or course of events. Human agency is not only attributable to individuals but also to those entities that have the means of reaching and formulating decisions and of acting on them based on actions of individuals, for example businesses, political parties and church organisations. It is important to note that these entities rarely act in unison, and that an interplay of discourses is often evident.

Actors' **projects** can be described as the agendas or aims of actors. It is actors' projects that are realised within specific arenas of action. Each project is articulated with consideration of other actors' projects, interests and perspectives. This articulation might be regarded as strategic (conscious or otherwise), in that all actors will attempt to anticipate the reactions and possible moves of the other actors.

Discourse refers to sets of meanings, metaphors, representations, images, narratives and statements that advance a particular version of 'the truth' about specific objects, persons and events. Discourse is used in the formulation of goals and pursuits of interests, and in presenting arguments or rationalisations for the actions undertaken. The process of decision-making in development entails the explicit or implicit use of 'discursive means'. It is possible to have different or conflicting versions of the same discourse, or incompatible discourses relating to the same phenomena. For example, discourses on development can vary considerably depending upon the political or ideological position of the institution or actor concerned. Discourses co-exist and intersect with each other, but they are seldom fully elaborated upon as abstract arguments. More often bits and pieces of discursive text are brought together in innovative ways or in strange combinations in specific situations to advance specific points of view or contention. It is important for researchers to seek to unravel the discourses utilised in specific arenas of struggle.

The term **lifeworld** is used to depict the 'lived-in' and 'taken-for- granted' world of the social actor. **Knowledge frameworks** constitute the ways in which actors come to grips with the world around them cognitively, emotionally and organisationally. They do this on the basis of their own and others' experiences and understandings, thus generating new bases for understanding (*i.e.* knowledge construction). An actor's knowledge framework will undoubtedly influence their choice of discourse, and the knowledge framework often comprises several more specific discourses.

Like knowledge, **power** cannot simply be possessed or accumulated, nor measured in terms of quantity or quality. Knowledge and power emerge out of processes of social interaction and they are better considered as 'products' rather than as 'givens'. Also, by having knowledge and power does not mean that others are without it. Power is the outcome of complex struggles and negotiations over authority, status, reputation and resources. Such struggles are founded upon the extent to which specific actors perceive themselves capable of manoeuvring within particular situations and developing effective strategies for doing so. Creating **room for manoeuvre** implies a degree of consent, a degree of negotiation and thus a degree of power, as manifested in the possibility of exerting some control, prerogative, authority and capacity for action. All actors exercise some kind of power, or 'room for manoeuvre', even those in highly subordinate positions.

Power configurations are depicted in terms of the idea of interlocking actors' projects. These interlocking projects are made up of heterogeneous sets of social relations imbued with values, meanings, and notions of authority and control, domination and subordination, and sustained by specific patterns of resource distribution and competition (*i.e.* power construction).

Actor-networks are made up of sets of direct and indirect relationships and exchanges (interpersonal, inter-organisational, and socio-technical), and usually link together a variety of arenas. Networks can spread across institutional domains, they can cross between geographical spaces or regions, and can transcend from local to global. These networks can represent one or a mix of economic, political, or socio-cultural relations. The emergence of a network depends crucially on the ability of actors to influence others, including their discourses and knowledge frameworks. It relies on a chain of actors each translating the

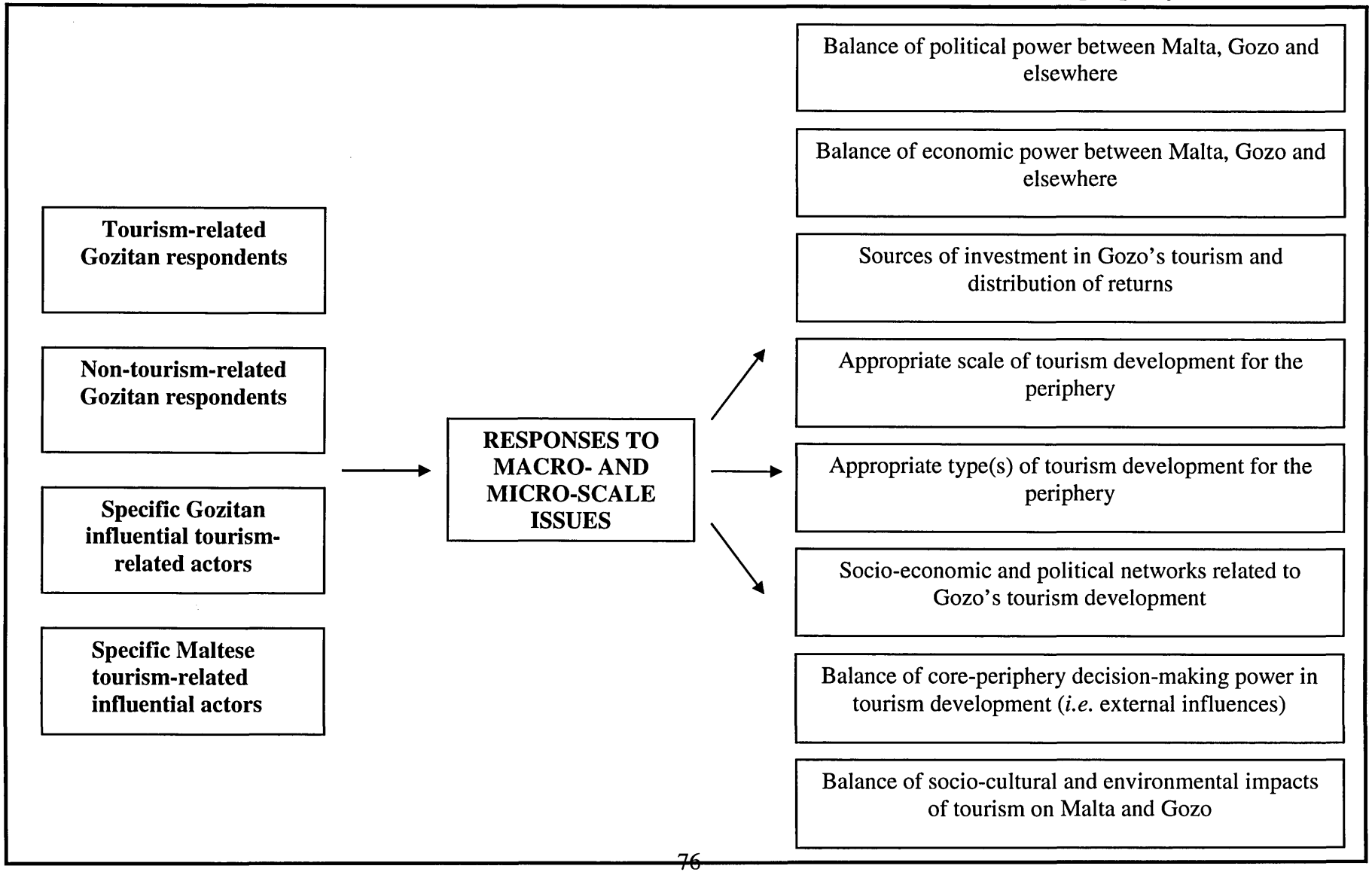
same message, and accepting it, in accordance with their own values and projects. Actors then become partially, though hardly ever completely, enrolled in the 'project' of some other person or persons. The realisation of an actor's 'project' will depend on the generation and use or manipulation of networks of social relations and the channelling of specific intentions through certain nodal points of interpretation and interaction. It is essential to take account of the ways in which networks emerge, and how social actors become engaged or locked into struggles over the attribution of social meanings to particular development proposals.

An actor-oriented approach entails exploring critical interfaces. A 'social interface' is a critical point of intersection between different lifeworlds, social fields or levels of social organisation where social discontinuities, based upon discrepancies in values, interests, discourses, knowledge and power, are most likely to be located. The notion of interface provides a heuristic device for identifying these sites of social discontinuity, ambiguity and cultural difference. Policy debates, including policy formulation, implementation and evaluation, are permeated by interface discontinuities and struggles, and interface analysis has a direct bearing on how one looks at policy. The struggle for space or room for manoeuvre, and the transformations and ramifications it entails can be best captured through an 'interface' perspective. For this study, the term **development arena** is used to describe the spaces where contests and negotiations over development issues, claims, resources, values, meanings and representations take place; that is, they are the sites of struggle.

3.6 Framework for the study of core and periphery responses

Figure 3.4 represents the same general issues that are included in the macro- and micro-scale frameworks, but it focuses on the *evaluation of responses* from residents and specific tourism-related actors at both the core and the periphery. This conceptual framework applies to, and is used alongside, each of the other frameworks. According to Hall and Jenkins (1995:51), 'Tourism is a highly crowded and complex policy environment', involving diverse groups of people with different needs and priorities, all striving to meet their own goals. The intention throughout the research is to identify similarities and any notable differences in opinion - concerning tourism development decision-making -

Figure 3.4: Core and periphery responses to macro- and micro-scale issues in the context of core-periphery relations



between tourism and non-tourism-related respondents, and also between Gozitan and Maltese respondents. According to dependency theorists, peripheral areas will inevitably be dependent on their respective cores or centres of control (e.g. Britton, 1982), therefore, it might be thought that Malta will have considerable involvement in the development of Gozo, and that both the Maltese and the Gozitans will have opinions relating to this. In particular, opinions will relate to the location of power over Gozo's tourism development and whether this is considered suitable, and also what is considered the most appropriate future development path for Gozo's tourism in terms of scale and type. This framework allows for analysis of whether or not respondents at the core have very different priorities to those at the periphery. Respondents' priorities relating to both macro- and micro-scale tourism development and governance issues are assessed and the potential implications of any differing priorities are discussed. This framework is also used to assess the level of satisfaction expressed by respondents with their experiences of decision-making concerning tourism development in Gozo, thus allowing for an evaluation of whether Gozitans' needs are being met.

3.7 Conclusion

This chapter has presented the five conceptual frameworks that are applied to this study to examine responses to the development and governance of tourism in peripheral areas. All responses are evaluated in the context of core-periphery relations and the socio-economic and political networks of local and external relations, and this is most clearly demonstrated with the first macro-scale conceptual framework; the macro-scale framework represents the 'big picture'. The second macro-scale framework represents the issues related to tourism development and governance in this context. The micro-scale framework represents the issues and processes that affect actual tourism development proposals for Gozo. The development of this framework in particular is strongly influenced by the actor-oriented approach which places emphasis on the potential power of actors at the local level, and the importance of beginning analysis at the local-level. The micro-scale framework represents a more situated and contextual analysis of issues and processes affecting tourism development and governance in Gozo, and this can help to understand more fully people's perspectives of tourism development and governance in the wider context of core-periphery relations. The framework for the study of core and periphery responses is used alongside each of the other frameworks and focuses on the *evaluation of responses* from all groups. This framework allows for the analysis of differing priorities between the core and the

periphery relating to Gozo's tourism development, and also assesses their levels of satisfaction with the tourism development and governance they receive. The methodology for the application of these conceptual frameworks to the case study island is presented in the next chapter.

Chapter 4

Methodology

4.1 Introduction

The aim of this study is to examine attitudes to the development and governance of tourism on Gozo in the contexts of core-periphery relations. The methodology and techniques used to apply the conceptual frameworks (presented in Chapter Three), and to carry out the research are reviewed in this chapter. The chapter begins with an explanation of the researcher's philosophical approach. A constructivist approach was considered most appropriate for this research, along with an actor-oriented perspective, and justification for this is presented in the first section. The research design is outlined, including a discussion of the merits of a qualitative approach for examining people's attitudes. Issues of credibility and validity that are associated with qualitative data are addressed. A case study approach was chosen for this research as it was considered most effective for investigating complex situations in context. This chapter explains why the Maltese island of Gozo was selected as the case study focus. Next, there is a discussion of the specific research methods and tools used for this research and why they were considered suitable. This includes a description of the options available for collecting primary data, with justification for the choice of semi-structured, in-depth interviews. The chapter ends with a discussion of 'Framework Analysis', as a method for sorting and analysing rich data.

4.2 Research strategy

4.2.1 Philosophical approach

This section outlines the philosophical approach to the study, including the ontology, epistemology, and methodology. This study uses a constructivist approach to the research. The researcher is aware that the terms 'constructionism' and 'constructivism' are often used interchangeably. However, strictly speaking constructivism is applied to learning theory and epistemology, whereas constructionism is a more general term, embracing the cognitive and social dimensions of behaviour and social practice. Guba and Lincoln's (1989) constructivist approach is used to explain this approach, as this is supported by Long's (2001) proposal that the actor-oriented perspective should be viewed from a constructionist perspective.

Guba and Lincoln (1989) propose their constructivist paradigm as a replacement for the conventional, scientific, or positivist paradigm of inquiry. Both the positivist and constructivist paradigms have existed for many years, though the constructivist paradigm has only recently emerged as a serious competitor to the dominant conventional paradigms. Also called the naturalistic, hermeneutic or interpretive paradigm (with slight differences in meaning) the constructivist paradigm is considered suitable for this research study, for reasons which will now be explained.

Ontology is the branch of philosophy that questions the nature of reality. It is the framework or set of ideas with which the researcher approaches the world (Denzin & Lincoln, 1998). The conventional approach is a realist ontology which asserts that there exists an objective reality that is independent of any observer's interest in it. Reality is determined entirely by certain natural laws, many of which take the form of cause-effect relationships. In comparison to conventional approaches, the constructivist paradigm begins with a relativist ontology which asserts that there are multiple, socially constructed realities ungoverned by natural laws, causal or otherwise. Realities are devised by individuals as they make sense of their experiences. Further, unlike a realist ontology which defines truth as any assumption that stands in a one-to-one relationship to objective reality, a relativist ontology defines truth as the best informed and most sophisticated construction on which there is consensus, and it is seen as continuously open to alteration.

Guba and Lincoln (1989 & 1998) argue that the constructivist paradigm provides the best 'fit' whenever human inquiry is being considered. This study involves human inquiry as it aims to understand people's constructs of the tourism development and tourism governance processes. A constructivist approach acknowledges that respondents will have varying, subjective perspectives on the issues discussed, and cannot by an act of will set aside their own subjectivity.

A relativist ontology influences the epistemology of the research, (*i.e.* that is the relationship between the inquirer and the known). In fact it eliminates the divide between the two terms. Asserting that multiple realities exist means that only a subjective posture can be taken. This means that it is impossible to separate the inquirer from the inquired into. As with the interpretive model, reliance is placed on the people being studied to provide their own explanation of a situation. The interpretive

researcher tries to get inside the minds of subjects and see the world from their point of view (Veal, 1997). The values of both inquirer and respondent cannot be overlooked, their very influential role is acknowledged with a constructivist paradigm. The researcher cannot keep a distance from the respondent, to exclude all biases and achieve true objectivity. In order to reach the best understanding of the respondents' views, the researcher must attempt to interpret their perceptions subjectively. Of course, it is also important for the researcher to be reflexive and self-critical in the research process.

The methodology must be such that it exposes the constructions of the variety of respondents, opens each to critique in the terms of other constructions, and provide the opportunity for revised or entirely new constructions to emerge. A hermeneutic methodology will make sense of the interactions. Hermeneutics is the art and science of interpretation. Interpretations are developed and continuously redeveloped. The interpretive process is centrally about the tension between one's own perspective and the perspective of the other person: 'meaning is always negotiated between ones own preconceptions and those within the horizon of the other' (Tate, 1998:13, as quoted in Ezzy, 2002:27). The constructivist paradigm is also associated with a dialectic approach, where the constructs are compared and contrasted. The methodology involves a continuing dialectic of iteration, analysis, critique, reiteration, reanalysis, and so on, leading to the emergence of a joint construction of a case (Guba & Lincoln, 1989).

The researcher acknowledges that there are some problems associated with constructivist criteria. Constructivism does not aim to discover the truth, but accepts the best informed, and most sophisticated construction on which there is consensus. This level of ambiguity may be too much for some readers. Also, due to the belief that perceptions and constructions change according to context and culture, it can be argued that broad, wide-reaching solutions may never be reached. However, it is not the aim of this study to produce a conceptual framework that will be entirely generalisable, but one that can be applied to other similar settings.

4.2.2 Actor-oriented approach

Long (2001) indicates that actor-oriented theory, concepts, and practice are philosophically grounded in a social constructionist view of change and continuity. Constructionism is principally concerned with understanding the processes by which

specific actors and networks of actors engage with and thus co-produce their own (inter)personal and collective social worlds. A constructionist perspective focuses upon the making and remaking of society through the actions and perceptions of a diverse and interlocked world of actors. This means that social life is considered a 'work-in-progress', it is never completed and therefore never ultimately constructed. An actor-oriented type of social constructionism encompasses not only everyday social practice and language games, but also larger-scale institutional frameworks, resource fields, networks of communication and support, collective ideologies, socio-political arenas of struggle, and the beliefs that may shape actors' improvisations, coping behaviours and planned social actions.

This study uses an actor-oriented approach to explore attitudes to the social action that surrounds tourism development and governance in Gozo. As advocated by an actor approach, this research adopts as a point of departure actor-defined issues. This is reflected in the selection of three specific micro-level tourism development proposals as focus for discussion. An actor-approach can elucidate the processes of knowledge and power construction entailed in development arenas. Respondents were asked for their perceptions of the power of the various actors involved in each arena, and how they try to build networks of support to influence outcomes. The main task for actor-oriented analysis is to identify and characterise differing actor practices, strategies and rationales, the conditions under which they arise, how they interlock, their viability or effectiveness for solving specific problems, and their wider social ramifications. By examining respondents' perceptions of issues surrounding these micro-level development arenas, the researcher can hope to understand more fully respondents' perceptions of the wider processes of tourism development and governance in the core-periphery context.

Both Long's (2001) actor-oriented perspective and Giddens' (1984) agency-structure theory advocate a move away from structuralist explanations of development and emphasise the importance of local-level actors. This study focuses on the opinions of actors at the periphery as it is here that debate about tourism development and tourism governance takes place. Further, it is these actors' views that can ultimately influence macro-level decision-making and the development process itself. Giddens (1984) argues that people both produce and, at the same time, are influenced by the structures in society. Therefore, a constructivist approach which advocates a relativist ontology is

appropriate for this research as it accepts that people are not independent of the worlds in which they live and that they are able to construct their own realities.

4.3 Research design

4.3.1 Inductive and deductive approach

The study's research design is partly inductive and partly deductive. May (1997) explains that induction is based on the belief that research should come before theory and that it is from the collected data that theories are generated. Deduction refutes the idea that research can be produced on the basis of initially rejecting theory. In a deductive process the theorising comes before the research. Veal (1997) argues that most research is partly inductive and partly deductive because data are rarely collected without some explanatory model in mind, or at least some initial information on the subject. May (1997) suggests that researchers should make their theories, hypotheses or guiding influences explicit and not hide behind the notion that facts can speak for themselves. This research does partly take a deductive approach as it is informed by some theory; for example, it employs a macro-scale model of core-periphery relations (discussed in Section 3.2 and presented in Figure 3.1), and the research approach and methods are strongly influenced by Long's (2001) actor-oriented theory. However, the research is primarily concerned with analysis of processes of tourism development and governance at the micro-scale, and is less concerned with existing structuralist theories. The aim of the study is to collect data from the micro-scale, and identify patterns which could be transferable to other similar settings. In this respect, the research is inductively driven. Ezzy (2002) shows support for a research study, such as this, that uses both an inductive and deductive approach. He suggests that theory is not arrived at solely through logical derivations from abstract principles, nor are theories developed solely through objective observation of an empirical world. Rather, theories are developed through an ongoing dialogue between pre-existing understandings and the data, derived from participation in the world.

4.3.2 Grounded theory

Grounded theory follows an inductive approach to research. The 'grounded theory' approach has become a popular choice of methodology for social researchers engaged in small-scale projects using qualitative data for the study of human interaction, and by those whose research is exploratory and focused on particular settings. Grounded theory is an approach that is concerned with generating theories rather than testing

theories. It is an approach that emphasises the importance of empirical fieldwork and the need to link any explanations very closely to what happens in the 'real world'; 'Grounded theory is *what is*, not what should, could or ought to be' (Glaser, 1999:840, as cited in Denscombe, 2003:840). With this approach, concepts and theories are developed out of the data through a persistent process of comparing the ideas with existing data and new data collected specifically for the purpose.

This study does not employ a full grounded theory approach, but does adopt some of its principles. A grounded theorist has an open mind on a subject. This type of researcher is informed about an area and aware of previous theories that might apply, but does not approach the analysis of data using preordained ways of seeing things. The empirical fieldwork carried out for the present study is a significant element of the research, it is very much linked to real life situations, and the intention is not to test existing theories. But, the research topic is approached with ideas that shape the focus of investigation and it does use existing theories and concepts to make sense of the data. However, the researcher also acknowledges the potential for developing new factors and explanations from the data collected, without reference to existing ideas.

4.3.2 Qualitative research approach

Quantitative and qualitative research methods are each appropriate to different kinds of research problem. Certain questions cannot be answered using quantitative methods, while others cannot be answered by qualitative ones. The research issue should determine which style of research is employed.

Quantitative research is normally used to confirm existing theories. It uses a much more structured strategy with the aim of producing hard, reliable data. Quantitative research takes the image of social reality as static and external to the actor. Contact with the people being studied is fairly fleeting or even non-existent (Bryman, 1988). This type of research involves controlling as far as possible the conditions under which the phenomena and relations under study occur. Studies are designed in such a way that the researcher's influence can be excluded as far as possible, as well as the subjective views of the individuals under study. While quantification may sometimes be useful, it can conceal basic social processes. Consider the problem of counting attitudes in surveys: does everyone have a coherent attitude on any topic? There are areas of social reality which such statistics cannot measure (Silverman, 1993). The relativist ontology

chosen for this research asserts that there are multiple realities and that it is impossible to separate the inquirer from the inquired into. A quantitative approach to the present research would not be appropriate as only a subjective posture can be taken.

The most fundamental characteristic of qualitative research is its express commitment to viewing events, actions, norms, values, *etc.* from the perspective of the people who are being studied (Bryman, 1988). This style of research takes the image of social reality as processual and socially constructed by the actors themselves. An unstructured strategy is used which produces data that is rich and deep in nature, through which theories and concepts tend to emerge. Qualitative research involves close contact with the people being studied. The fields of study are not artificial situations in the laboratory but the practices and interactions of the subjects in everyday life (Flick, 1998). This permits a penetrating account which can explore incidents in great detail and can illuminate the full extent of the subjects' accounts of a variety of phenomena.

A qualitative approach which is broadly ethnographic in style was considered most suitable for this research. Mason (1996) suggests that qualitative research is grounded in a philosophical position which is broadly 'interpretivist' in the sense that it is concerned with how the social world is interpreted, understood, experienced or produced. It is based on data generation which is flexible and sensitive to the social context in which data are produced. It is also based on methods of analysis and explanation building which involve understandings of complexity, detail, and context. It aims to produce rounded understandings on the basis of rich, contextual, and detailed data. In all, it allows design methods so open that they do justice to the complexity of the object under study. This approach can be appropriate in relatively exploratory situations, and this can be the case when the topic is new, or has not been applied previously to a specific sample group, or when the researcher is unsure about what the important variables will be. Further, it takes into account how the respondents' viewpoints and practices vary because of the different subjective perspectives and social backgrounds related to them (Flick, 1998). This study deals with people's perceptions, which may vary considerably and be very complex. Perceptions of tourism development and tourism governance have not been studied before in this context. Further, it may not be until after the interview stage that the researcher is entirely sure of the important variables. For these reasons qualitative methods were deemed most appropriate.

4.3.3 Credibility and validity

Qualitative research does have its criticisms, the first being the problem of interpretation. It could be said that the commitment to explicating the subjects' interpretation of social reality is the *sine qua non* of qualitative research. How feasible is it to perceive as others perceive? Can researchers really provide accounts from the perspective of those whom they study? The two most common criticisms are 'reliability' and 'validity'. The issue of 'validity' is usually posed in terms of what constitutes a credible claim to the truth. Also referred to as 'anecdotalism', the validity of an explanation can sometimes be doubted because the research has clearly made no attempt to deal with the contrary cases. Qualitative research is, by definition, stronger on long descriptive narrative than on statistical tables. The problem of 'reliability' that arises here is how a qualitative researcher goes about categorising the events or activities described. Even when the study is tape-recorded and transcribed, the reliability of the interpretation of the transcripts may be questioned.

Silverman (2000) suggests two responses to the question of validity, they are 'triangulation' and 'respondent validation'. Triangulation refers to the attempt to get a true 'fix' on a situation by combining different ways of looking at the findings. For example, 'data triangulation' involves the use of a variety of data source. This study uses interviews as primary data, and textbooks, newspapers, and official tourism documents as secondary data. Data triangulation also encompasses the field notes written during and immediately after each interview. This study also employs 'informant triangulation' which simply involves considering a broad range of informants – both typical and atypical – and comparing what they say. Furthermore, the study incorporates 'interdisciplinary triangulation'. Interpretations become richer and more comprehensive when investigators, methods, and theories from different disciplines are considered for a particular research problem. This type of triangulation is especially relevant in tourism research, since in essence tourism is a multidisciplinary phenomenon. This study considers theories related to development, sociology and geography in particular. By combining data sources, methods, and theories, triangulation opens the way for more credible interpretations (Decrop, 2004). Respondent validation suggests that we should go back to the subjects with tentative results and refine them in light of our subjects' reactions. On the other hand, Silverman (1993) argues that if we only accept as valid those accounts which are plausible and credible, then we are unable to be surprised and condemned to reproduce existing

models of the world. This research did not ask respondents to refine their comments as it was hoped that their initial responses were the truest representation. If respondents had been given the chance to review their comments they may have chosen to retract any controversial statements. Respondents were assured that their names would not appear in the study, and it was hoped that this would encourage respondents to provide real opinions without concern for recrimination.

The constructivist paradigm replaces positivist terms such as internal and external validity, reliability and objectivity with terms such as trustworthiness, credibility, transferability, and confirmability. One criterion for critical trustworthiness involves the credibility of portrayals of constructed realities. Constructivist researchers reject the notion of internal validity that is based on the assumption that a tangible, knowable, cause-and-effect reality exists and that research descriptions are able to portray that reality accurately. They award credibility only when the constructions are plausible to those who constructed them. Thus it becomes extremely difficult to measure the trustworthiness of critical research. Although, Ezzy (2002) states that qualitative research is demonstrably trustworthy and rigorous when the researcher demonstrates that he or she has worked to understand the situated nature of participants' interpretations and meanings. A second criterion for critical trustworthiness can be referred to as 'anticipatory accommodation'. Here the traditional notion of external validity is rejected. The ability to make pristine generalisations from one research study to another accepts a one-dimensional cause-effect universe. It is argued that the traditional concept of external validity is far too simplistic and asserts that if generalisations are to be made – that is, if researchers are to be able to apply findings in context A to context B – then it must be ensured that the contexts are similar (Kincheloe & McLaren, 1998). This study does not aim to create models which are entirely generalisable, but one which can be applied to other similar political or geographical core-periphery settings.

4.3.4 Case study approach

A case study is a strategy for doing research which involves empirical investigation of a particular phenomenon within its real life context (Robson, 1993). A case study approach allows the researcher to focus on just one instance of the phenomena that is to be investigated. The intention is to gain insights from an individual case that can have wider implications. Importantly, it is believed that these insights would not have come

to light in a study that tries to cover a large number of instances. A case study is characteristically 'in-depth' and, by limiting the range of the study to just one, the approach has the potential to investigate in sufficient detail the complexities of a certain situation. As opposed to a broad survey approach, a case study allows for the study of relationships and processes and can deal with the subtleties and intricacies of complex social situations, rather than restricting attention to the outcomes. A case study focuses on the particular rather than the general; 'the aim is to illuminate the general by looking at the particular' (Denscombe, 2003:30).

An aim of this study is to gain an insight into the attitudes towards the processes of tourism development and tourism governance in a core-periphery context, and a case study was considered the most effective approach for achieving this. Denscombe (2003) suggests that researchers need to defend the case they have chosen by justifying that it is suitable for the purposes of the research. The Maltese island of Gozo was chosen as the case study focus for this research as it provides a suitable real life core-periphery context. The Maltese Islands exhibit geographical characteristics of a core-periphery relationship, with Malta being the larger island and Gozo being the smaller island, separated by a three mile sea channel. The seat of government is situated in Malta, thus also in political terms Malta is the core and Gozo is the periphery. This situation is exacerbated by the fact that Malta is situated on the periphery of Europe and of the EU. This setting is particularly interesting as it means that both Malta and Gozo can be considered as peripheral islands, with Gozo being doubly peripheral, and subsequently the decision-making processes in this core-periphery context are highlighted. The study focuses on responses to tourism-related development and governance in this core-periphery context. Both Malta and Gozo have long been popular tourist destinations, they have experienced significant tourism development, and they are to a large extent dependent on the tourism industry. Due to the significance of tourism to the Maltese economy, government tries to control the industry, and tourism policies are well-established. Residents of both islands, whether directly involved in the tourism industry or not, are likely to have formed opinions on the topic of tourism development and its governance. The first language in the Maltese Islands is Malti (a semitic language), but English is the second language and it is spoken widely and fluently. The opportunity to research in English eliminates the problems and issues associated with translation of questions and responses. Gozo was also

considered a suitable case study island as it was easily accessible, flights and accommodation were easy to organise and were affordable.

It is acknowledged that the case study approach is vulnerable to criticism in relation to the credibility of generalisations made from its findings (Denscombe, 2003). But, the aim of this study is not to make its findings entirely generalisable, rather it intends to produce theoretical models which can be adapted and transferred to other similar settings. As a case study approach tends to focus its investigation on relationships and processes rather than measurable outcomes it is often perceived as being too descriptive and as producing soft data (*Ibid.*). However, an important characteristic of a case study approach is that it allows for the use of a variety of research methods (Robson, 1993), and this in turn facilitates the validity of data through triangulation. The research methods employed for this study are discussed next.

4.4 Research methods

4.4.1 Qualitative research methods

Qualitative research methods include the use of questionnaires, participant observation, focus groups, individual interviews and document analysis. The research methods selected for this study were individual interviews and document analysis. Fontana and Frey (1998) state that interviewing is one of the most common and powerful ways that researchers can attempt to understand their fellow human beings. Interviews can facilitate the exploration of people's knowledge, views, understandings, interpretations and experiences. And, perhaps most importantly, they can provide fundamental insights into people's perceptions (Mason, 2002). As Denscombe (2003:165) suggests, 'If the researcher wishes to investigate emotions, experiences and feelings rather than more straightforward factual matters, then he or she may be justified in preferring interviews to the use of questionnaires'. Interviewing was considered a particularly suitable method for this research as it assists one of the main aims; that is to understand people's perceptions of the character and processes of tourism development and governance.

One-to-one interviews are relatively easy to organise as only two people's diaries need to coincide, and they are also relatively easy to control as the researcher has to concentrate on only one person's opinions. Interview respondents give their consent to taking part in the meeting, and this allows respondents' comments to be treated as 'on the record'. Unlike participant observation where those being studied are unaware of

their part in the research, with interviews there is a general understanding that their comments are a genuine reflection of their thoughts and their words can be used by the researcher at some later date (Denscombe, 2003).

There are certain limitations associated with in-depth personal interviews. Firstly, there may be problems in accessing individuals for interview. Key respondents, such as Members of Parliament, are likely to have busy schedules and they may not have the time to participate in an interview. It might prove particularly difficult to access the central figures in a setting, and instead you may be offered interviews with marginal figures. Good organisation, contacting the respondent in good time to organise the interview and confirming shortly before the interview appointment helps to reduce the likelihood of cancellation, or being offered an interview with a more marginal figure. Furthermore, during the interview, 'interviewer effects' must be eliminated as far as possible, that is any influence the interviewer may have on the way a respondent answers a question. The interviewer does not want to influence the way a question is answered, but as discussed earlier, with the constructivist paradigm the values of both the researcher and respondent are acknowledged, and considered important to the interpretation process.

Questionnaires can be used across a wide spectrum of research situations and were considered as a potential research method for this study. Questionnaires are relatively easy to arrange – easier, for example, than personal interviews as the questionnaire can be sent unannounced to the respondent – and economical in the sense that they can supply a considerable amount of research data for a relatively low cost in terms of materials, money and time. Questionnaires can be developed to supply standardised data, where all respondents are asked exactly the same questions, thus allowing for pre-coded answers and speedy analysis of data. However, this type of research method is most suited to gathering data from large numbers of respondents, where the information required is relatively straight forward and uncontroversial and where there is a need for standardised data without requiring personal, face-to-face interaction (Denscombe, 2003). Questionnaires were not considered suitable for the present study as the aim is to gather in-depth data from a small numbers of respondents. This study aims to explore respondents' own perceptions of tourism development and governance in a core-periphery context. Questionnaires are associated with pre-coded questions that can bias the findings towards the researcher's, rather than the respondent's, way of seeing

things, and it was therefore not considered the most effective method for achieving the study aims. Further, when exploring people's perceptions it is likely that the data will be rich and possibly controversial, and questionnaires do not allow for such complexities.

Focus groups have become an extremely popular form of interview technique and were also considered as a potential research method for this research. A focus group consists of a small group of people who are brought together by the researcher to explore attitudes and perceptions about a topic. They are useful in that they can encourage contributions from those who might otherwise be reluctant to contribute and, through their relatively informal interchanges, focus groups can lead to insights that might not otherwise have come to light through the one-to-one conventional interview. However, focus groups are not so effective for discussing sensitive or controversial topics as members of the group may be reluctant to disclose their thoughts in the company of others (Denscombe, 2003). This study aims to explore people's attitudes and perceptions of issues that were considered fairly controversial in the islands, and it was thought that respondents would be more 'open' with their thoughts and perceptions in a one-to-one interview than in a group situation. There are also difficulties in recording a focus group discussion as speakers tend to interrupt one another and talk simultaneously.

Participation observation is another useful qualitative research method, described by Becker and Geer (1957:28) as, 'the method in which the observer participates in the daily life of the people under study, either openly in the role of researcher or covertly in some disguised role, observing things that happen, listening to what is said, and questioning people, over some length of time'. Participant observation does provide a good platform for gaining rich insights into social processes, it is suited to dealing with complex realities, and is good for getting at actors' meanings as they see them. But, it can be a very demanding method in terms of personal commitment and personal resources, and potentially can be dangerous for the researcher; physically, legally and socially. Participant observation can pose particular ethical problems for the researcher as those being studied may not be aware of the research or their role in it. The reliability of participant observation is also open to doubt because the key instrument is the researcher as a person. This dependence on the researcher's 'self' and on the use of

field notes as data leads to a lack of verifiable data, and the reliability can be questioned (Denscombe, 2003).

In addition to the selection of in-person interviews for primary data collection, document analysis was also selected as a suitable qualitative research method for meeting the aims of this study, as 'Documents can be treated as a source of *data in their own right'* (Denscombe, 2003:212). Documentary sources were collected as secondary data to identify issues for discussion in the primary data collection phase, and also to contrast and compare with the primary data, helping to achieve trustworthiness. One secondary data source used in the research was the local newspapers. The 'press' provides a potentially valuable source of information for research purposes as it can provide up-to-date information, often written by journalists with a specialist knowledge or by those with 'insider information'. Archive issues of Maltese daily newspapers were examined from 1999 onwards – mainly the 'Times of Malta' (which has a section devoted exclusively to Gozo) and the 'Malta Independent'. Both newspapers provide highly detailed commentaries on local issues, events and policies. Each day there are substantial 'news', 'opinion' and 'letters' sections. Any articles relating to tourism development, tourism governance, and any which detail public or professional views about tourism in Gozo were collected. In particular, these newspaper articles were examined to identify three micro-level tourism development proposals in Gozo, thus supporting the actor-oriented approach which advocates actor-defined issues as a starting point for research. These micro-level case studies were discussed by respondents as part of the empirical data collection. Another type of secondary data used was policy documents. These included documents drawn up by the European Union, the Malta Tourism Authority, the Malta Environment and Planning Authority, the Gozo Chamber of Commerce and the Gozo Tourist Authority. The researcher acknowledges that newspaper sources may not be written from an objective viewpoint and vested interests may influence the information provided, and when using documentary sources it must be remembered that the data was produced for other purposes, not for the specific aims of the study. The credibility of these secondary data sources must be evaluated.

4.5 Data collection

4.5.1 Primary data collection

Primary data was collected because currently little data exists regarding resident responses to tourism development and governance, and in particular, their responses to core-periphery relationships in tourism development. The primary data was collected in the form of interview data. The fieldwork was carried out over a nine-week period, between March and May 2005. Respondents from the community and specific tourism-related actors were asked for their opinions of the governance of Gozo's tourism development and for their thoughts on the most appropriate future development path for the island. Respondents were also asked for their 'knowledge' of the micro-level tourism development proposals selected for discussion, including the history of the proposals, the various actors involved or affected by the proposal, and their perceived discourses.

4.5.2 Interview sample

The aim was to interview 40 respondents as this number was considered adequately representative given the necessary time and cost constraints. In fact, the fieldwork period allowed for a total of 47 interviews to be carried out. Guided by the framework for the study of core and periphery responses (as outlined in Chapter Three, Section 3.6), four groups of respondents were identified. These groups were formed of tourism-related and non-tourism related Gozitan respondents, and specific Gozitan and Maltese tourism-related influential actors. Of the 47 interviews, 12 were carried out with specific Maltese tourism-related actors. They included representatives from the Malta Tourism Authority, the Ministry for Tourism and Culture, the Malta Labour Party, the Malta Environment and Planning Authority, the tourism-related private sector, and those involved in environmental protection. A total of 35 Gozitan respondents were interviewed. 12 of these respondents were influential tourism-related actors, including representatives from the Gozo Tourist Association, the Gozo Business Chamber, and the tourism-related private sector. The remaining 23 respondents were residents of Gozo, with around half of this group being involved in Gozo's tourism industry. The tourism-related and non-tourism related groups were mainly determined by profession, but this was difficult to define at times as respondents were involved with the tourism industry to varying degrees. For example, a local policeman would generally be considered as non-tourism-related, but the police force can often be viewed as ambassadors for the island, and on an island that experiences little crime, frequently

they can find themselves answering tourists' questions and giving directions. Also, due to the small population of Gozo, residents tend to play more than one role in society, so a local politician could also be a restaurant owner. Further, the Gozo economy is significantly dependent on its tourism industry, and so it can be suggested that all Gozitans are involved in – if not reliant on – Gozo's tourism, and this may influence their responses.

Ezzy (2002) states that the most important point about sampling, as it relates to qualitative data analysis, is that the sample is purposeful. A purposeful sample is one that provides a clear set of criteria or rationale for the selection of the participants. The reason for choosing to interview roughly equal numbers of specific tourism-related actors and general public was to obtain a balance between those who are likely to have more of an interest in the tourism development issues discussed, and those that are not. Certain tourism-related actors were selected for interview because they were involved in tourism in the Maltese Islands, and others more specifically because they were involved in one or more of the micro-level tourism development proposals discussed. This demonstrates use of the 'critical case sampling' technique. The selection of 'critical cases' aims to identify those cases in which the issues to be studied become especially clear, for example, in the opinion of experts in the field. As Denzin and Lincoln (1994:202) suggest, 'Many qualitative researchers employ...purposive, and not random, sampling methods. They seek out groups, settings and individuals where ... the processes being studied are most likely to occur'. The respondents selected were more likely to be well informed about the proposals being discussed, as well as tourism and governance issues in general, and thus they were well-placed to discuss related issues. Gozo residents were also interviewed to gain an insight into the views of the community. One of the aims was to see whether the community's views varied regarding the tourism development proposals and about tourism development and governance in general, or whether there was a general consensus. It was also intended to explore whether the community's views were similar to those of the tourism-related actors. This mix was intended to show how different individuals and groups, with varying perspectives, view the same issues.

The Gozo residents were selected on the basis of various criteria, with the main aim being to gain a mix of people. All respondents were required to have been resident in Gozo for more than five years, though the majority of respondents had lived in the

island all of their lives, and their places of residence varied. It was important to avoid interviewing too many residents of the same village in case they shared opinions, and this would not provide a realistic representation of islanders' views. The respondents were also varied with regards to their type of employment and their age. The range of professions can be viewed in Table 4.1. Respondents' ages ranged from 18 to 70. All of these criteria were used to interview a mix of respondents and to gain a feel for the range of views in the community.

A possible method of attracting respondents from the general public to participate in interviews is to advertise on notice boards or in shop windows. However, without the offer of some reward, there is little incentive for the general public to offer their assistance – particularly when the interviews are expected to be quite lengthy and require participants to take time away from their jobs or their leisure time. Participants may be more willing to participate in the research if they are approached for their help by someone who is familiar to them. One way to access potential participants in this manner is to use a 'snowball sampling' technique. 'With *snowballing,* the sample emerges through a process of reference from one person to the next...[and it] is an effective technique for building up a reasonable-sized sample' (Denscombe, 2003:16). This technique involves asking certain leaders in the community to suggest some potential respondents. These people should be key respondents, *i.e.* people who are involved in, or are well informed about the issues to be discussed. These people may then be able to suggest other potential respondents who they consider 'right' for the research. Ideally, several people will agree to be interviewed, and if so, the respondents can be selected according to the sample criteria. The researcher approached a small number of local people, for example a restaurateur, a local Mayor, and a policeman, and these people offered to be interviewed themselves and were pleased to suggest other potential respondents. Maltese people generally take a considerable interest in community issues and in politics, and therefore they tended to be enthusiastic and informative respondents. It is acknowledged that there are certain disadvantages of using the snowball technique. There is a likelihood that when respondents suggest other people that they consider 'right' for the research, they might be inclined to choose people who have similar views to themselves, thus potentially limiting the range of views. The researcher tried to minimise this by making sure that only one member of each family was interviewed, and by ensuring that respondents met the sample criteria.

The selection of the Gozitan and Maltese influential tourism-related actors was based on their involvement in general tourism development decision-making processes, their involvement in one or more of the selected tourism development proposals, and their knowledge and interest in Gozo's future tourism development. Denscombe (2003) suggests that it is appropriate for key players to be selected for interview when the aim of the study is to delve in depth into a particular situation. These key respondents will have some special contribution to make, because they have some unique insight or because of the position they hold. The respondents selected for this study were either involved in, or considered to be well-informed about, the issues discussed.

A list of all respondents is displayed in Table 4.1. The respondents are divided into the four categories described above, and are listed by profession or organisation. Each respondent was allocated a reference number, and these reference numbers support all respondent quotes in the results chapters. This reference number was particularly useful in organising the analysis of the research, and has little significance to the reader.

4.5.3 Interview preparation

The interview respondents were contacted by telephone or by email prior to the interview to ask for their assistance and to organise a convenient meeting place and time. The interviews took place at a location chosen by the respondents, usually their place of work. The setting for the interviews was important as it needed to be somewhere that the respondents were comfortable and felt that they could talk freely, but also somewhere that was reasonably quiet and with good acoustics. It also needed to be considered safe by the researcher. All participants had voluntarily to offer their assistance and must have had sufficient information about the research to arrive at a reasoned judgement about whether to participate or not. All respondents were offered a form which provided the name and contact details of the interviewer, a brief description of the research aims, and information about what was expected from them. The form also expressed the commitment by the researcher to assure anonymity, and it was signed. These details were also discussed at the beginning of the interviews, and respondents had the opportunity to ask questions, to voice any concerns, and to withdraw if they wished to. Respondents were asked to allow at least an hour of their time, and on average the interviews lasted around 90 minutes. This was considered

Table 4.1: Table of interview respondents by profession or organisation

	Number of respondents	Reference numbers
Maltese influential tourism-related actors (12)		
Malta Ministry for Tourism and Culture representative	1	1
Malta Tourism Authority (MTA) representative	3	21, 27, 28
Malta Environment and Planning Authority (MEPA) representative	2	12, 45
Gozo Channel Ferry Company representative	1	30
Nature Trust (environmental NGO)	1	42
Malta University lecturer, involved in planning and environmental issues for Malta and Gozo	1	9
Researcher, involved in planning and environmental issues for Malta and Gozo	1	23
Chairman of an international hotel group	1	20
Malta Labour Party, tourism spokesperson	1	10
Gozo influential tourism-related actors (12)		
Archpriest	1	3
Mayor	3	4, 35, 46
Din L'Art Helwa, Gozo coordinator (similar to the UK's National Trust)	1	11
Gozo Tourist Association representative	2	17, 29
Gozo Business Chamber representative	1	33
Alternattiva Demokratika (AD, Green Party), Gozo spokesperson	1	47
Hotel manager in Gozo	1	39
Owner of a diving centre in Gozo	1	14
Hotel developer in Gozo	1	16
Tourism-related Gozitan respondents (10)		
Restaurateur	4	5, 34, 38, 44
Tourism accommodation provider	1	8,
Manager of a destination management company	2	15, 36
Hotel fitness instructor	1	24
Hotel receptionist	1	25
Manager of a diving-centre	1	43
Non-tourism related Gozitan respondents (13)		
Retired	2	2, 22
Nurse	1	6
Barman at a village social club	1	7
Supermarket owner	1	13
Policeman	2	18, 32
Civil servant	1	19
School teacher	2	26, 31
Chef	1	41
Artist	1	40
Shop owner (arts and clothes)	1	37

sufficient time to gain a reasonable depth of understanding of the respondents' views, and not so lengthy that both interviewer and respondent fatigue affected the data quality. The interviews were recorded to enable repeated and detailed examination of the data, and to make the data available to public scrutiny. Making data available to public scrutiny helps overcome questions of validity by allowing others to see for themselves respondents' views in context. However, the presence of recording equipment can make respondents nervous and it does raise confidentiality issues. In this case, respondents were assured that their views would remain anonymous and all respondents became less conscious of the recording equipment as the interview progressed. This was important as some respondents were concerned that their opinions could affect their position in society, particularly if their views were recorded and then made public on more controversial topics. There is general agreement that people should not suffer as a consequence of their involvement with a piece of research – research subjects should be no worse off at the end of their participation than they were when they started. Researchers need to protect the interests of the participants by ensuring the confidentiality of information (Denscombe, 2003). Respondents are referred to in this study as a representative of an organisation or by their profession, and they are not at any time identified personally. However, it is acknowledged that due to the small size of the Maltese islands, the close-knit society there, and also the very personalised nature of its politics, some of the respondents' views may potentially still be recognisable, although without certainty.

4.5.4 Interview design

Semi-structured, in-depth personal interviews were considered most appropriate for meeting the aims of this study. It is characteristic of semi-structured interviews that more or less open questions are brought to the interview situation in the form of an interview guide. It was hoped that through such a relatively openly designed interview situation the viewpoints of those being interviewed were more likely to be expressed than through a standardized interview or questionnaire. With the semi-structured interview the interviewer is prepared to be flexible in terms of the order in which the topics are considered and, it allows the interviewee to develop ideas and elaborate on points that are of particular interest to them. This type of interview allows for questioning that follows the flow of conversation and provides the researcher with the opportunity to probe answers and meanings that will add significance and depth to the data obtained (Denscombe, 2003 & Silverman, 2000). This method is appropriate for

research using a constructivist paradigm as it supports the collection of 'rich' and 'deep' data, acknowledging the subjectivity of both interviewer and interviewee.

4.5.5 Interview schedule

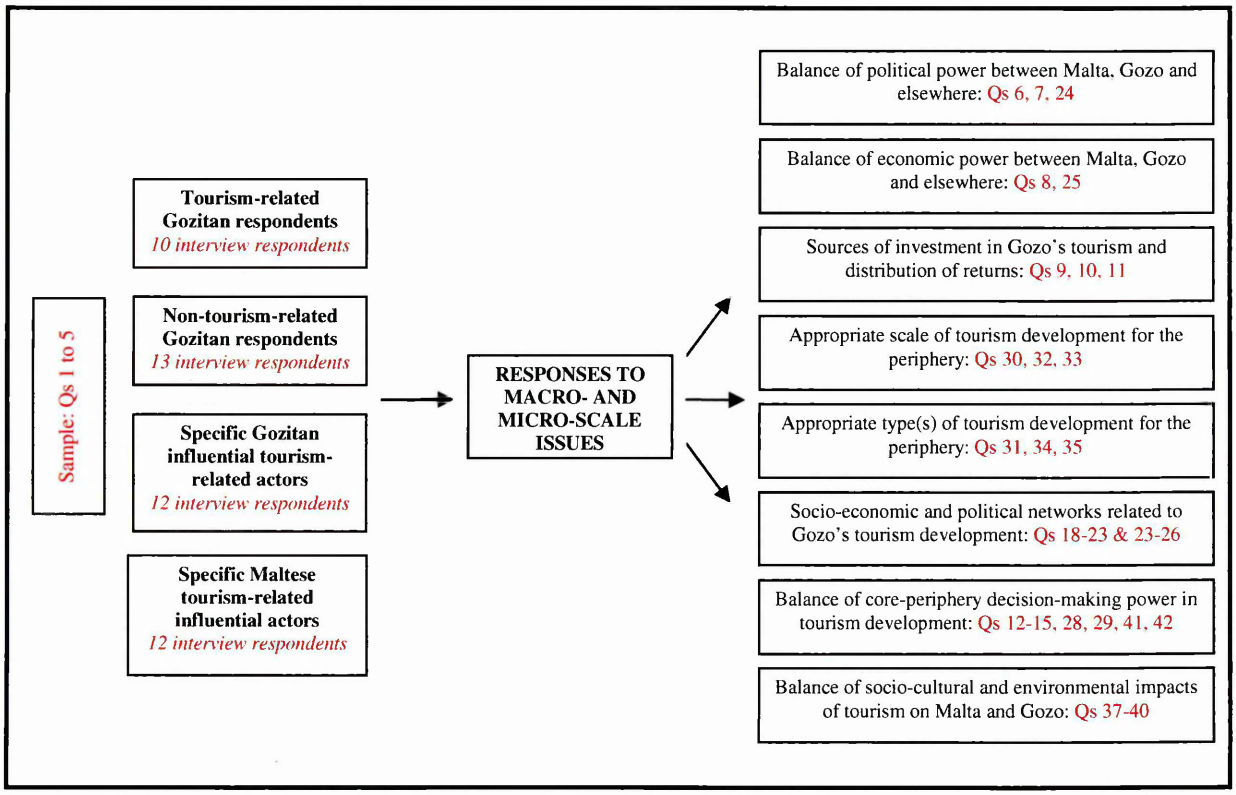
The development of the interview schedule was guided by the framework for the study of core and periphery responses, presented in section 3.5. This framework identified the micro- and macro-level issues that were important to discuss in the context of core-periphery relations; for instance, the balance of political and economic power between Gozo, Malta and elsewhere, and also the most appropriate scale and type of tourism development for the periphery. Figure 4.1 shows how the framework for the study of core-periphery responses influenced the development of the interview questions. Two interview schedules were developed, one for the specific influential tourism-related actors and one for the tourism and non-tourism related Gozitan respondents, referred to here as the community respondents. The two interview schedules, which have slightly different questions, are presented as Appendices i and ii.

The first section of each interview schedule, questions 1 to 5, includes questions about the respondents' personal details. The community respondents were asked for their age group, place of residence, and occupation. These questions were mainly for the purpose of achieving a reasonable spread of respondents. The tourism-related actors were asked for details about the organisation or company they work for, their role in that organisation, and whether they worked closely with any other organisations or companies. These questions were important to gain a better understanding of the respondents' viewpoints or 'knowledge frameworks' as this was likely to influence their responses to the subsequent questions.

The second section in the interview schedule (questions 6 to 15) was about tourism and core-periphery relations in general, and these questions were the same for both groups of respondents. These questions were strongly influenced by the core-periphery relations depicted in the macro-scale conceptual framework (presented in Chapter Three, Figure 3.1), and more specifically the issues identified in the framework for the study of core-periphery responses (Figure 3.4). Questions 6 to 11 related mainly to the perceived location of political and economic power over Gozo's tourism, and more specifically whether this power was perceived to be located in Gozo, Malta or elsewhere. Questions 12 to 15 were aimed at revealing respondents' levels of

satisfaction with the situation they had described in answer to the previous questions, and more specifically their levels of satisfaction with the actions of government and the Ministry for Gozo in relation to Gozo's tourism.

Figure 4.1: Influence of the Framework for the Study of Core and Periphery Responses on the Development of the Interview Sample and Schedule



Section 3 of the interview schedule deals with each of the three tourism development proposals in turn. The golf course development was discussed first, followed by the extension to the runway, and finally the marina and tourist village complex. All interview respondents were asked for their knowledge of the history of each development proposal. More specifically, respondents were asked to identify the individuals and groups that they believed were involved in the project, whether they were in favour or against, and where they considered the economic and political power over the projects to be located. They were also asked for their thoughts on whether they considered the development to be appropriate for Gozo, and their opinions of the associated advantages and disadvantages. Further, all respondents were asked to identify any individuals or groups that they believed had shown support for each other in each development arena – referred to in this study as actor-networks. The influential tourism-related actors were asked three additional questions in this section which

focussed on their own organisation or company's involvement in the development arenas. They were asked whether they had either been enrolled by others for support, or whether they had tried to gain the cooperation of others. These questions were based on the elements identified in the micro-scale conceptual framework (Figure 3.3). This section also included questions regarding respondents' satisfaction with the decision-making process surrounding each of the development proposals, and whether they believed that the Gozitans had been sufficiently involved.

The final section in the interview schedule relates to the future of Gozo's tourism. These questions were influenced by dependency theory, which suggests that events and conditions at the periphery will be determined by the power of the core, and that the residents of a centre like to holiday in a less developed 'pleasure periphery' (Scott, 2000). All respondents were asked to describe the existing scale and type of tourism development in Gozo, and what scale and type of tourism they thought should be encouraged and developed in the future. They were also asked whether they thought Gozo benefited sufficiently from its current tourism industry (questions 30-36). The next questions asked for respondents' views on whether they thought it was important to maintain traditional values and whether Gozo should remain fairly unchanged in the face of development (questions 37-40). The final questions sought respondents' views on the suitability and effectiveness of the political decision-making for Gozo's tourism, and whether the overall balance of power between Malta and Gozo should be changed.

4.6 Data transcription and analysis

4.6.1 Interview transcription

The interviews were recorded with a digital voice recorder and transferred and saved as files to a computer. Each interview was transcribed in full except for periods of speech that were irrelevant to the study, such as when respondents were interrupted or distracted. The respondents did not always speak in complete sentences, so the researcher needed to add sentence structure and punctuation when transcribing. Although English was spoken fluently by all the interviewees, they shared certain common phrases and particular intonations that emphasised meanings. These phrases, intonations and meanings were purposely left unchanged and highlighted in the researcher's fieldnotes as they often demonstrated significant shared perceptions.

4.6.2 Framework analysis

The 'framework' approach was used to analyse the interview data. The 'framework' analytic approach (Ritchie & Spencer, 1994) was developed in the context of conducting qualitative research on public policy. The 'framework' approach has been refined and developed over the years but the general principles of the approach have proved to be versatile across a wide range of studies. The approach involves a number of distinct though highly interconnected stages. Although the process is systematic and disciplined, it relies on the creative and conceptual ability of the researcher to determine meaning, salience and connections. The strength of an approach like 'framework' is that by following a well-defined procedure, it is possible to reconsider and rework ideas precisely because the analytical process has been documented and is therefore transparent and accessible.

The approach involves a systematic process of sifting, charting and sorting material according to key issues and themes. The five stages to qualitative data analysis involved in Ritchie and Spencer's framework approach are familiarisation, identifying a thematic framework, indexing, charting, and mapping and interpretation, and the activities at each stage are now described.

4.6.2.1 Stage 1: Familiarisation of the data

The researcher must become familiar with the range and diversity of the data and an overview of the material gathered must be gained. The familiarisation stage involves immersion in the data, this means listening to the interview recordings, reading the transcripts several times, looking at fieldnotes and making a note of any significant patterns or comparisons. It is possible to interpret the data by solely looking at them many times and then making an intuitive attempt to identify the key categories and connections, but this method is not always reliable as important features of the data can be missed, and a more systematic method of analysis is advisable (Denscombe, 2003).

4.6.2.2 Stage 2: Identifying a thematic framework

The second stage of the framework approach involves reviewing notes that were made at the familiarisation stage and identifying the key issues, concepts and themes. The researcher draws upon *a priori* issues, emergent issues raised by the respondents themselves, and analytical themes arising from the recurrence or patterning of particular views or experiences. It is important that the researcher is open to the fact that the key

themes that are highlighted in the data may not exactly match those identified at the research design stage. This process assists in the construction of a thematic framework within which the material can be sifted and sorted. The key issues and themes that were identified at this stage were influenced by the issues identified in the conceptual frameworks, the themes for discussion developed for the interview schedule, and the themes and issues that were highlighted by the respondents. Devising and refining a thematic framework is not a mechanical process, but involves both logical and intuitive thinking. It involves making judgements about meaning, about the relevance and importance of issues, and about implicit connections between ideas. It also makes sure that the original research questions are being fully addressed.

4.6.2.3 Stage 3: Indexing

The next step is to apply an index to the thematic framework. This involves looking closely at the data and annotating it according to the issues and concepts identified in the thematic framework. The researcher is required to make numerous judgements as to the meaning and significance of the data, both as it stands and in the context of the interview as a whole. This process of making judgements is subjective, and open to differing interpretations and therefore it is suitable for research analysis within a constructivist paradigm. Once the transcripts are annotated, highlighted and labelled, the analyst is able to see patterns in the contexts in which they arise.

4.6.2.4 Stage 4: Charting

Charting refers to the process where data are 'lifted' from their original context and rearranged according to the appropriate thematic reference. Charts are devised with headings and sub-headings which may be drawn from the thematic framework. This stage was carried out thematically, meaning that the data were collated for each theme across all respondents, rather than for each respondent across all themes.

4.6.2.5 Stage 5: Mapping and Interpretation

At the final stage, the researcher begins to map and interpret the data as a whole, with consideration being given to the original aims and conceptual frameworks of the study. The respondents' opinions, accounts and experiences were compared and contrasted, and the researcher looked for patterns and connections within the data. Each of these stages requires intuition and imagination (Ritchie & Spencer, 1994).

4.7 Presentation of study findings

The study findings are presented thematically based on the concepts and issues identified in the conceptual frameworks and reflected in the data. These key themes and concepts are discussed and analysed with reference to the theories and ideas that were introduced in the literature review and context chapters, from which the research was originally developed. The significance that the data has in the context of the overall aims of the research is then discussed, with consideration also given to the implications of the findings beyond the confines of the current research.

4.8 Conclusion

This chapter has outlined the methodological approach to the present research. A constructivist approach has been adopted as it is considered suitable for studies such as this that involve human enquiry. A constructivist approach reflects a move away from conventional positivist explanations that assert there is only an objective reality, and instead begins with a relativist ontology which asserts that there are multiple realities constructed by actors as they make sense of their experiences. An aim of this study is to understand actors' constructions of tourism development and governance processes. The constructivist approach influenced the qualitative research strategy adopted, and the merits of qualitative research methods have been discussed. In-depth individual interviews and document analysis were research methods selected, and the justifications for these choices have been provided. A 'framework' approach, advocated by Ritchie and Spencer (1994), was described as the process for sorting and analysing the data collected. Ethical considerations, issues of credibility and validity, limitations associated with the research methodology have been discussed throughout.

Chapter 5

The Context of Malta and Gozo

5.1 Introduction

This chapter introduces the island of Gozo, the case study island for this research. First, a basic geography of the Maltese Islands is presented. The islands are located on the periphery of Europe and issues related to this peripherality are discussed. The islands' strategic location in the centre of the Mediterranean has meant that they have been invaded and ruled by several different foreign powers, and in many ways they remain dependent on them. It was the British colonial rule until the 1960s which impacted most on the Maltese economy, and the economic situation is described. Since independence, tourism has been promoted as a means of diversifying the economy in both Malta and Gozo and this is examined. The culture and characteristics of Maltese society are then explored, including issues such as identity, religion, family, island life, and patronage. Population density is high in the Maltese Islands and therefore land is a scarce resource. The ways in which land is managed and the attitude of the Maltese towards the environment are discussed. Malta has one of the highest electoral turnouts of all liberal democracies and politics are hotly debated. This chapter explains the current political situation for both Malta and Gozo, and in particular, how Gozo is represented. The Maltese Islands became a member of the European Union in May 2004. Malta's national identity and the move from tradition to modernity were much discussed in the run up to membership, and these issues are looked at here. Malta and Gozo can benefit in many ways from being E.U. members, such as through improving the infrastructure using structural funds, but also through enhancing their reputation as tourist destinations. Entrenched in Malta's Accession Treaty to the EU is a Declaration to the island region of Gozo, acknowledging that it has economic and social specificities as well as handicaps arising from the combined effects of its double insularity, its environmental fragility, its small population size coupled with high population density, as well as its inherent limited resources. This emphasises that Gozo is distinct from Malta and as such has particular needs which need to be addressed.

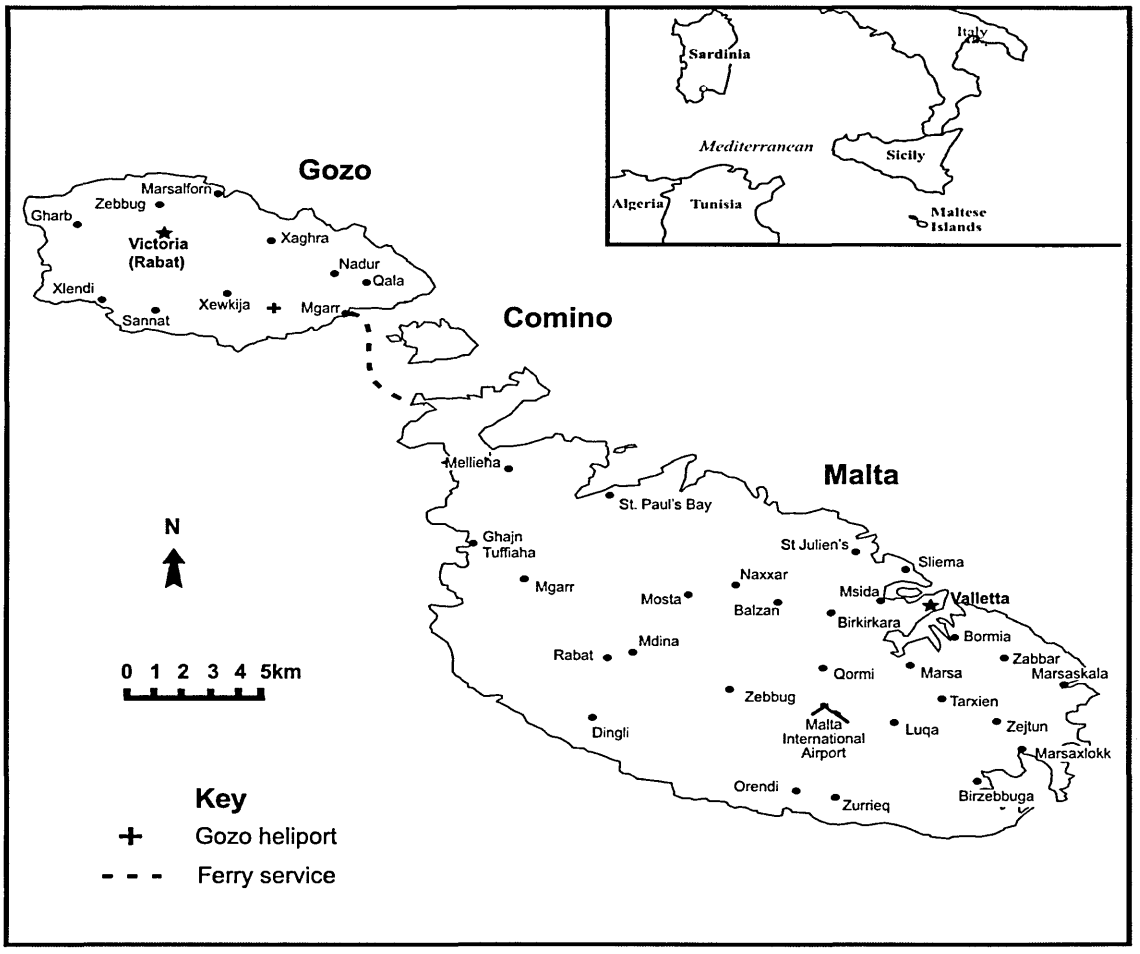
5.2 Basic geography

The islands which constitute the Republic of Malta lie at almost the exact geographical centre of the Mediterranean: Sicily is just 93km to the north, North Africa 288km to the south, Gibraltar 1825km to the west and Alexandria 1510km to the east. The Maltese archipelago thus forms a port of call between Europe and North Africa. It consists of three principal inhabited islands: Malta, Gozo and Comino. Malta, the largest landmass, covers 246km^2; the sister island of Gozo measures approximately 67km^2; and the tiny island of Comino covers only 2.7km^2. Combined, the islands are no bigger than the UK's Isle of Wight. The distance between Malta and Gozo is only about 3km (see Figure 5.1).

Malta's population stands at 402,700 (Central Government, 2006), whilst the population of Gozo has remained fairly stable at around 30,000 since 1936 (MEPA, 2002). Gozo's population density is lower than that for Malta, but is still around twice the national average for the UK. Restricted physical space leads to much debate over appropriate land use, often in terms of development versus environmental protection. The climate in the Maltese Islands tends to be more favourable than in many other Mediterranean countries, one of the reasons for its popularity with tourists. There are only really two seasons in Malta: the dry summer season with an average temperature of 25°C (rain rarely, if ever, falls during the summer months), and the mild winter season which averages 16°C (Department of Information Malta, 2006a).

The topography, the coast, valleys, tracts of garigue (low woody shrubs), and traditional agriculture all contribute towards the unique landscape character of Gozo (MEPA, 2002). The landscape quality of Gozo and Comino is on average higher than that of mainland Malta. It is perennially greener than Malta due to its clay soil and hillier, more compact contours. Its naturally less developed character and greener landscape mean that the Maltese often consider Gozo to be the most attractive place in the Maltese Islands, and many residents of mainland Malta choose to holiday there. Roughly circular in shape, Gozo has a coastline 53km long, approximately half of which is not accessible. The southern part of the island, facing Malta, is low-lying but the south-west to north-west coastline comprises steep cliffs, notably the Ta' Cenc cliffs at Sannat (MEPA, 2002, see Appendix iii, photo 2). Inland, Gozo has curiously rounded and flat-topped hills, the result of hard rock lying on top of softer rock (see Appendix iii, photo 9). In fact, the island's emblem is three green hills (said to be Xaghra, Zebbug,

Figure 5.1: The Maltese Islands

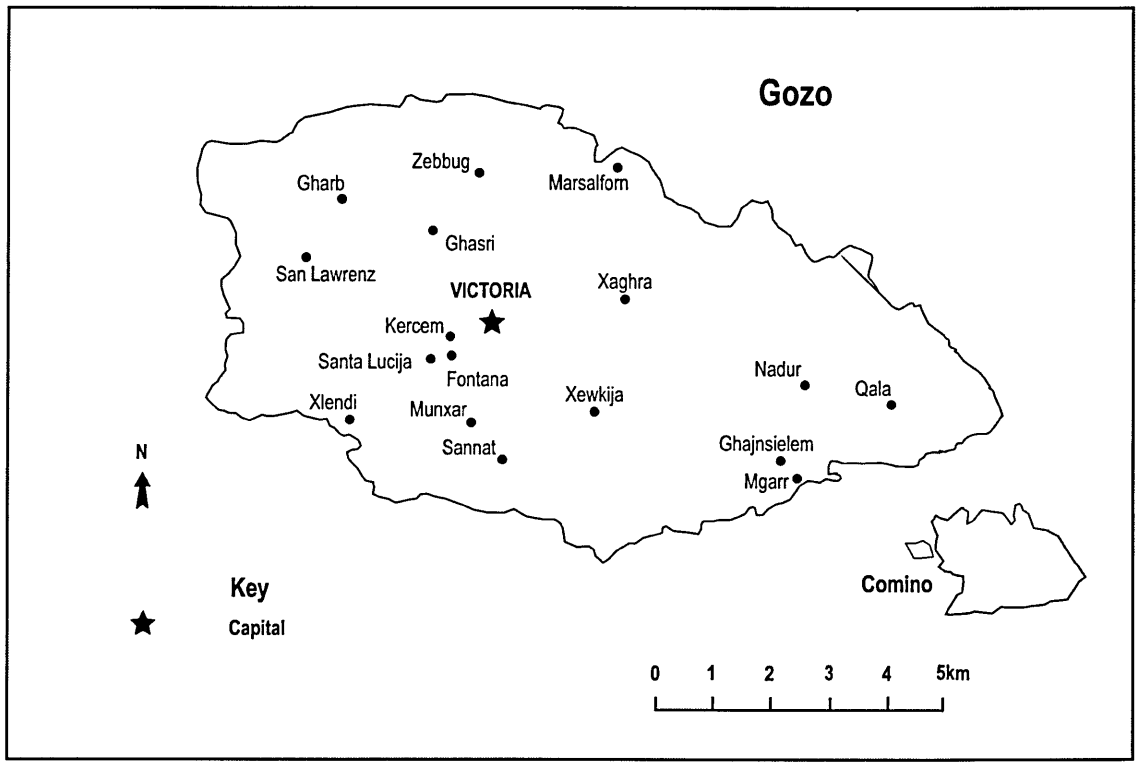


and Nadur). Several narrow valleys cut through and dissect the island's plateau – the best known being Marsalforn, Xlendi and Ramla I-Hamra (Gozo Tourism Association, 2006a). Gozo and Comino have a predominantly rural character, and large tracts of Gozo comprise good quality agricultural land. Agriculture is the main land user, accounting for about 60 percent of the total area of Gozo. Approximately 12 percent of the island is committed to development, and this is predominantly residential in character. Population settlement is quite concentrated with around 40 percent of the population of Gozo living in Nadur, Xaghra and Xewkija, and another 30 percent in the Victoria/Fontana/Kercem settlement area (see Figure 5.2). Areas outside those indicated for development in Gozo, and the whole of Comino, are designated as Rural Conservation Areas.

5.3 Peripherality

Malta's peripheral location remains as important and influential today as it has done throughout its years of dependence on foreign powers. The Maltese Islands are located in the Mediterranean Sea, about 100 kilometres south of Sicily and 300 kilometres

Figure 5.2: Map of Gozo



east of Tunis (see Figure 5.1), thus placing them on the periphery of Europe. 'As "the navel of the Inland Sea" since Homeric times, Malta is a country whose significance derives almost entirely from its location' (King, 1979:258). Historically, outside interests have always remained in control of these most strategically placed of islands, and the external political and economic forces have developed the islands far beyond the supportive capacity of their basic resources (King, 1979). Thus, for many years the fortunes of the Maltese have been tied with those of her Masters – 200 years of Arab domination in the middle ages and a succession of European dynasties, mainly Sicilian, till the 16th Century (Zammit, 1984). Malta's more recent colonial history (of more than 400 years) begins under the Knights of St. John (1532-1798), then fleetingly under the French (1798-1800), and finally under the British (1800-1964). Throughout this period Malta's role was as an island fortress; firstly as the southern bastion of Christian Europe, later as a strategic stop-over guarding the passage to India, and finally the British Empire saw the islands in terms of firepower and as useful for convoy routes (King, 1979). Independence in 1964 gave the power of political decision-making to the Maltese, but it did not end the islanders' dependence on outsiders. The limits of political independence constitute a well-known fact of life in all post-colonial countries and Malta is no exception (Beeley & Charlton, 1994). Malta's continuing dependence on outsiders is discussed later in this chapter.

The Maltese islands are also peripheral in the modern context of the European Union (see Figure 5.3). Their location furthest south means that they suffer problems with respect to accessibility to the rest of the EU member states. The country is extensively dependent on air and sea transport, resulting in higher costs, creating problems with reliability of supply and limited physical access to the European market. These permanent characteristics impact on the islands' socio-economic development and reflect their vulnerability. The distance from mainland Europe and the fragmentation of the islands constitute permanent characteristics of peripheral territories as recognised in the Treaty of Amsterdam (Central Government, 2006).

The challenges facing Malta are magnified in the case of Gozo, its sister island. The island is significantly smaller in terms of land area and is separated from Malta by 3 kilometres of water. In order to reach Gozo, people must first reach Malta by plane or boat and then use the ferry or helicopter (or more recently a seaplane service) that links the two islands. Consequently, Gozo is dependent on Malta for the movement of people, and for imports and exports of goods and services. Therefore, Gozo faces the real constraint of 'double insularity' (Central Government, 2006).

Malta and Gozo's peripheral southern location can, on the other hand, be considered advantageous in terms of attracting tourists. Tourism has grown partly as a consequence of the pressure and pollution engendered by the rapid growth of the industrial base at the core area of Western Europe. People want to get away from everyday working conditions and pressures of an industrial society. Southern Europe is popular precisely because it offers the greatest contrast to the environment of northern Europe (Boissevain, 1979b). The Maltese Islands are ideally situated in Southern Europe to benefit from this. Although accessibility to peripheral areas is often a problem, there are certain contradictions associated with peripheral remoteness.

There has recently been an increase in demand for remote, rural and unspoilt areas, of which peripheral regions tend to be the most prominent (Nash & Martin, 2003). The attributes of peripherality, long viewed as disadvantageous, are now being seen as opportunities. This will undoubtedly be to the benefit of the more inaccessible, rural, and relatively unspoilt island of Gozo. Boissevain (1979b) describes a more negative picture of tourism in peripheral locations. He suggests that tourism in these areas can be seen as a typical manifestation of the abject dependency of an underdeveloped

Figure 5.3: The Maltese Islands in relation to Europe and EU member states

periphery on its metropolitan core. Tourism, it can be argued, furthers modernisation and is therefore detrimental to development. It leads to progressive economic, technological and cultural dependency, and can be seen as a form of neo-colonial imperialism. As a development economist remarked, 'Small islands like Malta that have no resources are destined to become nations of waiters and prostitutes'. However, for people living in peripheral locations tourism is widely seen as contributing handsomely to such common development targets as employment, rising standard of living and foreign exchange (Boissevain, 1977).

5.4 The Economy

It was agriculture that was important to Malta, if not predominant, until the 1870s when the situation changed dramatically. The strategic location of the Maltese Islands in the central Mediterranean largely accounts for their development in the 19th century as a major British military base. For many years since, the prosperity of Malta's economy has been wholly dependent on one industry, defence (Lockhart & Mason, year unknown). The Grand harbour in Malta was the British headquarters for a massive Mediterranean fleet, providing a beehive of work for a large section of the Maltese populace as civil servants, clerks, soldiers, skilled fitters, semi and unskilled labourers. The British discouraged the establishment of private industry for fear that it would take away skilled Maltese Labour from the dockyards and military services, and therefore it formed the mainstay of employment in Malta for more than 100 years. As Busuttil (1965:1 cited in King, 1979) has put it, 'The economy of the Maltese islands under British rule took the form of an artificial cycle determined not by the vicissitudes of the market but by the exigencies of military security...The economic performance of the country became a function of Britain's demand for Malta's services as a fortress'.

However, by 1955 it had become apparent that Malta's strategic position was becoming of less value in a world with new weapon systems and political alliances, and as a result the British Government started to withdraw most of her forces. New areas of economic development had to be identified. With few indigenous raw materials, a small home market, and little entrepreneurship, some economists maintained that Malta could not develop industry sufficiently to improve living standards once the British left. It was suggested that Malta's best hope would be to persuade British firms to build branch factories on the island, on the basis of the advantageous factors of climate and low labour costs (Balogh & Seers, 1955, as cited in King, 1979), therefore continuing their dependence on the British. The actual re-shaping of the Maltese economy in the last 30 years reflects the proposals made by the British colonial advisers in 1955 and those of further teams of consultants who visited the islands in the 1960s. Recommendations were made for the economy to diversify into large-scale industry, marine services, and tourism (Lockhart & Mason, year unknown).

The Maltese economy did become increasingly service-oriented and the tourism industry now plays a significant role in the contributions to economic growth, job creation, and foreign exchange earnings to the economy. The manufacturing industry

also plays a pivotal role in the Maltese economy, with over 21 per cent of people employed in the industry at the end of 2001. Exports by this industry accounted for 56 per cent of total exports of goods and services. The agriculture and fisheries industry in Malta accounts for a much smaller percentage of GDP, only 2.4 per cent. Agricultural activities face a number of structural constraints, primarily land fragmentation, water scarcity, and the labour intensive nature of this sector compared with the more value-added, high technology production of goods. In addition, the financial services sector in Malta has played a supportive role as a provider of services to the economy, with the market for banking and insurance services being predominantly a domestic one (Central Government, 2006). Overall, it is the tourism industry that plays the most important role in the Maltese economy, and with few other options to diversify, it is an industry that needs fostering.

Although tourism is also considered vital to the Gozitan economy, it is in fact public administration that is the largest contributor to Gozo's GDP, representing just under a quarter in 2000, and provides for about 45 per cent of the gainfully occupied in Gozo. In terms of employment, the services sector (of which tourism plays an important role) is the second largest employment provider. In Gozo, there are about 580 full-time jobs in hotel and catering establishments alone, and many other jobs in economic activities are related to tourism. The importance of the industry to the Gozitan economy is probably higher than it is for mainland Malta, although precise statistical data in this regard are not available (Central Government, 2004). Economic activity associated with tourism generates considerable income and employment in Gozo, since a high proportion of tourism expenditure goes on food, accommodation and transport, sectors in which Gozitans tend to have a high stake. The manufacturing sector in Gozo employs about 16 per cent of the gainfully occupied population compared to 22 per cent on mainland Malta. This is mainly in low-technology operations, relying on low-skill labour. Construction and quarrying industries employ about 6.2 per cent, proportionately this is almost one and a half times as many as in the Malta. Finally, the smallest job provider in Gozo is the agriculture and fisheries sector employing 4.6 per cent of the population, higher than the 1.4 per cent in Malta (Central Government, 2004). Unemployment rates in Gozo are slightly higher than in Malta. A significant proportion of the Gozitan labour force work in Malta, and without this, unemployment rates would be much higher. For this reason, creating job opportunities is often a priority for Gozitans.

The Maltese economy has been performing below its potential in recent years. Table 5.1 shows the Gross Domestic Product (GDP) per inhabitant for each of the 27 members of the European Union. GDP provides a measure of the total economic activity in a country. The GDP is expressed here as Purchasing Power Standard (PPS) per inhabitant, this is an artificial reference currency unit that eliminates price level differences between countries. Thus one PPS buys the same volume of goods and services in all countries. This unit allows meaningful volume comparisons of economic indicators across countries. For 2008, the GDP per capita in PPS varies from 40 to 253 for the 27 European Union member states, with the EU27 average at 100. Malta's GDP per capita in PPS is 76, placing Malta in 18th position out of the 27 European Union members. This means that for 2008 the Maltese Islands had a GDP that was 24% lower than the EU27 average. In fact, the Maltese economy has shown a decrease for most of the years from 1998 comapred to the EU average (eurostat, 25 June 2009).

Table 5.1 GDP per inhabitant in PPS, 2008, EU27 = 100

No.	Country	GDP per inhabitant in PPS, 2008, EU27 = 100	No.	Country	GDP per inhabitant in PPS, 2008, EU27 = 100
1	Luxembourg	253	14	Greece	95
2	Ireland	140	15	Cyprus	95
3	Netherlands	135	16	Slovenia	90
4	Austria	123	17	Czech Republic	80
5	Sweden	121	**18**	**Malta**	**76**
6	Denmark	119	19	Portugal	75
7	United Kingdom	117	20	Slovakia	72
8	Finland	116	21	Estonia	67
9	Germany	116	22	Hungary	63
10	Belgium	115	23	Lithuania	61
11	France	107	24	Poland	57
12	Spain	104	25	Latvia	56
13	Italy	100	26	Romania	46
	EU27	100	27	Bulgaria	40

It is suggested that the unfavourable global economic environment prevailing since 2001 has impinged significantly on domestic economic conditions in the Maltese Islands (Central Government, 2006). Recently published statistics show that Gozo's GDP is less than that in Malta, and has declined from 73.2 per cent of that of Malta in

1999 to 69.3 per cent in 2003 (Central Government, 2006). Gozo's per capita regional GDP as a percentage of the EU 15 registered as low as 31.6 per cent in 2000 (Central Government, 2004). It can be suggested that Gozo's geographic and structural handicaps, related to its peripherality, are accelerating the underperformance of the island's economy, and heightens the importance of a successful tourism industry.

5.4.1 Development status

Policy-makers are particularly interested in knowing the development status of a country as it will undoubtedly inform its policy formulation. Governments or international agencies may also want to assess the impact of a particular development initiative and therefore want to have measurements from both before and after a project (Willis, 2005). A country's development status is often measured in economic terms – usually by GDP per capita – but, this is only one measure of a country's development. The United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) Human Development Index (HDI) provides the most widely accepted measures of development as it looks beyond GDP and provides a broadened prism for viewing human progress and the complex relationship between income and well-being. The HDI measures include both economic and social factors such as life expectancy, access to knowledge, and standard of living. The HDI is published annually and it ranks the level of development of each country according to these indicators. The HDI for Malta is 0.894, which gives the country a rank of 36th out of 179 countries with data. Malta shares similar HDI values – and similar levels of development – as Portugal, Czech Republic, Hungary and Barbados. It has slightly lower levels of development than some of its closest tourism destination competitors such as Italy, Spain and Greece, but is still ranked in the same 'high level of human development' category (UNDP, 2009).

There are criticisms of measuring development with HDI indicators as they do not take into account spatial inequalities (Willis, 2005). A case in point is that the HDI values above for the Maltese Islands do not consider the difference in levels of development between Malta and Gozo, with Gozo usually perceived as less developed than Malta. Also, it does not take into account the residents' perceptions of what development means to them and of what level of human development they feel they experience. However, the HDI does provide useful and comparable indicatiors of development.

5.5 The tourism industry

Tourism seems to be one of the few activities to which the Maltese Islands are genuinely suited. Malta has few natural resources to exploit, and it has been unable to attract offshore banking and commercial activities like those which have flourished in Cyprus. Consequently, tourism provides one of the few realistic options for earning large amounts of foreign exchange and for broadening employment (Lockhart & Ashton, 1987). The hot, dry climate is ideal for the demands and tastes of the northern European tourist markets. Furthermore, the large numbers of premises vacated by the British and NATO armed forces between 1957 and 1979 meant that land became available and proved to be easily convertible to the needs of tourist services and accommodation. There is also no doubt that one of the more fortunate effects of the long period of British military dominance was the distortion of the economy in favour of the provision of leisure-based services to 'guest populations' (Oglethorpe, 1984).

5.5.1 Tourism industry in Malta

In 1958, the Malta Government Tourist Board was set up to start promoting Malta. They were successful in capturing an important portion of the wave of tourists which in the 1960s began cascading into the sunny Mediterranean from grey industrial centres in northern Europe. The expansion of industry and tourism raised the GDP from £47.4m in 1964 to more than £100m by 1975 (Boissevain & Inglott, 1979). Between 1960 and 1970 annual tourist arrivals increased from 28,000 to almost 236,000. By 1980 they had reached 789,000 and by 1997 over one million (Boissevain, 2000). Tour operators have made Malta accessible to the mass market: some 85 per cent of the country's tourism today is generated by tour operators, and 39 per cent of tourists arrive in Malta on a chartered flight (MTA, 2000). In general, Malta ranks somewhere in the middle in terms of price competitiveness among Mediterranean tourist destinations. As regards package tourism from the UK, Portugal and Cyprus are more expensive, whereas Spain and Greece are cheaper than Malta. Cyprus is probably Malta's most direct competitor as it is also a small island with a small population in the Mediterranean (Briguglio & Vella, 1995).

Malta has traditionally attracted a very large proportion of its tourist arrivals from the United Kingdom. In 1972, British visitors accounted for a 50.4 per cent share of total arrivals, this climbed to 76.5 per cent by 1980. The upswing in holiday traffic from the UK was a general phenomenon throughout European resorts, but Malta benefited more

than most. Thanks to the British legacy, there was no problem of foreign language for UK visitors, and the rupture in the link between sterling and the Maltese lira (or pound, as it was then) enhanced the islands' cost competitiveness as sterling was relatively strong. Although benefiting from large numbers of tourists, such a severe dependence upon one market increased Malta's tourism industry's vulnerability to debilitating fluctuations. Moreover, sun and sea attributes have been the main attractions rather than quality features such as historical attractions or cultural opportunities, and as a result, average spending is low (Lockhart, 1997). Although the dependency on British tourists is no longer so acute, they continue to be the main market for Malta's tourism, forming 39 per cent of visitors in 2004. The second largest market to Malta is Germany, with 12 per cent of visitors. Most tourists, approximately 80 per cent, visit Malta for a holiday, and the average length of time they spend on Malta is 9.7 nights (MTA, 2004).

Tourist accommodation is fairly evenly divided between hotels and the various types of self-catering establishments. Malta responded to the British market's growing demand for self-catering accommodation, and most accommodation built during the boom years of the late-1970s were built exclusively for the British (Cockerell, 1996). Although some hotels have management contracts with international, branded hotel groups based elsewhere, the great majority are owned by Maltese investors, so many business decisions are made locally (Bramwell, 2006). The accommodation sector has had a chequered history characterized by cycles of hectic building and periodic slumps, reflecting changes in numbers of tourists and local perception of the potential and profitability of tourism. Much of the bedspace created in the 1960s and 1970s was done in an unplanned fashion, in sensitive coastal locations, and some of it is of low standard (Lockhart, 1997). Some resorts were built to a high density and became characterised by poor quality townscapes, continuing construction activity, and inadequately maintained roads and public spaces (Ministry for Tourism, 2001). By the 1980s, many of the earlier built properties were in urgent need of refurbishment. An accommodation freeze halted new development between 1983 and 1987, but high numbers of arrivals in 1987 triggered a further construction boom in apartments and self-catering accommodation, again accompanied by a lack of planning control (Lockhart, 1997). 1987 saw a change in administration and a change in mentality, and new steps were taken to improve the overall tourism industry. One of these changes was to only give permits for the construction of four and five-star hotels in an attempt to improve the

quality of the accommodation available and attract the 'up-market', higher spending tourists. In 2006, 48 per cent of bedstock in Malta is in four and five-star hotel accommodation (MTA, 2006).

The European traveller's negative perceptions about the sameness of the Mediterranean's resorts and their overdevelopment affect Malta to some degree. Malta is seen by many European tourist markets as having an excess of concentrated development, overcapacity related to market demand, and too much capacity of the wrong type – mainstream beach resort package holidays do not normally utilise five-star hotels (Cleverdon, 2000). Malta missed the opportunity to diversify away from the UK market, and in an effort to boost arrivals, the industry opted for a policy of rate-cutting, thus downgrading the market. The deteriorating quality of its tourism product and services – few hoteliers, for example, were prepared to invest in upgrading and renovations during the price war – detracted from the islands' appeal as a holiday destination and discouraged the more discerning continental Europeans (Cockerell, 1996). Many larger hotels have recently been upgraded, however, much accommodation is still of poor standard and continues to give cause for concern for the image of Malta (Lockhart, 1997). The Maltese Islands do not have the image in the marketplace fitting the upmarket and diversified development strategy that the country is now pursuing. Tour operator brochures portray a mid-to-downmarket destination, plainly at odds with the 75 per cent growth in aggregate four- and five-star capacity over the last decade (Cleverdon, 2000).

During recent years, the local tourism industry has been significantly affected by the adverse geopolitical situation that characterised the international environment, as well as the economic situation in a number of major tourist markets. The Maltese tourism industry is also facing increased international competition, both from traditional as well as from new emerging tourist destinations. The tourism sector in Malta has declined from a level of 1.18 million passengers in 2001 to 1.12 million passengers in 2003. An improvement was recorded in 2004 and 2005, nevertheless, growth rates remain relatively modest. Global trends are often put forward as a reason for declining tourist arrivals or a reduction in tourist spending in Malta, yet other destinations, Croatia for example, are currently enjoying success. Lack of improvements to the tourism product and inadequate promotion are likely to be equally important factors for the lack of recent success of Malta's tourism industry. Yet, despite fluctuations in arrivals, there is

a general public consensus that over the country's recent history, tourism has contributed to a diversification of the economy. Benefits have accrued from increased employment, investment and foreign currency earnings, all essential for Malta's international trade operations and the creation of value. Tourism accounts for approximately a quarter of Gross National Product and more than a quarter of exports of goods and services. Some 41,000 jobs, approximately 27 per cent of full-time employment in Malta, are supported by tourism expenditure. Tourism has played a vital role in the development of the country's infrastructure (MTA, 2000).

5.5.2 Tourism industry in Gozo

As an island on the periphery of another small island and with a relatively small population, Gozo is faced with an extremely restricted internal market and limited export opportunities. Over the years this has resulted in a sharp drop in activity in the traditional manufacturing sectors such as textiles, making the island highly dependent on tourism, crafts and agriculture (Central Government, 2006). Tourism in Gozo has also grown rapidly, but presents a different picture than that for the Maltese Islands as a whole. Gozo is a very particular and distinct component of the Maltese tourism industry which has the potential to stand alone as a marketable component on the international tourism market. It has a product which is sufficiently different from Malta's, with one of its main attractions being its lower level of human activity and associated development. It is greener, cleaner and quieter than the island of Malta, and offers a somewhat more 'up-market' product (Briguglio, 1994).

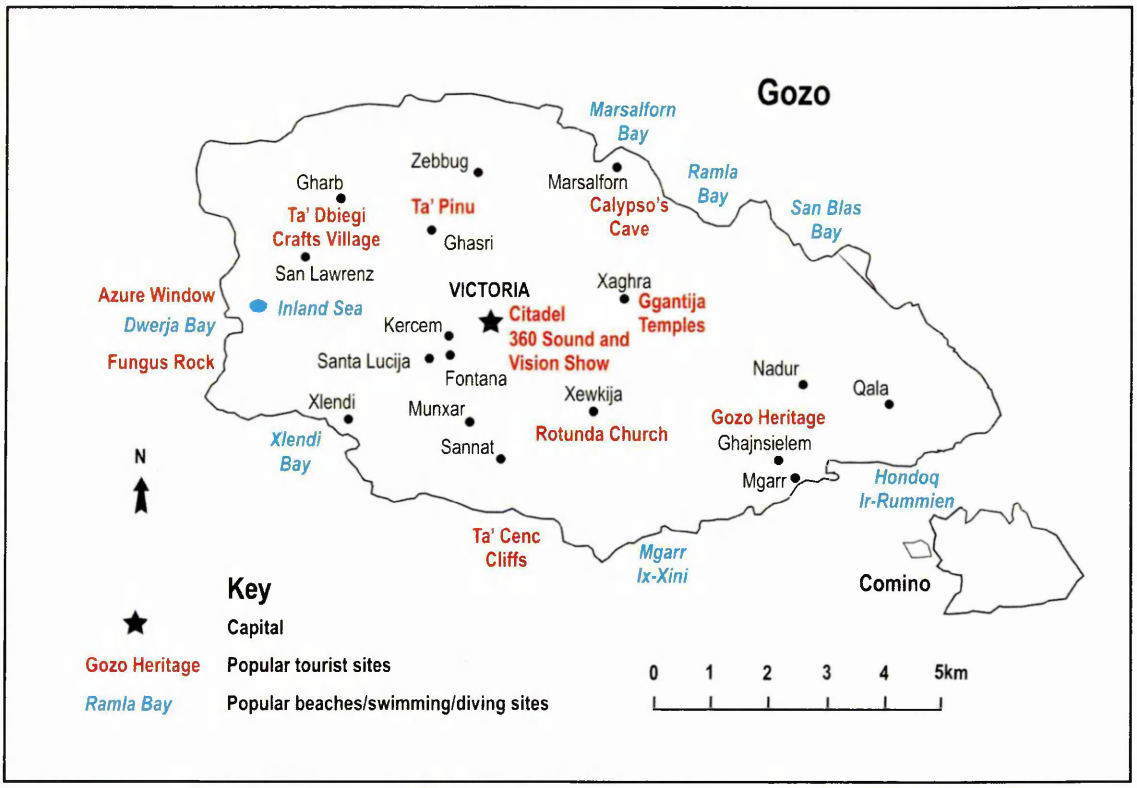
The Gozo Tourist Association's report on Gozo's tourism (Stevens & Associates, 2000) identifies Gozo's strengths as a tourist destination. Gozo is considered to be intimate in scale, with a peaceful, tranquil and an attractive pace of life. It has an interesting range of heritage and cultural resources, a diversity of products and attractions that are generally regarded as being better quality than Malta equivalents. It is a rural, tranquil and an under-developed destination with a lower density of urban development and population compared to Malta. It has an appealing all year round climate, with good beaches and water quality. There is a range of accommodation, including the unique farmhouse product, which is considered to be competitively priced in the international market place. The destination has a good reputation amongst foreign visitors to Malta and amongst the Maltese who use it as a short break destination. Gozo has 18 heritage attractions, predominantly concentrated in the capital Victoria (The Citadel), Gharb and

Xaghra. The Ggantija Temples in Xaghra, the Gozo Heritage Show in Ghajnsielem, and the Gozo 360 Sound and Vision Show in Victoria are the most frequented attractions included on group itineraries. There are several other natural attractions in Gozo that are popular to visit, such as 'The Azure Window' at Dwerja and the cliffs at Ta' Cenc (see Figure 5.4).

The GTA report also identifies some of Gozo's weaknesses as a tourist destination. It highlights the problem of poor accessibility in terms of the timings of incoming flights, the cost of the helicopter transfer, and the long queuing times for ferries. There is the perception that there is not enough to do on Gozo for a long stay. Perhaps this concern is warranted as the report indicates that there is a lack of investment in tourism facilities, and that existing facilities are underperforming. The report also states that there is little community awareness of the benefits and importance of tourism and there is no strategic tourism development Master Plan (Stevens & Associates, 2000).

Existing statistics and data on tourism visits to Gozo are not robust and they are far from comprehensive. As a result it is only possible to 'best' estimate the volume and value of tourism to the island (Stevens & Associates, 2000). According to MTA (2005), Gozo is annually visited by circa 582,424 foreign visitors. Numerically, the most significant type of tourist to Gozo is the day-tripper, accounting for around 85% of visitors in total. These day-trippers are usually staying in Malta for their holiday and pay to go on an organized day tour to Gozo. Of the total visitor spending on day excursions to Gozo, it is estimated that only 25 per cent directly benefits the Gozitan economy. There is relatively low spending on shopping for souvenirs as most of the typical souvenirs are also available on Malta for similar prices. In addition, there appears to be an issue that some tour guides do not take groups to souvenir or craft shops, or do not allow sufficient time for shopping. The total spending on Gozo by these day-trippers is estimated to be Lm 5.88 per person, significantly less than the Lm 11.18 spent per person, per day during a holiday stay in Malta. Therefore, there is significant scope for local tourism businesses on Gozo to benefit from the large number of excursion visitors from Malta with regards to local food produce, crafts and souvenirs, local transportation, food and beverage, and the attractions sector (Stevens & Associates, 2000).

Figure 5.4: Gozo's main tourist sites



Whereas around three-quarters of visitors to Malta visit Gozo on a day excursion, overall, just 5 per cent stay in Gozo for more than 24 hours (Stevens & Associates, 2000). An estimated 58,000 tourists visit for a Gozo-only holiday, having used mainland Malta as a gateway only. The Gozo-only tourists can be segmented by their purpose of visit, as shown in Table 5.2. The statistics show that the majority of these visitors are attracted primarily by the sunshine and smaller numbers are attracted by history and culture, and diving. However, these statistics are slightly ambiguous as it is quite likely that visitors to Gozo are attracted by all of these factors; many will enjoy the sun, visit historical sites, enjoy the local culture, as well as doing some diving. A further 17,473 tourists visit Gozo as part of a two-centre holiday with Malta, whilst another 11,648 comprise tourists who mainly stay on Malta but spend one overnight stay on Gozo (MTA, 2005). Visitors to Gozo cannot travel directly to the island, but have to first travel to Malta. As the figures show, most will holiday in Malta before deciding to visit Gozo. In fact, many will only learn about Gozo for the first time whilst they are holidaying in Malta. This highlights the fact that Gozo is strongly reliant on Malta for tourists. Consequently, the image and popularity of Malta as a holiday destination, and the number of visitors it receives, greatly influences the number of

visitors to Gozo. This is despite the fact that the tourism products on offer in the two islands are quite different.

Table 5.2: Gozo-only tourists segmented by purpose of visit (source: MTA, 2005)

Tourist Segment	No. Visitors	Percentage of Total Gozo-Only Visitors (57,700)
Gozo-only Winter & Summer Sun	36,700	64%
Gozo-only History & Culture	11,600	20%
Gozo-only Diving	7,100	12%
Gozo-only Learning English	2,300	4%

The majority of foreign visitors to Gozo are from the UK (36.6%). This is followed by Germany (12.9%), France (9.9%), Italy (5.8%), and Netherlands (3.8%) (MTA, 2005). Gozo shows a dependency on the British market, however this is not quite as high as for Malta. This lesser dependence on the UK market could be due to the fact that Gozo does not feature as a separate destination in British mass tourism brochures. Gozo features in the so-called specialist tour-operator brochures, often owned by the Maltese, and promoted in several countries. These specialist operators account for around 30 per cent of the market for the Maltese Islands (Briguglio, 1994).

The average length of stay on Gozo is 3.4 nights in the hotel/guesthouse sector. Foreigners stay on average 4.3 nights and the Maltese for 2.1 nights. This is significantly shorter than the 8.9 days for Malta as a whole in all accommodation facilities. The average stay in self-catering accommodation on Gozo is unknown, but is unlikely to match that of Malta. This situation confirms Gozo's status as a short break destination for both domestic and international markets (Stevens & Associates, 2000).

Gozo's total bedstock represents around 7 per cent of the total accommodation capacity in Malta. Around one half of the bedstock in Gozo is in hotel accommodation and the other half is in self-catering accommodation. Small clusters of hotels are found in the tourist resorts of Marsalforn in the north, Mgarr on the south-eastern side of the island, Xaghra, Xlendi, Munxar and Sannat to the south of Victoria. The resorts of Marsalforn and Xlendi also have many apartments and self-catering complexes. In addition, San Lawrenz on the west-coast is primarily a leisure resort. Farmhouse accommodation is one of Gozo's unique tourism products. These are often found in quality locations,

predominantly in and around the villages of Gharb, San Lawrenz, Ghasri, Santa Lucija and Kercem on the western part of the island, Qala on the eastern side, and at Xaghra, Zebbug and Victoria (Stevens & Associates, 2000). Self catering accommodation (including apartments and farmhouses) accounts for approximately 40 per cent of total bednights. There are three 4-star and three 5-star hotels in Gozo, and these account for a further 32 per cent. Guesthouses, 2/3-star hotels and aparthotels account for the rest (MTA, 2005). Gozo's estimated total of 252,000 bednights in hotels and guesthouses in 1999 was 3 per cent of the total for Malta (8,045,000), whilst the number of hotel/guesthouse units is 9.5 per cent of the total. Overall, annual occupancy in Gozo hotels and guesthouses remains low at 34 per cent. This is significantly below that for Malta as a whole which was 44 per cent in 1999, confirming Gozo's relative under-performance compared to Maltese establishments (Stevens & Associates, 2000). There is less foreign ownership of hotel accommodation in Gozo than in Malta (Boissevain, 1979a). Almost all Gozo hotels are owned by Gozitans. In fact, 3 of the 8 hotels in Gozo are fully or part owned by one well-known Gozitan businessman. The only international brand hotel in Gozo is the Kempinski Resort and Spa in San Lawrenz, but this is still locally owned. Therefore, many business decisions regarding the tourism industry in Gozo are made by locals.

The seasonality of tourism in Gozo is more acute than on mainland Malta, with the issue of accessibility to the island during the winter months playing a major role in creating a shift towards the period April to October. The seasonal nature of the tourism industry in Gozo negatively impacts many areas of the Gozitan economy. Many accommodation establishments and food outlets are forced to close during the winter months due to lack of business. This effects the employment situation and therefore, 'Gozitans are perennially worried about job security, and this preoccupation with having a 'stable', 'secure' job discourages people from entering the hotel industry' (Briguglio *et al.*, 2002:10).

The World Tourism Organisation has estimated that domestic tourism accounts for 10 times the level of international tourism and contributes, in terms of revenue, 5 times as much as international tourism. Yet, there has been very little research to determine the extent and type of domestic tourism on the Maltese Islands. The size of the Maltese Islands poses some limits to the extent of domestic tourism, however, this form of activity is clearly apparent in the huge numbers of Maltese that visit Gozo at weekends,

during holidays, and at other times of the year (Central Government, 2000). Close to a third of a million Maltese visit Gozo each year, either for a day-trip or a short break. They are generally perceived as liberal spenders, especially in the shoulder season around Easter which has become a traditional holiday period for them and it provides a welcome boost to the sector in Gozo after the winter lull (Refalo, 1997). Lockhart and Ashton (1990) suggest that the small-scale nature of the Maltese Islands encourages short-stay holidays and one-day excursions. Beach-trips, fishing, water sports, walking, and other such recreational activities can be accomplished without an excessive amount of time being spent on travelling. They carried out a survey of almost 600 families in Malta to ask them about their holidaying habits. Results show that 35 per cent had holidayed in the Maltese Islands during the previous year, and some 70 per cent of these domestic holidays took place in Gozo. Most of these holidays took place in the summer season. There is also a high number of Maltese who move to their summer houses or second homes in Gozo during the summer months. A Tourism and Recreation Community Survey, carried out between July 1996 and June 1997, sought to obtain some information on the extent and nature of domestic tourism. Gozo again emerged as the most sought after destination within the Maltese Islands (Central Government, 2000). In fact, Boissevain (1979:80) describes Gozo as, 'the Maltese holiday destination par excellence'. Although many Maltese visit Gozo in the summer months, they do also visit at other times of the year, during holidays and festas for example. Without these domestic visitors the seasonality problem would be even more acute on Gozo. In fact, many local businesses, tourism and non-tourism related, would be unable to survive without the income they receive from the Maltese visitors.

Gozitans have mixed feelings towards the Maltese tourists, although they appreciate the financial benefits they bring, there is also a sense of antagonism towards them. The Gozitans find the Maltese visitors to be noisy, patronizing, dirty, and low spenders as they bring their own food with them. Some Maltese visit Gozo and behave wildly, careering about in their cars, frightening Gozitans. Now that Gozo attracts more courteous, higher spending foreign tourists, Gozitans consequently look down on his economizing Maltese compatriot who for so long he was obliged to respect. Influenced by foreign appreciation of Gozo's rural atmosphere, Gozitans now vigorously reject the denigrating attitude of the Maltese towards them. 'Both awareness of exploitation and the snob effect of tourism feed the ever present political tension between Malta and its dependent satellite' (Boissevain, 1979a:87). Also fuelling the antagonism is the fact

that many Gozitans believe that the Maltese want to keep Gozo less developed than Malta so that they can continue to have a 'playground' to holiday in. Gozitans want to be able to enjoy the same modernisation as in Malta, and they feel that the Maltese are trying to stop them from having it. However, there is the fear that if the tourism product on offer in Gozo becomes too similar to that in Malta, then the Maltese will choose to holiday elsewhere. Despite antagonism between Gozitans and the Maltese, the money they spend holidaying in Gozo is vital for the economy, and it is important to ensure that the island remains attractive to these domestic tourists.

The deterioration of the environmental quality is seen as a serious threat to the tourism industry in Gozo. The 1989 'Tourism Development Plan for the Maltese Islands' recognised that Gozo was coming under increasing pressure for large scale developments to meet the needs of the larger operators and the dangers this would have for the overall product development and market perception. It was recommended that Gozo should not become a mass market destination, the island's carrying capacity had to be respected, and that quality would be vital. Many of these themes and comments remain relevant today. A review of Gozo's tourism, commissioned by the GTA, recommends that the maintenance of the island's character as a peaceful and relatively underdeveloped year-round tourism destination should guide the strategic planning for sustainable tourism on Gozo. Gozo should be identified as a distinct region and sub-destination of Malta, differentiated by the quality of its tourism product and its unique heritage and culture. They suggest the aim should be to brand and market Gozo to reflect its status as a quality resort within the overall Malta product, capable of attracting higher spending and different types of overnight international and domestic tourists (Stevens and Associates, 2000).

At present, Gozo is under-performing in terms of its potential to attract international staying tourists and in terms of the economic benefits it should be achieving. There is, at present, a tendency to exploit the short-term opportunities created by tourism with the consequent lack of either investing in the features that give Gozo its appeal or taking a strategic view as to how tourism could best benefit the island. Although it is generally considered by residents that there should be further tourism development in Gozo, the contention lies in what form the development should take. Some suggest a few large-scale, luxury tourism developments to attract higher spending tourists, whilst others consider the island's peaceful and relatively undeveloped nature to be among its most

valuable features, and believe such large-scale developments would spoil the environment (Bramwell, 2006).

5.6 Society and culture

Gozo and its inhabitants have their own distinct character and identity, and noticeably different lifestyles, accents and dialect. Those who live in Gozo pointedly describe themselves as Gozitan, while those who live in Malta call themselves Maltese. Gozo's history, which is characterised by various foreign rulers, periods of Christianity and Muslim religion, pirate attacks, raids and invasions, could go some way to explain the Gozitan character. For a small but strategically important state, its experience of external domination is perhaps to be expected. Until the mid-1960s, the island was run by external powers and colonisers, each of which brought with them a new layer of culture and have undoubtedly influenced the character and attitude of its residents today (Cini, 2002a).

In 870 Arabs captured the islands, and they remained under Muslim control for around 200 years. It is during this period that we find the origins of the Maltese language The Arabs influenced the name of Gozo as *Ghawdex* (pronounced Awdesh), as well as many village and family names. However, despite this strong influence, Arab heritage is scant on the islands and Christianity was strongly re-established by the Norman rulers of Sicily in 1091. During the Medieval period Malta experienced several different rulers, from the Normans (1090-1194) to the Swabians (Germans (1194-1266)), then the Angevins (French (1266-83)) to the Aragonese and Castilians (Spanish, 1283-1530)). Under these rulers, the islands were governed by a series of feudal lords whose sole interest was to exact the highest possible taxes from the inhabitants. In 1530, the islands passed under the Knights of St John of Jerusalem, a chivalrous religious order. In 1551, the islands suffered its worst siege in history. The citadel in Gozo - a walled fortress in the capital, Victoria - was besieged by the Turks of Sinam Pasha and the fortifications soon succumbed. The entire population of about 5000 was taken into slavery. Recovery was slow and painful for the Gozitans. The vulnerability to pirates and slavery is the reason why villages in Gozo did not develop until the late 18th early 19th century. Before that, the tiny population stayed close to the citadel, taking shelter within its walls between dusk and dawn. As the villages were built in more recent peaceful times they are completely different in structure to those of Malta; they are open-ended and do not form the usual Maltese pattern of tightly-winding, narrow and

easily defended streets. The Second World War (or the Second Great Siege of Malta) was to be a more drawn out and severe test of human resolve than the Turkish attempt in the 16th Century. Many years on, the strategy of siege warfare had not changed: bomb the enemy mercilessly, cut off supplies and hope to starve the besieged into surrender. The Axis powers came perilously close to victory in the summer of 1942, but the resistance of the islanders during the Second World War is legendary. The war years demanded strength and inventiveness, characteristics that benefit the locals today. Many simple farmers turned into semi-skilled manual workers, demonstrating new skills which provided a base for the post-war expansion (Gaul, 2003).

Through the centuries, Gozitans have developed a strong and independent character, described as a reputedly conservative person with staunch, clear thoughts, who carefully deliberates every action to determine its compatibility with his interests and plans (GTA, 2006a). A vulnerability to invasion and a suspicion of foreigners has also meant that a reluctance to communicate information has crept irremediably into the Gozitan character. As one writer recently put it in his guide to Gozo, Gozitans 'have now accepted that not all tourists are direct descendants of 16th century Turkish slave-traders', and their natural wariness has eased into friendliness, yet they still prefer to keep their distance (Ministry for Gozo, 2006). This suspicion is not only kept for foreigners. Although the Maltese tend to express a great trust in their immediate family, at the same time they nurture a strong suspicion of Maltese people in general (Abela, 1994). Baldacchino (1997:72) explains that there is a sense of danger in Malta of sharing information because it may provide positional advantages to others, describing it as a 'widespread "wisdom" in small state behaviour'.

5.6.1 Dependency on external powers

It was mentioned earlier that Malta was declared politically independent in 1964, yet it can be suggested that Malta and Gozo's dependency on foreign powers in the past, particularly the dependence on British Colonial powers, has influenced the Maltese to continue to look to outsiders for guidance. This can be seen in Malta's choice of political set-up, being very similar to that of the UK. The Maltese Government is relatively new, independence was only declared just over 40 years ago, and considering the close links between Malta and Britain it is perhaps not so surprising that Malta follows the UK's lead. Malta's recent membership of the E.U. can also convey an element of outsider assistance. In fact, a continued dependency has, in the past, been

actively encouraged. As Vella (1994) explains, the paradigm of development that has dominated political economic discourse in Malta, at least since the war, is based on the following two assumptions: Firstly, that capitalist development is the only possible sort of development; and, secondly, that if this development is to be an industrial one it must be export-led and based mainly on wholly or partially foreign-owned enterprise. It is interesting that in sharp contrast to the post-war intellectual history of other societies at the periphery of the world's most industrial metropolises, Malta is characterised by the almost total absence of radical critiques of these assumptions. The development strategy implemented by the Labour administrations 1971-1987 changed the economy's structure from one almost totally dependent on British defence spending to one dependent on exports manufactured by foreign owned firms. 'Instead of viewing economic reliance on foreign firms (especially British ones) as dependence, on the contrary, it was presented as the antidote to dependence' (*Ibid*:63). A commentator for the Nationalist Party proposed a shift away from industry towards services because the Maltese industry had become too dependent on foreign investment and external markets which are sensitive to the changing structure of the world economy. That services, tourism for example, are also dependent on foreign markets, are extremely sensitive to external conditions and will inevitably become dependent on foreign investment was conveniently ignored (Vella, 2004).

Dependency in relation to tourism is expressed negatively by Oglethorpe (1984:148) who says, '...the Maltese have merely transformed their economy from one dedicated to the service of British Military personnel to an economy heavily dependent upon the provision and maintenance of leisure facilities for the British tourist market'. Although this might be a more accurate picture for Malta, the situation in Gozo is slightly different. Gozo is not as dependent on the British tourist market as Malta. Although the British visitors do form the mainstay of Gozo's tourism, the island seems to be more capable of attracting a mix of other nationalities. Also, Gozo is probably less dependent on foreign investment as there are very few foreign-owned tourism-related establishments – hotels, restaurants, bars *etcetera* – in Gozo. It could be suggested that Gozo is more dependent on Malta for investment than it is on foreigners. However, this does not mean that they do not continue to look to outsiders for guidance.

5.6.2 Religion

The church plays an important role in Maltese society. In fact, the most important recorded event in Malta's early history was the shipwreck of St Paul in AD 60. During the three months he stayed in Malta, he is popularly believed to have converted the people to Christianity. The Maltese are intensely proud of their apostolic origin of their religion. *Missierna San Pawl*, 'Our Father St Paul', as he is usually called, is the principal patron saint of the islands, and the feast of his shipwreck is a national celebration (Boissevain, 2003). The Catholic Church has been established for over nineteen hundred years and is firmly rooted in the life of the community. The village parish church is evidently the nucleus of local life in Gozo and there are over 40 churches and chapels scattered around the island. Over 90 per cent of the population is Roman Catholic. Because of the unanimity of religious belief, and the important economic and political role played by the church through time in Malta, the models for proper Catholic behaviour are extremely well defined and promulgated in every corner of society through the local clergy (O'Reilly Mizzi, 1994). Priests are ever present and involved in public culture, combining their roles of public orator – from the pulpit, and private counsellor – from the confessional, with those of writer or media personality (Mitchell, 2001). It is not uncommon for priests to appear on radio or television or to write to the newspapers to comment on the topic of the day. In this respect, they are very influential in the political arena.

The traditional strong attachment to the church has had an important influence on the moral code. It is especially noticeable in the field of kinship where the large families and strong bonds between members of the elementary family are supported by exhortations and sanctions of the church. Loyalty to the family is a fundamental and cherished value for the Maltese, in fact, 'Maltese see the family as the most important institution in their lives' (Boissevain, 1974:98). This family first attitude is found widely throughout the Mediterranean region and the Middle East, if not elsewhere, however it exists in a particularly concentrated form in Malta (and possibly even more so in Gozo) because of the close-knit, small scale, face-to-face character of the islands (Boissevain, 2000). Maltese people believe that the ties of family relationships are real, and the proverb 'blood is thicker than water' is most apt (Tabone, 1994, as cited in Mitchell, 2001). The strength of this loyalty can lead to what has been called 'amoral familism' - the existence of a set of values that holds that any action undertaken to benefit one's family is justifiable, and that others behave similarly. Amoral familism

leads to a disregard of the effects on others – neighbours, strangers, future generations – of action undertaken to further the interests of self and family. It also obstructs loyalty to the nation-state as it is opposed to the notion that individual rights and interests must sometimes be sacrificed for the common good (Boissevain, 2000). Maltese opinions, on tourism development for example, are often influenced by how advantageous they perceive it to be for themselves and their family, not necessarily by how good it would be for the island as a whole.

5.6.3 Personalised politics

In small-scale societies the same institutions, official capacities, basic infrastructure and personal services are required as in larger states. This is exacerbated if accompanied by political sovereignty. Small state government is characteristically weighty and omnipresent and, as a result, omnipotent. The smaller the country, the larger the state looms in its economy and society. Its aggrandized roles make it party to every significant venture. The small-scale factor increases the likelihood and necessity for role multiplicity and role enlargement. Most inhabitants of small-scale societies grow up within an interdependent network where each person figures many times over, and nearly every social relationship serves many interests. In small-scale settings, there is a form of administration which frequently centres more on person than on office. This is often considered as bad administration, however, in practice, this is a feature of small-scale societies and is likely to remain so, giving to considerable inventiveness so as to exploit potential benefits (Baldacchino, 1997). In such a small country, everyone tends to know everyone else. A person may be known as a neighbour, a fellow employee, a supporter of the same political party, and a member of the same religious association (Boissevain, 1974). It is commonly said that if one person knows five families, one would have a connection to everyone in the island! Thus, there is no sense of anonymity. It is virtually impossible to get away from a situation in Malta because of its small size and interconnected networks (O'Reilly Mizzi, 1994). Islanders have an insular identity, where there is the feeling of living in a 'self-contained universe', they often see everything outside their island as remote and unimportant, it is the local news which interests people. The result of this is that even insignificant events become magnified. '...it is pertinent to consider the small island development state as Lilliput, a widely popular yet cynical metaphor...' (Baldacchino, 1997:55).

The Maltese mass media is well developed, with three main national television stations, 15 national radio stations, three daily newspapers, four weeklies, and numerous other fortnightly and monthlies. All this serves a population of less than half a million. Political debate is popular in Malta and there is a lively tradition of letters to the editors of newspapers and there are many political debates on television shows. Partly because of its small size, and partly because of the Maltese proclivity to create connections, the public figures one sees, hears and reads about in the mass media, are also very often personally familiar. Those who appear on television or radio might be neighbours, relatives, or friends of friends. This means that the anonymous public sphere of mass media is articulated to a much more personal sphere of face-to-face communication (Mitchell, 2002). It is easier to build relationships between public figures (or politicians) and the general public (or the electorate). 'Malta is small; its people are well known' is a translated Maltese proverb which reflects this situation. It suggests forced intimacy and a lack of anonymity. Micro-state life can make one feel 'hemmed in'. To enable the mechanisms of society to function without undue stress, small-scale citizens minimise or mitigate conflict. They become expert at muting hostility, containing disagreement and avoiding dispute, in the interests of stability and compromise. Another proverb – 'It is not what or how much you know which counts but who you know' – suggests the effects of personalisation, patronage, clientelism, favouritism, and their importance relative to other criteria such as skills and qualifications (Baldacchino, 1997).

The study of Mediterranean politics has been dominated in particular by the concept of patronage. As a concept, patronage is based on the assumption of a dyadic relationship between one category of person, the patron, who has and controls access to resources that another category of person, the client, needs or wants. The means by which the client gains access to resources is not through appeals to formal bureaucracy, but by the manipulation of their personal relationship with the patron. This personal relationship is often shaded with the assumptions of traditional authority – that people in a certain category have a privileged position in the system of resource-distribution by virtue of their category rather than the office they hold. *Klientelizmu* (or clientelism) refers to the process whereby personal relationships are established between politicians or bureaucrats and members of the public – a form of patronage. The politicians offer access to state resources and the members of the public offer political support.

The idea that Maltese politics is dominated by corruption is mobilised at all levels of society. In 1992, a national survey conducted by Gallup saw 65.8 per cent of those asked saying that they believed that corruption was widespread in Malta. Belief in the politics of corruption leads to a kind of conspiracy theory in Malta, in which it is believed that the political system and the government work against the people, rather than representing them. The Mediterranean as populated by crafty entrepreneurs and Mafiosa, with no sense of bureaucratic correctness or state authority, is a familiar stereotype. In Malta, the Italian term 'omerta', which refers to the mafia code of silence, is frequently used to describe the workings of Maltese politics. Government is seen as a closed system of politicians, open only to people from the stratum of polite society, who can exploit their position to their own ends, and misappropriate state resources to their own benefit. These people are entirely self-interested, and although they are elected to represent the people, seldom do. When asked about the system in Malta, a common response is that there is no system – everyone does the best for themselves, going against bureaucratic rationality. Yet this systemless-system is not without its systematic effects, and the attitude to the political system is characterised by a kind of fatalism in which the system is one which is thought to work against the people's interests – and within which people have little say. Mitchell (2002) suggests that these stereotypes or exaggerations of anti-bureaucratic activity can be a means of subverting the hegemony of European models of correct political practice, or political modernity, and asserting a Mediterranean, or Maltese difference. By overemphasising a lack of representation, representation is actually enhanced. Exaggeration of powerlessness can itself constitute a form of power, by exerting a moral imperative to act on behalf of the powerless. Saying that all politicians are corrupt, then, is a way of making politicians more accountable. This stereotype or image of Maltese society can also be used by politicians themselves to legitimate calls for reform. Also, the idea of an anonymous, opaque *gvern* (government) within which people have little or no agency is crosscut by an acknowledgement of the potential for creating friendships and establishing links – which implies agency. Mitchell (2002) also refers to a concept in Maltese society that Long (2001) calls 'room for manoeuvre'. Through kinship, relations of trust and gift exchange, favours are traded and obligations created which enable the population to manage their existence. To this extent, the system is no longer the autonomous, anonymous and opaque system it was purported to be, but one which the people can exploit and around which they can manoeuvre. The Maltese population

has quite an elaborate understanding of the contours of bureaucracy and how to make it work to one's own advantage.

5.7 Land use issues

It is suggested that Gozitans do not appreciate the importance of their environment (Schembri, 1994). In fact, all Maltese have had a rather ambivalent attitude towards the environment, and only recently has the countryside been viewed as a place to enjoy. In the past, the Maltese have much preferred to settle inland, on hills, within fortified walls to best protect themselves from much feared invasions, the countryside was not considered a safe place to live. Also, the natural environment in Malta is not particularly conducive to cultivation and farmers had to work extremely hard to produce crops. Hence, they grew to rely on personal effort. Man-made environments signified hard toil, were of value, and therefore respected whilst natural ones were not. This, along with the failure to be self-sufficient from the land, has influenced Maltese society to perceive pristine and virgin countryside as wasteland. 'The natural environment is traditionally seen as being of little value unless it has been worked by humans' (Borg, 1995:115). Clear testimony of this is the excessive illegal dumping of litter and building debris in the countryside and the popular pursuit of bird hunting and trapping.

During the past four decades the landscape of the Maltese Islands has undergone a massive transformation. This has chiefly been brought about by a construction boom linked to rising affluence, an exponential growth of tourism, and a laissez-faire approach to planning and enforcement. The building boom has encroached on scarce agricultural land and quite literally consumed much of the countryside (Boissevain, 2000). Development is often seen by the Maltese as a positive as it has the potential to create employment, even if the development is a threat to the environment and/or to the social fabric of society. As Boissevain (1977:527) suggests, '...development to Maltese Planners means economic growth, increased social equality, greater national cohesion, improved quality of life and, finally, and most important, greater independence. To the man in the street development means progress. Progress means more: more and better housing, more education for his children, more consumer items...(and) more security'.

Environmental sensitivity has evolved slowly in Malta. It was not until the 1980s that public opinion began to react and environmental issues became political ones. Changes in Maltese society such as growing affluence, reduced unemployment, more widespread

education and a calmer political climate may help to explain this increase in pro-environment beliefs (Borg, 1995). Another influence on environmental sensitivity may be the growing consumption of land and other natural resources due to building development for tourism. Whereas the Maltese may more easily accept the loss of these resources for the construction of housing, tourism facilities may be perceived as having fewer direct community benefits (Bramwell, 2003). In fact, recently it has been the large up-market tourism projects which have particularly emphasised the role of tourism in the depletion of natural resources, and has consequently led to public protest. Gozo's main asset is its environment; yet it is also its main problem in terms of tourism. Almost by definition, a place of relaxation which exists in a temporal backwater must be remote, visited by few people, and must be insulated from the myriad of elements which make modern living stressful. The problem lies in the fact that although the greater the number of tourists, the greater the income generated, the greater also is the degradation of that asset which attracted them in the first place – the environment (Schembri, 1994). A recurrent comment put forward by visitors is the necessity to guard Gozo from uncontrolled development (MTA, 2005).

Concern for environmental heritage acquired an organised form after Malta's independence with the foundation of the first environmental NGO in Malta - Din L-Art Helwa ('This Sweet Land'). Others, such as the Malta Ornithological Society, followed suit, and the activities of these NGOs along with the growing public criticism of rampant building finally placed environmental issues on the agenda of the 1987 general election (Boissevain, 2004). An Environment Protection Act and the Development and Planning Act were introduced in 1991 and 1992 respectively. This led to the setting up of the Planning Authority and the creation of a Structure Plan for the Maltese Islands. It is suggested that this late political interest in environmental affairs was due to a necessary preoccupation with economic matters in the post-independence decades, when the need to secure material necessities of life had paramount importance - 'We could not afford to be sensitive about seemingly airy-fairy matters as the environment...' (Mallia, 2000:15). The **Malta Environment and Planning Authority (MEPA)** was created in 2002, merging the then Planning Authority and the Environment Protection Department. MEPA is now the organisation responsible for the implementation of environmental and planning legislation.

MEPA is responsible for the implementation of the Structure Plan for the Maltese Islands, a document first produced in December 1990 to cover a period of 20 years. The Structure Plan is essentially concerned with Malta's future environment, both man-made and natural. Malta's basic problem is that of rising standards of living and the increasing complexity of private and public sector business as requiring increasingly more space in which to operate. Running counter to this is the fact that Malta is a small country with one of the highest population densities in the world. Tourism is the major consumer of land on a recreational and commercial basis; some 80% of accessible coastline on Malta and Gozo is taken up by tourism-related development (Mallia, 2000). The purpose of the Structure Plan is to give strategic direction and context to guide the Government and the private sector in matters concerning Malta's development (MEPA, 1990). Basically, it is concerned with social, economic, physical, and environmental planning which have a bearing on land use. It is essentially an enabling plan, i.e. 'if and when a particular demand arises, this is where and how it should be accommodated' and thereby guiding development to appropriate locations (MEPA, 2006b).

Gozo's small size means that there is very little public open space. The per capita free open space ratio is extremely low, estimated at less than $10m^2$. Land is therefore a relatively scarce resource which needs to be managed and conserved with particular care. A major process of implementation of the Structure Plan is the preparation of more detailed plans for particular areas of the Maltese Islands. One such plan comprises the Gozo and Comino Local Plan, compiled by MEPA and approved by Government on 20th July 2006. The Plan draws on details and strategic guidance provided by the Local Plan Team within MEPA, from external sources, as well as from over two hundred meetings undertaken with agencies and individuals ranging from Ministries to the community. The Gozo and Comino Local Plan is one of seven for the Maltese Islands which set a framework to base decisions on land use and development over the next ten years. The main purpose of the plan is to provide a land use strategy that balances environmental, economic and social issues, it includes protective policies to safeguard the area's remaining open spaces and historic buildings but also highlights opportunities for development. The Plan states that it is important to upgrade facilities in Gozo to further improve the tourism sector, but special care has to be taken to ensure that the very features that attract visitors are safeguarded rather than destroyed by tourism related activities. Any development proposal will be affected by several Structure Plan and Local Plan policies and all policies that apply to a development

proposal must all be complied with if the proposal is to be acceptable to MEPA (MEPA, 2006).

MEPA states that it carries out public consultation on all policy formulation that it engenders, and that this consultation should always be as wide as the circumstances permit. They claim that they ensure that everyone concerned feels they have had their say and that as far as possible their interests have been taken in to account (MEPA, 2006a). The Development Planning Act 2002 states, 'the Authority shall make known to the public the matters it intends to take into consideration and shall provide adequate opportunities for individuals and organisations to make representations to the Authority' (Article 18 (6)). The Environment Protection Act 2002 also calls for an element of public consultation. It specifies that regulations shall not be made unless the Minister shall have first published a draft of the proposed regulations in the Government Gazette. This should allow for at least four weeks for representations to be made by the Minister or the Authority or both, stating how the proposed regulations do not sufficiently protect the environment or how they are too unnecessarily restrictive or cause hardship or economic loss, and consequently ask for a revision to be made (MEPA, 2006b).

Environmental protection is now firmly on the political agenda, yet success may still be difficult to achieve. Although the Maltese public is more aware of environmental concerns, their attitudes do not quite match those of the rest of Europe. A Maltese version of the European Values Questionnaire was administered in Malta in 1991 and the results showed that the importance attached to the environment by the Maltese is significantly less than for the rest of Europe. Only 41 per cent considered that the protection of the environment and the fight against pollution is an urgent matter, this in contrast to 74 per cent in Europe as a whole. A considerable number in Malta (34 per cent, compared to 19 per cent in Europe) are of the opinion that environmental issues are less urgent than is often suggested. A further interesting result was that 41 per cent of Maltese (compared to only 13 per cent in Europe) were undecided when commenting on the statement, 'if we want to combat unemployment, we shall have to accept environmental problems'. It seems that most Maltese do not see any connection between keeping a high level of employment, possibly through the expansion of tourism and other industries, and an increase in the pollution of the environment (Abela, 1994).

Limiting tourism and related development would clearly seem to be a fundamental pre-requisite of sustainable development in the Maltese Islands, yet Government also focuses on the volume of tourists as a symbol of the nation's economic strength and its own success. It considers that this volume influences their electoral support from the public. Further, Maltese investors and developers will undoubtedly continue to exert considerable pressure on politicians and the planning system for further tourism-related development (Bramwell, 2007). Boissevain (2001) suggests that politically, while paying lip-service to the environment since the mid 1980s, neither party (the MLP or NP) has undertaken firm action to enforce existing laws designed to protect the environment: 'The intricate networks of nepotism, patronage and political clientelism, the pervasiveness and intensity of which are a function of the country's small-scale, population density, and strong family ties, are largely responsible for this failure' (*Ibid*:292-293). Further to this argument he states, 'Malta's clientelistic political culture facilitated the award of building permits to political clients, thus furthering rampant abusive building and subverting the enforcement of building regulations' (Boissevain, 2000:4).

MEPA is set up to be an independent body, though Boissevain (2004) suggests that Government's interests are most strongly represented and tend to prevail. The members of the Board are appointed by the President on the recommendation of the Prime Minister. The Board consists of 15 members: eight independent members, including the chairman; a representative of each of the two parliamentary parties; and five civil servants. Members representing environmental NGOs, in spite of their requests, are not permitted to sit on the board. Major applications and those requiring an Environmental Impact Assessment (EIA) are decided by the full MEPA Board. Meetings regarding applications and appeals are public, but often become very acrimonious (Boissevain, 2004). Public hearings of planning boards have been aptly described as a 'theatre of control' (Pearce, 1993:202). They are rituals staged to persuade the public that Planning Board decisions are based on expert advice, incorporate the voice of civil society, and conform to Planning Authority protocols (Boissevain, 2004). Boissevain and Theuma (1998) argue that the outcomes of confrontations over actual development projects are not so much determined by rules and arguments as by tactics. Their studies have shown that while operating within the legal framework, lease conditions may be altered to benefit developers; government departments are persuaded to approve destruction of national monuments; critical expert opinion is suppressed, and public

hearings are manipulated. Boissevain (2004:254-5) concludes that, 'despite the efforts of the NGOs and others, the ostensibly independent Planning Authority – now the Malta Environment and Planning Authority (MEPA) – approves projects and condones infringements that are backed by important political/economic interests'.

5.8 Politics and governance

Malta and Gozo became a sovereign independent state within the Commonwealth on 21st September 1964 and were declared a Republic on 12th December 1974 (GTA, 2006c)). Malta has an archetypal two-party system; a system where there are two main political parties, with each having roughly equal prospects of winning governmental power. The victorious party is able to rule alone, without forming a coalition, while the loser constitutes the 'Opposition'. Malta's two main political parties are the **Malta Labour Party (MLP)** and the **Nationalist Party (NP)**. Both of the two main political parties have been in office since Malta's independence in 1964, and each has been able to form a majority government. Together they win around 98 per cent of the vote at election time. Although there have been a number of third parties on the Maltese political scene over the past few decades, none has earned more than about two per cent of the popular vote (Cini, 2002b).

The Nationalist Party or NP (the *Partit Nazzjonalista*) currently forms the government of Malta. The party was formed in 1880 with its origins in Malta's pro-Italian faction, representing the nineteenth-century Maltese-Italian elite of the islands (Cini, 2002b). It has been the party of the professional classes – the lawyers, doctors, notaries, and higher civil servants – who through their networks of social relations also tended to tie their clients to the party. The Nationalist Party has also been strongly supported by the Church. The NP's foreign policy has been to maintain Malta's traditional alliance with the Western Powers in NATO through the mediation of Great Britain. In short, it likes to maintain the status quo, with conservative, laissez-faire policy (Boissevain, 1974). The Malta Labour Party or MLP (*Partit tal-Haddiema*) was loosely formed out of the nineteenth-century English-language faction, though its roots are more conventionally identified with the Maltese labour movement, and more specifically in the organisation that was set up to give Maltese dockworkers a political voice. It came in to its own as a political party in the 1940s as a well organised body with trade union backing. It won the 1947 election and established itself as one of the two main political parties in Malta (Cini, 2002b). The Labour Party has generally had few members whose occupational

status enabled them to recruit voters from their professional clientele. The Labour Party is a workers' party and its members reflect this, most of whom are recruited from among skilled and unskilled workers, as well as the young. The policy of the MLP can be characterised as reformist and socialist, as progressive (in the sense of favouring change), and anti-establishment (Boissevain, 1974). As mentioned earlier, it is very difficult for small parties to make any impact on Maltese politics. The main third party is currently ***Alternattiva Demokratika*** (AD), a Green Party set up in 1989. Although it is extremely active, particularly on matters to do with the environment and corruption, it has never managed to win a parliamentary seat (Alternattiva Demokratika, 2006).

Since their inception in Malta over 100 years ago, political parties have come to exercise enormous hold and influence over the Maltese electorate. Every five years or so, during general elections, over ninety per cent of those entitled to vote, although under no legal compulsion to do so, turn out to cast their vote in favour of one of the contending parties and its candidates. 'On election day, cloistered nuns have been known to abandon the seclusion of their convents to join with other voters at the polls' (Pirotta, 1994). In fact, Malta has one of the highest electoral turnouts of all liberal democracies. The Maltese electorate is highly polarised, with the vast majority of the electorate identifying themselves with one or the other of the two main parties. 'Partisanship in this polarized polity is so pervasive, ingrained, and linked to class, ideology, and locality that preference patterns are known by street. Loyalties are strong, stable, and rooted in social and family background' (Hirczy 1995:258, as cited in Cini, 2002b). This creates a political system in which almost every vote counts (Cini, 2002). While there is some movement between the two electorates this is very much at the margins, therefore governments win and lose elections on the basis of electoral 'swings' of only a few percentage points. Not surprisingly, encouraging voters to the polls on election day has become a consuming passion for both of the main political parties (Cini, 2003a).

Malta has maintained for its elections a complex and rarely used system, the single-transferable-vote (STV). The three most important features of the STV method are, first, that several candidates will be elected from each district. Multi-member districts permit a more proportional allocation of legislative seats to political parties than single-member districts of the Anglo-American variety. Second, voters cast their votes for individual candidates and rank them in order by preference, rather than be bound to vote

for a single candidate or party list. Third, voters in STV elections are free to distribute their preferences among all candidates regardless of their political party. In theory, this would reduce the power of political party organisations. However, this is not the case in Malta as Maltese voters persist in voting mainly for candidates presented by party organisations (Lane, 2000). Loyalty to their party is evidently very strong.

Every village in Malta has at least two political *kazini*, or local clubs, one belonging to the NP and one to the MLP. They are bars in which men meet regularly to discuss the issues of the day. It is here that information about policy and how it is received is filtered up and down the party hierarchy. It is not unusual to see Ministers or Shadow Ministers at these bars, to test public opinion. The *Kazin* is therefore a place of communication between politician and people. There seems to be a well-oiled machine precisely for ensuring the production and distribution of public opinion, and yet people still assert there is none (Mitchell, 2002).

The Nationalist Government has 13 Ministries; the two most relevant to this study are the Ministry for Tourism and Culture and the Ministry for Gozo. The role of the **Ministry for Tourism and Culture** is to promote the importance of tourism to the National economy at all levels within the public and parastatal sectors. The Ministry sets policy, monitors and ensures the implementation of the Malta Tourism Authority's Strategic Plan and sustains the development of Malta's human resources to meet the tourism industry's needs. It also oversees the monitoring and enforcement of regulations, the maintenance of appropriate standards of accommodation and catering establishments and is responsible for generally ensuring that every effort is made to improve Malta's tourism product. It provides the Malta Tourism Authority (MTA) with funding, mainly used to market the Maltese Islands as a tourist destination. The Ministry for Tourism and Culture works very closely with the Malta Tourism Authority.

The main role of the **Malta Tourism Authority** is to promote Malta as a tourist destination; to advise Government on tourism operations and issue licences (mainly for accommodation and food and beverage establishments); to monitor, classify and control the licensing of and standards provided in and by tourism operations; to contribute towards the improvement of the level of human resources in the tourism industry; to advise Government on the planning and development of the tourism industry as well as on the infrastructure supporting the industry; and generally to assist and advise

Government on any matter relating to or affecting tourism. MTA's responsibilities relate to domestic and international scenarios which influence tourism activity in Malta, Gozo and Comino.

Gozo has very little representation on the Malta Tourism Authority. The MTA Board consists of 11 voting members and the Chief Executive who is a non-voting member, all appointed by the Minister for Tourism and Culture. The Board is required to include six persons with knowledge of and experience in matters relating to travel and tourism; one of whom with knowledge and experience relating to Gozo. The hotel sector, the tourism and travel agent's sector, and the national airline should each be represented by one member, and two further people should represent other sectors providing travel and tourism services. Gozo has only one representative, whilst the remaining 11 members are very likely to have tourism interests in Malta. As part of the recent restructuring of the MTA, a segment team directly responsible for the promotion of Gozo has been created. However, there is little knowledge of their actions to date.

5.9 Political representation for Gozo

Politically, Gozo and Comino form one of thirteen electoral districts of the Republic of Malta. Five representatives of Gozo are elected to the Maltese Parliament, and to better look after the Gozitan people's interests, one of these is always a central Government Minister. The last election in 2003 gave parliament seats to three Nationalist Party and two Malta Labour Party members. As in Malta, Gozo's voter turnout is high. Of the 23,632 eligible voters in Gozo, 22,784 votes were cast, approximately 95 per cent. Again, there was very little margin between the NP and the MLP, receiving 58.78 per cent and 40.82 per cent of the votes respectively. Only 0.4 per cent went to AD. Although the elections are fairly close between NP and MLP in Gozo, the results for the Maltese Islands as a whole are even closer with 51.79 per cent of the vote to the NP and 47.51 per cent to the MLP. This suggests, although only marginally, that Gozo predominantly supports the Nationalist Party (Department of Information Malta, 2006b).

Historically, the administration of Gozo has been varied and the island has enjoyed several forms of autonomy. During the rule of the Knights of St John the island had a 'Universitas of Gozo' which was answerable to a Governor. More recently, Gozo has experienced various administrative set-ups; this started with a Gozo Civic Committee,

then in 1961 the British Colonial Authorities conceded to the establishment of the Gozo Civic Council - a statutory local government body with a distinct legal personality. This was suppressed in 1973 and followed by a Parliamentary Committee, then a Parliamentary Secretariat, and most recently, in 1987, the Nationalist Government founded the Ministry for Gozo (Magro, 2000; Times of Malta, 08/11/ 2004). The **Ministry for Gozo**, one of the 13 Government Ministries, is responsible for all Gozo affairs. The current Minister – elected since 1998 – is the Honourable Giovanna Debono. The Ministry for Gozo is responsible for all executive functions of the Central Government, including transport, education, health, and tourism, using an annual budget allocated by the Central Government. In 2006, from total expenditure of Lm858,872,000, Gozo received Lm20,519,200, approximately 2.4 per cent. The majority of the budget is spent on salaries (Sunday Times, 06/11/05). The Malta Labour Party and the Alternattiva Demokratica Party also have representatives for Gozo, their aims being to maintain on the national political agenda all matters that can affect or improve the quality of life in Gozo.

In 1993, the Maltese Government adopted a policy of devolution of power and responsibility to local authorities. Today, Malta has 68 Councils, 54 in Malta and 14 in Gozo. Elections of Local Councillors are held every three years. All Council meetings are open to the public and facilities have to be provided for media coverage. Locals may participate in several different ways; they can participate through the membership of the Committees or Sub-Committees of the Local Council; by attending public consultation meetings; by putting forward suggestions or complaints to the Council Secretary; or by attending the annual locality meeting when the Secretary takes note of all suggestions put forward. There is no intermediate level of government in Malta, therefore the Councils are the most direct link between residents and the decision-makers. In Gozo, the Local Councils represent a link between the residents and the Ministry for Gozo. The Local Councils have been described as, '...true guardians of village identities and in unison guardians of the identity of the island' (Times of Malta, 08/11/04).

Local Councils are basically responsible for the maintenance and cleanliness of their locality, for example, refuse collection, traffic schemes, and public area maintenance. They are also responsible for giving advice to and being consulted by relevant authorities on decisions affecting the Council and the residents it is responsible for.

However, although they have an advisory role, their actual decision-making power is limited.

5.10 The European Union context

The issue of accession to the European Union was at the centre of Maltese politics throughout the 1990s and into the twenty-first century. As an economically and politically marginal post-colonial state, Malta's future seemed uncertain. The NP remained strongly pro-European, whilst the MLP was rigorously Euro-sceptic. The MLP argue that Malta's future should be as a non-aligned state, a 'Switzerland in the Mediterranean', which could provide a bridge between Europe and the Arab World, capitalising on its geopolitical location. Tensions between the two parties also concerned the very definition of national identity in Malta – who the Maltese are, who they were and who they are going to be (Mitchell, 2002).

As Cini (2002a) explains, Malta has long been a strategic pawn in the political games of Europe's larger powers. And since gaining its independence in 1964, Malta has had to begin to come to terms with this legacy – in terms of its foreign policy, its economy and, not least, its national identity, which remains contested. In fact, Malta could be labelled as a 'nationless state' (Mitchell, 2002). One element of the case for EU membership was related to Malta's European credentials and questions of identity. One argument, put forward by the pro-EU Nationalist Party, was that Malta is a European state, politically and culturally, and to assert this internationally meant joining the European Union. Otherwise, it was argued, Malta would be left on the sidelines. The Opposition view, by contrast, had been to argue that Malta is not European, but to detach European-ness from EU membership and to emphasise Malta's Mediterranean characteristics. The argument was that to sign up to the EU would be to deny an important aspect of Malta's history – its links with North Africa. In other words, for the NP, Africa is constructed as a kind of 'other' against the more positive 'European' with which the islands must be associated (Cini, 2003a).

Arguments about Malta's European-ness are inextricably tied to the question of traditional values and modernisation. While the merits of modernisation on an economic front are recognised by many, there has been a widespread worry that joining the EU might lead to a watering down of the Maltese way of life. This is a concern that does not only operate at the general level, it is also tied closely to the Catholicism of the

vast majority of the Maltese people and to practical questions such as abortion and divorce (Cini, 2003a). As Mitchell (2002:44) explains, 'A profound ambivalence runs through contemporary Maltese society, in which Europeanization and modernization present considerable promise but also palpable threats to the Maltese way of life'. Stereotypes of the Mediterranean as backward, politically underdeveloped, and therefore not fully bureaucratised, abound in the Mediterranean itself. They are therefore used as much in processes of self-identification as they are in demonstrating otherness. Moreover, they are used as strategic political practices. The Maltese tend to over-emphasise or exaggerate the pervasiveness of anti-bureaucratic practices for Malta, and the ultra-rationality of European bureaucracy. For the wider populace, this is a strategy for making claims against a political system in which they often feel unrepresented. For politicians, and particularly the pro-European politicians of the NP, it is a strategy used to justify support for their EU ambitions (*Ibid*).

The Maltese Islands, as one region, became a member of the European Union in May 2004. The decision was made in a referendum by the people of Malta. Before the referendum, the Nationalist Party assured voters that Gozo would be declared as a region on its own that would receive special treatment from the EU, as through its various programmes and funds the Union ensures that areas that are in some way disadvantaged – for example, their being an island, or through their peripherality – are assisted in various ways to overcome these disadvantages. For example, Gozo would benefit from funds to improve the infrastructural connections between Gozo, Malta, and the rest of Europe (Fenech Adami, 2000). Indeed, the Treaty of the European Union states that in order to strengthen its economic and social cohesion, the Community shall aim at reducing disparities between the levels of development of the various regions and the backwardness of the least-favoured regions or islands, including rural areas. These actions are to be supported, *inter alia*, through the Structural Funds. The Structural and Cohesion Funds are the European Union's main instruments for supporting social and economic restructuring across the EU. They account for over one third of the European Union budget and are used to tackle regional disparities and support regional development through actions including developing infrastructure and telecommunications, developing human resources and supporting research and development (Department of Trade and Industry, 2006). Malta is eligible for Structural Funds as it is classified as an 'Objective 1 Region'. Objective 1 Regions are those whose development is lagging behind the other members. These are the regions whose

per capita Gross Domestic Product is less that 75 per cent of the Community average. They receive the bulk, approximately 69.7 per cent, of the total budgetary resources. Malta is also receiving additional funding as part of the Cohesion Funds. These are dedicated to those E.U Member States whose development is lower than 90 per cent of the E.U. average (Debono, 2000). One of Malta's four main strategic objectives is to address Gozo's regional distinctiveness and it is stated that a minimum of 10 per cent of the funds will be allocated for measures aimed at Gozo's continued development (Central Government, 2006b).

Entrenched in Malta's Accession Treaty to the EU is a Declaration to the island region of Gozo, acknowledging that, 'the island region of Gozo has economic and social specificities as well as handicaps arising from the combined effects of its double insularity, its environmental fragility, its small population size coupled with high population density as well as its inherent limited resources'. This declaration highlights Gozo's special needs as distinct from Malta's and reminds Central Government of its obligation towards its sister island. However, as Castelain (columnist on Gozo for the Sunday Times newspaper) points out, 'The declaration on the Island Region of Gozo is a unilateral declaration made by Malta. It binds no one else except Malta, and therefore is meaningless when it comes to asserting Gozo's status as an island region vis-à-vis the EU' (Castelain, 03/07/05).

5.11 Other organisations involved in tourism issues

There are other non-governmental organisations that play important roles in the decision-making process for tourism development proposals. The Gozo Tourist Association and the Gozo Business Chamber are organisations which encourage cooperation between businesses in Gozo and try to promote the Gozo tourism and business industries. They often involve themselves in decision-making over tourism development, often encouraging any development which they see as beneficial for the island as a tourism destination and for the local economy. There are also environmental groups which often comment on development proposals, generally forming a strong lobby against development proposals that they feel threaten the environment. These organisations are quite well respected and decision-makers can ask for their advice and recommendations concerning development proposals. However, these organisations have little or no actual power over the final decisions made, they are often only involved in a lobbying and or consultative capacity.

The **Gozo Tourism Association** (GTA) was set up in February 1999 and incorporates all sectors of the tourism industry. The main objectives of the Gozo Tourism Association as spelled out in its statute are: to unite all persons, companies, partnerships or associations operating in the tourism industry; to promote Gozo as an all year round distinct tourist destination; to secure, foster and promote the fullest co-operation between the tourist industry and those affecting it; and to protect and promote the interest of the members of the Association (GTA, 2006b). The GTA organises the important compilation of statistics on tourism in Gozo, which otherwise would not be available. The GTA is well-placed as the representative body of key tourism stakeholders to implement and deliver the MTA's strategy as it relates to Gozo, yet it is only recently that the GTA has been represented on the Malta Tourism Authority.

The **Gozo Business Chamber (GBC)** was founded in 1999, to safeguard and promote the interests of business operators in Gozo. One of its main aims is to address issues associated with the regionality and insularity of Gozo, which can hinder the smooth running of business concerns in Gozo. Membership of the Gozo Business Chamber is open to anyone who operates a business in Gozo or from Gozo. Members are organised under six sections: trade, wholesale and retail; industry and crafts; construction industry; tertiary services; agriculture and fisheries; and tourism (Gozo Business Chamber, 2009). Again, the influence of the GBC is limited as they have no representation at government level.

Nature Trust (Malta) was officially launched in 1999. Nature Trust is 'Committed to the conservation of Maltese nature by promoting environmental awareness, managing areas of natural and scientific interest, and lobbying for effective environmental legislation'. The Nature Trust Conservation Committee is responsible for monitoring ecologically important sites, drawing up conservation strategies, compiling data, and producing Environmental Impact Assessments (EIAs) and scientific reports for internal reference. Representatives from the Conservation Committee attend MEPA public hearings. Nature Trust is also represented on various local and international committees such as the Planning Consultative Committee (chaired by MEPA), the National Commission for Sustainable Development (chaired by the Prime Minister), the Green Commission (chaired by the Malta Tourism Authority), and on the international scale it is the Coordinator for the Network of EU Mediterranean Accession Countries (Malta, Cyprus and Turkey), amongst other things (Nature Trust Malta, 2006). Nature Trust's

representation on these various committees shows a high level of respectability, although it has no actual decision-making power. The same can be said for **Din L-Art Helwa** or the National Trust of Malta. It is a non-governmental organisation with the aim of safeguarding the natural, historic, and cultural environment of Malta and Gozo. Of particular relevance to this research is their opposition to the application to develop a hotel, villas and bungalows at Ta' Cenc, as well as a golf course, as they claim it is totally in variance to the provisions of the Structure Plan for Malta and Gozo. Din L-Art Helwa strongly urges MEPA to reject outright this application and wants to see the whole area preserved and developed as a National Park. They set up an online petition to save Ta' Cenc, which received around 10,000 signatures, and was presented to the Prime Minister and MEPA in 2006 (Din L'Art Helwa, 2006). Another environmental group that has commented on the Ta' Cenc development proposal is **Birdlife Malta. Birdlife** is the oldest and largest nature organisation in Malta, founded in 1962 as the Malta Ornithological Society, it was the first to act in defence of the natural environment. It currently has over 3000 members. Its mission is to protect wild birds and their habitat. It monitors activity that threatens wild birds, particularly hunting and trapping. Birdlife Malta keeps a healthy presence in media outlets. It coordinates action and strategy with other partners of Birdlife International. Birdlife states that a large part of the natural habitat at Ta' Cenc is of high ecological value and merits the highest protection it can get at national level, something it claims it is lacking. Birdlife calls on Government to add Ta' Cenc to the list of proposed Special Areas of Conservation to be included in the Natura 2000 network. They contend that Government has a moral responsibility to conserve the site for future generations (Birdlife Malta, 2006).

5.12 Conclusion

This chapter has introduced the Maltese Islands, and in particular the case study island of Gozo. The Maltese Islands' peripheral location, in both geographical and political terms, has been discussed. Both Malta and Gozo have well-established tourism industries, each with distinct characteristics, and these have been examined. The culture and characteristics of Maltese society have been explored, including issues such as identity, religion, family, island life and patronage. Land is a scarce resource in the Maltese Islands and the involvement of government and non-government organisations in the management of this land was examined. Politics are hotly debated in Malta and Gozo, and the current political situation – particularly the governance that Gozo

receives – has been explained. Overall, this chapter has provided essential background to the Maltese Islands. Analysis of responses to tourism development and tourism governance, presented in the subsequent three chapters, can be more fully understood with an understanding of the Maltese context.

Chapter 6

Responses to Gozo's core-periphery relations

6.1 Introduction

The next three chapters provide detailed analysis of Gozitan responses to tourism development and tourism governance in the context of core-periphery relations. The results are mainly drawn from interviews, but newspaper articles also provide significant insights on the topic. In addition, relevant theory is used to help interpret the data and to gain a better understanding of the findings. The first chapter deals with perceptions of decision-making between the core and the periphery and of reactions to it. The second chapter examines opinions about Gozo's tourism development, such as its strengths and weaknesses as a tourist destination and the most suitable type of tourism development for the island, this being considered in the context of its peripherality. The third results chapter examines responses to tourism development and tourism governance in this peripheral island, but this time it is examined through views concerning three specific proposals for development in Gozo. All comments from interview respondents are shown in italics and all quotes from newspaper articles and other documentary sources are presented in quotation marks and referenced. The data is then interpreted by the researcher, with consideration given to existing tourism theory and other relevant literature reviewed in Chapter Two and also literature that is specific to Malta and Gozo as explored in Chapter Five.

By their nature, all islands are 'peripheral', and many island characteristics are similar to those for peripheral areas. Islands are peripheral either geographically, where they are isolated and marginal to core populations, or peripheral in an economic sense, or both (Timothy, 2001). Small islands which lie offshore a much larger island state or continental mainland tend to be particularly open to economic and/or political domination by areas of larger size and/or greater resources, and usually experience external economic and political dependency in inverse proportion to their size and population (Cross & Nutley, 1999; Royle, 1989). Dependency can be described as, 'a conditioning situation in which the economies of one group of countries are conditioned by the development and expansion of others. A relationship of inter-dependence between two or more economies becomes a dependent relationship when some

countries expand through self-impulsion while others, being in a dependent position, can only expand as a reflection of the expansion of the dominant countries, which may have positive or negative effects on their immediate development' (Dos Santos, 1973:76). The notion of a periphery being controlled, managed, and possibly exploited by the core has been termed by many as the 'core-periphery' conflict (Keller, 1987), and its existence is particularly true for small island economies (Britton, 1982).

Dependency theory has long been linked with tourism, and it has been suggested that tourism can be another form of colonialism or imperialism (Harrison, 2000). Peripheral areas are distant from core spheres of activity, they often lack resources and/or have a traditional agricultural industry, and as a result have limited market opportunities. Many peripheral regions are well placed to attract tourism because they possess destination features demanded by the tourism industry (Blomgren & Sorensen, 1998), and the development of tourism is generally accepted as a promising option for industry-diversification and for facilitating the transition from an agriculture-based economy toward a service industry. Governments in peripheral regions perceive tourism as an opportunity for the inflow of capital and economic growth, as a way of creating jobs, and as a means of increasing the population's welfare (Buhalis, 1999; Hohl & Tisdell, 1995; Keller, 1987; and Wanhill, 1997).

Some criticisms of tourism development are that the destinations will ultimately receive only a fraction of the money spent by visitors; that a high percentage of personnel employed in tourism, and a high percentage of goods consumed by the tourists are imported; that there is considerable leakage of capital and profit received from tourism; and that the destination is likely to lose control of decision-making processes governing the industry's development – thus creating a core-periphery conflict (Keller, 1987).

The island of Gozo is geographically and economically peripheral to the main larger island of Malta, which itself is on the periphery of Europe and the EU. This puts Gozo on the periphery of the periphery, and thus it faces especially difficult core-periphery relations. Gozo, like many other peripheral areas, has few market opportunities, and it relies heavily on the economic benefits of its tourism industry. The aim is to discover how this tourism industry develops within the constraints of core-periphery relations, from a micro-level perspective.

Madrigal (1995:98) states that, 'Citizens do develop perceptions of the tourism industry and do have attitudes related to government's role in its development as a result of residing in a host community'. This chapter begins by examining responses to the balance of core-periphery decision-making relating to Gozo's tourism development. Firstly, their comments are discussed regarding the balance of overall power between Gozo and Malta, and also more specifically the balance of economic and political power. Next, respondents' satisfaction with government actions related to Gozo's tourism industry are examined. This includes views on whether the Ministry for Gozo has enough influence over the island's governance and relevant policy-making, on whether the government makes sufficient decisions that directly benefit Gozo, on whether it does enough to benefit more specifically Gozo's tourism industry, and also on whether the government considers Gozitans' views when decisions are made. Finally, opinions are examined as to whether there should be a change in the balance of power around decision-making between Malta and Gozo.

6.2 Balance of core-periphery decisions affecting Gozo's tourism development

6.2.1 Location of overall power

It is suggested that a core-periphery relationship is characterised by the power of the centre determining events and conditions in the periphery (Scott, 2000). The aim here is to understand perceptions about the location of overall power in decisions related to Gozo's tourism industry. The respondents generally discussed this not in terms of power attributed to specific individuals, but more broadly in terms of whether power is located in Malta, Gozo, or elsewhere (such as within the wider European Union). Almost all the respondents, both Maltese and Gozitan, clearly considered that power is located in Malta. Gozitan respondents did not hesitate to answer that, *'Overall it is in Malta...Malta has the power'* (5:1); *'The power is in Malta'* (12:1); *'It's totally in Malta. In Gozo there is no real decision-making'* (15:3); and, *'It's totally located in Malta. It would depend on decisions taken in Malta mainly, and I think Gozo has little power in decision-making, especially with regards to tourism'* (19:1). Only two respondents, both Maltese, believed that power is located in Gozo. The first, a representative of the Malta Tourism Authority (MTA), said: *'Well, definitely there is a Minister for Gozo, and I would say that most of the power is invested around the Ministry for Gozo'* (28:1). The second, an influential actor involved in environmental and planning issues, suggested that: *'They [people in Gozo] have the power, but it's not vested power, it's a power that they have acquired because they're such a frugal lot'*

(23:6). This respondent implied that the people who have overall power to influence decisions are not necessarily those with 'vested' power, such as the Ministry for Gozo, but perhaps local developers or business people who have less obvious control over policy-making but do so in relation to business and development on the ground. One other Gozitan respondent shared a similar view that the people with power are those with money. Also, a newspaper article discussing the issuing of building permits suggests that it is money that dictates: 'How much was paid and to whom seems to be the norm here' (Malta Independent, 12/03/06). One Gozitan respondent, a property developer, was alone in arguing that overall power lay with external tour operators who bring tourists to the island.

There were no other suggestions that the power is located elsewhere. In particular, the power of the E.U. over Gozo's tourism was not mentioned at all. At the time of the interviews, Malta had been a member of the E.U. for only a year. It could be suggested that this was too short a time for residents to have become fully aware of the impacts of being an E.U. member country. It could also be suggested that this lack of appreciation of outside powers is simply a characteristic of island states. Baldacchino (1997:55) explains that islanders have an insular identity, where there is the feeling of living in a 'self-contained universe'. They often see everything outside their island as remote and unimportant. Also, small state government is characteristically weighty and omnipresent and, as a result, omnipotent. This is exacerbated by the island's political sovereignty: the smaller the country, the larger the state looms in its economy and society. The State's aggrandized role makes it party to every significant venture. This very island-centric view of the world may well help to explain why Gozitans do not appear to appreciate the power of outsiders beyond the sister island of Malta. The concept of the power of the E.U. does not necessarily enter their 'lifeworlds'. It could also be argued that islanders limit their horizons to what they feel they themselves have the power to influence. Further, perhaps they feel too distant from the core of the E.U. to understand or to appreciate its influence or control. Politics in Malta is also very personalised, and politicians become well known personalities to the electorate. It is these people that the Maltese frequently see in person or in the media, and thus it is perhaps unsurprising that they are more likely to acknowledge the local 'power configurations' over the lesser known powers of the European Union.

Since the interviews were carried out the Minister for Gozo has frequently used the media to inform Gozitans of any EU funded projects that Gozo has benefited from, tourism-related projects in particular. The Minister's emphasis on EU funded developments in Gozo may be an attempt to convince the Gozitans that the Nationalist Party decision to join the EU was justified. Malta's two main parties have never seen eye-to-eye on the issue of EU membership. The NP has traditionally been the pro-EU party, having signed the original Association Agreement in 1970. They then applied for membership to the EC's Council of Ministers in 1990, and signed the accession treaty in 2003. The Malta Labour Party (MLP), on the other hand, had campaigned strongly against membership and favoured a free trade 'partnership' agreement with the EU. EU membership was finally decided in a referendum held on 8th March 2003 and then a general election held on 12th April 2003. An impressive 90.85 per cent of registered voters cast their votes in the referendum, of whom 52.87 per cent voted in favour of EU membership, and in the general election that followed 52 per cent voted to return the NP to government (Cini, 2003; Pace, 2004). As the results show, the margin between votes that were for and against EU membership was narrow, and perhaps the NP feels it necessary to continue promoting the benefits accrued as a result of the accession. It can be suggested that the power of the EU has only been recognised since the interviews took place, now that results can actually be seen, and it is possible that in more recent times the EU dimension in the core-periphery context has become more important to the Gozitans.

Thus, with little significance attached to the EU dimension at the time, the Gozitan respondents had a definite perception that Malta has most control over decision-making concerning Gozo's tourism industry. This is a situation that they were unhappy with, as the following comments reveal. A retired Gozitan politician stated how: *'Definitely, 110 per cent we are second-class citizens and Gozo is dominated by Maltese authorities. Gozitans have no say on what the future is, it's always decided by Malta'* (22:1). A representative of the church in Gozo similarly commented: *'I think it [power] is in Malta, it is my opinion; I think Gozo is sometimes left not as a priority. First of all it is Malta, and then Gozo'* (3:1). Another Gozitan resident explained how *'The Gozitans feel that they are second-class citizens. They have, I would say, it's a complex. But then again, if you look back to its history, they have depended on Malta for many things, for their imports...for their businesses, for government departments, everything is in Malta. If you need something you have to cross over'* (2:14). The reference made to

Gozitans being 'second class citizens' is a common one. Gozitans often complain that Malta is considered as the priority island, and Gozo does not receive the attention they feel it deserves. For example, a Gozitan resident complained in a local newspaper that Gozitans are not suitably informed about projects that are planned for the island, and she questioned, 'Do the local people of this island count for nothing? Are they regarded as second-class citizens? Does the government only take notice of them just before an election?' (Kreupl, 29/01/06).

The Maltese respondents also generally agreed that overall power is located in Malta, but they viewed the situation slightly differently to the Gozitans. Some Maltese respondents hinted that, although final decisions may come from Malta, Gozo does in fact have significant involvement and influence in the decision-making process. Thus, it can be argued that even within the tight constraints of political and economic dependence, the Gozitans have may more 'agency' than may first appear. An MTA representative explained that, *'The Minister for Gozo is responsible for the whole of Gozo, so it's like a mini Ministry of Tourism...but obviously the overall responsibility for Gozo's tourism development lies with the Ministry of Tourism and Culture, which is the National Ministry, but obviously they have to relate with the Gozo Ministry...The balance of power very much depends on what the issue is, what the type of development is; but the Gozo Ministry does have a very strong say in things, but obviously it is the National Authorities which finally decide'* (27:2). This respondent suggests that the balance of power depends on the type of development. Based on this respondent's comments, it could be suggested that if the development in question supports government policy objectives, then the central government may exercise significant decision-making power. Alternatively, if it is a relatively small development which will only affect Gozo, then perhaps the Ministry for Gozo will have more of a say. Further, if the development in question is a hotel development, then the Malta Tourism Authority would have considerable power as it is responsible for granting licences for tourism accommodation developments. The respondent also suggests that the Ministry for Gozo would be consulted in tourism-related decision-making. Nevertheless, the perception is that final decisions are made by the relevant authorities in Malta. Similarly, a representative from the NP, for example, identified how Gozo has some involvement in decision-making, albeit only to a limited degree: *'the logistical and administrative centre is based in Malta, with the participation of the Gozitan sector too. For instance, on the main board of the Malta Tourism Authority there is somebody*

representing the Gozo tourism industry, so that ensures that Gozo is on board in any specific decisions taken...The Gozitan trade is also allowed to participate in the main tourism fairs abroad. So they have their little corner within the Malta stand' (1:1). A part of this comment is particularly illuminating: *'they have their little corner within the Malta stand'*. It perhaps suggests that allowing Gozo to participate in tourism fairs is something of a token gesture – something to keep them happy. This would add weight to the Gozitans' belief that Malta is considered to be the priority island.

From this, and other comments made in newspaper articles, a different conclusion can be drawn about Maltese interests and power in Gozo's tourism. The Gozo tourism product might not be considered as less of a priority than Malta, but in fact as an asset to Malta, albeit a marginalised one. It could be suggested that Gozo is considered important as an 'added extra' to the typical mass tourism product offered by the core island. Maltese politicians often refer to Gozo as the 'jewel in Malta's crown'; for example, the Malta Labour Party Tourism Spokesperson commented in a newspaper article that, 'Gozo is, and should remain, the jewel in the crown of tourism in the Maltese islands' (Bartolo, 19/11/06). He questioned whether the plans for tourism in Gozo would help them 'exploit' the island's potential. He also highlighted the fact that Gozo's characteristics are quite distinct from those in Malta, and he suggested that, 'It will be a mistake to market Gozo as just an extension of the Maltese islands'. Another newspaper article similarly discusses Gozo's potential, and describes Gozo as, 'One of the showcases Malta can offer tourists' (Malta Independent, 15/06/05). It goes on to suggest that Gozo needs all the support it can get, on the one hand, to maintain as much as possible the characteristics which distinguish it from Malta and other destinations in the Mediterranean and, at the same time, become more attractive, for Maltese and tourists alike. These comments give the impression that Gozo's tourism industry is considered equally important as Malta's, but perhaps for the benefit of Malta's tourism industry as a whole, and not for Gozo as a destination alone.

6.2.2 Location of political power

In a political relationship, in terms of authority and power, a peripheral location can mean the subordination of authority to the centre (Gottman, 1980). In peripheral areas there is often a failure of private decision-making systems which forces central government to take on a greater role. Therefore, in addition to being geographically and economically peripheral, these areas can also be characterised as being on the margins

of political decision-making (Brown and Hall, 2000; Selwyn, 1979). The location of political power in Gozo's tourism was discussed. Respondents clearly considered that political power over Gozo's tourism development is located in Malta, and not in Gozo. More specifically, the Malta Environment and Planning Authority (MEPA) and Central Government were most frequently referred to as having the most political power. The Malta Tourism Authority and Ministry for Tourism and Culture were also mentioned by a few. Although MEPA is supposed to be an independent body, many respondents suggested that MEPA and Central Government work closely together. There is a common perception that decisions made by MEPA can be over-turned by Central Government, and MEPA is often referred to as merely 'an arm of government'. In an online poll discussing developments proposed at Ta' Cenc in Gozo, many respondents criticised MEPA, saying that, if it could act 'independently, then it should be the one to stop the development' but the reality was that MEPA had become the 'government's puppet' (Times of Malta, 07/09/06). Boissevain (2004:237) also believes there is a strong link between MEPA and government, arguing that 'Though the PA (Planning Authority) Board is not a homogenous body, the government's interests are the most strongly represented and thus prevail'. This link between MEPA and the government was illustrated recently when government made proposals to amend Environment Impact Assessment (EIA) regulations. Under the changes, MEPA would still decide whether an EIA is required, but only developers – not objectors – have been given the right to appeal against MEPA's decision and the adjudicator will be the Director of Policy at the Environment Ministry. NGOs have opposed this decision, suggesting that 'Not only does the Ministry not have the technical expertise to make this sort of assessment, but it would also become a political decision'. The NGOs argue that politics should be kept out of MEPA (Micallef, 04/03/07). Because of this perceived close relationship between MEPA and Central Government, the respondents often used the terms interchangeably in the interviews.

Only two respondents gave clearly different opinions. The first, an MTA representative, considered that political power is balanced between Malta and Gozo, '*because obviously Gozo is represented in MEPA and Gozo is represented in Cabinet*' (27:12). In fact, while Gozo is indeed represented in Cabinet by the Minister for Gozo, it is not represented in MEPA. And, while the MTA Board requires one of its 11 voting members to have knowledge and experience relating to Gozo, this is not a requirement for MEPA. The members of the MEPA Board are appointed by the President on the

recommendation of the Prime Minister, and at present all the members are from the main island of Malta. The second respondent, a Gozitan developer, suggested that MTA and the Ministry for Tourism and culture have a certain influence, *'but at the end of the day, the decisions are made by the players'* (16:1). This response reflects the respondent's earlier comment that the people with power are those with money. It implies that decisions are made at the micro-level by developers or others with capital to fund developments, and who subsequently may influence the final decision-makers. While government may encourage developments that conform to their policy objectives, and may favour certain developers who are their political supporters, the development proposals tend first to come from people 'on the ground'. This suggests that Gozitan politicians can be influential actors, and while some of these actors are based on Malta rather than Gozo, quite a few Gozo tourism developers and operators are based on this island. Based on this respondent's perception that the power may be held by the 'players' there may be more economic 'agency' in Gozo than first appears, despite the political 'hegemony' of Malta.

6.2.3 Influence of the Ministry for Gozo

Significantly, and perhaps surprisingly, the Government department specifically set up to represent Gozo's interests, the Ministry for Gozo, was clearly not considered to have significant political power over Gozo's tourism development. When there was discussion of the Ministry for Gozo's influence on government tourism policies, and also on Gozo's tourism development in general, its influence was depicted as being very limited. The majority of respondents expressed disappointment at the amount of influence the Ministry for Gozo has; and while they suggested that it does have some influence, this was considered insufficient. A common theme here was that the Minister is just one of thirteen Ministers, and as such has limited power. A Gozitan developer explained how *'the Gozo Ministry is just another Ministry out of thirteen Ministries. Okay, it's the one for Gozo, but it's just another Ministry after all'* (16:5). A representative of the GTA described how *'the Minister for Gozo is a Cabinet Member, one of thirteen; but again, one of thirteen, how much are you going to influence?'* (17:3). An issue raised by several respondents was that the Minister for Gozo has too many responsibilities and is therefore unable to give adequate attention to the island's tourism. The following statement by a retired Gozitan policeman illustrates this concern: *'the Ministry for Gozo has to look at the whole island...the Prime Minister has Ministers for the whole country, they have 12, there is the Minister for Sports, Minister*

for Works, Minister of Tourism, Minister of Education, Minister of here and there, then there's this Minister of Gozo, [just] one...How can she do all her things on a small island?..How can she recognise all the problems by herself?' (18:5). A newspaper commentary also highlights this perception that the Ministry for Gozo has limited influence: 'It is now clear that the powers that be within the governing party have decided to weaken as much as possible the authority the Ministry for Gozo has gained since it came into being in 1987...it has become clear to observers in the political field that she is receiving a cold shoulder from several quarters. The role of the Ministry for Gozo is being eroded by the week. This was confirmed in the past few weeks when Mrs Debono was kept completely in the background regarding decisions related to important projects in Gozo' (Sunday Times, 26/06/05). The opinion here is that the Ministry for Gozo is deliberately being left out of important decision making. The reasons for this are not clear, but it could be that the Ministry's views are not considered relevant or important as there are more pressing strategic priorities affecting the whole Maltese islands, or that the government sees the decision-making process as easier without this Ministry's involvement.

Some respondents also argued that the Ministry for Gozo has inadequate funding to have a significant influence on tourism development. It was suggested, for example, that *'It depends how much money she gets in her pocket'* (2:1); *'Although we have got the local government, the local Minister in Gozo, we still have to look and ask permissions from Malta...When we do go to her [the Minister for Gozo] and tell her about our problems, she always tells us the problem is the money'* (4:5); *'Normally it's not power, it's the money...she doesn't have money in her bank'* (9:2). The perception is that if the Ministry for Gozo had a larger budget it would have greater powers and influence over the island's tourism industry. The actual budgetary allocation is outlined later, when it is discussed in relation to the location of economic power.

As previously stated, most respondents believed that the Ministry for Gozo lacks sufficient influence over decision-making concerning Gozo's tourism development. However, there was a smaller, yet significant, number of respondents that suggested otherwise, with this representing an alternative discourse of the balance of political power and tourism. It is notable that the respondents who considered the Ministry for Gozo to have sufficient influence over Gozo's tourism industry are from the main island of Malta. A representative of the MTA, for example, contended that, *'the final say lies*

at MEPA, which is based in Malta. Although one cannot during any stage of this discussion discount the power of the Ministry for Gozo' (21:1). Another influential Maltese actor argued that the Ministry for Gozo '*does lobby with the decision-makers in Malta...I would assume that the authorities in Malta rely a lot on the opinion of the Gozo Minister*' (20:1). A different powerful Maltese actor asserted that in certain cases the Ministry for Gozo even has too much influence. He claimed that, *'with the present government, unfortunately the Minister for Gozo is too powerful...She manages to get a lot of votes, she tends to be second after the Prime Minister...Basically she is a mini-Prime Minister...It [power] comes from MEPA, but there is a lot of pressure, because if the Minister [for Gozo] can influence her peers on cabinet, then her colleagues on cabinet will pressure certain people on the board'* (23:1&4). A Maltese university lecturer also considered that the Minister for Gozo does have considerable influence, but he believed this was mainly due to her strong and also helpful personal qualities. He claimed that '*She is a very persistent person, she puts a lot of pressure and, how can I put it, she's got a very efficient machine of people...She always manages to get more than her fair share'* (9:2). This reference to her '*efficient machine of people*' could simply suggest that she has very hard-working and efficient staff. Alternatively, it could suggest that she is part of an 'actor network', made up of people with varying roles and interests, over whom she has some influence, and she may use this influence to put pressure on decision-makers to support her. As her formal decision-making role in relation to MEPA, the Ministry for Tourism and Culture, and the MTA is very limited, she may have to try to influence their decisions through personal contacts as opposed to through formal channels. These suggestions are based on an awareness of personalised politics in Malta, as discussed in section 5.6.3, where 'interconnected networks' are common and where social relationsips can serve many interests.

In this context of networks of influence, recent accusations have been made by the Malta Labour Party that the Minister for Gozo has been using her position to unfairly benefit her friends. The Labour Party Spokesman for Gozo claimed: 'The projects launched for this year by Gozo Minister Giovanna Debono, would, if implemented, make the year "really exceptional for her close friends" (Times of Malta, 06/02/07). He argued that the Minister has often chosen to spend money that has been allocated for other projects on improving roads instead – improvements which he claimed have been carried out in many instances by the same company. The implication was that this company is in a favoured position with the Minister. The Gozo Minister defended

herself against this accusation by claiming that the same company had been entrusted with most of the road-works in Gozo only because it had submitted the cheapest tenders (Times of Malta, 07/02/07). This accusation was made by the opposition party, rarely seen to applaud the party in power, but it is further evidence that patronage and networks are commonly believed to operate widely in Maltese society.

6.2.4 Location of economic power

Peripheral regions are often economically dependent on the core. In the territorial relationship between Malta and Gozo there is much overlap between economic and political power. The economic power, as distinct from the political power, over Gozo's tourism development is clearly considered to lie in Malta, and again, several Gozitan respondents were dissatisfied with this situation. One claimed, for example, that this economic power comes *'from Malta...I think the money is the problem in Gozo...It is difficult that we still need the support of the Maltese, we are not a full independent island; we still need support from Malta, the taxes go to Malta and not to Gozo'* (4:5). A retired Gozitan politician was unhappy with the amount of money Gozo receives: *'If you take the budget, there is the capital expenditure which goes for projects...Gozo gets 1 per cent. Now, Gozo is a third of Malta, is that fair?'* (22:4). This comment reflects the earlier point about the limited power of the Ministry for Gozo due to its inadequate funding. When people discussed the location of economic power they tended to refer to the allocation of the national budget. In fact, the Maltese and Gozitans often seem to consider economic power to be synonymous with political power, and thus they largely equate economic power with public sector funds, often to the neglect of economic power in the private sector. Again, this could be due to governments in small-scale states tending to be omnipresent.

In fact, there is evidence that Gozo does receive a relatively modest proportion of the Maltese Islands' total national budget, especially given its marginality and related socio-economic problems. Figures for the 2005 financial year, for example, show that the Ministry for Gozo's total expenditure was Lm 2,444,472 (Maltese Liri) out of a total Government expenditure of Lm 130,993,960, and this means that in the same year as the interviews the Ministry for Gozo received 1.86 per cent of the total national budget. And, in 2006, Gozo received 2.4 per cent of the total budget. Estimates of expenditure for the 2007 financial year show that the Ministry for Gozo receiving Lm 8,701,000 out of a total Government expenditure of Lm 693,045,027, or 4.43 per cent (Castelain,

06/11/05). Of course, government funding reaches Gozitans through other budget streams (such as health, unemployment benefits, and so on), other than through the Ministry for Gozo's budget. But it is perhaps surprising that the Gozo Ministry does not get more funding. However, for the 2004-2006 period the Government allocated to Gozo 10 per cent of Malta's EU budget and it intends to allocate at least 10 per cent of the funds between 2007 and 2013 (Castelain, 03/09/06). It can be argued that Gozo deserves a percentage of the budget that reflects its relative population and its relative land area. Malta has a population of 352,835 and Gozo's (and Comino) population is 29,690, this being 8.4 per cent of the total population of the Maltese Islands. Malta covers 264km^2 while Gozo measures 67km^2, and this means that Gozo is a quarter of the size of Malta. Clearly, by both measures, and in the context of Gozo's socio-economic difficulties, Gozo's allocation of the national budget seems to be quite modest, and this may help to explain the views expressed by several respondents.

When respondents were asked about the location of economic power there was no mention of the economic influence of hoteliers, tour operators, travel agents and other businesses which operate the island's tourism industry. This supports the earlier contention that government in small-scale island states is widely perceived as omnipresent, and that in such contexts the economic power of private investors in the tourism industry can either be forgotten or at least neglected.

6.2.5 Sources of investment

In terms of investment, it is common for multinational companies to significantly control the development process in peripheral areas, and thus the leakage of foreign exchange earnings can be high (Andriotis, 2004; Ryan, 2001). On the contrary, while economic power was seen to lie in Malta rather than Gozo, there was little doubt among the respondents – both Gozitan and Maltese – that the main source of investment in Gozo's tourism industry comes from Gozitans. This might imply a belief that Gozitans do have adequate agency or autonomy in relation to economic decision-making. This investment was often explained in terms of the hotels, bars and restaurants largely being owned by locals. They acknowledged that there is also a small amount of Maltese investment: *'A little bit of both, but I would say that 80 per cent of tourism investment and tourism development in Gozo comes from Gozitans...I would say over 90 per cent of the investment in tourism development is Maltese and Gozitan'* (20:1/2). Respondents did not consider that there was much, if any, foreign investment in Gozo's tourism

industry: *'It's totally local investment...There is no foreign investment...Let's say 85 per cent is Gozitan, the other is Maltese'* (15:5). The San Lawrenz Hotel (a luxury hotel in San Lawrenz, Gozo) was often referred to as the only example of foreign investment in Gozo, but the respondents were usually quick to also point out that the land on which the hotel stands is locally owned. There are nine hotels in Gozo, and three of these (St Patrick's, the Cornucopia, and the Ta Cenc) are owned and operated by V. J. Borg Enterprises. This is a family-run company chaired and managed by the Gozitan entrepreneur, Victor Borg. The company also runs 'Gozo Garage', a car-hire company on the island (Victor J. Borg Enterprises, 2007). The Calypso Hotel and Atlantis Hotel were also considered to be locally owned. While the respondents were not clear about where the investment came from for some businesses, it was generally believed that the majority of accommodation and catering establishments in Gozo are locally owned and run. This fairly notable local economic power in the tourism sector may help to explain why Gozitans did not complain greatly about the power of external tour operators and tourism businesses. It also highlights that there is economic agency in Gozo's tourism sector, albeit much constrained by powerful market forces and the island's double insularity.

It is generally considered that investment in Gozo's tourism comes from small-scale businesses - often family-run businesses - mostly set up by Gozitan entrepreneurs. A receptionist that worked for a family-run hotel explained how *'There are a few companies that own different pubs or hotels, or different restaurants, but most of them are individual owned'* (25:2). A Maltese Chairman of an international hotel group similarly suggested that, *'with regards to hotels, with regards to transportation, buses, taxis, they are all Gozitan investment...mostly single entrepreneurs I would say. I only know of one company which has got more than one hotel, it's the Ta Cenc owners'* (20:2).

An MTA representative suggested that, *'The foreign investment would be foreigners coming to live in Gozo, buying property in Gozo'* (27:3). The number of foreigners living in Gozo has doubled in five years, from 691 in the year 2000 to 1,303 in 2004 (Times of Malta, 02/02/06). This is a significant sector for the Gozitan economy, yet few people mentioned these foreign residents as investors in the island. The Gozitans probably do not consider foreign residents who have bought local property to be part of

the local tourism industry, presumably because they are longer-term residents – albeit often 'residential tourists', rather than short-stay tourists.

6.2.6 Distribution of economic returns

Respondents' views on the distribution of economic returns for Gozo's tourism industry were much less certain, with several respondents replying that they were unsure where the profits go. Keller (1987) suggests that peripheral regions may find that much of the incoming profits from tourism will be consumed and invested outside the peripheral economy. However, of those that did respond, the majority believed that the money made from Gozo's tourism industry does remain in Gozo's economy. This response could be influenced by the previous question, as many suggested that if the majority of investment comes from the Gozitans, then most of the profits must stay in Gozo. The large majority of respondents who believed the money stays in Gozo are Gozitan. Some respondents said that, while they consider that the money stays in the hands of the Gozitans, they were not aware of exactly where the money is invested. A Gozitan respondent elaborated on this: *'being that the owners are Gozitans, that means that it stays in the Gozitan area, but of course you never know where they are investing their money'* (25:2). Some also suggested, more specifically, that the money is rarely invested in the tourism industry but is more likely to be used for property development. A university lecturer from Malta said, *'I wouldn't know, and I wouldn't know how much of it is invested in tourism, probably most of the investment is in the property development rather than tourism'* (9:2). Only a small number of respondents thought that the money made from Gozo's tourism goes back to Malta.

It is interesting that respondents did not discuss the distribution of economic returns from the substantial numbers of day-trip tourists who visit Gozo. Gozitans generally perceive the day-trip tourists as being a burden on the island's resources because they contribute very little to the local economy. The total value of the Gozo excursion market is estimated to be Lm 8.5 million, with the majority of this total profiting the Malta-based tour organisers. Of the total visitor spending on day excursions only around 25 per cent directly benefits the Gozitan economy (Stevens & Associates, 2000). However, respondents did discuss the day-tripper market when asked about types of tourism to encourage and discourage for Gozo (a theme that is explored in the next chapter). In that context, their comments contradicted the view expressed when asked about the issue that all the money made from Gozo's tourism stays in Gozo's economy.

It seems that the day-trip tourist activities are marginal to the Gozitans' overall perceptions of tourism, perhaps because these tourists do not stay very long on the island. This is in itself rather interesting: the day visitor expenditure was forgotten as the Gozitans tend to see this major economic activity as marginal to the island's mainstream tourism industry. This feature of economic exploitation and dependency was in effect overlooked in people's perceptions.

Respondents' comments and anecdotal evidence revealed a common view that Gozitans are quite 'clever' when it comes to money, and that Gozitans are wealthier than they would like outsiders to believe. It can be suggested that this is a way for the Gozitans to gain more 'agency' or control over economic relationships, including economic relations with the main island of Malta. This notion of the economic ingenuity and skill of Gozitans was a frequent discursive theme. According to one Maltese respondent, *'for the Gozitans, the black economy thrives [laughs]. I can see they have lots of money, they have lots of investments overseas, but ultimately where it starts, where it ends and whatever, I wouldn't know. But there's lots and lots of money. Even though they, I would say, pretend they have nothing, but they have lots'* (30:4). This comment is illustrative of more general perceptions that many Maltese have about Gozo's economy. In conversation with Maltese people, the researcher often heard Gozitans being referred to as 'a crafty lot'. They suggest that Gozitans have more money than they are willing to reveal. This reflects an earlier comment by a Maltese respondent that the Gozitans are a 'frugal lot'. There is a perception, for example, that Gozitans do not reveal the truth about their finances so that they can avoid paying the required taxes. In a survey of public opinion exclusively amongst Gozitans, carried out by The Sunday Times newspaper, the respondents were asked about their reactions to some widely held perceptions about them. The participants were asked about the extent to which they agreed or disagreed with several statements. The statements 'In Gozo VAT barely exists' and 'Gozitans do not pay taxes as much as they should' were both strongly rejected, though the first was rejected more strongly than the second. The survey concludes: 'It is clear that among residents in Gozo, many firmly believe that they are not tax evaders as it is sometimes alleged in common discourse on both islands!' (Sunday Times, 12/06/05a). Of course, it is not surprising that the Gozitans refute these accusations, and due to the close-knit society on this small island, it would be very difficult to prove otherwise. As discussed in Chapter Five, in small-scale societies it is necessary for one person to play multiple roles and for nearly every relationship to serve

many interests (Baldacchino, 1997). These relationships are important and carefully fostered. In this close community it could be difficult always to get truthful checks as the tax inspector is also likely to be known in another capacity, such as a friend, a family member, or member of the same football team. Based on the interviews and the newspaper survey results, it may well be the case, therefore, that Gozitans are financially better off than may first appear or than they claim to be.

6.3 Satisfaction with the balance of core-periphery decision-making

6.3.1 Satisfaction with decisions made about Gozo's tourism development

Where Government is located off-island, as it is in many peripheral regions, the decision-makers can frequently have different priorities and policies to those of the local population. Developments or policies that are considered beneficial by the population at the periphery may not be supported by the core, and it is usually the core that has the power to decide (Andriotis, 2004). Islands' insularity can mean that they never compete on equal terms with their neighbouring mainland location, and this inequality between the core and the periphery can often cause resentment. The respondents discussed whether the ways that decisions are made about Gozo's tourism are beneficial for Gozo. Many different views were given in response to this question. Several respondents expressed reasonably positive views that decisions are made for the benefit of Gozo, using phrases like, 'I think they do', 'I hope so', and 'Maybe yes', but then many suggested that more could be done. It is noticeable that the more equivocal comments were made by Gozitan respondents: *'It is beneficial but there is room for improvement'* (19:2); *'I hope so, I hope so, but things are getting very slow'*; *'I think they do. I can't say they don't...they have to. I mean, we are the sister island and we need tourism just like they do. I think they should think of us more'* (24:1); and, *'Yes, sometimes they do, sometimes they do, but I do not think that they are very aware of what Gozo could be like'* (31:2). The most positive response was from a representative of MEPA who said, *'By and large I would say yes'* (12:2).

It is significant that when asked about how decisions are made concerning Gozo's tourism development, very many respondents focused on politics and political issues. In particular, a large number of respondents suggested that decisions are not made for the benefit of Gozo but to benefit the political party of the moment. The view that tourism was deeply implicated in party politics was a notable knowledge framework. For example, a representative of the church in Gozo clearly supported this view,

claiming that *'sometimes it's a question of politics, because if someone says "yes", the other one for the sake of opposition says "no", and if one says" no", I say "no"...They are influenced from a question of politics. They don't just reflect on what is good for Gozo'* (3:8). These types of responses clearly relate to the islands' polarised two-party politics. Malta has had a two-party system since independence, this being where the two main political parties have a roughly equal prospect of winning an election, and where other small parties are all but wiped out in electoral terms. The Maltese political scientist Michelle Cini (2002) suggests that two-party systems lead to a form of adversarial politics that is highly antagonistic, and she claims that this means that the potential for open, intelligent debate becomes extremely limited. Such adversarial politics tend to provoke conflict and argument, rather than consensus and compromise, and can create a situation where parties oppose each other's positions simply for the sake of opposition, rather than on the basis of real conviction.

Several respondents focused on similar issues and discursive themes to those identified by Cini. A Gozitan hotel receptionist, for example, suggested that *'A lot of decisions are taken in the wrong way because of the elections, because of politics, a lot of decisions are not taken because of politics: So if they think that if they take the decision they are losing votes, they won't take it'* (25:14). A Gozitan school teacher shared this view: *'on the whole, I think as political parties, first of all they see their image and the votes and their power, and then the island'* (26:8). Malta has a political system in which every vote counts, and the government usually proceeds with caution when making decisions that could tip the political balance out of their favour. The local political observer Robert Pace (2002) has argued that when governments have to contend with wafer-thin majorities, then the party in power cannot ignore the demands of their opposition or minority groups, whether it considers them feasible or not, because if it does it risks losing its majority at the next election. Controversial decisions are consequently delayed, or never made, because they do not want to upset their current supporters or their potential future voters. Interview responses showed that this method of decision-making (or lack of it) was often seen as disadvantageous for Gozo as a whole, rather it was seen as tending to benefit only the party in power. A Maltese university lecturer even argued that decisions are exclusively made for the benefit of the supporters of particular political parties: *'No, they're never made for the benefit, they're made to please the people who support you'* (9:13). Many commentators have noted that in Malta there tends to be a strong relationship between politicians and their

electorate. According to Hirczy (1995:258 as cited in Cini, 2002), the vast majority of the electorate identify themselves with one or the other of the two main parties: 'Partisanship in this highly polarized polity is so pervasive, ingrained, and linked to class, ideology, and locality that preference patterns are known by street. Loyalties are strong, stable, and rooted in social family background'. The Maltese population tend not only to form an allegiance to one party or the other, but also to particular politicians.

Such partisan political relationships have fuelled debates among academics and the wider population about clientelism and corruption in Maltese politics. It has been argued that the proximity of politicians to 'the people' is a quintessential part of Maltese society. There is a widespread perception that, in order to gain access to the resources controlled by the state (in the Maltese context often housing or employment), one must enter into clientelistic or patronage-based relationships. The favours which the members of the public offer in return are political support, assistance in political campaigning, and even more directly, votes (Mitchell, 2001 and 2002). In the previously discussed survey of reactions among Gozitans to commonly held perceptions, they were asked to respond to the statement that, 'In Gozo, one is stuck if one does not have friends in politics'. Of all the statements, this one received the highest level of agreement: 46.89 points on a 100-point index. The survey concluded that, 'Gozitans believe that patronage in politics is very important in the social life of the sister island' (Sunday Times, 12/06/05a). The Leader of the Malta Labour Party, Alfred Sant, also claimed that under the Nationalist Party government administration it is only the friends and relatives of certain people that are benefiting (Malta Independent, 13/10/04). He later, similarly commented: 'Too many people in this country believe that you get ahead not on the basis of merit but on that of preference. Without the right connections, the chances are you will not get far...There is a lot of truth in this belief, though the "official" reaction is to deny that favouritism prevails in any significant way' (Sant, 18/01/06). Although it is usual for opposition parties in Malta to criticise the party in power, his comments are not unusual. Both the survey results and interview responses reveal a quite widely held view and common discursive theme that Gozitans depend on political patronage to get things done, and that local politicians feel obliged to make decisions which will 'look after' their most loyal supporters.

A further common belief, frequently expressed as a discursive claim by respondents, was that decisions about Gozo's tourism are not beneficial because the decision-makers

are from Malta, and because of this physical separation they do not fully understand what Gozo needs. Some Gozitan respondents suggested, for instance, that *'someone sitting at the back of a desk in an area where he doesn't even know, is making a decision for someone else'* (29:1); *'Finally the decision is taken by 7 people, they are all Maltese, they don't even know the area you are talking about'* (17:3); and *'sometimes the government didn't even know exactly the real heart of Gozo, the real things, the real wishes of Gozitans'* (32:2). As previously discussed, the general perception is that the Maltese-based authorities hold overall power over political decision-making related to Gozo's tourism industry. Hence, there is no Gozitan representative on the MEPA board, and only one such representative on the MTA board. Yet, it is MEPA that has the final decision as to whether any development proposal on Gozo will get the go-ahead, and MTA is responsible for granting licences there to accommodation and catering premises. A common complaint, therefore, is that the people that make decisions affecting Gozo are not Gozitan. One discursive thread was that because these decision-makers do not live in Gozo, and may never have visited areas where developments are proposed, they are not familiar with the surroundings or with the specifics of unique Gozitan issues. Some respondents also argued that decision-makers on Malta cannot fully understand the impacts that developments may have, and therefore this means that they do not always make decisions for the benefit of Gozo. These complaints are resonant of those made about Malta's government being too centralised for Gozo's needs, with the people making the decisions not being fully aware of the needs and wants of the people living several miles away, across a channel of water. Castelain (24/07/05), a commentator on Gozo for The Sunday Times, contended that, 'An administrator in Malta cannot fully understand the problems faced in Gozo unless he or she resides in Gozo all year round. Dealing with Gozo by remote control would never work'. Another newspaper article expressed similar views: 'Many Gozitans in the business sector feel that Maltese decision-makers are not sensitive to the particular needs of Gozo. They would like more Gozitan decision-makers to be involved at a top level in the structures which are shaping Gozo's fate, structures like the Malta Tourism Authority, Gozo Channel Co., and Malta Enterprise' (Sunday Times, 19/06/05).

Some of the Maltese respondents seemed aware of the Gozitans' concerns that decisions are not made for the benefit of Gozo, but they did not appear to be particularly sympathetic to them. In this context a Malta Labour Party representative commented, *'Well, I think, unfortunately, in Malta we tend to first take a decision and then try to*

find the reasons for taking it' (10:13). This respondent seems to be suggesting that not all decisions are made for logical or the best reasons, but that it is the same for both Malta and Gozo. But his negative view is likely to be influenced by him being a member of the opposition party, and thus he is unlikely to commend the decisions made by the party in power.

Some respondents from the main island used a discursive notion of the need to consider the national interest and that this may not always accord with the Gozitans' priorities. A representative of the Malta Tourism Authority, for example, argued that the government necessarily has to think of the national interest, of which Gozo is only a part: *'the only problem is that the national viewpoint is obviously a bit wider, the Gozo structure obviously sees things in terms of Gozo only...The Gozitans very often take the attitude of what Malta has, we want to have, you know'* (27:2/3). This suggests that residents of Gozo at times may have a restricted view of the world, perhaps even seeing their island as a 'self contained universe' (Baldacchino, 1997). And the comment also suggests that Gozitans feel they deserve whatever Malta has, perhaps regardless of whether it is suitable for the island and is in its best interests.

A MTA representative argued that the Gozitans feel Malta wants to hold back economic development on Gozo in order to retain its traditional character: *'they feel that Gozo belongs to them...The people on Gozo, I think, fundamentally feel that decisions taken from the Malta end are basically prejudiced in terms of keeping Gozo backwards...Whereas Malta is willing to do sacrifices for the sake of progress on its own territory, it wants to keep Gozo frozen as a time capsule so that the Maltese can escape to it and enjoy what they have lost in Malta, and that, I think, winds them up!'* (21:2). Although this comment was made by a Malta resident, and not by a Gozo resident, it was quite a common perception amongst Gozitans that Maltese people want Gozo to remain less developed than Malta in order to maintain the traditional values of Maltese society and landscapes and so that they have somewhere scenic and quiet to escape to and to enjoy a holiday. This common knowledge framework is discussed in more detail later in relation to the respondents' views as to whether the Maltese government does enough for Gozo's tourism industry.

6.3.2 Satisfaction with government actions concerning Gozo's tourism

Island affairs can get neglected by the relevant central political power because of their relatively small size and lack of power (Cross & Nutley, 1999; Royle, 1989). Residents at the periphery often feel the need to fight for equal, if not preferential, treatment. This may be the case in Gozo as there appeared to be much dissatisfaction amongst Gozitans with government actions concerning Gozo. The Sunday Times Newspaper public opinion survey indicated that 79.3 per cent of Gozitans felt that the government does not give adequate importance to Gozo, and only 14.7 per cent stated that they were happy with the way the government addresses Gozo's affairs. From these results, the newspaper editor suggested that, 'the feeling which led to the formation of the short-lived Gozo Party in the late forties is still strong'. That Party had been set up as it was felt that it was the only way Gozo could receive the attention it deserved. The Minister for Gozo suggested that the newspaper survey findings might be due to her Ministry's 'low-profile' way of doing things (Sunday Times, 12/06/05b).

There was a widely expressed view by Gozitan respondents in the present research that tourism in Malta is given priority over tourism in Gozo. Alternattiva Demokratica (AD) Chairman, Harry Vassallo, argued that, 'While the situation of the tourism industry in Malta is presently being given much attention, Gozo's situation is not being given the attention it deserves and requires' (Malta Independent, 04/09/06). More specifically, there was a prominent and common argument that Gozo is insufficiently promoted by the Malta Tourism Authority (MTA). The following views, for example, were expressed by Gozitans involved in the Gozo tourism industry: *'Yes, Gozo deserves more [promotion], I think...I think they have to give more attention to Gozo, the whole cabinet'* (3:1&4), and *'we are just a by-product of their product of Malta. If you look at their brochures you have 90 pages Malta, 2 pages Gozo'* (15:1). A letter to a local newspaper repeats this opinion that Malta is given the priority in relation to its tourism industry. The letter complained that Gozo was completely left out of a television programme on Malta's tourism industry. The author questioned why Gozo was ignored when the MTA declares that it is a jewel in the Maltese Islands and a destination in itself. The author also questioned why there was no one on the programme representing the GTA or the industry: 'As far as Gozo is concerned all we get is lip service by the relevant authorities, and unless we Gozitans unite to promote our island on our own no one is going to do it for us' (Vella, 24/06/05). A newspaper article also expressed this concern that Gozo does not receive the attention it deserves: 'Every Maltese citizen

believes that Gozo has much to contribute to the Maltese Island's tourism. The will is there, but every time a decision is made, the whole initiative is dropped and the matter stops there. One hopes that, ultimately, Gozo will get the deserved portion of the national tourism programme for the benefit of the Maltese Islands in general' (Sunday Times, 01/10/06). The evidence – from newspaper sources and interview responses – clearly indicates that many Gozitans are concerned that their island receives inadequate attention from the government and the MTA.

Another important discursive theme among respondents was that decisions are not being made by the most suitable people, in particular by people with interests and thus priorities in Malta rather than Gozo. A Gozitan interviewee commented that, *'Most of them [decision-makers] have vested interests in Malta anyway...They try to project that they are doing their utmost for Gozo, but in reality they don't'* (14:3). Another respondent asserted that, *'I think their [MTA's] mistake is when they are promoting Gozo as part of Malta....If the members of the MTA are all Maltese it automatically comes that they help or try to promote Malta'* (25:4). Several respondents indicated that as more decision-makers are from Malta, they are perceived to be more likely to make decisions that will benefit Malta, before considering Gozo. It was often felt that many have business interests in Malta's tourism, and thus they would be influenced to make decisions to benefit themselves. A representative of the GTA also illustrates this common belief in his description of his influence on the MTA board: *'MTA is made up of eight people, I am sitting with my Maltese competitors so I cannot say to MTA to give Lm100,000 to promote Gozo not Malta, they would kill me!'* (29:10).

This priority for Malta over Gozo was felt to occur with key organisations as well as the individuals involved with them or with tourism interests. A Gozitan school teacher stated how *'sometimes I feel like Gozitans are treated a bit like second-class citizens, in the sense that Malta comes first...something from which only Gozo will benefit. It's not given maybe that much importance'* (26:4). The phrase 'second-class citizens' is used again here to describe how a Gozitan is treated by the Maltese government and the MTA in comparison to those living on the mainland. This discursive notion was expressed by a number of respondents to summarise the status of Gozitans in relation to government decisions about tourism development and marketing. This comment, and others, highlights the perception among many Gozitans that the Maltese government and the MTA may try to show that they are working hard at promoting Gozo, but that in

reality too little is being done. This relates back to the earlier comment by a Nationalist Party representative who observed how, *'they have their little corner within the Malta stand'*. Certainly many of the responses suggested that more importance is given by the authorities to Malta's tourism industry than to Gozo's.

Only one interviewee clearly supported government efforts to improve Gozo's tourism industry, and perhaps unsurprisingly this was an MTA representative. He argued that: *'whether from the MTA perspective or whether from a total government expenditure perspective, Gozo gets more than its fair share, I would say...Gozo's share of international tourism to Malta is 60,000 of 1.1 million: 6 per cent. Gozo gets more than 6 per cent of the exposure'* (21:12). This measure would indeed suggest that the level of promotional support is appropriate, but of course the earlier analysis shows (in section 6.2.4), that this is just one measure of several.

As Baum (1997a) suggests, very small islands can be the most appealing to tourists as small places are more likely to be more 'authentic', they are often less developed or commercial than larger places, and there is the perception of island life as being slower paced and even a little further back in time. As mentioned earlier, Gozitans often complain that the Maltese want Gozo to remain largely unchanged, and that consequently they would encourage as little development as possible for the island. This notion was often discussed using the discursive analogy of keeping Gozo as a 'crib'. A Maltese respondent explains: *'The Maltese saying I was going to relate, it's like to the effect, "you Maltese want to keep Gozo like a crib", [that is] they are the crib. You know the Christmas thing...like puppets sort of, so the notion is "you Maltese treat us like puppets and you want us to play your sort of game"* (12:14). The respondent also uses the discourse of Gozitans as 'puppets', implying that they have no power. It suggests that they are completely controlled by Malta, and that the Maltese are 'pulling the strings'. He also talks of Gozo being like a 'crib', a comment which was made by several people in conversations with the researcher. The analogy was also used by Castelain (09/01/05), the editor of the Gozo Newsletter in The Sunday Times newspaper. He argued that although Gozo's natural and historical heritage need to be protected, 'This does not mean that Gozo should be kept as a "crib" for permanent exhibition'. The Gozitans strongly imply that the Maltese decision-makers make decisions which deliberately slow down Gozo's progress. They seem to believe that the Maltese want Gozo to remain as Malta once was – more quiet, less built-up and more

attractive – and the Gozitans see this as unfair. Although they agree that Gozo is quieter and more beautiful than Malta, they also argue that they should be able to move forward and develop as Malta has. It must be remembered that peripheries are not static phenomena destined never to change, even if some tourists would prefer that (Brown & Hall, 2000). The last statement by one of the respondents indicates that this perception is unfounded, but it was made by a representative of MEPA, and his employment and the strong ties the authority is believed to have with the government make it more likely that he will be supportive of the government's actions and more sceptical about the views of Gozitans. A similar view was also expressed by a Gozitan respondent: *'Well, the Maltese...want to leave it [Gozo] as it is, that's the charm of Gozo, with all our potholes. Because if we don't have potholes in our roads everybody will be driving fast; on Gozo it's good to have a slow car in front of you!...[the Maltese want] to keep it as it is, less modernised'* (43:1-2). This respondent thought it incredulous that the Maltese should want to keep Gozo this way.

Another Maltese respondent similarly described the notion of purposely keeping Gozo less developed: *'the Gozitans, this is what they don't like about us [the Maltese], they accuse us, and they are right, that we want to keep Gozo backward, underdeveloped, because that's our playground. Gozo is our playground and we want it to be less developed than Malta'* (9:8). The discursive analogy of Gozo as a 'playground' for the Maltese raises another point of contention. The Gozitans often accuse the Maltese of wanting to keep Gozo as their 'playground', to visit and enjoy. Yet it should be recognised that the Maltese, as domestic tourists, are an important source of income for the Gozitans. If Gozo were to be allowed to progress and develop as Malta has, then there is the possibility that the island will become less attractive to Maltese tourists and they will stop visiting Gozo altogether, and this would severely adversely affect the tourism industry. The previous respondent was a university lecturer in Malta, and he tended to see many sides to this issue. Although he was a resident of Malta he also had a holiday home in Gozo which he visited frequently, and it can be assumed that this influenced his opinions. He admitted that many Maltese would like to see Gozo remain less developed than Malta, and that thus perhaps the Gozitans' complaints are valid. It is clear from the interview data that both Gozitans and Maltese are aware of Malta's preferences for less change in Gozo, and all of the respondents suggested that there is a feeling of Maltese control over the Gozitans, a control that is known to be unwelcome.

6.3.3 Satisfaction with the government's consideration of Gozitans' views

Because off-island government can often have different priorities to the population at the periphery, local involvement in tourism policy-making can be limited, and island residents may lack political 'clout' (Andriotis, 2004; Ryan, 2001). The respondents were asked about whether they thought that the Maltese government listened enough to Gozitan views concerning Gozo's tourism. The most common response to this question was that the government does listen, which may seem somewhat surprising considering the low level of satisfaction among Gozitans about the Maltese government's actions. However, these responses were not as clear-cut as would first appear. Although a large number of respondents were satisfied that the government listens to Gozitans' views, an equal number believed that, although they may listen to their views, they were not necessarily taken into consideration when decisions were made affecting Gozo. Perhaps it was inevitable that they would be listened to, as the Maltese love discussion and debate, and much of this occurs in the public sphere or 'social field'. But this does not necessarily mean that their views counted for much in government decisions or even in the lack of such decisions. Statements from several Gozitan respondents illustrated this point. A Gozitan policeman, for example, claimed that *'They listen to Gozitans, but they make their decisions on their own rules'* (32:2). It could be interpreted here that the 'rules' are political, and that politics dictates that priority should be given to Malta. Other Gozitan respondents suggested that, *'They listen but they don't act, is my opinion. Just lip service'* (14:1); and that, *'I would say they take notice, but then whether that notice is put into practice is a different thing'* (33:5).

There was a belief, however, that the Maltese did listen more to Gozitans at election times. A Gozitan complained that, *'Oh they listen when election time is coming up...They always make a token'* (34:2). It should be noted here that Gozo is a very important electoral district. Gozo has five elected political candidates, and the 2003 General Election resulted in three of the five being NP and two as MLP. Gozo has traditionally been a NP stronghold, but it only needs a small swing in votes to change the political majority (Department of Information Malta, 2007). For this reason, Gozo does receive a lot of attention at election time, the politicians do make a deliberate effort to emphasise that they are listening to the needs and wants of the Gozitans, and the politicians make lots of promises about future benefits for the island, many of which are not met. This is one reason why the AD Chairman, Harry Vassallo, appealed to the Minister for Gozo to remind the Cabinet that, 'Gozo is not simply a region for voting

purposes, but should be treated with dignity and respect' (Malta Independent, 31/08/06). While it is usual for opposition party members to criticise the actions of the party in power, these comments do highlight once again the importance of Gozo as a voting region.

One Maltese respondent sympathised with the Gozitan complaint about being ignored, but he is a representative of the MLP and this might have been intended at least in part as a criticism of the actions of the governing NP. He stated that *'The Gozitans complain that they are taken for granted, that they do not listen to their views...[Are they justified?] I think to a certain extent, yes'* (10:5). The MLP Tourism Spokesperson expressed a similar opinion further contending that, 'Political short-sightedness built on instant gratification with an eye only on the next election has produced unsustainable deficits and poor governance' (Bartolo, 01/01/06).

All the other main island respondents who answered this question strongly believed that Gozitans' views are sufficiently listened to and taken into consideration. This contrasts quite markedly with the views of the Gozitans. Unsurprisingly, representatives from the Ministry for Tourism and Culture and the MTA both thought that the government listens to Gozitan views, and they explained that this is done through the MEPA consultation process. By contrast, a representative of the Gozo Tourist Association acknowledged that there are consultation processes to listen to their views, but he doubted they had any influence over final decision-making. The respondent described the planning process for tourism development and how the MEPA board is made up only of Maltese, and how it makes the final decisions. He contended that, *'Yes, there is that process where an application is filed, then there is the publication, there is the public hearing so you can participate. But, again, when you participate, how much weight are they going to give...Finally, the decision is taken by seven people, they are all Maltese, they don't even know the area you are talking about'* (17:13). It would seem that the balance of power configurations in the development arenas are tipped in Malta's favour.

In the same context, a representative of MEPA claimed that the Gozitans were very assertive and vocal and that they made sure their views were heard: *'You know how Gozitans are!...I mean, they tend to make sure that their voices are heard somehow...whether their views are taken into account or not. I mean it depends, but*

what one can say for sure is that they make their voices heard one way or the other, through all available channels. They are a vociferous minority' (12:2/3). This opinion seems to be quite common amongst the Maltese, with Gozitans often referred to as a 'vociferous minority'. The Gozitans, for example, frequently use the 'letters to the editor' section of the local newspapers to express their views and to complain. The impression given by the Maltese is that the Gozitans always want for something and that they frequently complain when they do not get it. Some feel that, even though the island and its population is much smaller, the Gozitans often argue that they deserve as much as Malta, and that they believe that whatever Malta has, the Gozitans should also have.

In sum, it appears that Gozitans do not believe their views are adequately taken into consideration, and there is a widespread perception that Gozitans are a 'vociferous minority' who strongly fight their corner. Part of the explanation for this situation may be provided by Mitchell's (2002) analysis of Maltese politics. He suggests that by the Maltese overemphasising their lack of representation, then their representation may actually be enhanced. This is because exaggeration of powerlessness can itself constitute a form of power, by it exerting a moral imperative on the powerful to act on behalf of the powerless. It is clear from the responses reported here, from letters in the Maltese newspapers, and from the unrecorded conversations with both Maltese and Gozitans that the Gozitans frequently complain that they are given insufficient attention by the Maltese authorities. They assert that Malta is given priority over Gozo, and that Gozo is purposely 'left out'. Mitchell's interpretation might suggest here that the Gozitans are in part deliberately using their agency by exaggerating the situation in order to gain better representation. Mitchell claims that the Maltese have quite an elaborate understanding of the contours of bureaucracy and how to make it work to their own advantage, and there is no reason to believe that Gozitans are not any less adept at doing the same. This might well suggest the Gozitans once again are executing a degree of 'agency' – albeit within very tight constraints or limits – to increase their power in Gozo-Malta relations.

6.3.4 Changing the balance of power

In section 6.2.1 it was shown that Gozitans consider that overall power, both political and economic, is located in Malta. It has also been seen that Gozitan respondents tended to express dissatisfaction with what they perceive to be Maltese control over

Gozo. This makes the responses to the next questions particularly interesting. The respondents discussed whether the balance of power should be changed, how it should be changed, and why.

Surprisingly, not one respondent thought that the balance of power should be transferred completely from the Maltese to the Gozitans. But two Gozitan respondents did state that they would like to see Gozo as an independent region with an autonomous government. The first explained how, *'I think that Gozo should have its own, in a way, regional government...When it comes to building and tourism and employment, anything which is concerned with Gozo should be run by Gozo'* (2:15). The second considered that, *'though we have a Minister, we depend on Malta and I see that's the big problem, we need Gozo for itself, a region...Unless we are a region for ourselves we cannot start...the Gozo Ministry understands what the Gozitans need or desire'* (6:1&9). Even these respondents, however, did not completely reject Malta's involvement in Gozo's affairs. The first went on to say, *'Well obviously in security and national interest the power would be in Malta'* (2:15); and the second added: *'I think we should start from the Local Councils, then that power is transferred to the Gozo Ministry, the whole of Gozo, then the Ministry in Malta if it depends to a certain extent, maybe on budgeting or infrastructure'* (6:17).

Local government was established in Malta and Gozo in 1993, and Gozo now has 14 Local Councils that represent a link between the residents and the Ministry for Gozo. There is no intermediate level of government in the Maltese Islands, therefore the Councils are the most direct link between residents and the decision-makers. Although Local Councils have an advisory role, their actual decision-making power is limited. Satisfaction with Local Councils was not discussed in the interviews, but several opinions have been printed in the Maltese newspapers. Some have expressed their disappointment with the actions of the Local Councils, not only for their very limited powers, but also their lack of results, and the party-politics entailed. Shortly after a round of Local Council elections which experienced a relatively low turn-out, it was suggested that voters are losing interest. The author argued that, 'Local Councils matter not a jot in the scheme of things, and taken out of the "great political game", they matter even less' (Caruana-Galizia, 16/03/06). She contended that the only important aspect of the local elections is whether the NP, MLP, or at times, AD win the seat. In sum, she concluded: 'It doesn't make a difference to anyone's daily life, except perhaps that of

the councillors themselves who get to feel important'. The author also argued that Local Councils have become another 'mini-Malta', in the sense that partisan politics in the locality make it nearly impossible for things to change. The fact that voter turnout for council elections has decreased does suggest that the Local Councils are perhaps not meeting residents needs, and this therefore might reduce further the power held on the island of Gozo. Baldaccino (Times of Malta, 25/01/06) has contended that, due to the persistence of partisan politics, the introduction of Local Councils has not democratised and depoliticised governance, but simply partly decentralised it. He argued that the Councillors have no choice but to vote against the 'other side', and that, 'Rather than an attempt at developing "bottom up" governance practices that involve communities in their own development, all our 67 local councils are an exercise in party government, "top down". Thus the decentralisation to Gozo or elsewhere in Malta is somewhat limited.

Regional power in the EU context was not discussed by respondents, but it was a much discussed issue leading up to EU Accession, and it remains a hot topic today. Regional relations can be widely affected by changing global relations. The Gozo-Malta relationship was highlighted due to the Maltese Islands' accession to the EU. The debate relates to Malta and Gozo's status as an 'island region' within the European Union. The Amsterdam Treaty contains a specific article on the need to reduce the economic disparities of island regions (Article 158) and another on outermost regions (Article 299). There is also an accompanying declaration stating that island regions suffer from structural handicaps linked to their island status, the permanence of which impairs their economic and social development. The declaration indicates that legislation must take account of these handicaps, and specific measures may be taken, where justified, in favour of these regions in order to integrate them better into the internal market based on fair conditions (Briguglio, 2000). Clearly, it is beneficial for Malta and Gozo to be classed as an 'island region' member of the EU as it allows them to benefit more from EU funds because the EU seeks to use the Structural Funds to reduce disparities between the levels of development of the various regions and the backwardness of the least-favoured regions or islands, including rural areas. Malta and Gozo are classed as an 'Objective One' region, that is a region whose development lags behind markedly, and consequently it receives considerable additional budgetary resources. The regions covered by this objective are those regions corresponding to level II of the Nomenclature of Territorial Statistical Units (NUTS level II) whose per

capita Gross Domestic Product is less than 75 per cent of the Community average (Debono, 2000). The main debate around 'island region' status has been whether Gozo should be considered as a separate island region to Malta. The MLP Spokesperson for Gozo (Anton Refalo) has argued that the Gozitan economy has many peculiar characteristics which differentiate it from the more evolved Maltese economic structure. He contended that putting Malta on the same footing as Gozo by declaring them as one region would, 'dilute the current discrepancies in average per capita income between Gozo and the EU, thereby depriving Gozo of a proportion of shares in funds allocated by the EU towards disadvantaged regions' (Refalo, 2000:32). In short, if Gozo were to be considered as a separate region to Malta it is likely to have a lower average GDP per person and it might therefore enjoy the benefits of an Objective One region for a longer period of time (Magro, 2000). One option put forward by the MLP was to map Gozo's future through a regional policy that applies at the level of the Maltese system and is tailor-made for the situation in the islands (Sant, 2000). The NP made the decision to enter Malta and Gozo into the EU as one region with recognition that Gozo has special needs due to its double insularity. However, as expressed by Castelain (The Sunday Times Commentator on Gozo), there is much discontent with the lack of regional power attributed to Gozo. He argued that, 'Gozo's regionality has not been realised when Malta joined the EU. Gozo has been recognised by the EU only as an island with special needs due to its double insularity and for statistical purposes' (Castelain, 24/07/05), and he commented further, 'That Gozo as a designated region qualifies for specific funding is the emptiest promise of all...it is common knowledge that Government and Opposition are only paying lip service to Gozo's regionality' (Castelain, 11/09/05). This shows a lack of confidence that Gozo has been attributed with sufficient regional power in the EU context.

The opinion of almost all respondents is that Gozo deserves more representation at the national political level so that Gozitan views can be more influential in decision-making processes. A newspaper article explains this desire for greater representation and influence: 'a strategy cannot be successful if the people do not have the opportunity to be taken on board. The fact that certain organisations like the Gozo Business Chamber and the Gozo Tourism Association have been set up in the past few years shows we are rediscovering our Gozitan conscience. Nonetheless, these bodies and other people representing civil society in Gozo must be able to make their voice heard effectively at both local and national level' (Borg, 24/12/05).

What is significant is that all respondents wished to see a continuing link between Malta and Gozo, with improved cooperation between the two islands. The following comments by Gozitans illustrate this desire for better cooperation and integration: *'Gozo needs to decide by itself, but I think Malta has to have the decision too'* (5:12); *'[should there be complete power to Gozo?] No, because we depend on Malta too, balance is important...because we are Maltese at the end. But opinions must be heard more'* (19:17); and, *'Ideally I would prefer to see more cooperation between Malta and Gozo...I don't think that working on our own in this day and age; everyone is united and us working on our own, I don't think that will benefit'* (26:13). Many Gozitans felt that Gozo was too small to be fully independent, and that improved cooperation and mutual respect would be a good situation.

The interviews revealed that the Gozitans do appear to want more independence from Malta, so that they have greater powers to make their own decisions concerning Gozo affairs. Yet it seems that they also still want necessary support from Malta. A Gozitan respondent made quite a telling comment on this subject, *'I think Gozo should be for the Gozitans when it comes to decisions, unless we need help from the Maltese'* (24:16). The Maltese support that is referred to can be interpreted as mainly financial, in terms of the budget allocation. There is a sense of double standards in this respect: they want greater influence on decisions that concern their island, but they still look to the main island to pay for much of the work and to provide various support services. There is even a common perception that Gozitans would like to run this sister island the way it suits them, knowing that Malta will always be there to help them out when needed. Indeed, in the interviews and in conversations with the researcher it was often suggested, perhaps rather cynically, that the Gozitans would like to 'have their cake and eat it'.

Again, the responses from the Maltese respondents differ here from those of the Gozitans. The Maltese tend to be reluctant to suggest that Gozo should have more power over their own tourism development. Indeed, a MEPA official said, *'In certain instances, I would say that they are over-represented! Population-wise they are one thirteenth of the population and the facilities they have is disproportionate to the population. That being said, I think in other instances they are sort of a bit left out, so there is a reason for them having developed an attitude of being a vociferous minority'* (12:13). It is interesting that this respondent complains that Gozo is over-represented

and has a generous supply of facilities, yet he also expresses some sympathy and admits that they are *'a bit left out'*. It is possible to assert that both the Maltese and Gozitans – though the Maltese to a lesser extent – consider Gozo to be the 'poor relation', and that there are times when Gozo may not receive the attention it deserves.

There was also a belief that if Gozo was to have more power over its own development then it might not use it wisely. A representative of the MTA commented how, *'Gozo itself does not really know what it wants, and my theory is that it looks at Malta as a benchmark...and in many respects would like to equate itself with Malta...So left to their own devises they would emulate Malta. They would literally emulate Malta...they would go for the "full monty", which would be damaging'* (21:1/2). It was mentioned earlier that some felt that Gozo tends to want everything that Malta has got, whether suitable or not. Instead of looking at Malta as an example with both good and bad development, the previous respondent believed that Gozo would simply strive to have whatever Malta has. Gozitans see Malta as the more modernised and developed island, and some feared that instead of learning from Malta's mistakes, they might follow in its footsteps. There is a contradiction here because, while the Gozitans believe Gozo is the more attractive island and they would not like the island to look like Malta, they would still like to enjoy the same levels of modernisation and development. These conflicting social representations and beliefs are evaluated in more detail in Chapter Seven.

The view that cooperation between the islands is important was also mentioned by a Maltese respondent, but it was expressed from a very different perspective on national identity. He stated that *'I don't think Gozo belongs to the Gozitans, I think Gozo belongs to the Republic of Malta, so they should have decisions where it concerns Malta and the Maltese should have a say where it concerns Gozo'* (23:14). This Maltese respondent highlights a widely held belief among the Maltese that Gozo belongs to the Republic of Malta as a whole, whereas Gozitans tend to think of Gozo as belonging much more to the Gozitans. Gozitans more often see their island as Gozitan heritage and collective identity, although they are willing to share their allegiance also to Malta, especially when they need some support. These subtle differences in the social representations of national identity are important.

Two Maltese respondents showed little faith in Gozo's ability to control its own affairs if it had more autonomy. The main reason for this lack of confidence was because

Gozitans exhibit characteristics commonly associated with residents of very small islands, that is they tend only to be concerned with what is happening on their island, and that they see the outside world as remote and uninteresting, and thus they may fail to appreciate and take advantage of global developments and opportunities (Wanhill, 1997; Wanhill & Buhalis, 1999). One of the respondents contended that, *'you've got the insular mentality magnified tenfold, thinking that it's the centre of the universe'* (21:1/2). The second respondent highlighted other perceptions of 'islandness' and of Gozitan characteristics: *'all they care about is making money, and it's such a small society that you feel it, you can see it everywhere...Too many people are related or know one another, so there's no law enforcement, there's no implementation. Everybody is afraid to take decisions that will hurt somebody. Management is about taking decisions and usually, but not everybody, renegades them, it's like that'* (23:14). Thus this respondent suggested that Gozitans are only interested in making money, and therefore that with more political autonomy they might make decisions based on financial profit rather than on what is good for the island. He also raises the issue of Gozo's very small-scale, interconnected networks where everyone knows everyone else. Most inhabitants grow up in an interdependent network where each person figures many times over, and nearly every social relationship serves many interests. Indeed it is commonly said that if one person knows five families on the Maltese Islands then one would have a connection to everyone on the islands (Boissevain, 1974; O'Reilly Mizzi, 1994; and Baldacchino, 1997). In such circumstances on Gozo, as the respondent suggested, law enforcement and decision-making are difficult to achieve, especially without upsetting people. Based on this perception, it could be suggested that it would be more suitable for control to come from outside of these networks, thus helping to avoid bias.

Another Maltese respondent expressed unusual sympathy with the Gozitans' desire for more autonomy, yet he also believed that it might well not be in their best interests. This was because he felt they would develop the island too much for short-term financial gain rather than for longer-term goals. He said, *'Whenever somebody puts a case for devolution, the Scots, the Welsh, the Irish, the Lithuanians, I sympathise with them. So I tend to sympathise with the Gozitans from that aspect...They have this feeling that they are second-class to the Maltese...whatever they need it has to go to Malta. It [the power] should shift to the Gozitans...But the MEPA, if you go to any MEPA official and you ask them, "what do you think about the devolution of power*

over land-use issues?", they would tell you that local politicians are not trust-worthy. Now with regards to Gozitans, they would tell you they are even less trustworthy; they'll destroy Gozo if you leave them' (9:7/8&18). Even though this Maltese respondent sympathises with the Gozitan desire for independence, he suggests it might well be harmful to their best interests to have it.

6.4 Knowledge frameworks and related discourses

The following diagrams represent three large knowledge frameworks held by the social actors who took part in the interviews, and the more specific discourses related to these knowledge frameworks. The knowledge frameworks shown are broad representations of the respondents' perspectives on Gozo's tourism development and tourism governance, supported by much more specific thoughts and ideas or 'discourses'.

According to Long (2001), social actors are active participants in the development process who process information and strategise in their dealings with various other local actors, as well as with outside institutions and personnel. Knowledge frameworks constitute the ways in which actors come to grips with the world around them cognitively, emotionally and organisationally, and discourse refers to sets of meanings, metaphors, representations, images, narratives and statements that advance a particular version of 'the truth' about specific objects, persons and events. The process of decision-making in development entails the explicit or implicit use of 'discursive means'. It is of course possible to have different or conflicting versions of the same discourse, or incompatible discourses relating to the same phenomena. For example, discourse on development varies considerably depending upon the political or ideological position of the institution or actor concerned. Discourses co-exist and intersect with each other but are seldom fully elaborated as abstract arguments. An actor's knowledge framework will undoubtedly influence their choice of discourse.

The first diagram (Figure 6.1) suggests that many of the Maltese government-related respondents tend to share the same over-arching knowledge framework, which is broadly that Gozitans have sufficient involvement and influence in decision-making concerning Gozo's tourism development. These respondents tend to be involved with political parties or government-related agencies or departments – for example, this group includes representatives from the Nationalist Party, the Malta Labour Party, the Malta Environment and Planning Authority, and the Malta Tourism Authority. The

discourses related to this knowledge framework acknowledge that the overall political power is located in Malta, and show a confidence in the way that Gozo is governed.

The second diagram (Figure 6.2) shows that many of the Gozitan respondents, the tourism related stakeholders and the general public share an opposing knowledge framework to the Maltese social groups in Figure 6.1. The knowledge framework shared here is that Gozitans do not have sufficient involvement or influence in decision-making concerning Gozo's tourism development, and that Malta is always considered as the priority.

Figure 6.1: Broad knowledge frameworks and discourses – Maltese social groups

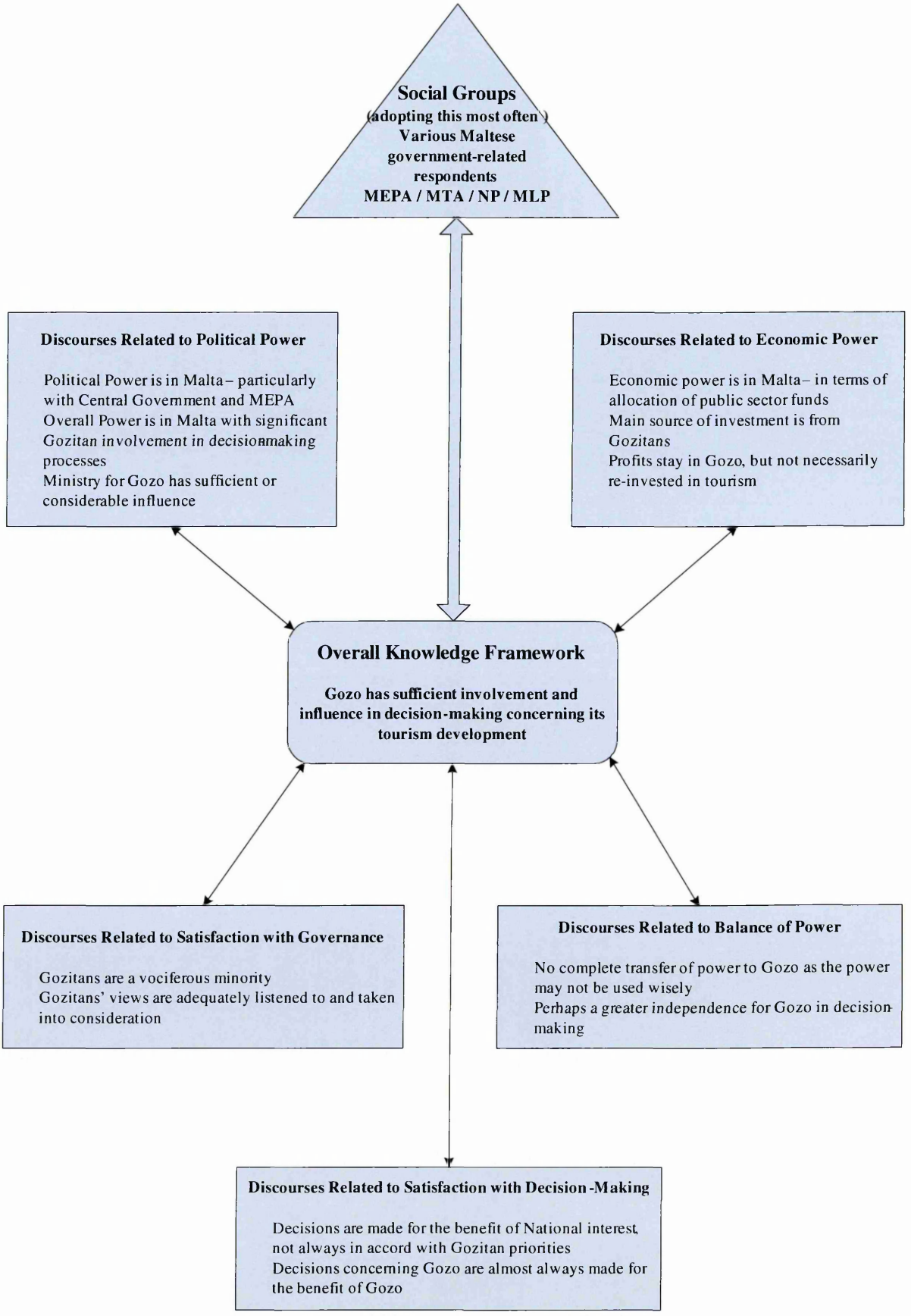


Figure 6.2: Knowledge frameworks and discourses – Gozitan social groups

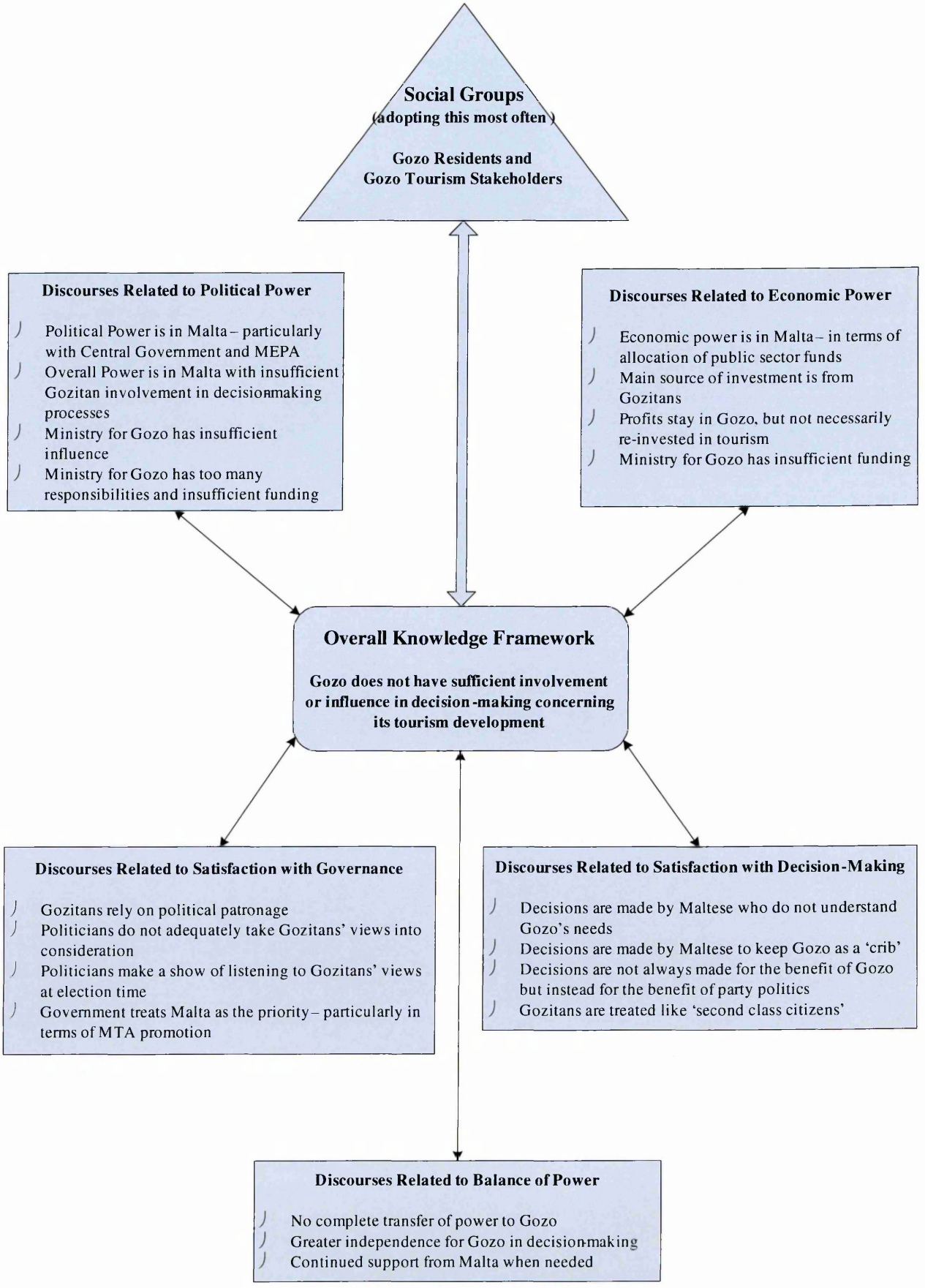
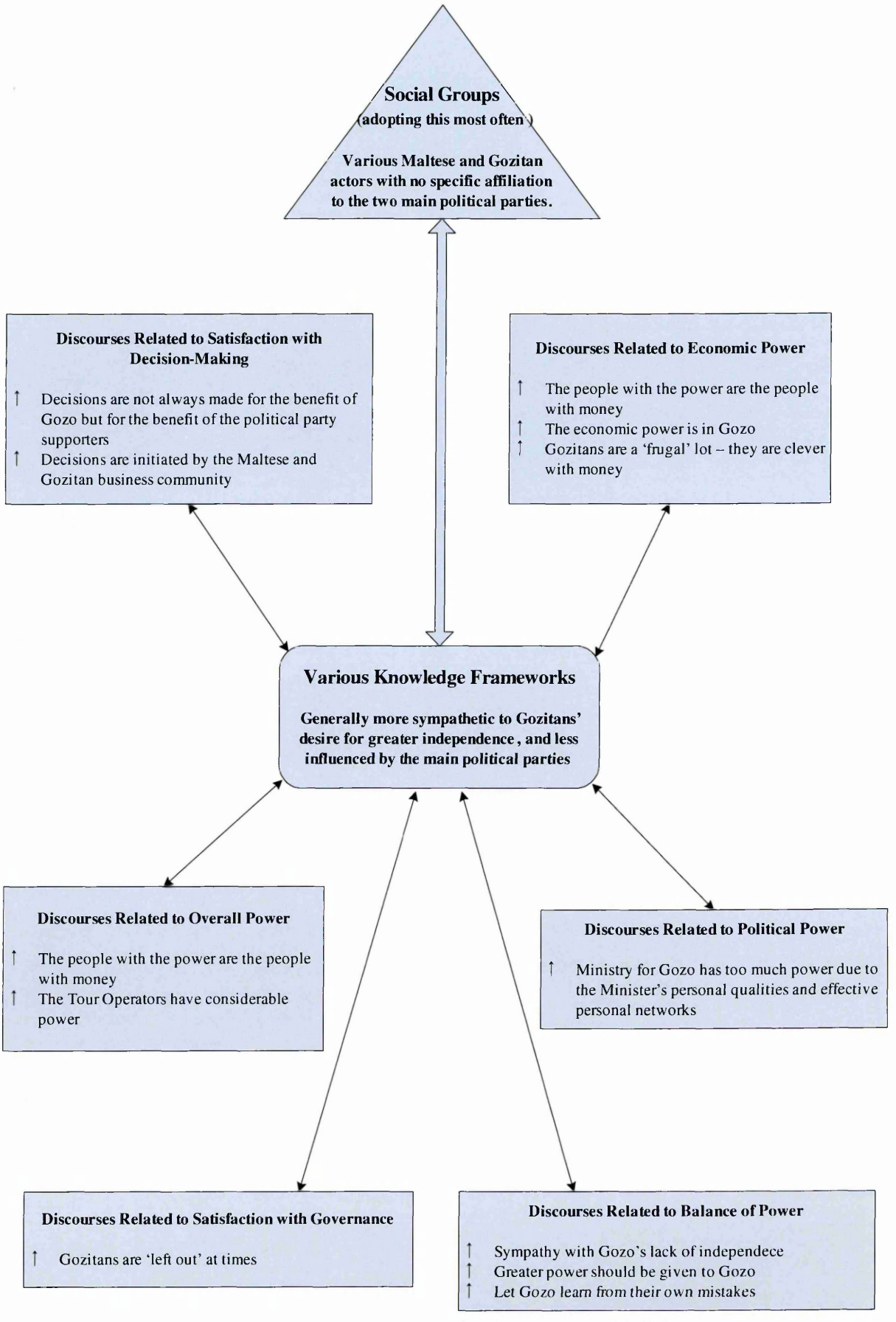


Figure 6.3: Knowledge framework and discourses – Alternative social groups



The third diagram (Figure 6.3) is a slightly more complex representation of the various other knowledge frameworks and related discourses that respondents shared. The knowledge frameworks and discourses here vary, but are all generally more sympathetic towards the Gozitan desire for more involvement and influence in their island's tourism development. The social groups in this diagram are more diverse including, for example, representatives from different environmental groups or simply those with a particularly strong pro-environment stance, respondents that are pro-development, and those who considered themselves to be much less influenced by party politics. These discourses were less commonly shared yet are still significant.

It is these discourses, forwarded through the power of human agency at the micro-level, that have the potential to influence decision-making at the government level. The results here have shown that Gozitans do exhibit some degree of human agency, and that they do have some power over their island's tourism development, and this in part contradicts some dependency and structuralist theories.

6.5 Conclusion

This chapter examined responses to the balance of core-periphery decision-making around Gozo's tourism development. Weaver (1998) suggests that the 'core-periphery' provides a fundamental geographical framework to comprehend spatial disparities in power and development levels, and he argues that there has been a particular lack of attention paid to internal core-periphery relations where uneven patterns of development emerge between dominant islands/continental states and peripheral islands. This study helps to bridge that gap. Weaver's (1998) internal core-periphery model (introduced in Section 2.6.5) demonstrates the interactions between a subordinate island or peripheral area, a dominant island or country, and an external core. He suggests that the dominant island is a core with respect to the subordinate island, but a periphery with reference to the external core. The subordinate island is a periphery with respect to both the dominant island and the external core. Weaver does not acknowledge that the subordinate island has any influence over the dominant island, or the external core. This is an important deficiency, and thus the conceptual model used for this study suggests that the subordinate island may have some influence over the dominant island, and that it is able to have dealings with the external core, although this influence is considered to be on a much smaller scale and, due to the scale issues, is much less likely

to very marked. The important point to make is that the periphery potentially has some power over the core, and that structuralist explanations of development rarely give sufficient attention to the importance of human agency in the processes of development at the local level.

In the context of core-periphery relations, the location of overall power concerning Gozo's tourism development was clearly considered to be in Malta, in both political and economic terms. In the political context, Central Government and the Malta Environment and Planning Authority (MEPA) were considered to be the principal decision-makers. The Ministry for Gozo was set up by Central Government in order to represent Gozo's interests, so it is surprising to discover that Gozitan respondents do not consider the Ministry to have significant power over Gozo's tourism development. Maltese respondents, by contrast, suggested that the Minister for Gozo has sufficient, if not too much, power. This power was mainly attributed to her personal qualities. Although her power through formal channels may be limited, it seems she is part of a network of actors and has the ability to influence decisions through personal contacts.

The location of power in the economic context was not clear. The Maltese often consider economic power to be synonymous with political power, and thus they largely equate economic power with public sector funds; there was no mention of the economic power of private investors. This supports the contention that government in small-scale island states is widely perceived as omnipresent. In terms of national budget allocation, respondents considered the economic power to be located in Malta. The funds allocated to Gozo appear modest when taking into account the island's size and population in comparison to Malta, and complaints made by Gozitans that the Ministry for Gozo does not receive adequate funding may to an extent be justified. Focussed discussion on the sources of investment for tourism-related businesses on Gozo revealed that it comes mainly from the Gozitans, often family-run businesses set up by Gozitan entrepreneurs. Thus, whilst the Gozitans seem to have modest economic power in terms of the allocation of national funds, they do appear to have some agency in relation to economic decision-making in terms of private investment in Gozo's tourism industry.

Respondents' views on the distribution of economic returns for Gozo's tourism industry were not certain, but most believed that the money remains in Gozo's economy. There is a common view that Gozitans are quite 'crafty' when it comes to money, and that

they are wealthier than they would like outsiders to believe. There is the perception that Gozitans do not reveal the truth about their finances so that they can avoid paying the required taxes. Of course, Gozitans refute these accusations, but due to the close-knit society on the island it would be very difficult to prove otherwise. It may well be the case, therefore, that Gozitans are wealthier that they claim to be, and their 'craftiness' with money can be seen as a way of gaining more agency or control over economic relationships, particularly with the main island of Malta.

When asked about how decisions are made concerning Gozo's tourism development, very many respondents focussed on political issues. In particular, a common discourse that was influenced by various knowledge frameworks was that party politics were deeply involved in Gozo's tourism. A large number of respondents suggested that decisions are not made for the benefit of Gozo but to benefit the political party of the moment. Also, the view that Gozitans depend on political patronage to get things done is a common discourse. Patronage relationships can secure the less well-off with more agency, albeit a limited level of agency due to the well-established power configurations in the social field.

A further common discursive claim was that decisions about Gozo's tourism are not beneficial because the decision-makers are from Malta and therefore do not understand what Gozo needs. This is resonant of the complaint that Malta's government is too centralised, and that the people making the decisions are not fully aware of the local situation and important relevant issues.

Gozitans expressed strong dissatisfaction with government's actions concerning Gozo's tourism. They feel that Malta's tourism is considered the priority over Gozo's, in particular there was much disappointment with the promotion of Gozo by the MTA. Another important discursive theme among the respondents was that decisions concerning Gozo's tourism are not being made by the most suitable people; most decision-makers are from Malta and they are obviously more likely to make decisions that will benefit Malta, before considering Gozo. All this leads to the common discursive notion that Gozitans are treated as 'second class citizens'. Maltese respondents were not particularly sympathetic to the Gozitans' complaints that their island is neglected. Gozitans may at times have a very restricted view of the world –

imagining their island as a 'self-contained universe' – forgetting that government has to consider the national interest, of which Gozo is only a small part.

As to whether the government listens to Gozitans' views, most Gozitans believed that they did listen, but did not necessarily take their views into consideration when making decisions. The feeling was that Gozitans receive more attention at election times, but few promises are ever met. Maltese respondents, on the other hand, strongly believed that Gozitan views are sufficiently listened to and taken into consideration. The Maltese often refer to Gozitans as a 'vociferous minority'; the impression given by the Maltese is that the Gozitans always want for something and that they frequently complain when they do not get it. Gozitans do often make use of the local media to get their views and complaints heard. It can be suggested that by overemphasising their lack of representation, their representation may actually be enhanced. This exaggeration of powerlessness can itself constitute a form of agency, by encouraging the powerful to act on behalf of the powerless.

The discursive analogy of the Maltese wanting to keep Gozo as a 'crib' was often used. Gozitans often complain that the Maltese want Gozo to remain largely unchanged – to be as Malta once was – so that they can holiday in a quiet, less built-up, and more attractive island. They imply that Maltese decision-makers deliberately slow down Gozo's progress, which the Gozitans see as unfair. However, the Maltese are an important source of income for the Gozitans, and if Gozo were allowed to progress and develop as Malta has then there is the possibility that they will lose these domestic visitors which would severely affect Gozo's tourism industry. Many respondents suggested that there is a feeling of Maltese control over the Gozitans in this respect, a control that is known to be unwelcome.

Considering that the Gozitans seem to be very dissatisfied with what they perceive as Maltese control over Gozo, it was perhaps surprising that not one respondent thought that the balance of power should be transferred completely to the Gozitans, all respondents wished to see a continuing link between Malta and Gozo. The opinion of almost all respondents, both Gozitan and Maltese, is that Gozo does deserve more representation at the national and local decision-making levels so that Gozitans can be more influential in decision-making processes, yet Gozitans still expect the main island to pay for much of the work and to provide various support services. It can be

suggested, perhaps rather cynically, that the Gozitans would like to 'have their cake and eat it'. Some Maltese respondents expressed concerns that if Gozo was to have more power over its own development then it might not use it wisely; Gozo tends to want everything Malta has, whether suitable or not, and there is also the perception that decisions would be made solely for short-term financial benefit.

As these results show, the core-periphery balance of power between Malta and Gozo relevant to tourism development is complex. Gozitans are generally dissatisfied with what they perceive to be Maltese control over Gozo, and are vociferous about this view. The Maltese do acknowledge that Gozo deserves more representation and influence over decisions concerning Gozo's tourism industry, but they have concerns that complete control over their own tourism development would be detrimental. What has been revealed quite clearly throughout is that Gozitans do possess a degree of 'agency' and that the peripheral island is not totally dependent on the core. Although not necessarily done through formal channels of power, there are aspects of the tourism industry that the Gozitans can have some influence over, even though they may not be aware of it.

Chapter 7

Responses to Gozo's tourism development

7.1 Introduction

This chapter examines opinions concerning Gozo's tourism development. Although peripheral locations can have major problems in terms of accessibility, there is a potential contradiction in that there are also tourism advantages associated with remoteness. Peripheral areas are often less developed and the appeal is based on their power to signify to the visitor the unspoilt, the pristine, and the traditional (Nash & Martin, 2003; Scott, 2000). Numerous peripheral regions actively seek to attract tourism, and small-scale tourism is usually considered more appropriate. However, peripheral areas often lack the necessary skills, capital, organisational structures and information to progress its tourism industry, therefore control can come from the core (Wanhill & Buhalis, 1999). Tourism development is very likely to affect the often close-knit communities of peripheral regions, yet the influential actors involved in tourism at the periphery might not adequately consider the interests of the local population. It is important to examine whether the level of tourism that is considered appropriate by the local population matches that which the decision-makers and developers have the desire and power to create.

The chapter begins with an assessment of perceptions of tourist volumes experienced on Gozo and whether this was considered appropriate, together with views on the scale of the island's tourism development and whether that was considered suitable. Next, Gozo's strengths and weaknesses as a tourist destination are explored, followed by a discussion of opinions about the types of tourists that Gozo receives. The Maltese often compare Malta and Gozo, and comparisons relating to the amount and the scale of tourism development on each island are examined. Opinions about the most appropriate types of tourism for Gozo are then discussed, focusing on the types of tourists that should be encouraged as well as the most appropriate types of tourism development. This is followed by the same discussed in terms of what should be discouraged and what is considered inappropriate. Tourism is frequently referred to as Gozo's main industry, and views are examined as to whether it is thought that all Gozitans benefit

from it sufficiently. Opinions are then explored as to whether Gozo should be left relatively unchanged, and as to whether it is important to maintain traditional values in the face of development and change. The chapter ends with a brief evaluation of views on the likely future success of Gozo as a tourist destination.

7.2 Character of Gozo's tourism development

7.2.1 Amount of tourism in Gozo

Small-scale tourism is now usually considered more suited to small peripheral islands than mass tourism and its associated large numbers. However, with obvious economic benefits that tourists can bring, there is likely to be some debate as to just how 'small' it should be. It might be expected that people living at the periphery would be anxious to attract more tourists in order to promote economic development, and, indeed, the amount of tourists in Gozo was generally considered to be too low. Every respondent, whether based in Malta or Gozo, commented that tourist numbers were either low or very low, and many indicated that they wanted visitor numbers to increase.

Several interviewees discussed the problem of seasonality in Gozo. The general perception was that, while tourist numbers in the summer are low, visitor numbers in the winter are even lower, and consequently the tourism industry only operates for half of the year. A Gozitan respondent commented that at the, *'end of October Gozo just shuts down, it's like someone put an iron curtain across the channel'* (14:4). This is likely to refer to the problems that both tourists and Gozitans experience when travelling between the islands. During warmer months (generally April to September) there are reasonably frequent inter-island ferry services, but these services are reduced during the winter and often cancelled altogether in bad weather. The frequency of transport links will undoubtedly influence visitation to the island.

Comments made by Maltese respondents about tourist numbers to Gozo were very similar to those made by Gozitans. A Malta Labour Party representative, for example, explained that *'Right now we estimate that something like 57,000 [tourists], I think, come to Gozo for Gozo only...[That is] very low because, when we say 57,000, we are actually saying that most of the time they are concentrated in July and August'* (10:16). A Maltese owner of property on Gozo similarly described how: *'come here in winter and it's dead, and they want to build another apartment block with restaurants and things, they literally fight for the cents, these guys don't open in winter, I come over for*

the weekend...It's a ghost town, this is the problem' (23:6). As suggested here, many hotels, apartments, restaurants and bars do in fact close down for the winter, mainly due to insufficient demand.

Another issue frequently mentioned was that too few tourists stay overnight in Gozo, with many visiting only for the day and then returning to Malta to continue their holiday. A church representative in Gozo, for instance, commented how *'The tourists usually come here just for one day, for a few hours, and then they go [back] to Malta. Even the hotels here in Gozo don't have the opportunity to have tourists stay here for some nights'* (3:1). Gozo officially attracts as many as 495,060 day visitors each year (MTA, 2005), but still the Gozitan respondents do not believe that they receive high tourist numbers. Based on these responses, it is clear that Gozitans largely dismiss or overlook the numbers of day visitors, probably because they believe they do not sufficiently benefit the local tourism industry. They appear to consider only the remaining 87,000 visitors that stay at least one night in Gozo as 'real' tourists. This is a significant perceptual issue that influences a range of other views about tourism and development on Gozo.

7.2.2 Scale of tourism development in Gozo

Respondents were asked to describe how they see the scale of Gozo's tourism development. This was intended to identify views about appropriate levels of tourism development for this peripheral island at the margins of a mass tourism destination. This scale was conceived and understood by respondents as the volume of tourism-related buildings, such as tourist accommodation, restaurants and attractions. Comments by Gozitans were fairly mixed, but most thought that there was already either enough or too much tourism development relative to the number of tourists received by Gozo. There was a strong awareness of the need to fill the existing tourist facilities before more were provided on Gozo. Gozitans commented that *'The supply of premises for tourism purposes far outweighs the demand. Maybe for two months in the summer time, but [numbers of tourists are] just not enough*' (14:15), and *'There should be less, I think, because we've got hotels for nothing here'* (32:17). The comment that the supply exceeds demand was similar to that made earlier by the Maltese respondent who complained that, while Gozo is like a ghost town in winter, there is still continuing development.

Some Gozitan respondents made contradictory statements, suggesting at some points in the interview that there was enough tourism development in Gozo, but also indicating elsewhere that there was a need for more. A Gozitan hotel receptionist, for example, commented: '*Seeing the number of tourists coming to Gozo, I think there is more than enough [development]*', but then she also suggested that there should be more hotels on the island: *'I don't think that there are enough hotels, I don't think, not at the moment. As an island there are only a few hotels, and they are not as big as the ones in Malta'* (25:11). Another Gozitan respondent first commented that there was too much development on the island, and then suggested that there should be scope for more: *'They're going to eat it up with all this building here and there, you know, there's not much [land] left now...I guess that [tourism development] is low...Yeah, there should be [more]'* (24:11/12). At times it would seem that Gozitans are unsure as to what types and scale of tourism development would be most appropriate for Gozo. These comments suggest that they tend to want to have it all. They acknowledge that supply is exceeding demand and seem to understand the environmental benefits of limited development, yet they still want to encourage more development in the hope that it will encourage more tourists.

Comments by Maltese respondents about the scale of Gozo's tourism development were also quite mixed, but the majority similarly considered that supply outweighs demand. An influential Maltese actor suggested that, *'they are already working under capacity, there is already an amount of un-utilised bed stock in Gozo'* (20:12). A representative of the MTA commented how *'there was a time when there was quite a bit of development in accommodation, new hotels were being built. Now, because supply is exceeding demand in terms of accommodation there is a problem with some hotels closing'* (27:14). Interestingly, another representative of the MTA suggested that Gozo would benefit from more hotel development: *'We might be lacking a hotel or two at five-star level, and that is a bit worrying. In terms of four-star there is room for some other developments, and maybe even in terms of three-stars'* (28:5). A representative of Gozo Channel ferry company similarly suggested that Gozo possibly might need more hotel development: *'It's limited how much would cross over to Gozo. You can't have such a big number as you have in Malta. But, on the other hand, the way they [hotels] are reducing, even only three or four hotels isn't too healthy I would say'* (30:12).

In sum, the different comments suggest that there is sufficient tourism development in Gozo for the level of demand during the summer, but easily more than enough for the winter months. By contrast, there was also the view that Gozo could benefit from the development of more hotels. Perhaps this contradiction is based on the perception that demand could be stimulated through an increased supply. Further, the impression given by the respondents was that there is enough tourism development to support current demand, but that if there was increased demand, then the scale of tourism development should increase. This suggests that there was a realism about the problem of over-supply of tourist facilities, yet also a rather simplistic desire for further development of these facilities despite this difficulty.

7.2.3 Gozo's strengths as a tourist destination

The respondents identified many strengths of Gozo as a tourist destination, and these comments were often indicative of the tourist products that should be developed because they are appropriate for this island. The comments rarely focussed on just one strength and instead described several island attractions. The most frequently mentioned, however, were the island's heritage and culture. In relation to heritage, many mentioned the importance of the Ggantija Temples, near Xaghra, which are believed to be the world's oldest free standing structure. In fact, the Ggantija Temples and the Citadel are the most visited heritage sites in Gozo (MTA, 2005). A GTA representative explained: *'We have the oldest free standing temples in Gozo; they make a lot of fuss about the Pyramids, they make a lot of fuss about Stonehenge, but we have Ggantija that are seven thousand years old. It's a jewel, and we are not optimising on these temples'* (17:10). A representative of the MTA also highlighted the importance of these temples for tourism, stating that, *'Ggantija is the word's oldest free standing monument, in just little Gozo. It's a big thing: a UNESCO site. But most people that go there don't know that, so there are these issues'* (27:15).

What is notable about these responses, and characteristic of several others, is that Gozo is believed to have great potential to attract tourists, but that not enough is being done to develop and promote this potential. These responses were from people involved in the management of tourism in the Maltese Islands, but similar comments were also made by the general public in Gozo. For example, a Gozitan respondent not involved in tourism argued that, *'We have to try to find a way of attracting tourists with our heritage and our culture. We have so much to offer'* (2:4). The island's culture was also mentioned

by many respondents, with some respondents using the term 'culture', and others describing elements of Gozitan life which are widely considered to reflect the island's traditional culture and to have appeal for tourists: the Catholic religion, festas, the cuisine, the laid-back way of life, the friendliness and hospitality. A Gozitan Mayor, for example, said: *'In my opinion certain tourists come also for our traditions and culture...Most of the tourists come to see the local festas and come to see our local traditional food'* (4:16). Smilarly, two MTA representatives commented on these cultural strengths: *'Its product is very much based on the cultural side, and very much based on seeing the way of the life of this community'* (27:15), and that the important thing to work on *'is bringing out those elements of the Gozo product which are unique and special, the landscape, the people, the villages, the countryside, the food, the quiet'* (21:3).

The beauty and tranquility of the relatively unspoilt rural landscape were also often mentioned by respondents as strengths for Gozo in terms of attracting tourists. For example, a property developer claimed that *'It is relatively unspoilt, I mean so far, relatively. There's an easy way of life, the people are friendly'* (16:11), and a retired policeman suggested that Gozo is *'Especially for people that like quiet and relaxing holidays'* (18:1).

The island's 'smallness' was identified by GTA representatives as a strength in terms of attracting tourists. One said: *'We are very small, but being so small, in this smallness we have so many things, okay we don't have kilometres stretching of beaches, but we have some beautiful secluded beaches...We have the Citadel, again, it's so nice, so enchanting. We have so many things, I mean, our churches, the people, there are a lot of things'* (17:10), and another contended that *'Gozo is very small, so wherever you are you are still part of the community here, so for the tourist it is a really unique holiday, it is very special'* (29:13). Gozo boasts a number of tourist attractions in a very small area and can offer tourists the feeling of being part of a community; as such, Gozo can offer a visitor a unique holiday experience. The friendliness and hospitality offered by this community are very important elements of the overall holiday experience, and these were also identified by respondents as Gozo's strengths. Friendliness and hospitality are elements of the tourism product which the local population have complete control over; this is one of the few instances where Gozitans have complete 'agency', it is their responsibility to make visitors feel welcome and looked after during their holiday.

Double insularity was mentioned by a small number of respondents as being a strength for Gozo in terms of attracting tourists. A representative of the Ministry for Tourism and Culture suggested that, *'Gozo is different because of double insularity too, because it is an island within an island, so that enables it to market itself as also being cut off further, which has exotic images...that aspect of exotic images etcetera, that helps and assists the promotion of Gozo'* (1:8). Gozo being 'cut off further' is considered an advantage here; the island's peripherality and insularity are viewed as attractions for tourists rather than as deterrents. In this context, Gozitans have the opportunity to use their own creative agency to help portray an 'exotic' image to visitors, perhaps through the character and design of their tourist businesses. A property developer in Gozo also explained that, *'Gozo is relatively isolated from the land...They have to take the ferry, it adds to the adventure, or the attraction of the island. I don't know, maybe a helicopter ride is more exotic or exciting, but that relative insularity, you know, it's like you're really getting away from the mainland'* (16:7). The image of an island as being remote and exotic can definitely be attractive to tourists. As Brown and Hall (2000) suggest, a place that is remote and difficult to reach may be perceived by tourists and others to have certain qualities emblematic of its situation – natural beauty, quaintness, 'otherness' – qualities which are an attraction to some. Conversely, as discussed in Chapter Two, these same attributes can easily deter visitors as peripheral regions will invariably involve the very real fact that the location is relatively difficult to get to (Nash & Martin, 2003).

There has long been public and political debate as to whether a bridge should be built between Malta and Gozo to improve accessibility, and the results of an online poll carried out at the beginning of 2006 revealed that just over 55 per cent of respondents were in favour of it. One respondent commented that with a bridge, unemployment in Gozo 'will be history' and tourism will get a big boost (Busuttil, 19/01/06). It is not clear as to whether those respondents in favour were mainly from Malta or Gozo, but a letter to the Times of Malta suggested that, 'I would say that it is the majority of Gozitans who want it...It is only the very few (who, unfortunately, happen to be among the top of the Gozitan society and, hence, are in an influential position) who claim that Gozitans do not want a bridge' (Vella, 12/01/06). Gozitan support for a bridge can be understood as it would ease the commute for Gozitan workers in Malta. However, even though Gozitans often complain that the poor accessibility to the island causes them much inconvenience in everyday life, many also seem to be aware that their peripheral

location and consequent sense of 'otherness' can attract tourists. A popular discourse amongst Gozitans is that a bridge would make Gozo too easily accessible, and consequently too busy, thus impacting negatively on the more unique characteristics of the island. A respondent to the online poll argued that, 'It will spoil the tranquility the island is very popular for, and Gozo will lose some of its character', while others argued that catching the ferry to cross over to Gozo is part of the beauty of visiting the island (Busuttil, 19/01/06).

7.2.4 Gozo's weaknesses as a tourist destination

Respondents mostly expressed positive views about Gozo's potential as a tourist destination, but a few negative comments were made. A common complaint was that there was too much illegal dumping of rubbish at the side of roads and in fields, which was unpleasant for the residents of Gozo and also for tourists. A Maltese respondent complained, *'I still see the littering, the dumping, the neglect, the laissez-faire attitude which I think is harmful to the tourism of Gozo. Because if you don't have a landscape which is up to scratch and it's your strong point, I mean, what kind of tourists are you going to attract?'* (12:11). A Gozitan businessman also discussed the island's state of environmental neglect by the Gozitans. He complained, *'The shabbiness and the dirt which I see with my own bare eyes, we haven't had this kind of dirt. Our product is fast deteriorating'* (14:2). Schembri (1994), in his study on the environmental impact of tourism in Gozo, argued that all Maltese have tended to have a rather ambivalent attitude towards the environment, as discussed in Chapter Five, Section 5.6. There is in Gozo an excessive amount of illegally dumped litter and building debris in the countryside and the consequent negative impact of environmental deterioration on tourism may be quite a significant factor. It is only recently that the countryside has been viewed as a place to enjoy. The emergence of 'modern' environmental values has been encouraged by the island's advancing urbanisation, and sections of the population have increasingly valued nature in the 'modern' terms of its aesthetic and heritage qualities. However, there is still concern that the 'modernity versus tradition' discourse used by the Maltese may influence the perception of Gozo's traditional countryside as being 'backward' and undesirable (Mitchell, 2002). The impact of the environment on tourism is something that the Gozitans have the power or 'cultural agency' to change and strive to control.

The cost of a holiday in Gozo was mentioned by a few respondents as being one of Gozo's weaknesses in attracting tourists, although this was a problem also shared by the main island due to the higher labour costs here compared to newer tourist destinations. A Maltese respondent suggested that, *'nowadays it's cheaper in some instances to spend a weekend in Tunisia than to spend a weekend in Gozo'* (12:13), and a Gozitan policeman commented that, *'Ten, twenty years ago we were very competitive and [offered] very cheap prices and that was why they came here once, twice, three times; but at the moment I don't know what they come for'* (32:18). This is a structural constraint over which Gozitans have little control due to globalisation and the emergence of other competitor destinations that are currently cheaper. However, Gozitans do have the power to put a stop to the common accusation that certain tourist businesses purposely over-charge some tourists during their stay. A letter in a local newspaper complained that, 'Gozo business people must realise that they are facing stiff competition from our neighbours and it seems that Gozo has become too expensive. Visitors returning from Gozo are full of complaints about how they have been robbed of their money' (Muscat, 25/06/05).

In general, opinions about Gozo's potential as a tourist destination were very positive. The impression given, by both Maltese and Gozitans, was that they are very proud of their island and they believe that it has the potential to be a much more successful destination. Their complaints are actually quite rarely related to the poor tourism product, and are much more often directed at the lack of government actions in improving and promoting the island. This sounds like attributing blame to the economically and politically more powerful sister island. It perhaps reflects their sense of impotency in the context of communicating to tourists and funding product development compared to the Malta. A comment by one Gozitan respondent seems to sum up the thoughts of many other Gozitans: *'I honestly believe that Gozo could be a real paradise if only the politicians would open their eyes and take a good look around; I mean, Gozo has potential but it just is not happening*' (31:2). Gozitans' dissatisfaction with government's actions was examined in Chapter Six.

It could be suggested that the pride of the Gozitans, and even of the Maltese, about Gozo has encouraged them to have exaggerated and unrealistic evaluations and expectations of Gozo's strengths as a tourist destination. Their pride rests on their high valuation of the island's traditional and relatively unspoilt character that reminds them

of how Malta used to be. But, this may be less important to tourists. One Gozitan respondent gave an arguably more balanced view; while he was positive about the island's relatively unspoilt landscape and the friendly, laid-back people, he also suggested that there are too few historical sites to interest visitors for more than a day. He commented, *'Okay, let them come over for history, but in one day you can tour the island for its history...Ggantija is unique, but there aren't enough [historical sites] for people to come over for a week'* (16:13). Similar views have been expressed in letters to local newspapers. For instance, Edward Fenech (the AD Spokesperson for Finance, the Economy and Tourism) stated, 'I might disappoint many of you when I say that I believe Gozo is not unique in any one aspect...let us be realistic. Gozo boasts some lovely diving sites, but there are far more impressive ones a few hours away in the Red Sea... [A] niche that is under-developed is Gozo's history and archaeology, which are truly remarkable but realistically they must face stiff competition not just from nearby destinations such as Rome and Madrid, but even from Malta itself' (Fenech, 21/08/05). Gozo does indeed have several strengths as a tourist destination, but the locals' perceptions of the potential of these strengths can be somewhat unrealistic: 'When attempting to identify the core benefits of the island there is a tendency to exaggerate and romanticise certain aspects of the island; "M'hawnx isbah minn Ghawdex" (there is nowhere more beautiful than Gozo)-type expressions might inflate the ego of many of us, but it will not boost tourist arrivals or spending on the island' (*Ibid.*).

7.2.5 Types of tourists visiting Gozo

The two most significant types of visitors to Gozo are the Maltese and the day-tripper, and indeed these were the two groups identified by respondents. Although it remains impossible to accurately assess the annual number of domestic Maltese trips to Gozo, it is the most popular overnight stay holiday destination within the Maltese Islands for domestic tourists (Lockhart & Ashton, 1990). Day-trippers form approximately 85 per cent of visitors to Gozo (Stevens & Associates, 2000). However, the Maltese who cross to Gozo for a holiday were considered much more beneficial to Gozo's tourism industry and the island's economy than the day-trippers: *'The best tourists are the Maltese that come here'* (2:4). The domestic tourist market was considered most important among both Gozitan and Maltese respondents because it contributed most to the local economy, with Maltese known as 'big spenders' when visiting Gozo. According to a Gozitan property developer: *'If you talk to the people who are involved in the industry, they say the Maltese are the best tourists for us because they really spend, you know, they come*

for a week and they spend a lot of money' (16:2). And a retired politician similarly commented that, *'The good tourists for Gozo are the Maltese. Definitely 110% better than any tourist that comes from abroad...They are big spenders'* (22:4). The average expenditure on a trip to Gozo by a Maltese is around Lm 50 per person, with the largest proportions being spent at restaurants and accommodation (MTA, 2005).

Gozo's tourism industry is heavily dependent on Maltese visitors, and most respondents acknowledged this. The annual occupancy for Gozo hotels is believed to be very low, at around 35 per cent (Stevens & Associates, 2000), and without domestic tourists this figure would probably mean that it would be infeasible for Gozo's hotels to continue to operate. Two Gozo hotels have recently closed down, with plans to change them into residential apartments, as it is likely that more profit can be had. A representative of Gozo Channel ferry company suggested, *'One thing that is certain is that hotels are becoming much more dependent on the local market: the Maltese going to Gozo for the weekends, and even in summer, spending a week or two in the hotel'* (30:12). In conversation, two restaurateurs also admitted that their businesses were almost totally dependent on Maltese visitors during the off-peak months, and that without Maltese customers they would have to close for the winter. Not only is Gozo dependent on Maltese tourists, but an MTA representative also explained how Gozo's tourism industry depends on the days of the national holidays. Gozo is more likely to suffer a poor tourism year when these days do not fall on Fridays or Mondays as the Maltese then lack the opportunity to spend a long weekend in Gozo, and it is during these long weekend breaks that Gozitans can profit handsomely.

While Gozitans are aware that the Maltese tourists are of major importance for the local economy, the impression given by interview respondents and survey results is that Gozitans would rather not be so dependent on the main island for their economic livelihood. The relationship between Gozitans and the visiting Maltese has in fact always been somewhat antagonistic, in some ways reflecting wider tensions between the main island core and Gozo as the periphery. A representative of the MTA suggested that some Gozitans are unhappy about their dependence on Maltese visitors because they can misbehave while being their guests. He stated that, *'Gozo have come to recognise the importance of the Maltese market because I think, not I think, it* ***is*** *the biggest touristic market for them, larger than the British, larger than the Germans. But they do not like the Maltese because the Maltese are not the best tourists in terms of*

noise...They need their money, but if they could do without them, they would...They depend on them, but some do misbehave' (21:3). Boissevain's 1979 study of the impacts of tourism on Gozo revealed that Gozitans are very conscious of the noise and litter that they feel the Maltese spread about, and that there was a growing hostility towards the Maltese visitors as they vigorously rejected the patronising and often denigrating attitude of Maltese towards them. Boissevain (1979:86-87) surveyed a number of Sixth Formers in Gozo for their views on Maltese visitors, and he argued that 'The pointedness of Gozitan dislike of the Maltese is sometimes startling'. He suggested that the students' parents held the following views about Maltese tourists: 'They like to show off their abilities. They often exceed the speed limit. Their misbehaviour is also in buses and even in public places. They do all this because they regard the Gozitans as a class inferior to their own'.

A Maltese view that Gozitans are somehow a 'class inferior to their own' was also supported by comments made by the interview respondents for Boissevain's study. They frequently suggested that the Maltese treat Gozitans as inferior and that they showed Gozitans little respect: 'The majority of the Maltese treat us with a great lack of respect because they pretend to have a great sense of priority over us'. Other students argued that they would prefer to have more foreign tourists than Maltese, with one commenting that, 'I would prefer a thousand foreign to ten snobbish Maltese visitors because the former come to appreciate Gozo and not just to have fun without any respect towards others'. So, although Gozitans acknowledged the dependence they have on the Maltese domestic market to support their tourism industry and benefit the local economy, their relationship was antagonistic and they would prefer not to be so economically reliant on the Maltese. Their economic dependency meant that to some degree they simply had to tolerate the negative impacts and their disrespectful behaviour.

While the domestic tourist market is considered beneficial to Gozo's economy, the largely international day-tripper tourism market is widely considered a burden on Gozo's infrastructure. Most of the day-trippers to Gozo are already spending a week or fortnight's holiday on the main island of Malta, and the day-trips are usually booked as an organised tour through their hotels, hotel representatives, or Maltese agencies on Malta. A common complaint made by Gozitans is that these visitors are encouraged to make the trip to Gozo towards the end of their holiday, at which time they have little

money left to spend on gifts and souvenirs or on food and drink on the island. A non-tourism-related Gozitan respondent complained that, *'If somebody comes for a holiday for seven days, it's only the last day that he's coming to Gozo, and the last day maybe [they are] a bit short of money...[and they have] no time to go around Gozo because he has to go back'* (7:4). A representative of the Gozo Business Chamber similarly commented on the day-tripper market: *'These normally come for a holiday to Malta and then in Malta they organise a day-trip to Gozo. Normally this takes place during the last one or two days of their stay in Malta, so they have very little money left...They come, they do a very quick tour and they go back, so they don't spend a lot of money here'* (33:4). A review of Gozo's tourism compiled for the GTA identifies that there is a relatively low spending pattern on shopping for souvenirs by day-visitors to Gozo (Stevens & Associates, 2000). Most of the typical souvenirs are also available in Malta for similar prices and there is little incentive for the excursion visitors to buy these souvenirs while on Gozo for the day. The same review also highlights the issue that some tour guides do not take groups to souvenir or craft shops, or do not allow sufficient time for buying souvenirs. There is a common perception that only a small number of businesses benefit from the day-trippers; these are the shops and restaurants that have pre-arranged agreements with the tour companies to stop there.

A representative of Gozo Channel suggested that, *'There's a lot of this mass tourism that go for a day, these day-trippers which don't generate hardly anything for the economy of Gozo'* (30:13). The average total spending on Gozo by these day-trippers is estimated to be Lm 5.88 per person, significantly less than the Lm 11.18 spent per person, per day during a holiday stay in Malta. Very importantly it is estimated that of the total visitor spending on day excursions to Gozo only 25 per cent directly benefits the Gozitan economy (Stevens & Associates, 2000). This economic leakage is a key issue for Gozitans, who feel it represents exploitation and it largely benefits the main island of Malta. This resentment is related to the core's exploitation of the 'periphery'.

Another common complaint among Gozitans is that day-trippers put a lot of pressure on the island's facilities, but for little economic return. A representative of the Gozo Business Chamber commented, *'Normally they [day-trippers] don't have very much money to spend here in Gozo, so I think they are a burden on the infrastructure. I mean, if you get people, whether they spend or not, you've got to provide transport, toilet facilities etcetera. So all this money is spent on infrastructure and [there is] very*

little return' (33:4). Gozo is a small island, about 67km^2, with a population of approximately 30,000 (MEPA, 2002), and the daily influx of tourists can have a significant impact. The day-trippers account for around 85 per cent of total visitor numbers to Gozo, that is an average of 1356 day-trippers per day (MTA, 2005). This number of visitors each day peaks strongly in the summer months and this has clear impacts on the island's infrastructure. A retired Gozitan politician disapproved of the day-trippers *'Because they are worth for nothing. They cost more for the scavenger to pick up the leftovers than the money they leave'* (22:16). In some respects the day visitors to Gozo are seen as an extension of the main island's tourism industry and it can be suggested that this is a manifestation of the exploitative character of the core-periphery relationship.

Although not discussed as often as Gozo's domestic tourists and day-trippers, non-Maltese foreign residents who have settled and non-Maltese people with second homes in Gozo were mentioned by several respondents as another important type of tourist. This includes residential tourists at various stages towards being permanent residents on Gozo, and the family and friends that visit them. There does not appear to be any hostility between the Gozitans and the semi-permanent or even permanent foreign residents, and they do not seem to view them as intruders. On the contrary, many foreign 'residents' seem to have established themselves as part of the community. Boissevain (1979:81) also discovered during his study of the impact of tourism on Gozo that, 'Though the proportion of holiday makers and foreign residents in Gozo is considerably lower than in Malta, their visibility is higher because of the smallness of scale. Strikingly, Gozitans knew many foreign residents by name, and also knew about their personal habits'. In the present research there was the occasional complaint from Gozitans that British bars owned by British Nationals and serving British food were starting to appear on the island, and they were not too keen on this happening. They argued that as they were in Gozo they should be serving Gozitan dishes. A Gozitan restaurateur complained, *'We have started having these bars that is bringing in a certain type of tourist...What's these snacks they are offering? Yorkshire pudding. We have the bread and the olive oil and the tomatoes, a local snack, and they are offering Yorkshire pudding'* (34:16). There were also a small number of complaints that these bars encourage their customers, most of whom are not locals, to drink too much alcohol and to behave inappropriately, perhaps affecting non-Maltese behavioural patterns.

It is not only foreigners that are buying property in Gozo, as *'Maltese people are purchasing property there as their second homes'* (27:14). The Maltese have been buying property in Gozo for many years, but the increase in foreign residents buying property to settle in Gozo or to use as holiday homes is a more recent phenomena. Both groups of people may benefit the local economy but they are causing rises in house prices, making it very difficult for local young people to buy. In addition, many Maltese people with second homes in Gozo are choosing to register their Gozo residence as their primary address in order to receive a Gozitan identity card, and consequently benefit from subsidised ferry travel. This trend is causing some resentment as the subsidies are intended to help only Gozitan students and workers who have to cross to Malta. Furthermore, the increase in registered properties in Ghajnsielem (a village in the east of Gozo), has meant that the number of registered voters in the area has exceeded the electoral quota. The solution proposed by the Electoral Commission was to join Ghajnsielem with the Mellieha and Naxxar districts in Malta. These new electoral boundaries would mean that people living in Malta would have a say in Gozo's affairs, and vice versa, and would contradict the declaration of Gozo as a region, as entrenched in Malta's Accession Treaty to the EU. The idea was strongly opposed by many Gozitans, as illustrated by Castelain (a regular commentator in the Sunday Times Newspaper) who argued that it has, 'Vilified Gozo and humiliated the Gozitans', and that, 'The Commission, through its decision, has succeeded to shatter the unity of the island. It has made a parody of the regionality of Gozo supposedly entrenched in Malta's accession treaty to the EU' (30/10/05). The Nationalist Party eventually opposed the decision made by the Commission so as to ensure that Gozo will continue to be considered a separate entity. Thus, although these foreign and Maltese residents are generally welcomed, these issues show that they have indirectly caused problems for the islanders.

Other important types of tourists that were identified by a small number of respondents were the diving tourists and those that visited with the divers, the walking groups, and the elderly visitors. A representative of the GTA suggested that, *'All from the four star, the three star, the diving groups, the walking groups. It can also attract the older generations where they come for long stays'* (29:14). The respondent further suggested that the reason Gozo attracts older generations is because *'Gozo is one of the safest islands in the Mediterranean. Life here is like a hundred years ago in any village in England or whatever, where it's nice and quiet and relaxed'* (29:14). This comment is

interesting as it suggests that Gozo is attractive to tourists because it has remained relatively unchanged. Yet the GTA is also often seen to be supporting tourism developments for the island, an apparent contradiction. Views on whether Gozo should remain unchanged are examined in section 7.4.

7.3 The Balance of tourism between Malta and Gozo

7.3.1 A comparison of tourism volumes between Gozo and Malta

It is common for Gozitans to compare aspects of their lives with that in Malta, such as their relative lifestyles, education, employment opportunities, and also their tourism industries. This comparative view is a key dimension of the core-periphery relationship between Gozo and Malta. The 'periphery' is by definition also seen as peripheral to something which is at the 'centre'. Thus, the respondents compared Gozo's and Malta's tourism industries with and without prompting during the interviews. Most frequently, respondents compared the amount of tourists that Gozo and Malta receive. All respondents that commented in this way believed that Malta gets a much larger share of visitors than Gozo. For example, a Gozitan respondent commented that, *'You're never going to be on the same scale as Malta because Malta has the cruise ship facilities...Malta gets more tourism than Gozo, obviously'* (11:8). Another suggested that, *'If Malta gets nine good months, we might get six'* (14:16). Respondents also discussed the seasonality problem in Gozo and the occupancy rates of Gozitan hotels in comparison to Maltese hotels. A manager of a Gozitan DMC contended that, *'If you go to hotels at this time of year [May] they are fully booked or nearly fully booked in Malta. If you go to Gozo hotels at the moment you see them around 20 per cent or 30 per cent [occupied]...Number-wise compared to Malta, yes it's quite low'* (15:2&15). Although it was mostly Gozitan respondents that made comments like these, an influential Maltese actor also commented that, *'Tourism in Gozo is much more problematic in the sense that it's more seasonal than Malta. In fact, you get some hotels in Gozo literally almost closing down for the winter'* (20:13). One of these respondents gave an interesting reason for the difference in tourism numbers between Gozo and Malta. A Gozitan property developer argued that Gozo loses out due to the personal self-interest of hotel owners that are based in Malta. He stated that, *'It's in their interests to keep the tourists in Malta...Hotel occupancy falls much lower than in Malta in the winter months...If a tour operator has an interest in an hotel, his interest will be to keep people in his hotel in Malta, even during the winter months...Hotels in Malta do better in winter than hotels in Gozo'* (16:13). This suggests that consolidation

is practiced by tour operators, whereby in the quieter months they fill hotels in the busier main resorts of Malta at the expense of Gozo. This demonstrates another advantage of the core over the periphery.

This Gozitan respondent went on to make a very interesting comment: *'Being part of Malta is a disadvantage because our biggest competitor is Malta'* (15:2). As discussed in an earlier section, those involved in the decision-making at government and industry level regarding tourism in Gozo may well be influenced by the personal business interests they have in Malta's tourism industry. Those in government or public sector agencies may insist that they make unbiased decisions, but it is perhaps inevitable that personal interests will prevail at times. This kind of behaviour is not permitted for politicians or public servants, as is demonstrated by the forced resignation of a past Chairman of the Malta Tourism Authority following his failure to report a conflict of interest he had. The Chairman was accused of not reporting to the Malta Tourism Authority board the fact that he was involved with a foreign company who applied for MTA funds to organise power boat races in Malta. The company requested more than Lm 300,000 worth of funding over a three-year period. He admitted his conflict of interest after he was faced with the facts in an MTA board meeting, and consequently submitted his resignation (Maltastar.com, 23-24/03/04). Again, this highlights another potential source of exploitation by the core and neglect of the periphery in Gozo's tourism development.

There is a common perception among the Gozitan respondents that visitors discover Gozo only after having visited Malta. One respondent commented, *'Many people discover Gozo after having come to Malta. You get a lot of repeat business because they sort of fall in love with the island, and they keep coming'* (16:11). A Gozitan respondent explained that a few even do *'what is known as a two centre holiday, they spend a week in Malta and a week in Gozo. If they do it in that order, the first week in Malta then they come to Gozo, they tell us, "If we had known, we would have stayed here for the whole stay"* (14:16). These comments indicate that Gozo is often found by tourists accidentally while staying on the main island. They also relate to the earlier discussion of the wide dissatisfaction with the promotion of Gozo as very secondary to the promotional focus on Malta. Malta is the main 'gateway' to the Maltese Islands, and all visitors to Gozo have to arrive via Malta's airport or ports. Gozo has to make extra efforts to encourage visitors to move away from Malta and travel to Gozo, a

journey that adds cost to a holiday and can be perceived as an inconvenience to many travellers. The promotion of Gozo at these ports of entry and the ease with which the journey can be made to Gozo are important factors for encouraging people to visit Gozo, but this is something that Malta would have significant control over. This emphasises the dependence Gozo has on Malta as the main gateway, and the struggle that it has in competing with Malta to attract tourists.

7.3.2 Comparison of the scale of tourism development in Gozo and Malta

The scale of tourism development in Gozo was also considered by respondents to be much less than in Malta, and perhaps ironically the majority of both Gozitans and Maltese saw this as a positive feature of Gozo's tourism industry. A Gozo Business Chamber representative commented with pride that *'We sincerely believe that Gozo has special things to offer which Malta has not, because it lost them through the over-development, and so on'* (33:16). Gozo has mainly low-rise buildings and thus a less 'built-up' and more attractive landscape. Also, as Gozo is less densely populated than Malta, there are still many open spaces between the villages and thus Gozo is more rural and more village community based. Respondents considered these to be positive differences to Malta.

Several Gozitan respondents expressed the view that Malta has made many mistakes in its over-development, often related to tourism, and that efforts should be made to prevent Gozo from repeating the same mistakes. A Gozitan DMC manager contended that, *'If Gozo finishes up like the area Sliema, St Julian's - Malta areas - then it [Malta] is finished...They [Government] have done mistakes in Gozo, but not as huge as Malta'* (15:16&18).

Maltese respondents agreed that Gozo should remain less developed and built-up: *'One of the reasons why tourists like Gozo is because Gozo is still relatively unspoilt when compared to Malta, and not just in terms of building and development, but also in terms of living style'* (20:13). Some Maltese respondents gave the impression that they were being quite protective over their sister island, in that they did not want Gozo to suffer the same mistakes as Malta. A MLP representative suggested, *'One thing we should be careful is not to destroy it, not to make it a mini-Malta. We shouldn't allow urbanisation to destroy it'* (10:8). An MTA representative contended that *'We have to be very, very careful about the development which goes on in Gozo because of the*

larger sensitivity. You know, the mistakes we've made in Malta should not be replicated in Gozo' (27:15). Overall, it is the majority opinion that, *'Gozo is relatively less spoilt than Malta'* (16:7), and it should remain this way. Here the regular comparison between core and periphery highlights lessons to be learnt from previous patterns of tourism development at the core. The uncertainty lies in whether Gozitans take this fully on board.

Interesting comments were made by Maltese respondents on how they felt the Gozitans view Gozo's development. Their responses go some way to explaining why the Maltese seem to be quite protective over Gozo's future development. For instance, an influential actor involved in planning and environmental issues argued that *'What they don't understand is that once Gozo becomes like Malta then nobody wants to come here. The only reason the environment is nice in Gozo is because of the fact that the villages are still intact. It's not one conurbation as we have in Malta'* (23:3). This respondent was frustrated that the Gozitans did not recognise this issue sufficiently. An MTA representative wished to see Gozo remain as it is and suggested that, *'They only tend to see the glittering lights from across the channel, the nice things, without realising how much Malta has lost and how much it has affected the quality of life in Malta...They tend to put more emphasis on the benefits of development in Malta rather than on what Malta has lost'* (21:10). Many Maltese respondents lacked confidence that the Gozitans fully appreciate the environment in which they live, and fully realised that it is much more attractive than Malta. It is suggested that Gozitans seem to focus more on the positive effects of Malta's numerous developments, without sufficiently recognising that Malta has also had to sacrifice many things as a consequence, such as the aesthetic appeal of its landscape. The MTA respondent went on to argue that *'Gozo itself does not really know what it wants, and my theory is that it looks at Malta as a benchmark. It looks at Malta as a benchmark and in many respects would like to equate itself with Malta in terms of accessibility, in terms of facilities, in terms of development, without realising that it is different'* (21:1). It was a relatively common perception that Gozitans always want what Malta has, even if it may be inappropriate for the smaller island. This is illustrated by a statement by a Gozitan respondent, which identified Gozo's limited development as unfair: *'Why is there a casino on Malta and not on Gozo? Probably tourists would come direct to Gozo if there is a casino...In Malta they give a permit for the eighth floor, for example; in Gozo nowadays it is the fourth floor'* (6:1&14). It is perhaps rather ironic that residents of the 'core' island feel

they need to restrain the development aspirations of the 'peripheral' island, albeit for what they see as the best of reasons.

7.4 Appropriate tourism development for Gozo

7.4.1 Types of tourism to be encouraged for Gozo

Both Maltese and Gozitan respondents largely favoured 'niche' tourism for Gozo. This probably accords with the stereotypical view of the 'comparative advantage' of the less developed tourist periphery. A Ministry for Tourism and Culture representative suggested that Gozo should encourage those niche markets to which Malta is less suited, *'Certainly in Gozo there is the possibility of having a different type of product. Smaller scale, less mass market, more focused on specific niches...Gozo has the possibility of developing the types of product which in Malta are not always possible'* (1:7). Gozitan respondents often identified several different types of niche tourism that Gozo should encourage, suggesting that they favoured encouraging diverse types of niche tourism rather than just one. One Gozitan respondent, for example, thought that Gozo should encourage: *'The type of tourists which have more money...But, on the other hand, we don't want to destruct those which comes of the middle, we have to attract them also. We have to do our best to attract both...Most of the tourists I think they will be helpful...In one way or another they will contribute for sure'* (4:14). This suggests that the island has attractions for diverse markets and that this diversity itself is a strength to be exploited.

On the other hand, this could be interpreted as an element of desperation due to the island's economic weakness, to increase tourist numbers of any kind. This is demonstrated by comments from Gozitan respondents that, *'Everybody is welcome as long as they have a great time'* (31:17), and *'All we need is tourists better than the day-trippers'* (32:17). Others suggested that all tourists are welcome, and not just niche markets, so long as they do not negatively impact the island, suggesting that there is an appreciation of tourists' potential to cause environmental and social harm. One suggested *'Every kind of tourist that comes to your country, even if they are not going to buy something, which is impossible, you're going to benefit something...So long as they don't do any harm to the country or the people'* (7:15).

While respondents suggested several different niches that should be encouraged, many Gozitan respondents highlighted the need to focus on attracting more upmarket, higher

spending tourists. For example, a property businessman in Gozo commented from his own perspective that *'We're getting a lot of upmarket clients now buying property here, which is a good sign, you know. So, if you begin to get them and they've got friends and they bring friends, and then you've got the quality of people here that we're looking for, that's what we need'* (16:17). A Gozitan non-tourism-related respondent also argued that, *'It's not the numbers, it's the quality. Because, listen, for example, 5,000 tourists come here every day and spend one pound each, and if 1,000 come here and spend 6 pounds that's better, it remains quiet and is generating money'* (19:15). Representatives of the GTA similarly supported the benefits of higher-spending tourists. Clearly smaller numbers of higher spending, more upmarket tourists are widely considered more appropriate for Gozo among Gozitans.

Interestingly, few Maltese respondents suggested that Gozo should specifically encourage higher spending visitors. An exception were the MTA representatives, who suggested that *'For Gozo I would go for something much more specific, I would go for something where people are very much willing to pay for it, but you will not get large volumes. So, I would rather have development which attracts people, you know, quite well-to-do people'* (27:9), and that, *'Gozo's tourism can be much more targeted...In the summer go for summer traffic which is a bit more upscale, people that are looking for a more individualistic experience, sort of, you're not offering them the massive resorts and the beaches'* (21:13). Even though few Maltese respondents suggested specifically that Gozo should encourage the more upmarket clientele, the comments made by the MTA representatives are significant as they are likely to be among the most knowledgeable respondents about tourism, as reflected by their jobs.

Some less positive, and possibly more realistic, comments were made about Gozo's potential to attract so-called 'upmarket' tourists. An influential Maltese actor involved in planning and environmental issues suggested that Gozo does not have enough to offer five-star tourists, and he also explained that higher spending tourists put considerable pressure on resources: *'Everyone says Gozo should be encouraging five-star tourists, and that is something that we experimented with in Malta, but the problem is that five-star tourists, unless they are interested in eco-tourism and that sort of thing which we can't offer much to them, your average five-star tourist is very voracious on resources, so that's a problem'* (9:17). A Gozitan school teacher, amongst others, was also pessimistic about Gozo's potential to attract upmarket tourists, suggesting that the

product would not be to their standard. She commented that, *'They always speak about quality tourism, it's better to have quality not quantity. But the quality, what does it mean, these roads we have and things. I don't know, I think they're not sure what really they are promoting and what we want Gozo to be'* (26:10). There is a perception overall that Gozo may have the potential to attract upmarket tourists – and the majority of respondents would prefer fewer higher spending tourists to the mass market – but that Gozo's current tourism product would first need to be upgraded.

A common discourse amongst both Maltese and Gozitan respondents was that Gozo should be exploiting its natural features to encourage tourism, such as the attractive countryside that covers the island and the sea that surrounds it. This discourse reflects earlier comments that Gozo's natural landscape is one of its most important strengths as a tourist destination. It was a readily available source, based on the island's distinctive qualities, and it could help to protect those qualities. In relation to this, a large number of respondents suggested that sports tourism should be further encouraged on the island, more specifically water-sports (diving in particular) and walking holidays. The manager of a Gozo diving centre argued that, *'We already have an industry, that's the diving industry, with close to no capital expenditure, or just a bit, a few thousand pounds. It could flourish and attract a lot more divers to the island by sinking reefs, making artificial reefs'* (14:8). A representative of MEPA similarly suggested that Gozo's diving industry is a tourism niche to be encouraged, he acknowledged that, *'Diving is definitely more popular in Gozo than in Malta because of the diving sites, they have an advantage there compared to Malta, so yes they have to look after that'* (12:14).

According to the Times of Malta (27/08/04), 'Dive tourists represent about two to three per cent of total arrivals but their presence is reflected as five to six per cent of the total annual revenue from tourism. They hire cars, eat out and hire out farmhouses and they are good spenders'. A diving master plan for Gozo and Comino was recently presented to the island's diving tourism stakeholders. The plans form part of the European Union co-funded 'Niche Tourism Project for The Island of Gozo', which has an investment of €1.3 million. The diving industry has so far benefited from the scuttling of two vessels, the setting up of a decompression chamber, and additional promotional campaigns (Times of Malta, 06/01/07). Support for this project was shown in a newspaper article: 'Not only are such projects plus-points in themselves, but they also leave a positive

ripple effect on the island's economy. It is a known fact that Gozo boasts several returning diving tourists...diving tourists rarely travel alone. Their holiday in Gozo often means a party of friends or family who all need basic amenities, services and entertainment' (Sunday Times, 14/01/07). Responses have shown much encouragement for diving as a niche tourism product in Gozo, and it appears that activities are already underway to improve and promote this sector.

Walking holidays were also frequently suggested as a type of tourism that should be encouraged to Gozo, again as this is seen as drawing on Gozo's distinctive character and peripheral 'quietness' and it does not require change to the island. The countryside in Gozo is generally considered to be attractive for walkers and to be very safe. There is the view here that Gozo has a strong competitive advantage over the main island because although smaller it is much 'greener'. A small number of respondents mentioned that Gozo would also be suitable for cyclists, a MEPA representative suggested: *'Walking groups and cycling groups and perhaps some horse trails, interventions in derelict landscapes, things of this sort which help to consolidate Gozo as a niche market for different kinds of tourists'* (12:11). These suggestions reflect a newly found appreciation for the countryside, previously thought of only as land to be worked on. The countryside is described above as 'safe', which is true for the most part, but there are certain instances where there are problems with access, and also danger issues concerning the bird hunters and trappers that use the countryside for their 'sport'. Spring hunting and trapping of turtle-doves and quails is a popular pastime in Malta and Gozo, and it is a tradition about which those involved are very passionate. Anecdotal evidence suggests that there have been cases where people who have 'got in the way', knowingly or otherwise, have been threatened or actually shot at by the bird hunters. The season is only meant to last a few weeks, but the problem lies in the fact that the legal season does not tend to be strictly adhered to, and visitors to certain areas of the countryside can find themselves in danger. There are often letters of complaint in the Maltese newspapers, sometimes from Maltese but more often from foreigners, arguing that it should be stopped. One particular letter from a Gozitan recounts a walk in the countryside when a bird-trapper yelled at them to keep quiet, and then threatened them by picking up a rock and warned them never to return (Zammit, 30/11/07). The knowledge alone that bird hunting and trapping happens is very likely to put walking tourists off visiting the island, but even more so if they know it can be dangerous. According to Birdlife Malta – a well-established organisation that strives to conserve

wild birds and their habitats - spring hunting is not allowed within the European Union in order to protect wild birds before they are about to reproduce in their breeding grounds in Europe. But, in spite of an ongoing infringement procedure opened by the European Commission the government opened another spring hunting season in 2007, a fourth consecutive breech of the EU Birds Directive since Malta joined the EU (Birdlife Malta, 2007). It is a situation which can seriously affect the international image of Malta and Gozo as such issues are frequently reported in the international press.

Another common discourse amongst both Maltese and Gozitan respondents was that Gozo's traditional characteristics should be exploited to encourage tourism. Not only are these traditions attractive to tourists but they also imbue a sense of pride in the Gozitans. The traditional features as a remote and less developed 'periphery' gives them a competitive advantage over the main island and its 'core' advantages in mass tourism. The traditional characteristics with tourism potential were most frequently described as the island's heritage and culture; the heritage refers to historical sites of interest such as the Ggantija temples, the Citadel, dolmens, and cart-ruts that are found on the island, and the culture refers to elements such as the religious 'festas' that are held throughout the year, the local cuisine, traditional building styles, and witnessing the Gozitans' way of life. A MEPA representative suggested that, *'They [Gozitans] need to appreciate what they have and develop a niche to attract tourists based on the unique features. I mean, how many Ggantijas are there in the Mediterranean? Just one. How many Citadellas are there? Just one...They need to be aware to capitalise on the rural characteristic, on the historical heritage, other competitors would need to work very hard in order to get that kind of heritage'* (12:14). Gozitan respondents expressed similar views, for example, a GBC representative suggested that, *'They come for history, for quiet, maybe for culture, but I think Gozo has to pin-point these niches and attract these types of tourists...culture can be well marketed, there is a lot of culture'* (33:16). Again, this discourse reflects earlier discussion about Gozo's heritage and culture as important tourism strengths.

Furthermore, a Gozitan respondent suggested that in terms of the types of tourism that Gozo should be encouraging, *'The first thing is the village festas, and churches, those are the main two. Then there's the traditional food...When tourists are over here, and they know there is a Maltese folklore, a Maltese night, they will try to go...We have to do much more promotion for that...There's a lot of things which could be invented or*

promoted much more than they are, and nobody knows about them' (7:16). These religious cultural elements are not 'created' for tourists, but are very much part of Gozo's strong Catholic society. A Gozitan respondent believed that Gozitans, *'Are proud of their churches...They put so much money in their churches, why not look at it'* (24:13). There has been much research done into the 'commercialisation of culture', with different conclusions reached (e.g. Greenwood, 1989). Some authors applaud the fact that by allowing tourists to experience the host destinations' cultures and traditions it actually enhances the locals' awareness and appreciation of them. Many traditions have been reinvigorated thanks to the interest shown by tourists. Other authors see the promotion of cultures and traditions to tourists as a slippery slope towards a dilution of their meaning, and in the end, their demise. The interesting issue to consider here is the extent to which the elements of this cultural festival need to be 'created', or as the last respondent states, 'invented'. Black (1990 & 1996), in an introduction to her study of the cultural effects of tourism in Malta, explains that more and more Northern Europeans choose to holiday in Southern Europe and they now have certain expectations of Mediterranean culture. At the very least, an outdoor café life with picturesque umbrella-shaded tables will be expected. Yet, in Malta, until very recently, any café life that existed at all was extremely restricted and its custom confined to members of the urban elite. Customs which are found in one Mediterranean country – for instance, the existence of an indigenous dance tradition in Greece – tend to become a cultural requirement for all other tourist destinations in the Mediterranean. As a result, the demand for cultural tourism can outstrip supply, leading to the need to conjure up ever more: 'Thus in Malta, it has become popular to stage 'traditional' dance performances which are mostly only a few years old' (Black, 1990:60). Boissevain (1977:532) also researched the impact of tourism on culture in Malta, and argues that, 'Tourists have also had a considerable impact on local cultural manifestations, for they have influenced art, theatre, crafts, music, and even food'. Boissevain explains how tourists assume – mistakenly in Malta's case – that all Mediterranean restaurants have traditionally served folk music and dance with the food. This has created a modest folk music industry which provides after-hours work for a few authentic singers and guitarists and numbers of young dancers who perform 'traditional' folkdances, most of which are only a year or two old. Such demand from tourists has unquestionably helped to preserve the limited traditional instrumental and vocal music that existed, and generally speaking has helped the Maltese to appreciate, if not discover, the vernacular. However, it is evident that the so-called 'traditions' that can be turned in to attractions

for tourists may never have been as important to locals as they are now portrayed to be. It is important for Gozitans to consider whether their enthusiasm to promote cultural niches to tourists should be 'at all costs'.

A lesser used discourse was that the types of tourism to be encouraged for Gozo should be sustainable. A representative of the GTA explained that, *'Our position is always in favour of sustainable development...Gozo should be given projects that are in within the parameters of the island'* (17:8). The concept of sustainable tourism was often referred to in terms of agro and eco-tourism by respondents. An MTA representative, for instance, suggested that for Gozo he would like to see, *'A very different type of development which is more sustainable, more long-term in nature, and one which is more in character with the island...The development of a Gozo version of agro-tourism and eco-tourism'* (21:2&16). At this time, there was an agro-tourism project being started in Gozo by a local restaurateur. His plan was to grow several different types of produce, in a traditional manner, on previously un-used land, and allow tourists to visit and learn about the methods used and to taste the produce. The businessman had already successfully started to grow lemon trees on the land, and had plans to produce many other fruits, vegetables and herbs. A second representative of the MTA also suggested agro-tourism as a type of tourism to encourage for Gozo, alongside the farmhouse product. Farmhouses in Gozo are old houses renovated to look as they did in the days when they were actually used by farmers, often with animals living in outhouses nearby. They have been renovated to varying levels of authenticity, and varying levels of luxury, and it would seem that there is potential to combine farmhouse stays with agro-tourism experiences. One interesting point to note here is that those respondents that suggested Gozo should concentrate on sustainable tourism were mainly from tourism-related backgrounds, and in particular they were representatives of the MTA, GTA and MTAC. These respondents are likely to be more knowledgeable about the impacts of tourism and more aware of the importance of sustainable tourism. Few Gozitans commented on the importance of tourism niches to be sustainable, their positive impact on the economy was deemed more attractive. That is not to say that respondents would have dismissed the importance of sustainable tourism if they had been questioned further on the subject, though it seems it is perhaps not the priority.

A small number of respondents also discussed the types of tourism they would like to discourage to Gozo. Three Gozitan respondents commented that they would not like

Gozo to attract mass tourism; two suggested that the infrastructure would not be able to cope with such numbers, and the third feared that hotels would have to reduce their prices too low in order to compete. Five Gozitan respondents commented that Gozo should discourage tourists that want nightclubs and bars, with two of these respondents commenting that they would not like to see Gozo turned into another Ibiza: *'No, not another Ibiza, no that's trouble...The young people, they swarm over here and get drunk and they break glass, I don't think that should be encouraged here, no, not for Gozo'* (24:13). The limited discussion of types of tourists to discourage to Gozo supports the earlier impression given that respondents are happy to encourage all types of tourists to Gozo, so long as they do not cause any trouble; a Gozitan primary school teacher illustrates this by stating, *'I don't know who I wouldn't want here, as long as they are decent people. Definitely we wouldn't want somebody to come here and start riots, and come and steal from our homes'* (31:16). Only one respondent commented that the day-tripper market should be discouraged. This is perhaps surprising considering that day-trippers were perceived to make very little positive contribution to the local economy. Perhaps some contribution to the local economy is perceived to be better than none, and therefore they would not discourage them; like the Maltese visitors, the day-tripper market could be described as a 'necessary evil'.

7.4.2 Types of tourism development to encourage for Gozo

The level of tourism development is clearly a major issue for a marginal, small island affected by double insularity. Not unsurprisingly then, not one respondent commented that they would like to see less tourism development than already exists in Gozo. Many commented that there should be as much development as Gozo needs, according to the level of tourist demand. For example, a barman in Gozo said: *'I am very much in favour of development, but as I told you, the development has to be right, as sure as the people are coming'* (7:14). A representative of Din L'Art Helwa (an Gozo organisation that is similar to the National Trust), similarly commented: *'When you say development I'm talking of the tourist industry and the hotels and things like that, I'm hoping that we improve what we have, offer it better, and then if there is a need to expand it's done as needed, not as people want'* (11:9). There was resistance to speculation in advance of tourist demand, and it was felt that a growing tourism industry on the supply side should be based on increasing tourist interest on the demand side. A smaller number of Gozitan respondents suggested that instead of encouraging more tourism development, the existing tourism development should be improved upon. A property agent and

DMC manager in Gozo expressed this view that, *'I'd like to see more improvement actually. You've got to look after them...It's no good building new hotels, we haven't got the people. Improve what we've got'* (36:15). Similarly, a GTA representative commented: *'I always think that Gozo only needs a little bit of make-up and it would be much better off'* (29:3). Several Gozitan respondents expressed that they would like to see more tourism development in Gozo, and many commented that it should be carefully planned and with minimum impact to the environment. A Gozitan policeman commented that *'I'm not in favour of having developers running all over Gozo, but if the developer is controlled and there will be landscaping and so on, we will be improving the environment'* (32:13). A Gozitan restaurateur shared a similar opinion that, *'If we develop Gozo professionally without spoiling it, it is good...I am in favour of developing Gozo even more, but as long as it is done at the right places with the right landscaping'* (38:17).

Focusing on the type of tourism development that respondents would like to encourage for Gozo, the majority opinion was that it should be small-scale. The following comments were made by Gozitan respondents: *'We should not be bombastic in our decisions and in our scale of development. In my opinion this type of development should be very small'* (4:16); *'The development should reflect the island, the smallness of the island. We say that small is beautiful, so I think Gozo does not fall within the parameters of the development of Malta'* (17:2&11); and Gozo should have *'Small development because we are a small island'* (18:14).

Reflecting this desire for small-scale development, several respondents suggested that tourism development should follow the style of the farmhouse product in Gozo, as described earlier. A diving centre manager in Gozo contended that, *'A lot of development for tourists has gone in to what is called farmhouses, they are not high rises, maximum two floors, and they keep it with the weathered stone...Typical old way before all these modern tools came to fruition...they [tourists] prefer that to a five-star hotel'* (14:17). A GTA representative also showed support for the development of the farmhouse product, he said: *'One example of sustainable development is the conversion of the farmhouses. It is sustainable development because we have kept the character of the farmhouses but we used it for tourism purposes, we didn't ruin it, we upgraded it'* (17:11).

Maltese respondents expressed similar views to the Gozitans about the type of tourism development that should be encouraged for Gozo. Firstly, it was suggested that the development should be carefully planned, for example, a representative from Gozo Channel contended that, *'You can't really stop development because you can't discriminate, but it has to be much more planned and structured'* (30:14). Secondly, a representative of MEPA, suggested that the existing infrastructure should be improved upon instead of building more, he explained: *'As far as planning is concerned, our recommendation was to utilise the existing infrastructure...[it has] the obvious advantage of utilising the existing under-utilised buildings'* (12:10). And thirdly, it was suggested that the development should be small-scale, a representative of the MTA expressed the opinion, *'I would have smaller-scale which caters for the needs of a specific market'* (27:9). These responses are not surprising when considering the common Maltese discourse that Gozo should remain less built-up than Malta. The comment from the Gozo Channel representative is interesting in that he says development cannot be stopped because it would discriminate against the Gozitans. Although the Maltese may want Gozo to remain less developed, this expressed an understanding that it may not be fair for outsiders to insist on this. More specifically, several Gozitan respondents suggested that further hotel development in Gozo should be discouraged, supported by the perception that Gozo's accommodation supply exceeds the present tourist demand: *'What is the use in building another hotel when the bed capacity in Gozo is 33 per cent?'* (35:12). Overall, based on these responses, the perception is that Gozo needs to improve its existing tourism product before building more. Only when there is additional demand should more tourism development be permitted, and this should be small-scale and carefully planned.

7.5 The future of Gozo's tourism

7.5.1 Extent to which Gozo should progress and modernise

Peripherality is often associated with 'timelessness' or even 'backwardness' depending on one's perspective and can be considered an advantage or a disadvantage, depending if one lives at the periphery or the core. In fact, respondents gave rather mixed views as to whether they believed there are advantages in keeping Gozo relatively unchanged. Around half of the Gozitan respondents agreed that they would prefer to see Gozo remain relatively unchanged, and half argued that Gozo had to change. Those that supported the notion of keeping Gozo relatively unchanged mostly discussed this in terms of development and the character of the island. They argued that it would make

the island more attractive to tourists and consequently benefit the tourism industry: *'One of the selling points of Gozo is it character'* (15:17). A school teacher commented that apart from making certain improvements to the environment and infrastructure she would prefer to see Gozo relatively unchanged, she said: *'There are certain things I would change, I would fix the roads, I would clean up the environment, but I think it would be nice if it remains...It's different, if it becomes like everywhere else then it's not Gozo anymore, tourists won't come. We want tourists to come and see what it is like now'* (31:13). This view is perhaps inevitable, given the emphasis on tourism in the interviews, but it does also suggest that this reflects the perceived importance of this industry. The direct benefits from tourism for the Gozitans themselves should not be overlooked.

A representative of the GTA proffered an interesting opinion in relation to this, he similarly contended that Gozo should remain relatively unchanged, *'Because there is a lot of benefit out of it'* (17:11). He argued that tourists would not want to visit Gozo if it was too similar to other destinations. He explained: *'The domestic market in Malta have shown us, because of the weekend escapes to Gozo. Why do they come here? Because they want to get away from the hustle and bustle of Malta...If we are going to make a mini Sliema here or a mini Valletta here, who is coming here?'* (17:11). This comment is surprising because the GTA tends to show support for tourism developments in Gozo that are likely to benefit the tourism industry. They are, for instance, in support of the creation of a runway on the island to allow for the operation of a fixed-wing air service between the islands (as discussed in Chapter Eight). This again demonstrates a Gozitan tendency to want it all, they seem to struggle to decide which is best for the island, development or underdevelopment.

By contrast, around half of the Gozitan respondents expressed the belief that Gozo cannot remain relatively unchanged, they argued that the island needs to modernise and progress: *'You can't keep a place unchanged in modern days'* (29:15). A barman in Gozo contended that you have to change if you want to compete with other holiday destinations: *'If nobody is competing with you, okay we can leave it as it is, but if someone is competing with you...It is nice to keep it as it is, but then you benefit much more if you try to do better for yourself'* (7:17). A representative of the Gozo Business Chamber expressed a similar view that Gozo needs to modernise: *'I wouldn't go for static Gozo, having the people not improving their way of life, I am all for improvement*

so that people will have a better life' (33:17). Whether in favour of change or not, the underlying influence is the potential benefit to the locals.

Responses from Maltese respondents were much clearer, as they all believed it would be advantageous for Gozo to remain relatively unchanged. An influential Maltese tourism-related actor argued that tourists like to visit Gozo because of the way that it is: *'One of the reasons why tourists like Gozo is because Gozo is still relatively unspoilt when compared to Malta, and it's not just in terms of building and development but also in terms of living style. It's not the fast-tracked movements as in Malta, it's more the laid-back style'* (20:13). Another influential Maltese actor involved in environmental and planning issues shared this view that Gozo should maintain its relaxed, rural character. He contended that: *'There are advantages. Look at the islands around Sicily, around Greece, around many of the Greek islands: you can go there for its rurality, its laid-back [lifestyle]. In today's world, where everything is fast, all the electronics, it's nice to be out in the real countryside'* (23:15). A representative of the MTA similarly believed that there are advantages in keeping Gozo relatively unchanged. She explained that decisions made about Gozo's development must be very carefully considered, and the mistakes made in Malta should not be replicated in Gozo. However, she also pointed out that this does not mean Gozo should be kept completely unchanged. She refuted the notion that Gozo should be kept as a 'crib', a common accusation from Gozitans of the Maltese: *'It doesn't mean that we put them in a [crib], you know, and don't touch them'* (27:15). A representative of the Gozo Channel admitted that he is biased in wanting Gozo to remain relatively unchanged, he argued: *'I think it should be kept that way...Why would you want to visit Gozo if it developed with all the buildings that are in Malta, easy access, no boat ride, no countryside, having everywhere packed, you wouldn't want to go to Gozo'* (30:13). This respondent acknowledged his bias in wanting Gozo to remain less developed, and he disagreed with the idea of linking the two islands by a bridge because it would encourage too many visitors which would spoil Gozo. If these responses from Maltese respondents are a reflection of Maltese opinion as a whole, including Maltese decision-makers concerning Gozo's tourism development, then there is definite support for the common Gozitan perception that the Maltese want Gozo to remain less developed. In effect, this represents a structural characteristic restricting the development options of the Gozitans. It is a perhaps unexpected restraint on their agency and ability to determine their own future.

However, the extent to which it holds back individual developers and national politicians when they consider large development projects is more debateable.

7.5.2 Importance of maintaining traditional values

All respondents, both Gozitan and Maltese, believed that it is important for Gozo to maintain traditional values in the face of development and change. Many of the Gozitan respondents suggested that the traditional values are an important element to maintain as they are an attraction for tourists. Few made any mention of the importance of traditional values for the locals, other than the benefits that can be had from using them to attract tourism. A representative of Din L'Art Helwa said, *'You go to a new place to visit and learn the different cultures, to see the different buildings, different aspects of life. But, if everyone lived the same way and did the same thing, there'd be no reason to go anywhere'* (11:9); and similarly a representative of the GBC suggested, *'Yes, this is very important, we should not change our values...people come to Gozo because of what Gozo is, so if we change our values, let's say if we want to follow the trend in every other European city, people have no need to come here, they can stay in their own city and it's the same thing, so we should keep our values and traditions'* (33:17). Again, the emphasis on the benefits of traditional values for tourism may reflect the context in which the issues were discussed. But, it still is an interesting finding.

Whilst these Gozitan respondents, and many others, suggested that traditional values should be maintained, a large proportion also commented that Gozo should be progressing and modernising at the same time: traditional values should be maintained alongside progress and change. A school teacher commented that, *'No society ever went backwards, every society moves forward, and whether we like it or not values are changing, they will always change. But particularly in Malta and Gozo we try to maintain a lot of these traditional values, which I'm not against, I like traditional values, but not at the expense of opening your mind'* (26:11). Another respondent suggested that, *'It's important to keep our traditional folklore here in Gozo. Also, for example, churches here and the religious traditions, processions, this is something that foreign tourists appreciate a lot...let's put it like that, we need to continue our improvement in technology, but at the same time our traditions should be kept'* (35:12). Similarly: *'It's good for tourists because it's a distinct thing why they come here. It's good for the locals because they bring the tourists. It's also good for the locals to be in line with the rest of the world'* (15:17). The same Din L'Art Helwa representative that

commented above went on to suggest that, *'It's good to be modernised and to have everything that you need...You have to move as the world does, I mean you can't stay with candlelight when there's electricity, or else nobody would come over and so on. Then they would call you backwards. But I think it's very important to show the culture and the heritage because it's of interest and it's a selling point'* (11:9). This comment is interesting because the respondent suggested that if the island were to remain less modernised or 'backward', then people would not want to visit. Yet, there has been much emphasis recently in tourism research and industry marketing on the increase in popularity of the lesser developed, more 'backward' destinations (e.g. Nash and Martin, 2003). Other respondents similarly commented on the importance of maintaining traditions, as well as modernisation and progression for Gozo. On the whole, from their responses it seems that Gozitans are aware of the importance of maintaining their traditional values, particularly for the benefit of the tourism industry, and at the same time they – unsurprisingly – insist that it is important for them to be able to enjoy the advantages of modernisation.

The divide in opinion amongst Gozitan respondents and between Maltese and Gozitan respondents concerning whether Gozo should remain relatively unchanged, and whether traditional values should be maintained in the face of progress and change, has echoes of the 'tradition versus modernity' debate. Authors such as Mitchell (2001) and Herzfeld (1991) discuss the issues surrounding this debate, with Mitchell highlighting the complexities in the Maltese context, and Herzfeld focussing on the case of Rethymnon, an old town on the Greek island of Crete. As in Rethymnon, the Gozitans are undoubtedly aware that their traditional buildings and way of life are attractive to tourists, and they benefit (whether directly or indirectly) from the visitors' contribution to the economy, but to what extent should they be made to live in the past? Is it fair for Maltese decision-makers at the core of this nation state to reduce the amount of modernisation and development at its geographical and economic periphery, even if it benefits the tourism industry and local economy? Responses from Gozitans imply that it is not.

7.5.3 Future success of Gozo's tourism industry

Respondents were asked to comment on how they saw the future of Gozo's tourism, whether they felt optimistic about its success as a tourist destination in the next 10 to 15 years. The Gozitans' views were neither particularly optimistic nor pessimistic, but

rather more 'hopeful' that visitor numbers would increase: *'Judging from what's in the papers tourism is down, we can't drop anymore, the only way is up!'* (34:16).

Despite the current difficulties for the islands' tourism sector, the most common discourse was that there would continue to be too much general and tourism-related physical development in the future. A school teacher expressed her concern, *'I don't think there's a lot of long-term planning, so I think in the future if we continue in this way we'll have a lot of blocks of flats, and our character will slowly, slowly be lost'* (26:13). Similarly, a property developer commented that, *'We've [Gozitans] always lacked, sort of, self-discipline, so I think the developers would win at the end of the day rather than the planners'* (16:12). One Gozitan respondent made a comment that is representative of how many Gozitans seem to view the control that the main island has over Gozo. He suggested that Gozo's tourism, *'Will be how the Maltese decides to propose it'* (22:18).

Maltese respondents shared the Gozitans' most common discourse that there will be too much physical development in the future. An influential actor in environmental and planning issues, for example, suggested that Gozo will be, *'Much the same as Malta I think in 10 years time, unless people realise what they have done and try to reverse it, which is difficult. The problem is that the politicians are trying to sell, or trying to convince rather, decision-takers, not us, that we need more land to develop. It's nonsense'* (23:15). Responses from other Maltese respondents were varied and tended to reflect their respective knowledge frameworks. A Malta Labour Party representative, for instance, suggested that the future would depend on the actions of the present government. He explained, *'I have spoken to Gozitan entrepreneurs that are ready to invest in Gozo provided that there is a signal and a push from government that "yes we are working hard to increase the number of tourists who come"* (10:19). A second representative from the MTA suggested that the future for Gozo's tourism will be bright, *'So long as one is careful, as long as one does not descend the route of mass tourism...handled well it has excellent prospects, it's a beautiful island'* (21:17).

7.6 Knowledge frameworks and related discourses

The following diagrams represent three large knowledge frameworks held by the social actors who took part in the interviews and those who commented in the Maltese newspapers. The knowledge frameworks shown are broad representations of their

perspectives on Gozo's tourism development and whether it is considered appropriate. These knowledge frameworks are supported by more specific discourses. The labels used in these diagrams are similar to those used in Chapter Six, where they are explained fully.

The first diagram (Figure 7.1) suggests that many Maltese tourism-related influential actors share the same overarching knowledge framework that Gozo's tourist numbers are too low and that tourism supply far exceeds tourism demand. This social group also shares the knowledge framework that Gozitans do not fully appreciate the potential their island has to be a successful and sustainable tourist destination. Their main concern is that Gozo will make the same mistakes as Malta has in terms of encouraging mass tourism which has resulted in over-development.

Figure 7.2 shows that many Gozitans, local residents and tourism stakeholders, share the same broad knowledge framework. Their knowledge framework is not too different from that of the Maltese social group, shown in Figure 7.1, in that they also have the view that Gozo's tourist numbers are too low and tourism supply exceeds demand. However, the Gozitan social group seem to be more inclined to encourage development if the demand necessitates it. This group is also aware of the fact that Malta is Gozo's largest competitor, and they are unhappy that Malta's tourism industry is more successful than Gozo's. At times, this group seems to want to copy Malta's tourism development even when it is not suitable for the island. This reflects a feeling of jealousy by the people at the periphery of what they see at the core. This group also shares the common discourse that Gozo should be trying to encourage upmarket tourists.

Figure 7.3 represents the various other knowledge frameworks and related discourses that were less commonly shared, yet still significant. This social group includes a mixture of Gozitan and Maltese tourism and non-tourism-related actors. Their discourses tend to reflect a less positive (or possibly more realistic) view of Gozo's potential as a tourist destination. The respondents represented in this diagram held alternative discourses that Gozo was not as 'special' or 'unique' as many other respondents had described it to be. The overall view was that the existing product was not up-to-scratch and that much improvement would be needed, especially if the island is to attract upmarket tourists.

Figure 7.1: Broad knowledge framework and discourses – Maltese social group

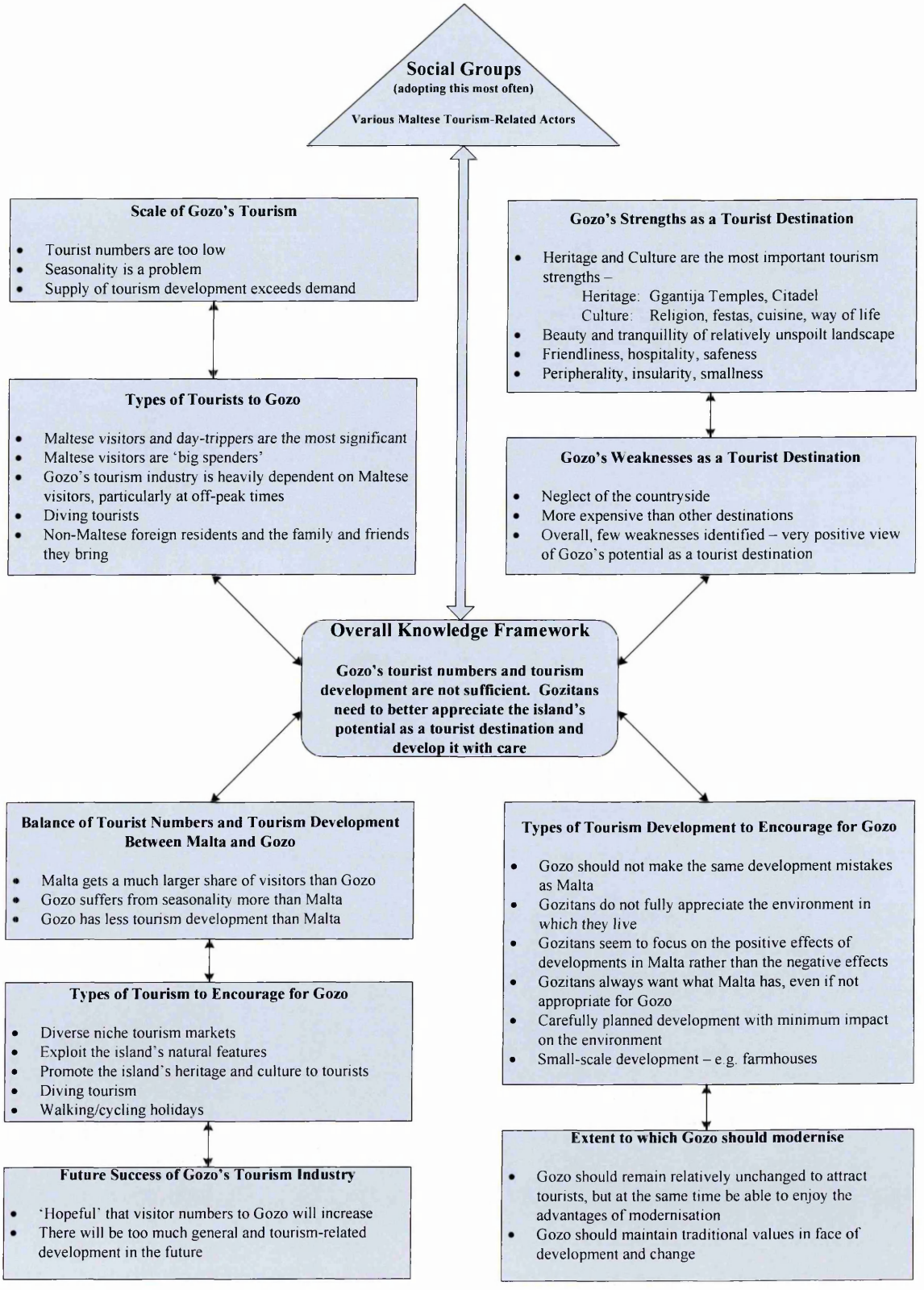


Figure 7.2: Broad knowledge framework and discourses – Gozitan social group

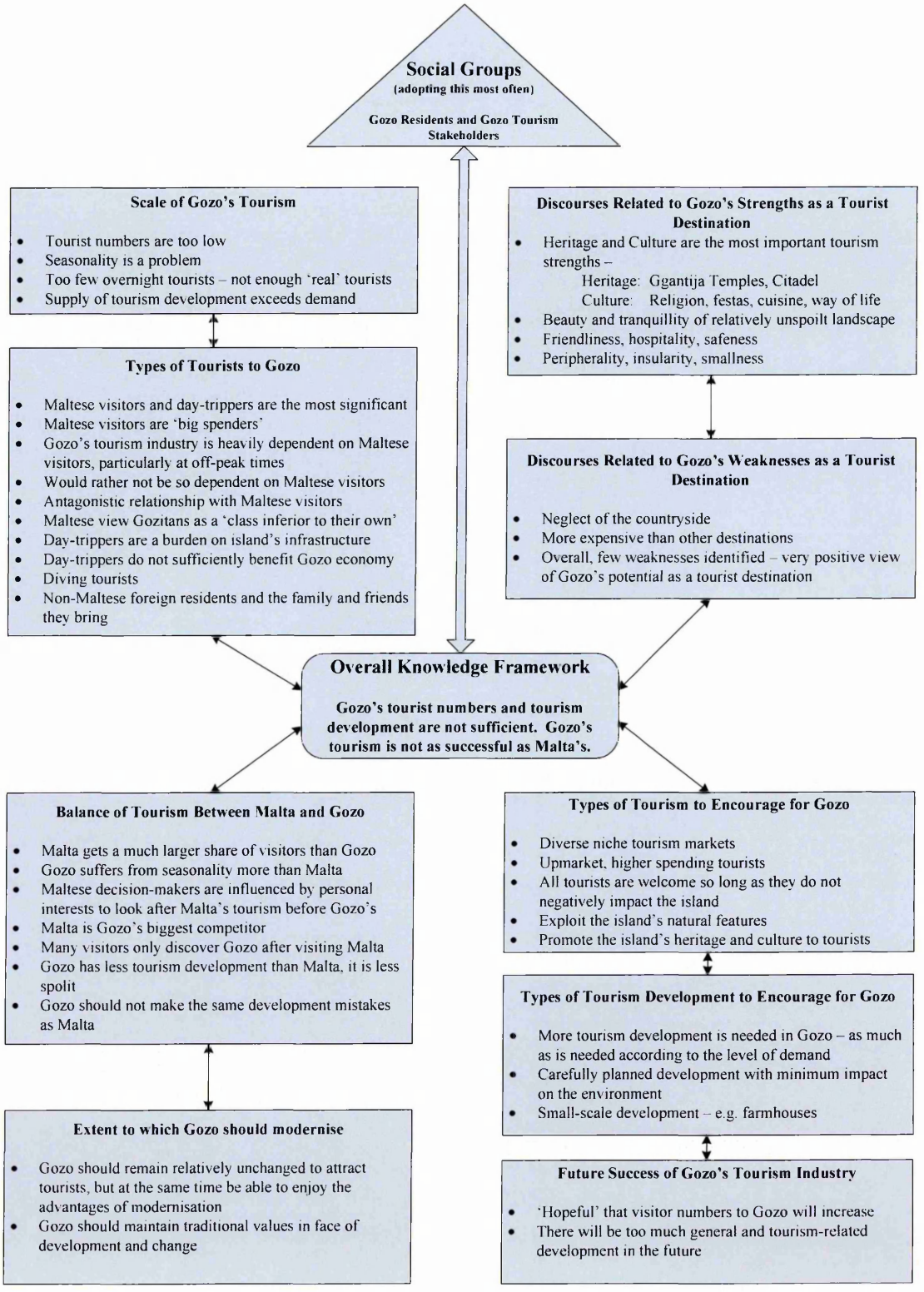
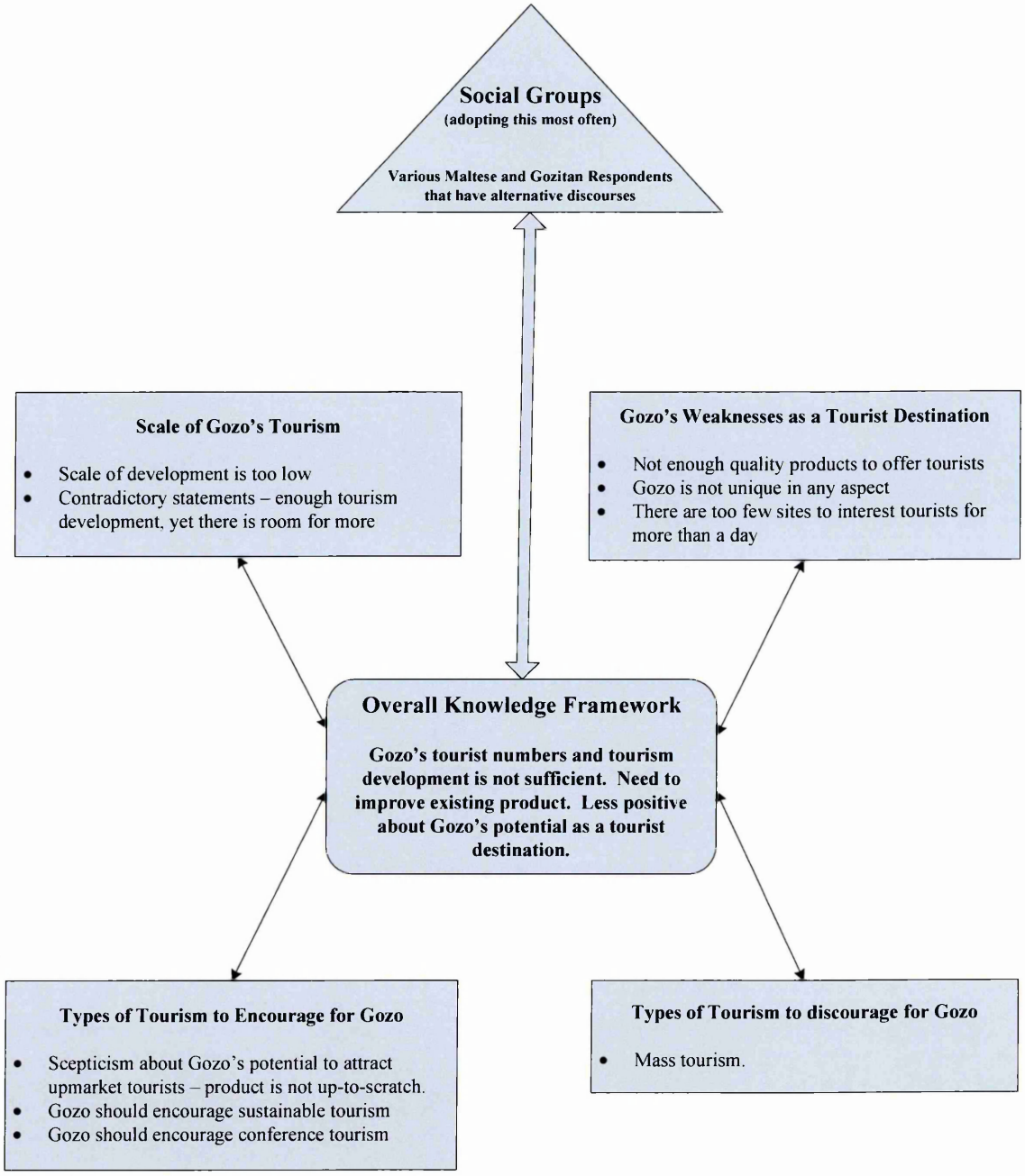


Figure 7.3: Broad knowledge framework and discourses – Alternative social group



7.7 Conclusion

This chapter has examined opinions concerning Gozo's tourism development. It is clear that the amount of tourists to Gozo was considered to be too low, with too few overnight stays, and this was exacerbated by the island's seasonality problems. A significant perceptual issue is that Gozitans largely overlook the number of day visitors that they receive, and only consider those that stay for a night or more as 'real' tourists. It would be interesting to discover whether this issue exists in other core-periphery island destinations.

The supply of tourism-related development in Gozo was generally considered to exceed demand. However, some Gozitan respondents also commented that there is scope for more development, and an MTA representative suggested that Gozo might be lacking a five-star hotel. This suggests that although there was a realism about the problem of over-supply of tourist facilities, there was also a rather simplistic desire for further development of these facilities in the hope that it will encourage more tourists.

Respondents identified many strengths of Gozo as a tourist destination, with the island's heritage and culture being considered the most important. It was generally believed that these elements were not being exploited to their full potential for tourism. The beauty of the island landscape and the tranquility were the next most common strengths identified. A smaller number of respondents suggested that the island's 'smallness' could attract tourists because it boasts a number of tourist attractions in such a small area. The friendliness and hospitality of the community were also identified as tourism strengths. Another discourse used by a small number of respondents was that the island's double insularity is a strength in tourism terms as it helps portray an image of remoteness, unspoilt natural beauty, and 'otherness'. The only weaknesses identified were the neglect of the countryside with excessive dumping of litter, and the rising costs of a holiday to Gozo compared to other destinations. These are both weaknesses which the locals have some 'agency' to control as they can try to change the ambivalent attitude many have for the environment and can eliminate instances where tourists are 'ripped-off'.

It could be suggested that the pride of the Gozitans, and even of the Maltese, about Gozo has encouraged them to have exaggerated and unrealistic evaluations and expectations of Gozo's strengths as a tourist destination. Gozo does indeed have

several strengths for attracting tourists, but many of them are not unique, with other countries having far more impressive attractions with which Gozo will struggle to compete.

The two most significant types of visitors to Gozo were considered to be the Maltese and the day-tripper. In fact, it was suggested that without the domestic visitors during the winter months it would be infeasible for many of Gozo's tourist accommodations to operate. It would appear that the tourism industry at the periphery is heavily reliant on the contribution made by the core. Whilst there is widespread awareness that the domestic market to Gozo is very important for the tourism industry and the local economy, the relationship between Gozitans and the visiting Maltese has always been somewhat antagonistic and the impression given is that they would rather not be so economically reliant on them.

While the domestic tourist market is considered very important for Gozo's economy, albeit a reluctant dependency, the day-tripper market is widely considered as a burden on Gozo's infrastructure. Day-trippers form approximately 85 per cent of visitors to Gozo (Stevens & Associates, 2000), but the common discourse is that they contribute very little to the local economy. It is estimated that of the total visitor spending on day excursions to Gozo only 25 per cent directly benefits the Gozitan economy (Stevens & Associates, 2000). This economic leakage is a key issue for Gozitans, who feel it represents exploitation as it largely benefits the main island of Malta.

Non-Maltese foreign residents who have settled and non-Maltese people with second homes in Gozo were also identified as important types of tourists to Gozo. The Gozitans do not seem to view them as intruders but have rather embraced them into the community. These residents tend to invite their friends and families to visit them, people who might never have visited Gozo otherwise, and as a result benefit the local tourism industry.

It is common for Gozitans to compare aspects of their lives with that in Malta. In terms of tourism, respondents frequently commented that Malta receives a much larger share of tourists than Gozo and suffers less from seasonality. Malta is the main 'gateway' to the Maltese Islands and extra efforts have to be made to encourage visitors to move away from Malta and travel to Gozo, a journey which costs the visitors time and money.

The promotion at Malta's ports of entry and the ease with which the journey can be made to Gozo are important factors, and are things which Malta would have significant control over. Furthermore, those involved in the decision-making concerning tourism in Gozo may well be influenced by the personal business interests they have in Malta's tourism industry. Although they may insist that they make unbiased decisions, it is perhaps inevitable that personal interests will prevail at times. This emphasises the dependence Gozo has on Malta for encouraging tourism to the smaller island, and it highlights the fact that Malta is also Gozo's closest competitor.

In terms of scale of development, Gozo was considered to be much less built-up than Malta and this was considered by both Maltese and Gozitans as a positive feature of Gozo's tourism industry. However, Maltese respondents lacked confidence that the Gozitans fully appreciate the environment in which they live and they believed that Gozitans are much more likely to focus on the positive effects of Malta's numerous developments rather than the negative effects. It was a relatively common discourse among Maltese that Gozitans always want what Malta has, even if it may be inappropriate for the smaller island.

The most appropriate types of tourism to be encouraged for Gozo were suggested by both Maltese and Gozitans to be 'niche' tourism. The impression given was that Gozitans would be happy to attract various different niches, reflecting a certain element of desperation due to the island's economic weakness. The most common suggestion put forward by Gozitan respondents was that Gozo should be attracting 'upmarket' tourists. However, there were also several respondents who were less optimistic about Gozo's ability to attract such visitors, due to the quality of the tourism product. The next most common discourse among Maltese and Gozitans was that Gozo should be exploiting its natural features to encourage tourism, more specifically this referred to walking and diving tourists as the main groups. Gozo's traditional characteristics were also very frequently proposed as elements to be exploited to attract tourists, but it is important for Gozitans to consider whether their enthusiasm to promote cultural niches to tourists should be 'at all costs'.

A lesser used discourse was that the types of tourism to be encouraged should be sustainable, with suggestions of agro-tourism projects and the renovation of farmhouses to provide sustainable, traditional accommodation. The fact that this notion was only

mentioned by a few tourism-related professionals may be a cause for concern. Respondents were not questioned on the subject, so it is impossible to gauge their views, but as there was little mention of the need for sustainable tourism it is perhaps not considered a priority.

Not one respondent commented that they would like to see less development than already exists in Gozo, and many suggested that there should be as much supply as is needed according to the tourist demand. However, many also commented that the development should be carefully planned with minimum impact to the environment. The majority opinion was that any future development should be small-scale. Gozitans views on whether Gozo should remain relatively unchanged were divided. Those that supported the notion of keeping Gozo relatively unchanged mostly discussed this in terms of development and maintaining the character of the island to make it more attractive to tourists. Others argued that the island needs to modernise and progress. Responses from the Maltese were much clearer, as they all believed that Gozo should remain relatively unchanged, mainly because this is the way tourists like it.

Opinions on whether Gozo should maintain traditional values in the face of development and change were clear: all believed that to do so would be beneficial. Few made any mention of the importance of traditional values for the locals, but rather they suggested that they were an attraction for tourists. While Gozitans suggested that their traditional values should be maintained, a large proportion also commented that traditional values should be maintained alongside progress and change.

Views on the future success of Gozo as a tourist destination were more 'hopeful' than optimistic. The general perception was that visitor numbers could not get any worse, and therefore had to get better. Most frequently, concerns were expressed by both Maltese and Gozitan respondents that Gozo would experience too much development in the future which would negatively impact on its potential as a tourist destination. As these results show, both Gozitan and Maltese respondents seem to think that small-scale, 'niche' tourism is more suitable for Gozo than mass tourism. However, there does not seem to be any particular 'niche' focus, and instead there is the desire to exploit all Gozo's tourism strengths to attract as many tourists as possible. There also seems to be a rather exaggerated view as to the potential of some of these niches as there are many other destinations that can offer the same or better experiences. There

also appears to be much uncertainty as to the most appropriate amount of development for Gozo. Supply is currently largely outstripping demand, yet there seems to be the perception that if there were to be more development then this would attract more visitors. Overall, it appears that Gozitans are very aware of the importance of tourism to their economy and they seem to want to do almost anything to 'look after' this industry.

Chapter 8

Core-periphery relations and responses to three tourism development proposals

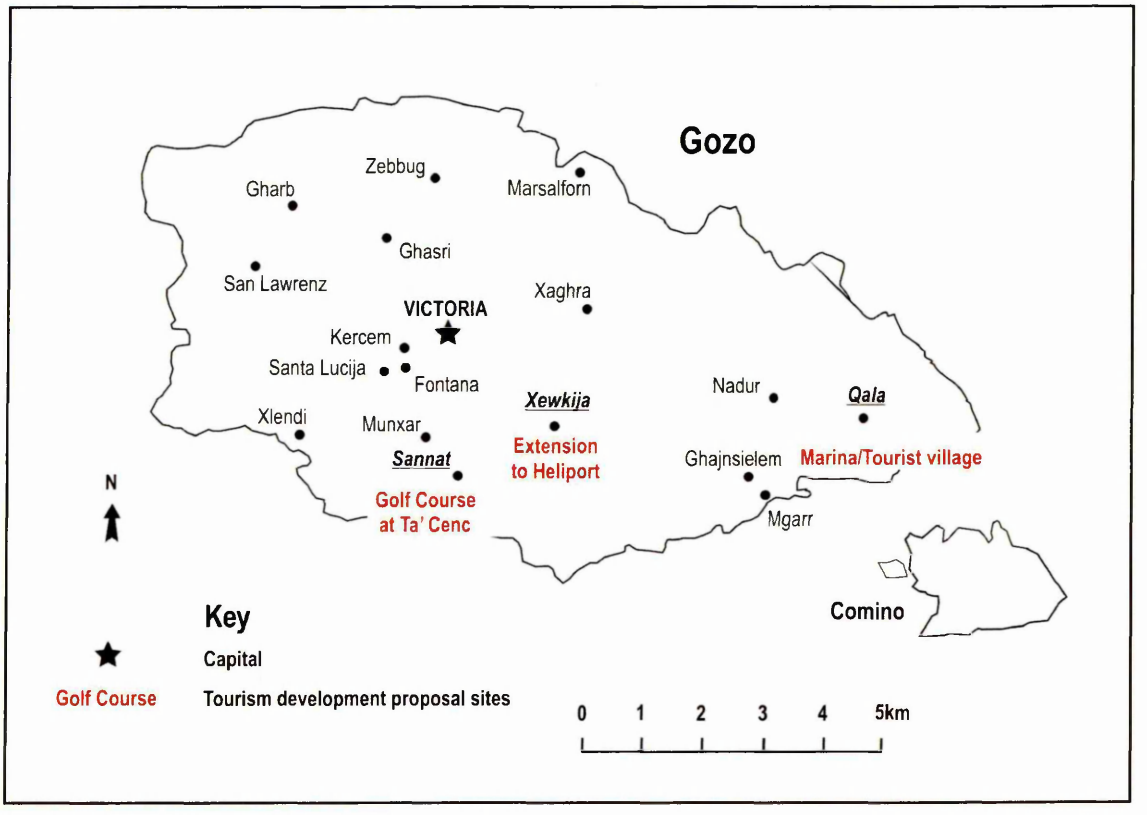
8.1 Introduction

This section examines responses to Gozo's tourism development and tourism governance in relation to three specific tourism development proposals for Gozo. Many tourism academics and planners believe that peripheral areas can have more potential in tourism terms if they remain less-developed; development should be small-scale and suited to the sensitive landscape that is characteristic of peripheral areas. However, this opinion may not be shared by all those involved or affected by the tourism industry in the area as they will often link development with economic gain. The aim of this chapter is to illustrate how specific tourism development issues in Gozo are discussed, debated and fought over in the context of core-periphery relations; it allows for an examination of core-periphery relations at the micro-level. Examining the debates surrounding specific development proposals and assessing the location of power at the micro-level can provide a clearer understanding of the balance of power at the macro-level. The macro-level core-periphery relations that were discussed in Chapter Six can be compared with the relations that are perceived at the micro-level, and this can help to verify or challenge the earlier interpretations. The first development proposal to be examined is a golf course project at Ta' Cenc; the second is an extension to the runway at the existing heliport in Xewkija to allow for fixed-wing aircraft; and the third is a marina and tourist accommodation complex at Qala. The location of the three development proposal sites in Gozo are shown in Figure 8.1, and photographs of the sites can be found in Appendix iii.

A brief history of each development proposal is presented in order to explain the significance of each project to Gozo and its tourism industry, and how the details of the projects have changed over time. Next, the development arena for each project is presented and briefly discussed. It is in the development arenas that actors' projects, discourses, interests, knowledge frameworks, and power configurations are revealed, and contests between actors over development issues take place (Long, 2001). A more

detailed discussion of the actors involved and the balance of power in these development arenas is included in consequent sections. Respondents' views on whether the developments are considered appropriate for Gozo are also examined, together with assessments of the wider socio-economic and environmental impacts. This helps to identify whether there are any differences in opinion between those responsible for Gozo's tourism located at the geographical core and those living at the periphery. Next, there is a discussion of the main actors that have been involved in each development arena. The main actors and actor groups in favour of each project or else opposed to it are outlined, as perceived by the interviewees and as reported in newspapers and other sources. The spatial location of these actors and actor groups – whether Gozitan or Maltese-based – is also identified.

Figure 8.1: Sites of the proposed tourism developments in Gozo



Subsequently, there is analysis of the various discourses used by actors in each development arena, and a discussion of the knowledge frameworks influencing their discourses. This helps to highlight the actors' underlying motives, beliefs and agendas, and how they relate to their own interests and the interests of Gozo. This is followed by an examination of the 'enrolment' of various actors and actor groups in the development arenas. The concept of 'enrolment' is explored in detail in this section. The actor

networks of influence and networks at the development interface are analysed from the point of view of the interviewees. Although actor-networks are not a focus of this study, they are examined because they can help to reveal the decision-making processes around Gozo's tourism developments; and they can demonstrate how the balance of power can shift between actors, within and across actor groups, and also from the core to the periphery. The overall power configurations for each project are then examined, focussing on with whom and where power is located. The power configurations that are perceived to operate at the micro-level are assessed and compared with those that are perceived at the macro-level. The chapter ends with an assessment of the extent of satisfaction among respondents with the decision-making processes surrounding each project, based on the speed of the decision-making process and whether Gozitans' views have been adequately taken into consideration. The level of local satisfaction with decision-making processes is important as it is likely to influence people's compliance with, and support for the developments.

8.2 A history of the golf course development arena

The development of golf tourism in the Maltese Islands has been debated for many years and this section provides a brief history of the golf course development arena. The first and only golf course in Malta is situated at Marsa and it dates back to 1904 (Royal Malta Golf Club, 2008). In the late 80s and early 90s the Nationalist Party government commissioned the first Structure Plan for the Maltese Islands, and the initial draft of that plan identified three areas of private land with potential to be golf courses. Following the change of government to the Malta Labour Party in 1996, the new administration pursued the golf issue further by issuing a call for proposals for golf course developments. It seems that, unusually, both political parties have long been in agreement that the islands need golf development, and they both saw this as necessary mainly for tourism purposes. Proposals for golf courses were received at that time but no development took place.

In 2004, the Nationalist Party Prime Minister re-sparked the debate by publicly announcing that the country needed at least two more golf courses, one in Malta and the other in Gozo. The Tourism Minister, Francis Zammit Dimech, argued that, 'It is fair to say that today we know a lot more about the environmental impacts of golf and we can be more comfortable in the belief that, by and large, golf courses are environmentally beneficial...Golf is frequently seen as a significant attraction for the higher yield

tourist...It offers the tourism industry the kind of project that offers present and new visitors an amenity that is offered by all our competitors' (Times of Malta, 29/09/05). His statement that golf courses are considered environmentally beneficial is very controversial, but it shows the importance given to the tourism industry at that time and to maintaining competitiveness in tourism markets through golf developments.

Although the government set the policy direction for golf course development, it was MEPA's responsibility to assess the suitability of specific sites for such developments. MEPA's Structure Plan states that any golf course in the Maltese Islands should be located where it can be accommodated without adverse environmental impact or loss of good quality agricultural land, where associated development can be accommodated satisfactorily, and preferably as part of an adjacent built-up area, and where suitable vehicle access exists or can be provided. MEPA (2004) identified three potential sites for golf courses in Gozo: Ghajn Melel (Zebbug), Dwejra Area (San Lawrenz) and Ta' Cenc (Sannat). The San Lawrenz site, however, was dismissed as it fell short of the required site area and would displace agricultural activity, and thus the Zebbug and Ta' Cenc sites were short listed for further consideration. This study focuses on the Ta' Cenc site which has received substantial media attention and attracted much controversy.

The 45 hectare site identified for a golf course at Ta' Cenc mainly comprises terraced agricultural fields which have been abandoned and allowed to degrade. It constitutes an ecologically important area, however, that supports a variety of natural habitats characterised by rare or endemic species and by unique vegetation assemblages. The entire Ta' Cenc site covers 149 hectares and it includes areas which merit designation as Areas of Ecological Importance (AEI), mainly because of the garigue plant communities and coastal cliffs. The area also contains a high concentration of archaeological remains, particularly ancient cart ruts. Ta' Cenc is not completely abandoned as there is a five-star hotel here that was bought in 1997 by a hotel developer and operator, Victor Borg. Borg is a major player in tourism development in Gozo, with his company 'Victor J Borg Enterprises' owning the St Patrick, the Cornucopia, and the Ta' Cenc Hotels in Gozo. His portfolio also includes Gozo Garages which deals in car sales and car hire in Gozo, and Gozo Holidays Ltd which is claimed to be the longest established UK-based tour operator offering all-inclusive tailor-made holidays to Gozo (Victor J. Borg Enterprises, 2007). The Ta' Cenc Hotel is fairly large,

with 83 bedrooms, two large swimming pools, tennis and volleyball courts, a restaurant, and a health and beauty spa (Gaul, 2003). The Structure Plan for the Maltese Islands had also explicitly identified Ta' Cenc for the setting up of Malta's first national park and multi-ownership tourism hotel development in the vicinity of the existing Ta' Cenc hotel (MEPA, 2000:Section 13.8). When MEPA identified Ta' Cenc as a potential site for a golf course they highlighted the importance of developing it concurrently with the setting up of this park. It was also stressed that any development should take into account the possible environmental impacts.

Following the Prime Minister's 2004 statement about the need for at least two more golf courses, the golf course design consultants, Hawtree Ltd, were employed by MEPA to assess the potential for each site to be converted into international 18-hole golf courses. These consultants recommended that the site at Ta' Cenc could adequately support a 9 hole course, but that an 18-hole course would be very tight on this site due to the irregular shape of its boundaries and the constraints imposed by the widths of the terraces. They argued that development of an 18-hole course on the garigue vegetation would be possible but that the costs would be well above the norms for golf developments in southern Europe. Like MEPA, they concluded that the development of the golf course should proceed concurrently with the setting up of the heritage park (Hawtree Ltd, 2004).

In November 2005, Victor Borg and his developers presented their plans for a heritage park, a new hotel, and 49 villas in the vicinity of the Ta' Cenc hotel. An agro tourism or golf course project was suggested, but this was to be postponed as Phase 2 of the project (Debono, 26/08/07). Victor Borg employed consultants to review the suitability of the land adjacent to his hotel for a golf course, along with a heritage park, visitor centre, a horse-riding centre, villas, residences and a hotel expansion. The developer's own consultants also established that only a nine-hole golf course would be possible, after taking into account all the other proposed developments at the site (Times of Malta, 10/02/04).

8.2.1 The Ta' Cenc golf course development arena

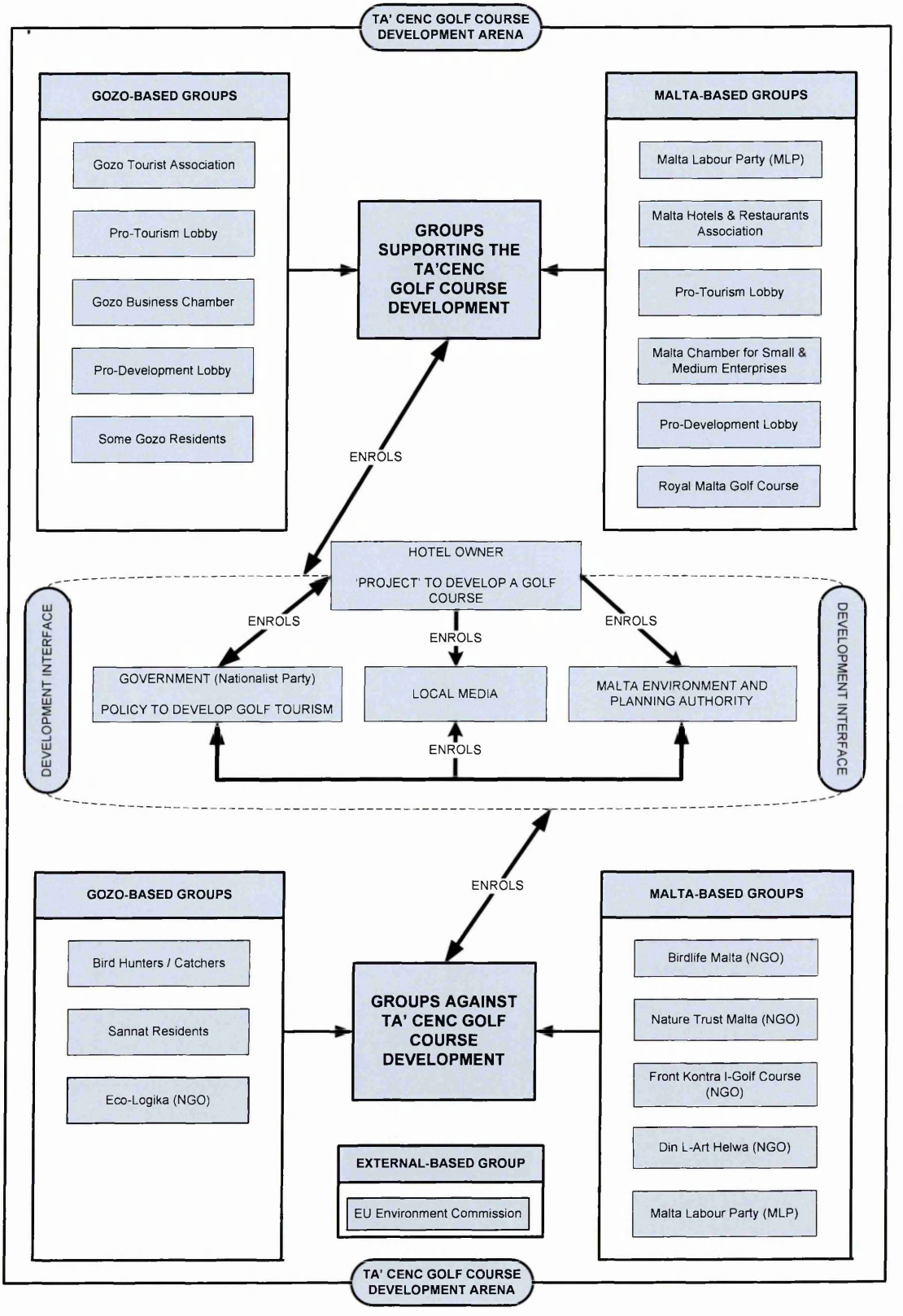
Within the Ta' Cenc golf course development arena there are various actors and groupings of actors with their own 'projects' or agendas relating to this golf development. The actors and actor groups in this development arena are presented

diagrammatically in Figure 8.2. Some actors' projects are more directly related to the golf course than others, but all have an interest in the outcome. The development interface at the centre of Figure 8.2 is the critical point of intersection for these actors' projects. It is in the development arena that discrepancies between actors' projects, discourses, interests, knowledge, and power are revealed, and contests over development issues take place. Long (2001) refers to these arenas as 'sites of struggle'. The development arena includes various actor groups in favour and others against the development, and the analysis in Figure 8.2 helps to elucidate some of the less obvious actors' aims and agendas and emerging actor-networks. From the core-periphery perspective, actors at the core were often heavily involved in the affairs at the periphery. It is thus important to identify these actors and their respective interests, discourses and agendas in order to assess whether their priorities matched the needs and wants of residents at the periphery.

An actor can increase their chance of influencing the outcome of the contest at the development interface by creating or joining the related 'actor networks'. These are sets of direct and indirect relationships and exchanges which can represent a mix of economic, political, or socio-cultural relations. The networks rely on the ability of actors to influence others' discourses and knowledge frameworks to match their own, even if their ultimate agendas still differ. If actors are successfully enrolled in one actor's network, then that actor is often able to borrow their force and speak and act on their behalf or with their support. This results in a chain of actors, each tending to translate the same message, and to accepting it, but in accordance with their own values and projects. Actor networks are not always transparent, but from the interviews, newspapers and other documents it is apparent that various representations of the golf course development arena scenario have been created (see Figure 8.2). The discussion that follows provides an overview of this development arena. A more detailed examination of the actors involved and of their discourses and knowledge frameworks is included in sections 8.2.3 and 8.2.4, with an analysis of the actor networks included in section 8.2.5.

Figure 8.2 of the development arena shows there are two main actors centrally involved in the golf course development, these being the hotel owner and the government. The hotel owner had proposed to develop a golf course near his hotel at Ta' Cenc and the government had established certain policy directions for the development of golf

Figure 8.2: Diagram of the golf course development arena



tourism, including the specific notion that a golf course should be built on each island. The 'projects' of these two actors were potentially mutually beneficial in many respects, and therefore they were likely to enrol the support of one another. They each also

needed to enrol the support of MEPA, this being another key actor at the development interface. MEPA was responsible for selecting suitable sites for a golf course in Gozo based in part on development criteria set out in the Structure Plan for the Maltese Islands. MEPA is supposed to remain neutral, but has frequently been accused of being 'an arm of government', and as such it was partly enrolled by them. The hotel owner also sought to enrol MEPA by complying with the Environmental Impact Assessment requirements and by working in consultation with them. These main actors at the interface also sought to enrol the support of other actors in the development arena.

In this case, those in favour of the development were typically the pro-development and pro-tourism actors, such as the Malta Tourism Authority, Gozo Tourist Association, and the Business Chamber. The Malta Labour Party, in principle, was in favour of golf course development in Gozo, but it was unlikely to show support for the party in power, and as such it has tended not to fully support the golf course proposals for Ta' Cenc. Thus, this actor group is shown in Figure 8.2 as on both sides of the argument, that is both for and against. It can be suggested that they were 'sitting on the fence' in an attempt at keeping all their Gozitan supporters happy. All of these actors in support of the Ta' Cenc golf development share similar overall discourses that a golf course in Gozo would improve Gozo's tourism product, increase tourism profits, and benefit the local economy. More specific discourses related to the supporters of the development are discussed later in the Chapter. The Gozo- and Malta-based groups that supported the golf course development tended to enrol each other in their supportive actions because they had similar project aims, but there was little evidence that they worked together openly in public in order to promote their agendas. The reasons for this reluctance to show public support for each other are discussed later in an analysis of the actor enrolment around the golf proposals.

Those actors and groups of actors in the development arena that opposed the development were typically pro-environment and anti-development in their general views. They tended to share a discourse that protection of the environment should have priority over golf course development. A notable exception was the bird hunters and trappers and possibly some Gozitan residents, who were more concerned that the golf course development would lead to restricted access, or even no access, to the Ta' Cenc cliffs, and this was more prominent in their thinking than environmental impacts. Although these groups shared the same overall agenda, their values and interests were

sometimes very different and this is another reason for their reluctance publicly to show support for each other. A key example of these conflicts of interests is between the bird hunters and catchers and Birdlife Malta. Both actor groups share the same agenda – they oppose the development of a golf course at Ta' Cenc – but for very different reasons. The bird hunters and catchers oppose the development because they fear that access to the site would be restricted in the future and they would no longer be able to carry out their traditional pursuit. Birdlife Malta, on the other hand, opposes the development because they want to protect the birds that nest at the site. The conflict of interests between these groups is very evident.

There are a small number of actor coalition networks opposing the development, for mainly obvious reasons. For instance, 'Eko-Logika' and 'Front Kontra l-Golf Course' are coalition networks formed out of several smaller actor groups, broadly sharing similar agendas. Eko-Logika, for example, is made up of such groups as the AD Gozo Regional Committee, Ceratonia (the non-political arm of AD), Moviment Graffitti, and the Sannat Residents Association. These groups take an active interest in societal welfare and environmental protection in Gozo. All these actor groups enrol the media to advance their own discourses and projects, with the media potentially being a very powerful tool in the development arena for gaining general public support. Enrolment in the development arena will be discussed in more detail in section 8.2.5.

Figure 8.2 highlights the various actors in the development arena, and it also indicates that there were more Malta-based actors than Gozo-based ones both for and also against the project. It clearly demonstrates that there was a high level of involvement from the core in the affairs of this peripheral island, whether encouraged by the periphery or not. This is particularly true for the actors against the project. It would appear that environmental NGOs located at the core tend to take a strong interest in environmental issues at the periphery. They appear to involve themselves in these debates regardless of majority opinion among the Gozo public. The involvement of groups such as Nature Trust and Birdlife Malta in Gozitan affairs was viewed by some as interfering, and by others almost as Gozo's salvation.

The geographical location of power in the Ta' Cenc golf course development arena has been identified as being with the hotel owner, the government and MEPA. Although it has been revealed that there was significant involvement from the main island or 'core'

in the golf course development arena, the location of power was not necessarily so one-sided. The fact that the project proposer was a Gozitan clearly shifted the balance of economic power toward Gozo. The political power, however, rested with the government, and thus with Malta. The Ministry for Gozo does not even appear as a notable player in this development arena, and therefore was not shown as involved. The Gozo Tourist Association was involved, but it too had only limited political power. The economic and political power, and the overall location of power, in relation to the project is examined further in Section 8.2.6.

8.2.2 Golf course as an appropriate development for Gozo

It has been argued in numerous research studies that small islands and peripheral areas may be better off encouraging small-scale development. This section examines the views of the Maltese and Gozitan respondents concerning whether they consider the development of a golf course to be appropriate for Gozo. While an 18-hole golf course is a fairly large-scale development for an island as small as Gozo, it would not be unusual. Several other similarly sized islands (e.g. the Channel Islands), have developed golf courses, mainly for tourism purposes, and often many years earlier, all with much success. Nowadays, small-scale developments tend to be considered more suitable for small islands, but the demand for golf has not relented. Golf tourism in Gozo probably has the potential to attract much needed tourists to the island, but it might also be suggested that tourists are beginning to be attracted to islands that have fewer large-scale developments. What are the priorities of the Maltese and Gozitans in relation to golf course development?

It was found that a large majority of Gozitan respondents were in favour of the development, while Maltese respondents were fairly equally divided for and against. Among Gozitan respondents, the most popular discourse was that a Gozitan golf course would attract more tourists to the island and that the ripple effect would benefit the tourism industry as a whole. The priority for residents at the periphery clearly was for an improved island economy, and their support for a golf course to benefit the tourism industry reflects this economic priority. While the Gozitan respondents favouring the golf course seem to have considered the potential environmental impacts, they often had decided that the potential economic benefits outweighed the negative environmental consequences. A Gozitan accommodation operator explained that she favoured having a golf course, *'Because then people are coming more to Gozo, and if they go to the*

hotel, they come to Marsalforn or wherever to have a meal or something, make it bigger' (8:3). Similarly, a GTA representative argued that, *'Anyone who loves Gozo and who loves tourism would be for a golf course, because as long as it is open for every single tourist who comes along, and every single Gozitan who wants to start to play golf, there are Maltese who play golf that would like to come over, so it's benefiting a lot of bits and pieces of our tourism economy in Gozo'* (29:4&5). Gozitans involved in the tourism industry were especially supportive of the golf course as it was perceived to be a potential catalyst for the island's tourism industry.

Very many of the Gozitan respondents who believed a golf course would attract more tourists also contended that it would attract more 'quality' or 'upmarket' tourists. The Gozitan respondents also generally argued that better quality, higher spending tourists were the type of tourists that should be encouraged. Thus, a Gozitan restaurant owner argued that a golf course would, *'Bring a certain kind of tourist, a little bit above the lager louts'* (34:4), and the manager of a Gozo diving centre contended that with a Gozitan golf course, *'There will definitely be more five-star people, more people who could spend money'* (43:9). The GTA representative stated that, *'As an association we are in favour of this development because it is another niche market, and we are trying to promote Gozo as small niche. And it is also compatible with the island infrastructure, in the sense that we are trying to promote Gozo as an upmarket destination'* (17:3). While this follows the popular belief that small islands are suited to niche tourism, with an island the size of Gozo it is perhaps questionable whether this particular type of niche tourism could be considered 'small-scale'. What the respondents did not seem to consider was that by developing a golf course they would be altering the physical fabric of the island that may be detrimental to other small-scale, niche tourism markets, such as walkers and cyclists. The purpose of encouraging low volumes of high spending tourists is to try to reduce the impact of tourist visitation on the island, and the notion of developing a golf course to attract these types of tourists could be counter-productive. The fact that this contradiction was not acknowledged amongst Gozitan respondents perhaps partly reflects their desperation to encourage any development that would benefit the economy.

Perhaps for similar reasons several respondents also seemed to assume that there would be few negative environmental impacts of the golf course because it would be developed with care. A Gozitan Mayor commented that, *'I think the MEPA will do its*

best to make sure that if the golf course is proposed to be done at Ta' Cenc there should be monitoring of this type of historical temples, the flora and fauna, and other things...[to ensure they] will not be affected by the development' (4:6&7). Similarly, a Gozitan restaurant owner contended: *'they make a lot of fuss about the garigues and all this nonsense, I mean most of it will stay there, apart from the fairways. They can design golf courses today keeping all the areas'* (34:4). Further, while on the whole the Gozitan respondents were not too concerned that a golf course would negatively affect the environment, some actually thought that it would improve the area. A representative of the GTA contended that, *'I think it would benefit, even environmentally. I mean, having a barren area and then it's all covered with turf, and landscaping'* (17:5). A Gozitan hotel receptionist also argued that the land would be better used as a golf course. She argued: *'If it is a golf course, of course, it is still green. Why not?...The area where it was going to be done, still it's not used by anybody, you know what I mean, it's still private at Ta Cenc. So nobody is enjoying it apart from the residents at Ta Cenc, so I don't think the environmental department or whatever, the association should...Okay there should be restrictions of what they can do or how big it is, but up to a certain limit'* (25:5). A representative of the GBC claimed not to know all the details, but he suggested that, *'A golf course is not something like, how should I say, a factory, which can damage the environment...Ta Cenc, there is not something which is going to be torn down to put back. It's just the rock, the garigue, there are plants and flowers and so on...Maybe I believe that it is the good place for Gozo'* (33:5). These comments were from a mixture of tourism and non-tourism-related Gozitan respondents, and all considered the golf course to be an appropriate development for Gozo. A particularly strong opinion was given by a retired Gozitan politician, he questioned *'What environment?...What, to tell me that there is, for example, a small flower which you don't find anywhere else, you leave the flower there!...If you find a project which is good for the whole of Gozo, who is more important? [Is it] this small flower that you might just find half a dozen over the golf course, or the prosperity that will be created from this golf course? I think the golf course is good for Gozo'* (22:9). Although many Gozitan respondents did comment that they would prefer the environmental impact to be minimal, the impression given was that there remained quite a high degree of indifference. This environmental indifference is not just a characteristic in Gozo, as it is evident also in many cases for people living on the main island (Boissevain, 1977; Borg, 1995; & Schembri, 1994).

There were other less frequently used, but still important, discourses, notably those relating to seasonality and employment. It was suggested that a golf course would attract tourists during the quieter winter season, and also that the golf course would create employment, not only through the actual building of the golf course, but also through employment of workers during the winter season: *'We suffer a lot with seasonal employment, and [with] golf, I think during the winter it will be a big boost to tourism'* (19:5). These two discourses reflected important issues for the periphery. The seasonality of Gozo's tourism is much more significant than for Malta, and several tourism businesses are forced to close for the winter due to insufficient demand. This has consequences for employment as many jobs at the periphery are temporary and seasonal. Job opportunities are much fewer than at the core, and thus boosting employment opportunities is a high priority for Gozitans, and this was reflected in their responses.

Only a few opposed the golf course project, and their main discursive themes related to the potential adverse environmental impacts. A non-tourism-related Gozitan respondent argued that, *'We don't have the land area, we don't have the water. They've located two here in Gozo, one is in a beautiful habitat which is in a garigue...which has its own amazing flora and fauna which they would destroy'* (2:5). This respondent claimed to be a supporter of Alternattiva Demokratika (AD), the 'Green' political party, and his ecological discourse clearly reflected this. However, there were other respondents who shared the same discourse of environmental threats. A retired Gozitan policeman, for example, commented that, *'The nature of this area, Ta Cenc, there is the cart ruts, dolmen rocks, they're [from] ages, they don't even know how long they've been there, and these will be ruined. Okay, they say that the area will be restricted, preserved, but still the view of Ta Cenc will be ruined'* (18:6). This respondent was a resident of Sannat and a keen bird hunter and catcher. His apparent 'conservation' knowledge framework was very likely to have been influenced by the fact that the golf course development would mean he would no longer be able to hunt at Ta Cenc. This might reflect how individuals can 'borrow' the discursive ideas of other groups, even of groups they may not support, if it can assist their own interests. A Gozitan school teacher also claimed to be against the golf course for mainly environmental reasons commenting that, *'They talked about all the fauna that's left there and whatever is growing there, and I think it would ruin the whole nature status there...It's a beautiful area, if you take that away it's like another area where they can't go, and it's a*

beautiful place over there' (31:5). The factor linking these three respondents that opposed the golf course was that they were not involved in the tourism industry, and as such they were not directly reliant on it for their income. These three respondents also used a similar discourse that the golf course would not attract enough people to make it a feasible development. The first respondent questioned why tourists would visit Gozo to play golf when they could go elsewhere for less money: *'I think it would only cater for a small amount of people...It's much cheaper to go to the Algarve because there are so many'* (2:6). The retired Gozitan policeman similarly questioned whether the golf course would attract enough people: *'For me, it's a waste of land because this golf course, okay, maybe it will attract enough tourists for golf. Golf tourists, but not tourists, golf tourists...but would they attract enough tourists for golf? I don't think so'* (18:6). The Gozitan school teacher expressed similar concerns, arguing: *'I don't think a tourist will decide whether he will come to Gozo or not because of the fact that there is no golf course. I don't think so...It would be for a few who can afford it; many people can't afford it'* (31:6). The small number of Gozitans who considered the golf course to be an inappropriate development was far out-numbered by those that supported it. Overall, the environmental risks were not considered to be as important as the development's potential economic benefits.

Whereas the majority of Gozitan respondents favoured the golf course, the views of the Maltese respondents were much more divided. The representative of the Ministry for Tourism and Culture (and thus a government representative) confirmed that the Nationalist Party had decided that additional golf courses were needed in Malta and Gozo, but he did not expand on the reasons for this in the interview. The Malta Labour Party representative suggested that a golf course would enrich Gozo's tourism portfolio, making the destination more versatile. Yet he conceded that the development of a golf course would not necessarily increase tourist numbers dramatically. He doubted the view of people who *'think that having a golf course will solve all problems. Because there is a bit of this approach to things in Malta and Gozo; that you think, okay, now we will have a golf course and so many thousands of people will come, when we know that all destinations around us have golf courses'* (10:8). Although he believed that a golf course would improve Gozo's tourism product, he did not consider it to be a complete or even far-reaching solution to Gozo's dwindling tourist numbers. As mentioned in Section 8.2.1, the MLP was often rather neutral about the golf course issue, probably because they sought to avoid upsetting their Gozitan supporters. A representative of the

MTA made a similar suggestion that, although a golf development would be a good idea, on its own it would not be enough. He argued that, *'It has to be supplemented with other facilities and amenities, including the possibility of a casino, small as it might be. One has to amalgamate a niche with other niches...To make it more attractive, more viable'* (28:3), thus supporting the GTA representative's discourse that they are trying to promote Gozo to several tourist niches, and that golf alone is not sufficient.

Maltese respondents in favour of the golf project shared very similar discourses to those of the Gozitan respondents. For instance, an influential Maltese tourism-related actor also suggested that a golf course in Gozo could actually improve the environment. He argued that, *'By putting in a golf course, it doesn't necessarily ruin the environment. In fact, there were many examples of derelict land, or land that wasn't totally used, which wasn't rightly maintained, which when turned into a golf course obviously did more good to the environment than before...We can look at it positively even from an environmental perspective'* (20:4). The notion that a golf course can actually improve the environment is an old one, and is not so strongly supported any longer. The Maltese Islands have been discussing golf tourism for many years and these arguments could be considered somewhat 'out-of-date'. Yet there is a view quite often expressed on both islands that garigue land is 'waste' land or derelict or abandoned land, and thus this could lead some to see the artificial grass of a golf course as an environmental upgrading.

A Gozo Channel representative also contended that a golf course in Gozo would help to attract tourists all year round, and thus reduce the issues associated with seasonality. He commented, *'From what I understand it is very much popular in many countries, especially in the UK, for example, where it is very difficult to book in a hotel at a good price. I mean, hotel packages are very cheap in Malta in winter, so I would assume it will be very profitable'* (30:6). The respondent implied that people would be encouraged to play golf in Malta and Gozo during the winter because it would be cheaper than other destinations. However, what he did not seem to consider was that if these people choose to visit Malta to play golf because it costs less than going elsewhere, then it is doubtful that they would be willing to incur the extra costs needed to visit Gozo. Where customers are price sensitive, then Malta (the core) can expect more tourists than Gozo (the periphery) because of the extra travel costs involved.

Roughly half the Maltese respondents claimed to be against the Ta' Cenc golf project. They did not share similar discourses for this, although their diverse views reflected some of the comments made by Gozitans. For instance, a Maltese university lecturer asserted that golf would not be a big enough draw for tourists, and that *'There are other niches which we should be exploiting'* (9:7). A second MTA representative argued that it might be too late for Gozo to benefit greatly from a golf course as there is already significant competition from other destinations: *'Had it been contemplated 30 years ago when there were no golf courses in the Mediterranean...It will be the five hundred and first golf course in the Mediterranean: Portugal is full of them, Italy, Sicily, France, Tunisia, Cyprus. I mean, I'm not saying that it would be useless, but it's not creating something unique. It's adding a feature, but so would a pool, [and] so would a tennis court'* (21:14). A Maltese actor influential in planning and environmental issues commented similarly to the MLP representative that a golf course would not be the solution to increasing Gozo's tourist numbers. And, like the MTA representative, he contended that there is already too much competition from other destinations: *'Everybody thinks that this is going to be the big salvation of Gozo, it's the salvation of Malta. Everyone in the world wants to come and play golf. And they don't think that the Algarve and Tunisia has one golf course after the other. You can change scene, you can change landscape everyday, and here it's going to be one golf course on Gozo'* (23:10). These respondents clearly believed that a golf course was not the most appropriate development for Gozo. In sum, whether in favour of the golf course or not, Maltese respondents were much less optimistic about its potential to attract significant tourist numbers. They tended to view golf as one niche tourist attraction, and they believed that several other niches would also be needed.

As discussed earlier, many Gozitan respondents believed that a golf development at one site in Gozo would benefit the whole island's economy. This was regardless of the fact that the development was perceived to be a private sector development. For the most part, the development has not been viewed as one that would only benefit the developer, or that it would only improve the occupancy of the hotel already at the site. Rather it was seen as a development which would significantly impact on the island's wider tourism industry. This view could be influenced by the small size of the island and the fact that any development would be discussed at an island-wide level, and that all residents would feel affected by it. Nevertheless, one MTA representative, who was not in favour of the golf course, contended that it would only be personal interests that

would benefit, and not those of the whole island: *'There won't be much ripple effects because what happens with golf is the people who go there will probably stay at that accommodation. [They will] go and play golf and go back, you know...These people will stay in this area. The chances of them going out to, let's say, shopping, is very minimal...In general, it could be that some people would favour this development because they think the Gozo economy is going to improve, and they will get money in their pockets. But, in reality, the money will go to this developer, so there's not a spread; the distribution of income will be very concentrated in one area'* (27:7). This MTA respondent probably had a good level of knowledge of the likely ripple effects of such developments in Malta. Also, as a resident of Malta, she may have had a less 'rose-tinted' view of the potential benefits of the golf course for the island as a whole.

A second MTA representative pointed out that both Malta and Gozo tend to copy what other countries have done, and that they tend to want to do this whether or not it is suited to the specific circumstances of the Maltese Islands. His opinion of the golf course development was that, *'Unfortunately, again, it is one of those development ideas where we strive to copy what others are doing, without actually realising or estimating the real beneficial impacts'* (21:14).

What is notable and perhaps surprising about the comments made by Maltese respondents who opposed golf development was that the potential adverse environmental impact was not one of their primary concerns. While they did discuss the various reasons for opposition from environmental groups, the environmental arguments were not prominent in their own explanations for being against this development. It is possible that these respondents chose not to reiterate the environmental issues discussed earlier in the interviews, and it is also possible that they had faith in MEPA to minimise the negative impacts. Nevertheless, it could also be the case that the environment was not their main priority. In fact, it was only the MEPA respondent who commented that, *'From an environmental point of view, I think it's very difficult to justify a golf course in the Maltese Islands'* (12:5).

Overall, it would seem that the enthusiasm and support shown by the majority of Gozitans for the golf course reflects their firm desire – or even desperation – to improve the local tourism industry and local economy. The Maltese respondents were much less enthusiastic about the potential benefits of a golf course than the Gozitans, and this was

possibly a more realistic view as they were not influenced by the same level of economic 'despair'. Although not mentioned in this context, it is probable that the Maltese were also not particularly supportive about the golf course because they would not benefit directly, especially as the Maltese are not keen golfers. It has also been revealed – in the literature on Malta and in the interviews – that in Gozo, and to some extent in Malta, there seems to be indifference, or at least ambivalence, towards the environment. The Gozitans seemed to understand that Gozo's environment is one of its greatest strengths in terms of attracting tourists (as identified in Chapter Seven), yet they still failed to fully appreciate that a golf development would significantly alter it. However, as has been discussed in Chapter Six, there is growing evidence that Maltese attitudes towards the environment are changing.

8.2.3 Actors involved in the golf course development arena

This section discusses the various actors involved in the golf course development arena, as perceived by the respondents and as indicated in the local newspapers and other documents. It is important to identify these actors as they influenced the decision-making processes and ultimately affected whether this development would happen or not. Their responses helped to create the development arena diagram, as shown in Figure 8.2, and to identify the actors placed at the development interface.
Unsurprisingly perhaps, the actor most frequently named as being in favour of the golf development was the private developer of the project. The respondents often referred to this actor as the owner or the 'people' at Ta Cenc Hotel: *'Without doubt, they are in favour those of Ta Cenc Hotel'* (3:5). Another replied that, *'All I know is that the person who owns Ta Cenc, he is all for it'* (31:6). The respondents identified Victor Borg as the main proponent of a golf course, yet at the time of the interviews there had never been any official statement from him or his company that he was seeking to develop a golf course at the hotel site. It is likely, therefore, that these responses were influenced by MEPA having identified Ta Cenc as a potential site for a golf course, and by the respondents assuming that the owner would be in favour. In fact, it was reported in the Times of Malta newspaper that during a meeting between the Alternattiva Demokratika spokesperson, Victor Galea, and Victor Borg, the latter had said that he had no intention of turning the area into a golf course. He had 'expressed surprise that prominent politicians had mentioned Ta' Cenc as a possible golf course site when no development application had been made in that sense' (Cini, 15/08/05). In fact, Victor Borg had never made an application for a golf course at the site: rather he had only

applied to develop 'Malta's first heritage park' and 'multi-ownership tourist hotel development' (2006b). Consultants had been employed by him, and others had been employed by MEPA, to conduct surveys in the area with a golf course in mind. A golf proposal had been discussed with the planners, and the option had been suggested for the future, but no formal application for a golf course has ever been made by the developer. There is no evidence, for example, of a golf course application for Ta' Cenc on MEPA's website (www.mepa.org.mt).

The Nationalist Party was also commonly identified as being in favour of the Ta' Cenc golf course in Gozo, with many respondents commenting that the government had announced plans to encourage the development of two new golf courses. A Ministry for Tourism and Culture representative confirmed this notion, but emphasised that it was MEPA and not government that was responsible for site selection. He commented, somewhat defensively, that *'It's the government of Malta in terms of coming up with the policy direction, whether additional golf courses are needed.or not, and this has been established...So the government asked the MEPA to come up with some sites, acceptable sites for golf course development in Malta. So, the government is not imposing golf courses here, here, and there; it is coming up with the policy direction that golf courses are needed in Malta and Gozo'* (1:3). At the time of the interviews there was much media attention regarding potential sites for golf course development, and several letters to the Maltese newspapers had argued that Ta Cenc was not a suitable site, and this might help explain the defensive response given by the NP representative. The government was concerned not to be seen to be dictating planning decisions, which according to legislation for the setting up of MEPA ought to be dealt with by MEPA and not by the government. There was also concern in Malta that MEPA was not sufficiently 'at arm's length' from government, and that there was too much political interference in its day to day operations. The respondent's defensiveness may also be viewed, rather cynically, as passing any difficult problems, and also any potential blame, on to MEPA.

Several respondents also identified the Malta Labour Party as being in favour of this golf course. For example, an MTA representative commented that, *'Both political parties, the two major political parties were in favour of this golf course, and the government had said that there would be one golf course in Malta and one golf course in Gozo'* (27:4). This respondent was from MTA, a government-related tourism

department, and as such was likely to be very aware of the political parties' stances. However, other respondents also believed that both political parties were in favour of Ta' Cenc. A restaurant owner commented that, *'Both seem to agree on it, that we need another two, one in Gozo and another one in Malta, both of them seem to'* (34:5), and a non-tourism-related respondent commented, *'I think the Nationalist Party was for it, I think even the Labour Party is actually for it. In some way or another I think both parties are actually for it'* (2:6). Agreement between the main political parties in Malta, on any matter, is unusual. A comment included earlier by a representative of the church in Gozo reminds us that, *'sometimes it's a question of politics, because if someone says "yes", the other one for the sake of opposition says "no", and if one says" no", I say "no"...They are influenced from a question of politics. They don't just reflect on what is good for Gozo'* (3:8). An MLP representative did, in fact, confirm that the Party was in favour of a golf course development in Gozo, *'To make the destination more versatile, [and] to enrich its portfolio'* (10:8). However, their support for a course at the Ta' Cenc site at the time of the interviews was less clear. It is perhaps surprising that in this instance the usual polarised two-party politics that characterises Malta and Gozo did not seem to apply. Of course, both parties are aware of the importance of the Gozitan vote for their electoral chances, and elections in Malta are usually won on swings of just a few thousand votes. With most Gozitans wanting new schemes that are likely to help this marginal economy, neither political party was likely to want to openly oppose such a scheme. Gozo's tourism industry is also important for the national economy, and thus both political parties would be reluctant to show outright opposition to a project which would add to the tourism product. But, whether in practice either party would support the project right through to the end was perhaps doubtful even then, due to the likely protest and backlash from environmental groups.

The other main groups identified by respondents as favouring this golf project were the Malta Tourism Authority and also those actors directly having business interests in Gozo's tourism industry. As one person noted: *'There is this general idea within the tourism industry that a golf course would highly enhance the profile of tourists that we can attract to the islands, both Malta and Gozo'* (20:4). It is interesting to note that many fewer respondents specifically mentioned that the Gozo Tourist Association (GTA) and the Gozo Business Chamber (GBC) favoured this golf project. A GBC representative stated that, *'The Gozo Business Chamber is not against the golf course...[and] The GTA are in favour...The official side seem to favour it, the*

entrepreneur of course favours it, the Business Chamber, [and] the GTA favours it' (33:8). A GTA representative confirmed this perception: *'I think in general all the Gozo community, all the Gozo bodies, constituted bodies, are in favour of this development. As an Association we are in favour of this development'* (17:3). While the GTA and GBC both supported this golf development, the respondents were either unaware of their stance or did not consider them to be key actors involved in this development arena. The Malta Hotels and Restaurants Association and the Royal Malta Golf Club also favoured this golf development in Gozo, but again they were not identified by the respondents.

Interestingly, the Ministry for Gozo was not mentioned by the respondents as a group either in favour or against the Ta' Cenc development, and based on the views expressed did not seem to appear in this development arena. This could be because this Ministry was understood by respondents to be of the same opinion as the NP, or it could be that it was not considered to have any influence in this development arena. If it was the latter then this would reflect the lack of power that was attributed to this Ministry by respondents when it was discussed in Chapter Six in relation to macro-level powers. Again, the Ministry that was formed to raise the influence of Gozo in political affairs and public policies was perhaps considered to have little influence in practice.

Respondents easily identified who they perceived to be against the Ta' Cenc golf course, with almost every respondent mentioning the opposition of environmental groups. Since the early 1960s there has been a rapid growth in Malta in the number of NGOs with environmental concerns, and nowadays they are very prominent in related policy debates (Hall, 1995; & Boissevain, 2004). Most respondents referred to them simply as 'environmental groups', but some referred to them more specifically by name. The group most frequently identified as opposing the golf course was Nature Trust, which was based in Malta. A Maltese actor influential in planning and environmental issues contended that, *'Mostly it is the environmental groups that are against the golf course...Nature Trust is at the forefront. Nature Trust is probably the organisation with the most ability'* (9:6). Nature Trust opposed the development of the golf course in part because they believed that Gozo had more potential for eco- and agro-tourism than for golf tourism. Further, Vincent Attard, President of Nature Trust (Malta), explained that, while they were not totally against golf, they could not accept natural and agricultural land being sacrificed for this one sector (Castelain, 09/01/05).

The Malta-based environmental and conservation NGOs, Birdlife and Din L'Art Helwa, were also mentioned by a few respondents as being against this golf development. Birdlife had expressed concern about the potential golf course at Ta' Cenc because its site had been recognised as an Important Bird Area (IBA) (Times of Malta, 19/08/05). Din L-Art Helwa (Heritage Trust) argued that Ta' Cenc was not a suitable place for this type of development (Galea, 03/02/06), for such reasons as the area's environmental quality and its importance for archaeological heritage. In addition, the Rambler's Association expressed concern about what it saw as the loss of people's right to have access to this open space, and fears that the development would take away too much of the island's scarce land (Fenech, 01/07/05).

Alternattiva Demokratika (AD), often referred to as the 'Green Party' or the 'Greens', was also mentioned by several respondents as another opponent, although by far fewer than those mentioning environmental NGOs. This is surprising because the AD's interest in this scheme was frequently mentioned in the Maltese newspapers, possibly more frequently than for the NGOs. This might have reflected the ambivalent attitude of many Gozitans towards the environment and those working to protect it. Although AD's support has increased, the level of electoral support for the AD is far less than that for the NP or MLP. A Gozitan restaurant owner commented negatively about the involvement of the 'Greens': *'Well we know all the Greens are against it, but the Greens are against everything, always have been, always will be...and they do carry things a bit far, you can't stop progress, you can control it'* (34:5). Several respondents shared a similar discourse that there would always be opposition to development from pro-environment groups. Some considered this to be a good thing, but it seemed that more respondents did not.

Respondents' views about the environmental groups' opposition to Ta' Cenc revealed some interesting issues. First, their comments indicated that any organised opposition by environmental groups came from Malta and not from Gozo. This is a very important point in terms of the core-periphery power debate as it is another instance where Gozo's development issues were being dealt with by people at the core. One disadvantage was that the priorities of Malta-based environmental groups concerning the development issues at the periphery may not match those of Gozitan residents. The environmental groups at the core are especially likely to see advantages in keeping the periphery less developed, and they would see fewer tensions in opposing the golf course development

on that basis. Residents at the periphery were much more likely to have job creation as their priority and thus to have welcomed the golf course. A MLP representative discussed the geographical basis of the environmental lobby, commenting that, *'As far as I know there were no Gozitan NGOs or Gozitans who spoke against Ta Cenc...They used to go up from Malta to protest against the golf course, like Friends of the Earth, Green Peace. They were those NGOs that used to protest against it'* (10:8). Similarly, a GTA representative contended that, *'From the Gozo side it seems that nobody was against it. It's only the environmental groups that they have in Malta lobbying against the development of this golf course'* (17:3). An MTA representative similarly commented that, *'In Gozo there isn't a very strong environmental lobby; so most of the environmental lobby is based in Malta. There are obviously environmentalists and the local people are very careful, but they are not organised in such a way that they would have an organised lobby'* (27:5). This respondent was suggesting that, although there were Gozitans who opposed the golf course for environmental reasons, they did not join together to lobby against it. Interestingly, not one respondent mentioned 'Eko-Logika', the coalition of NGOs specifically organised to oppose the golf course in Gozo, which was introduced in Section 8.2.1.

Although the activities of environmental groups were fully acknowledged, they were not thought to have much influence over the development decisions. A Gozitan barman agreed that environmental groups were involved, *'But they don't have much power. The Nature Trust do a lot of good work, [but] as I told you, if one of a hundred screams the others won't hear him'* (7:7). This respondent felt that, while environmental groups worked hard to further their cause, they were outnumbered by those who were pro-development and therefore they had little influence. In fact, several respondents commented either that they knew little about the involvement of environmental groups, or they spoke about them in a less than positive manner. A Gozitan fitness instructor commented vaguely, *'I've heard something about them, yeah, about the land or something...I haven't heard of it, I haven't read of it, but I know there is somebody from the environment, yeah'* (24:5). A GTA representative commented in an implied criticism that, *'The environmental groups are against any development for Gozo'* (17:4). His view was that, regardless of the potential benefits of developments for Gozo, the environmental groups would always find environmental reasons to be against them. Bramwell (2004) suggests that through their protest activity, lobbying, and educational work, environmental pressure groups have become significant political

actors with an influence on environmental policies in Southern Europe. Some commentators believe they have caused government 'overload' by placing varied demands on government which are difficult to satisfy (Cigler, 1985). The responses in this study show environmental groups present in the development arena, but opinions about their influence on government decision-making were mixed. At the same time, it must be remembered that no new golf course has been developed in Malta or Gozo despite several years of debate, so the influence of environmental groups may have been more significant than first appears as it was indirect and manifested in non-decision-making.

A small number of respondents suggested that the bird hunters and catchers were against the development. A Gozitan barman commented that, *'Mostly, I think these hunters and bird catchers [are] against it because they use that land out there to catch'* (7:5). Similarly, a retired Gozitan policeman believed that opponents would be, *'These people who are very fond of bird catching and hunting and things like that'* (18:8). Ta Cenc is a popular area for bird hunting and catching and the golf development would halt this activity. This again is an example of opposition to a development driven by very personal interests rather than by benefits for Gozo as a whole. The likely influence of this group on decision-making is unclear, but the hunting lobby has been very influential in Malta in the past due to its potential electoral impact, and the government has been very reluctant to implement EU rules about the hunting season for this reason. Further, it is possible that if any influential decision-makers in the development arena are also keen bird hunters and catchers, then this may influence their professional agendas.

A few respondents also suggested that the general public in Gozo were against the Ta' Cenc development, particularly those living in Sannat which is near the proposed site. A Gozitan Archpriest believed that the only opposition to the golf course was from the general public, and that this was because access would be restricted and, *'Many people from all over Gozo, they go there almost every day and especially on Sunday, the weekend, they go there with the family...For us, Ta Cenc is sacred, for Sannat, it's for the people'* (3:6&11). The opposition from Sannat residents was demonstrated in 2006 when an AD candidate, who campaigned strongly against this development at Ta' Cenc, won a council seat. Harry Vassallo, the Chair of AD, described it as, 'A splendid example of what can be achieved if residents forget ancient party loyalties and take

local issues seriously on their own merits by electing an AD councillor on their local council' (Hill, 21/02/06). This demonstrates how at least occasionally the Maltese can use local elections to express their views about local development issues, despite their strongly held loyalties to one of the two main political parties.

8.2.4 Discourses and knowledge frameworks

The differing actor discourses used to support and to oppose the golf development are considered more fully next, as well as the respective knowledge frameworks held by groups of actors that were likely to have influenced these discourses. A Times of Malta article summarised the golf course debate: 'There remains, therefore, a fundamental division in the country. Those responsible for administering it, the sitting government and the alternative to it, agree with those in the tourist industry who stress that the facilities of the Maltese Islands' amenities have to be enhanced with further golfing facilities. Environmentalists and part of the farming community feel golf courses take up or destabilise too much land and gulp down more water than we can afford to be absorbed for that purpose' (Spiteri, 13/09/04). The study results generally support this statement, and it will be shown how these views form two main knowledge frameworks around the golf development arena.

Respondents clearly considered that the golf course development was primarily for visitor use, and that golf was not a sport that Gozitans were particularly interested in. A Din L'Art Helwa representative commented that, *'Golf is not a big thing here in Gozo...[It's] For the tourists I'd say, and someone that's of foreign origin that comes here to live or whatever, again, golf is not a sport that's very practiced here in Gozo'* (11:4). A Gozitan property developer also stated, *'I don't know anybody who plays golf who is a Gozitan. It's a new sport for us...I've never heard anybody say we'd like the golf course so we can play, mostly it's for tourism'* (16:4). This is important because it means that those in favour of the golf course were willing to allocate to it a large area of Malta's highly scarce land resources, despite the locals not being significant likely users. Clearly these respondents considered the tourism industry to be very important to the local economy, and anything which could improve was seen as a priority.

Among those in favour of the golf course, the representatives of the Nationalist Party and the government-related Malta Tourism Authority shared a broadly similar knowledge framework that highlighted how a golf course would benefit Gozo's tourism

industry. As mentioned in Section 8.2, the Nationalist Party's position was that golf courses can be environmentally beneficial, that golf is a significant attraction for higher-spending tourists, and that it would offer visitors a necessary amenity that is offered by other competitors. Similarly, an MTA spokesperson suggested, 'It is generally accepted that nowadays tourists are looking for a more active holiday where they can pursue diverse interests. In this context, segments such as diving, walking holidays and golf contribute towards a richer and more varied tourism offer, which is particularly relevant for a relatively small destination such as Malta. This is even more so considering that our competing destinations such as Tunisia, Spain and even Sicily have invested heavily in providing many golf courses'. The MTA also commented that in any country there should be a minimum of two golf courses because an integral aspect of the golfing experience is the use of different courses over the span of the same holiday (Times of Malta, 01/09/04). The Royal Malta Golf Club (RMGC) also supported the notion that more than one golf course is needed: 'Despite its many limitations, far from being afraid of the competition, the RMGC would regard other clubs as complimentary to its own vision of golf for Malta' (Mangion, 19/02/04).

The Malta Hotels and Restaurants Association (MHRA) shared this broad knowledge framework that golf tourism would be beneficial for the island's tourism offering. The MHRA had commented that, 'The more extensive we can make our product offering, the more chance we will have to expand demand to our islands. Additionally, the golfing segment is looked upon within the industry as a high yield segment' (Times of Malta, 14/02/04). The MHRA also backed the development of more golf courses because of an assumed high demand for such facilities from the conference and incentive segment. It was also contended that golf would help to brand Malta as a higher-end quality destination, and they also anticipated that it would help to reduce tourism's seasonality problem (Times of Malta, 07/07/05). The Gozo Tourist Association and the Gozo Business Chamber were Gozo-based actors who shared this same knowledge framework. They favoured development that would benefit the local tourism industry, and consequently business opportunities.

The most prominent groups holding a broad knowledge framework highlighting how Gozo's environment would be negatively impacted by the development were the environmental NGOs and the political party Alternattiva Demokratika. An AD statement stated that they feared that if a permit for a golf course was accepted by

MEPA, then this would open the gate to further real estate development in the area. It was also often argued that a golf course would entail the use of large amounts of water to maintain the non-indigenous turf. Another major discursive complaint was that the project would destroy a site of unique ecological importance and that it would disrupt important elements of flora and fauna, including the bird habitat unique to this area (Malta Independent, 20/01/05). Victor Galea, AD's Gozo Spokesperson, further commented that, 'The proposed golf course in Gozo is to be developed on agricultural land in Ta' Cenc which the developer claims to have its own water supply. This classifies it as fertile land, thus according to MEPA policies on golf course application should not be considered. The land in question is isolated and is an ideal area for an organic farming centre in Gozo. The facilities already available are ideal to turn the area into an eco and agro-tourism complex that would compete very well in this sector. It would be a mistake if the government and opposition look at the development of a golf course in Gozo as the only means of attracting quality tourism!' (Adrian Grima, 2005). Thus, for AD an additional argument was that a mass tourism facility would have a marked opportunity cost for alternative or eco-tourism options for Gozo, with this smaller scale of development being strongly favoured by comparison.

Similar broad knowledge frameworks were also shared by the Nature Trust, Birdlife Malta, and Din L-Art Helwa. Vincent Attard, the President of Nature Trust (Malta), claimed to be outraged that sites such as Ta' Cenc, which are ecologically rich, had been proposed as potential sites for golf courses. He said, 'Malta today seems to focus only on golf tourism while the state of our environment remains neglected. Our historical heritage needs a helping hand. Investment should be more focused on the islands' upgrade and upkeep rather than with trying to cope with what other countries have done' (Castelain, 09/01/05). This supports the suggestion noted earlier that Malta tends to look to other countries so as to follow what they have done, rather than considering what would be most suited to the specific local circumstances. Din L-Art Helwa (Heritage Trust) also commented that, 'Gozo has succeeded because of its simple charm, its distinctive countryside and people. A mega-development of the kind being proposed will be counter-productive by destroying the very things for which Gozo is known and loved' (Galea, 03/02/06). This supports the notion that less development and an approach drawing on the indigenous local features would be more attractive to tourists. The Ramblers' Association focused on the loss of public access to the area's distinctive landscapes. This association planned to lobby MPs and MEPA about what it

saw as the people's right to access the foreshore and open spaces at Ta' Cenc. Lino Bugeja, the association's president, said, 'Many are not aware of what's in store. The projected golf course at Ta' Cenc, Sannat, is coupled with a threefold growth of the hotel and 50 villas. A 'buffer zone' is left in between, but the amount of land that will be taken is enormous' (Fenech, 01/07/05). This statement is interesting because it mentions the full scale of the project – in addition to the vague suggestion of a golf course – and again it indicates that many people are not fully aware of the actual development plans being discussed. It reminds us that the knowledge frameworks at play in the development arena are not always based on the likely real development proposals.

8.2.5 Enrolment around the golf course development arena

The networks of influence around the golf development arena are examined in more detail next. As discussed in Section 8.2.1, actors involved in development issues can establish related actor-networks and they can use their agency and power within and between these networks to ultimately realise their own projects or agendas. The respondents tended to discuss the tourism development networks in general terms for Gozo rather than separately for each development project. But this section will focus where possible on the networks related specifically to the golf development arena.

The majority of respondents, both Gozitan and Maltese, believed that there was very little cooperation between the individuals or groups that shared similar positions regarding Gozo's tourism development projects. This perceived lack of cooperation is surprising given the clear evidence of networks, as detailed in the newspapers and as previously explained for Figure 8.2. The most common response was that the actors tended to lobby individually rather than with the support of others: *'No, they lobby individually, but they are on the same track...They agree, but they work individually'* (6:4). The most common reason given for this lack of cooperation was that a characteristic of Maltese society was the preference for groups to keep their own identity and be clearly seen in public as separate groups with their own distinct interests and opinions. A GTA representative contended that Maltese people dislike being permanently categorised with other people holding a similar opinion: *'I always say that when there is a united front you always stand to gain, but we don't have that attitude on the Maltese Islands. We don't, everybody is very sectoral, everybody is, if I am going with those in favour of this, maybe I'm going to be stamped like it, so everybody is*

moving on his own' (17:4). Another argument explaining this limited cooperation was that people did not always want to be identified in public with a particular view as it could adversely affect their position in this small island society. The manager of a Gozo diving centre also suggested that few Sannat respondents would make their views public against the golf course for fear of losing their jobs: *'The people living in the area are keeping a bit of a low profile as much as possible, because many people of the area work at the Ta' Cenc Hotel, so it's a conflict of interests...Talking one to one to them, they would all say 'no', we don't agree with a golf course'* (43:11). A University of Malta lecturer similarly commented that the Maltese do not like to air their views in public, and he suggested that the Maltese tend to share the Sicilian characteristic of 'omerta'. A common definition of Omerta is a 'code of silence'. He commented that, *'Gozo is known for, it has a problem with, "omerta". It's very much like in Sicily; people see things but they don't talk...In a referendum where the vote is secret they might do it, but they wouldn't show it to the public'* (9:9). A non-tourism-related Gozitan respondent similarly suggested that, *'We speak between ourselves and things like that, but when there's something formal where we can show our opinion to everyone and maybe in front of people who have power, then we are maybe afraid'* (26:6). An environmentalist similarly argued that, 'The Gozitan version of omerta could explain the somewhat subdued response from Gozo to the Ta' Cenc proposals so far' (Deidun, 08/01/06). This problem of 'omerta' was much discussed in conversation with the locals, and they suggested that any cooperation between individuals or groups around contentious issues would happen away from the public eye. A Gozitan tourism-related respondent commented that, *'A lot of lobbying goes on behind people's backs here, like everywhere else'* (14:7). This reluctant nature of Maltese and Gozitans to make their views public meant that the actor-networks surrounding the tourism-related development issues in Gozo were not always obvious to the respondents, consequently, the 'real' location of power was not always evident to people, and it needs careful analysis and interpretation.

The respondents provided other interesting observations which help to explain why actor-networks were not common in Gozo. An influential actor involved in planning and environmental issues in Malta contended that Nature Trust and Birdlife, *'Have been at loggerheads for many years; I don't think they like each other'* (23:8). He suggested this was because Birdlife was made up of people from all walks of life, whereas Nature Trust members were mostly people with a higher education or with a scientific

background, with this causing some antagonism between them. This respondent further suggested that, *'Many people in Nature Trust are Nationalists actually, not AD supporters'* (23:8). Thus, these political differences could also help explain why there was limited cooperation between Nature Trust and AD even when they shared many similar specific discourses. An MTA representative also suggested that Birdlife might not be able to relate to, and cooperate with, resident groups when some would be bird-hunters or catchers. He commented that, *'You would find that those who are opposing, although they are united in their cause, they would have very different objectives. So, you'd probably find that the villagers of Qala, most of them are trappers and bird shooters themselves, so they would find it very difficult to ally themselves with a bird-life lobby'* (21:7). Another explanation given by some for this lack of cooperation within and across actor networks related to the small size of the islands meaning that everybody tended to know everybody else, and thus views can not be put forward anonymously: *'It's Malta, it's too small. Everybody knows each other and everybody is looking after number one'* (34:6). In such a small-scale society people can be quite secretive so as to protect themselves from possible repercussions of having firm views about a contentious issue. The limited apparent cooperation was also a consequence of people having their own sectional interests or agendas: *'Malta is small, Gozo is even smaller, there are too many interests, everybody has his own agenda'* (14:7).

The respondents indicated that there was little cooperation among different groups of actors around the Ta' Cenc golf project. Yet this was not fully the case, as was shown in Figure 8.2. For instance, there was a coalition group called 'Front Kontra l-Golf Kors' (Front Against the Golf Course), and this comprised of several farming and environment-related organisations, such as the Progressive Farmer's Union, AD, Nature Trust, Friends of the Earth, and the University Chaplaincy (Front Kontra l-Golf Course, 2004). These groups are mutually enrolled to protest together against golf developments when they believe they do not comply with the Structure Plan Policies. This coalition opposed the golf course development in Gozo, but admittedly not on the same scale as their opposition to a proposed golf course at Verdala in Malta. This was perhaps influenced by most of the constituent groups that were enrolled being Malta-based. Another reason why the Front Against the Golf Course was more active in opposing the Verdala golf proposal was that, unlike at Ta' Cenc, this scheme resulted in a specific development application for a golf course, and this was taken to the full MEPA planning board, and a short public consultation process was held around this

proposal. Organisations such as Nature Trust and Friends of the Earth are well-organised and potentially can be influential in the development arenas, so it could be considered unfortunate for Gozo that such groups are mainly Malta-based. It means that the geographical core is better represented in such environmental issues than the periphery. On the other hand, given the wide support for the golf course amongst Gozitans, in this instance, they may well be pleased that Gozo is less represented.

Another coalition group opposed to the Ta' Cenc development, 'Eko-Logika' (as mentioned in section 8.2.2), is in fact a Gozo-based group, and it is made up of such groups as the AD Gozo Regional Committee, Ceratonia (the non-political arm of AD), Moviment Graffitti, and the Sannat Residents Association. Eko-Logika wrote to MEPA expressing its strong opposition to the proposed development of Ta' Cenc as a 'multi-ownership tourist hotel development'. They argued that it would cause irreparable damage to Ta' Cenc's garigue, including its special flora and fauna (Times of Malta, 10/01/06). Although not much discussed at the time of the interview, the profile of Eko-Logica in relation to the Ta' Cenc scheme did increase several months later. At that later date, they organised a guided walk at Ta' Cenc to raise awareness of the potential loss of countryside if the proposed golf course and related developments were to be approved (Fenech, 02/08/05). There was evidently quite strong support for the group as it attracted a 150-strong crowd. The significance of the Eko-Logica event was acknowledged by Victor Borg, the owner of the luxury hotel at Ta' Cenc and the developer of the new development. It was evident because fifteen minutes before the walk was due to take place he ordered that a gate be erected to prevent people from walking along a path leading to the Ta' Cenc cliffs. Some of the people attending the walk jumped over the gate, however, and 14 policemen were needed to control the situation. The hotel owner stated that he had erected the gate to save the area from so many people roaming all over it (Ameen, 14/08/05). This event created considerate media attention, and through it the Eko-Logica coalition was able to raise the profile of the potential environmental threat posed by this development scheme.

The attempts by environmental groups to enrol supporters to their cause were quite high profile. Other attempts at enrolment between the Ta' Cenc hotel owner and the government took place largely behind the scenes. As noted earlier, the government had made various policy statements about the development of golf tourism, notably they had stated that one golf course should be built in Gozo. The 'projects' of the Ta' Cenc hotel

owner and of the government were potentially mutually beneficial, and thus they were likely to enrol the support of one another. There was anecdotal evidence that the hotel owner had met several times with a high-level Malta Labour Party representative to discuss tourism issues, and therefore it is extremely likely that this hotel owner had also met with government representatives to discuss the potential golf application at Ta' Cenc. MEPA was given responsibility for identifying suitable golf sites in Gozo, and it is possible that government enrolled MEPA to encourage them to include Ta' Cenc on their list of suitable sites. The hotel owner also actively sought the enrolment of MEPA by employing, at great financial cost, consultants to conduct their required Environmental Impact Assessment.

Weight was probably given to the perceived enrolment between the hotel owner, government and MEPA when Ta' Cenc was omitted from the list of proposed sites for the EU's Natura 2000 network. Natura 2000 is an EU Directive to protect natural environments, and controversy erupted when Ta' Cenc did not feature in the list submitted by government. No apparent reason was given for the omission, and Nature Trust (the environmental NGO) suggested that Ta' Cenc was left off due to the application filed at MEPA for tourist developments at the site, and also due to the suggestions that the area had potential as a golf course (Maltamedia, 2004). Ta' Cenc's inclusion on this list would have reinforced the need to protect the area's natural environment, and as such, regulations for any development would be stricter. The hotel owner would have been keen to reduce any development restrictions to make it easier for him to develop the site in the future. And the Government might have been reluctant to nominate Ta' Cenc as a Natura 2000 site as they would lose their best opportunity for a golf course on the island, in line with their own policies.

Eko-Logika, Nature Trust and Birdlife Malta have continually urged government to include the whole of Ta' Cenc in the list of European protected sites. Furthermore, the European Environment Commissioner has demanded that more should be done to grant protection of Ta' Cenc against possible future development. He stated that, 'The site of Ta' Cenc contains natural habitats and species of wild fauna and flora of Community interest', and he reminded the government that development cannot be allowed in areas scheduled for protection under EU Directives (Micallef, 07/02/07). Thus, there has been involvement of the external core – in the form of the EU – in the affairs of the

peripheral island, in this case urging environmental protection rather than peripheral economic development.

It is important to note that Victor Borg has never made a formal application to MEPA for a golf course, even though the media has continually referred to it. Borg was reported in the local press as having stated that he had no intention of turning the area into a golf course (Cini, 15/08/05). Further, there is no evidence of a formal application on the MEPA website for a golf development at Ta' Cenc. However, it was reported that Borg had made a formal application to build more than 100 villas and holiday bungalows, a large hotel, and a number of tourist units at the site (Times of Malta, 22/02/06). The golf course proposal is only a potential scheme which might be added to a larger real estate development at a later date. The likely truth behind this application is that, at best, the golf course was of secondary importance to the developer, with the primary intention being to gain planning permission to develop tourism-related accommodation. At worst, it could be argued that the developer saw that a golf course was not economically viable at some stage in his planning, but chose not to remove it from the debate. Thus, the developer has perhaps used the golf course as a kind of 'carrot' or incentive to government to allow him to develop the rest of Ta' Cenc for profitable real estate purposes. Both MEPA and Borg's own consultants have concluded that the area is only suitable for a 9-hole golf course anyway, so it is even less likely that this was the focus of Borg's overall development plans. Thus, the networks at the development interface indicate that actors at the periphery can have a significant influence over the core. In this case, Borg has carefully played a tactical game with the national actors, demonstrating much individual agency in the face of powerful external forces.

It would seem, however, that certain members of government had become suspicious of Borg's development plans, realising that the golf course remained a suggestion simply as an incentive to government to get other development proposals passed. Several months after the initial development proposal by Borg, the Malta Environment Minister, George Pullciano, put a stop to the villa developments at Ta' Cenc on the basis that the application ran contrary to Malta's Structure Plan (1992) and the Gozo and Comino Local Plan (2002). He argued that these two plans did not allow for new development at Ta' Cenc overlooking Mgarr ix-Xini (Micallef, 09/09/06). This was viewed by the

anti-development lobby as a victory against the developers, and as a positive step towards preventing any further development at Ta' Cenc.

Overall, the respondents did not perceive there to be much cooperation or 'enrolment' between actors and actor groups, suggesting reasons such as the strong political loyalties, personal interests, and cooperation not being a common characteristic of Maltese society. Further, the Maltese Islands suffer to a degree from 'omerta', and the reluctance to speak out in public makes the picture of actor discourses and networks more difficult to ascertain. Much of the enrolment discussed in this section was not transparent as it takes place away from the public eye. It could be suggested that actors at the local level had a better chance of influencing the structural forces at the core if they bypassed the normal systems and negotiated in a covert and informal manner. The evidence of this is somewhat indirect, but it seems a reasonable conclusion when details of the golf project are looked at together. On the other hand, the enrolment and networks of environmental groups have been growing, and the pressures on government to be seen to be taking their arguments into consideration is likely to increase. Government can no longer ignore these groups, even if they oppose the government's agenda. This could be a major reason for the delay in developing golf tourism in the islands: 20 years after the first push, and the decision-making process still goes on.

8.2.6 Power configurations around the golf course development arena

Peripheral areas are often characterised as being on the margins of political decision-making, and central government – usually located at the core – tends to take on a substantial role in affairs of the periphery (Brown & Hall, 2000; Selwyn, 1979). The overall power configuration of the golf course development arena are now examined. The section begins with an examination of the where respondents perceived political and economic power for the golf course project to be located. This is followed by discussion of the overall power configurations at the micro-level, and how this compares to the perception of the balance of power at the macro-level, as examined in Chapter Six. Consideration is given to respondents' views and evidence from the newspapers and other documents. This provides a case-study of core-periphery power relations that helps to better understand the power relations at the macro-level.

The political power around the golf course development was most commonly perceived to lie with the Malta Environment and Planning Authority (MEPA) or with central

government. Almost all Maltese and Gozitan respondents shared this view, and this corresponds with the findings in Section 6.2.2 that the perceived balance of overall political power concerning Gozo's tourism development was held by MEPA and central government in Malta. Again, MEPA and central government were often referred to interchangeably, with their close cooperation with each other, or more often the government's influence over MEPA, being frequently acknowledged. The golf course has been well publicised in the media, and often with reference to the government's policy direction for golf tourism and MEPA's responsibility for site selection, so it is possible that this influenced the level of power attributed to them. Interestingly, the Ministry for Gozo was not suggested as having political power over this project. It is clear that respondents envisaged that the decision-making processes surrounding the golf course involved significant power invested in the core.

Only one Maltese respondent suggested that Gozo had equal political power with Malta in relation to all three development projects. A representative of MEPA contended: *'In the case of the golf course, I think [the power is] in both islands because there are interests in both islands, the same for the heliport. In the case of Qala, I think it would be more local, although there are Maltese interests in that one as well. So I would say it lies in both islands, it's not exclusive to Gozo. One cannot say in the three cases, that it [authority and power] is exclusive to Gozo'* (12:4). This MEPA respondent understated the significant influence that MEPA is widely perceived to have over decisions concerning Gozo. This might be because there is a common perception that MEPA has become too powerful, sometimes described as a 'State within a State'. This is discussed later in an examination of satisfaction with the decision-making processes.

The influence of environmental groups over government cannot be over-looked, but their actual power is difficult to assess. Governments are, now more than ever, feeling pressure to listen to environmental NGOs and to take their concerns on board. It can be suggested that the power attributed to MEPA reflects this trend. However, where government's plans meet opposition due to environmental impacts, and the government is able to enrol MEPA to support its agenda, this means that the real influence of the environmental lobby is reduced. Also, where there is ambivalence towards the environment from the large majority of the Maltese, and particularly Gozitans, then the influence of environmental groups is likely to be limited.

With regard to economic power, there is a common assumption in the academic literature that investment in tourism in peripheral islands often comes from the core or other external sources. However, in relation to the Ta' Cenc golf development there was little doubt among both Maltese and Gozitan respondents that the economic power lay with the private sector in Gozo. Many respondents commented more specifically that the funding would come from a local entrepreneur: *'I know the entrepreneur that had brought forward the idea years ago...he is Gozitan'* (19:4), *'The person who is involved is the owner of Ta Cenc'* (14:6), *'The golf course, it's linked to the Ta Cenc Hotel, the same developer, the same owner'* (21:14), *'I think it's the Victor Borg group...They want to develop the course at Ta Cenc Hotel in Sannat'* (16:4). The small size of the island of Gozo and its tight-knit community means that it is easy to get to know one another, and Victor Borg - the owner of several tourism-related businesses in Gozo - was well-known. At the time of the interviews, specific details of what development applications had been made were quite confused among the respondents. Plans for a golf course had been much discussed in the newspapers, and whether accurate or not people perhaps understandably had taken for granted that the details were accurate and thus they continued to refer to them. Respondents seemed very sure that the hotelier Victor Borg would be responsible for funding the development, and two respondents believed that Borg had already spent money on commissioning surveys and creating plans for it. A representative of the Malta Labour Party said, *'I was speaking to Victor last week, and he should know because he has paid thousands and thousands of pounds on it'* (10:9). And a Gozitan DMC representative commented on the length of time the project had been waiting for a decision, arguing that, *'It's not fair for the developer spending all that money and time, keeping him hanging so long'* (15:8).

Even though government was responsible for introducing the golf tourism policy, and organising the identification of sites suitable for golf courses, the respondents did not expect the Ta' Cenc course to be government-funded. It seems that in this case, the periphery did have the economic power and therefore a certain level of influence over its own tourism development. In earlier discussions of the location of economic power at the macro-level, respondents did acknowledge that the majority of businesses in Gozo were locally owned. But, they also complained that Malta had the control over the budget allocation for the island, and as such, considered that Malta had economic power over the islands' tourism industry. Nevertheless, economic power at the periphery is

useless without authority from the core to proceed with specific developments. It is when actors at the local level have the economic power and potential to meet government objectives that their level of power and influence is increased. This does not necessarily mean that the balance of power is shifted from the core to the periphery entirely, but it can create a more level playing-field, or in this case a more evenly distributed power configuration in the development arena.

8.2.7 Satisfaction with decision-making at the golf course development interface

Respondents' levels of satisfaction with decision-making processes at the three development interfaces were mainly related to the level of involvement of Gozitans in the process, whether their views were taken into consideration, and the speed of the process. With regards to the proposed Ta' Cenc golf development, the large majority of Gozitans clearly did not believe that Gozo residents were sufficiently involved in the decision-making process, and they did not believe that their views were adequately taken into consideration. The respondents implied that the decisions were made at the core, regardless of the views at the periphery. Various reasons were given for this lack of involvement by Gozitans. One reason given was that consultation was quite unusual in the Maltese Islands: *'I don't think that's the style of decision-making that takes place, even in Malta. Sometimes the government is accused of not consulting'* (16:6). A Gozitan policeman argued that, *'Governments here, they just make some talks, and I don't think they care what the people said'* (32:7). A retired Gozitan politician similarly suggested that Gozitan involvement was fairly pointless because, with or without consultation, *'If the government wants to give the go-ahead, it will'* (22:11). It may appear to residents at the periphery that their views were not taken into consideration, but it has to be questioned why the golf course had not yet been developed. It is highly likely that actions from certain actors at the periphery have affected the final decision, even if only to slow it down, while decision-makers at the core take the issues raised into consideration. It seems likely that the issues raised by Gozo-based environmental groups and Sannat residents, for example, have been recognised by the decision-makers and have been taken into consideration, even if not publicly acknowledged, and even if only to cause a delay.

A small number of Gozitan respondents complained about the lack of information provided for the locals about the Ta' Cenc development. A Gozitan Mayor commented that, *'The local people at the moment they are still quiet; they don't know what's going*

on' (4:7). A Gozitan Archpriest similarly contended that, *'I don't think there is enough information about it, because sometimes they speak on television programmes, but I can't understand what they are saying...If they want the opinion of the general public they have to publish at least a paper with the whole project'* (3:6). The respondent implied that without complete details about projects, a fully informed opinion cannot be formed. This issue of a lack of information was supported by evidence of considerable confusion about the actual details of the developments proposed (as discussed in Section 8.2.3). The main source of information seems to have been the newspapers and television, but of course it was not always accurate. Although Gozo is a small island and its population takes a keen interest in all island affairs, it is likely that people take less of an interest in projects that do not affect them directly, or do not enter their 'lifeworlds'. Thus, residents that are not involved in the tourism industry, or those that do not live near the Ta' Cenc site, may not have paid enough attention to the specific proposals for the site.

A very small number of Gozitan respondents suggested that there was some consultation with the locals, but the vast majority believed that they had not been sufficiently involved in the decision-making processes. By contrast, the majority of Maltese respondents believed that the Gozitans had been sufficiently involved in the processes, mainly suggesting that if their views had not been taken into consideration then a decision about Ta' Cenc would have been made before now. A Maltese tourism-related actor argued, *'Yes, I think the reason why no negative or positive decision has been taken is exactly this, because the government is trying to listen to both sides of the coin'* (20:5). Similarly, a MTA representative contended that, *'The decision has not been taken for a lot of years, he [government] knows the sensitivities of things and, you know, he can't afford to get it wrong'* (27:6). The comments from the MTA representatives suggested that Gozitans' views were taken into consideration, because the government feared that making a decision that went against the majority opinion might cause them to lose vital votes. Not surprisingly, when a representative of the Ministry for Tourism and Culture was asked whether Gozitans' views were taken into consideration, the response was, *'Oh certainly, yes, yes'* (1:4).

Only one Maltese respondent claimed that Gozitans were not sufficiently involved in the decision-making processes, and this was a representative of the MLP. He suggested that MEPA had become too powerful and that Gozitans' views were not taken into

consideration. He described MEPA as, *'A State within a State'* (10:8). This comment was most likely an attack on government, highlighting its inefficiencies as perceived by a member of the opposition party, but it would seem that many Gozitans agreed with this view.

Respondents also discussed their levels of satisfaction with the speed of the decision-making processes. For the Ta' Cenc golf course, both Gozitan and Maltese respondents agreed that the processes were far too slow. For instance, a GTA representative commented that, *'We are in 2005, we applied for a golf course in Gozo I think it's been 8 years or 9 years that we applied for it. If things take that long I'll be dead before there'll be another golf course here...I think it takes too long'* (29:5). A Gozo Channel representative also commented that, *'It is slow, yes, I would say it is slow, I mean projects take years and years to get off the ground, not only tourism...MEPA is slow...And one has to also consider that the elections turn up every five years, it's a very close 50/50 situation in Malta...Certain decisions are taken in the first three years and in the second two years things are quite slow because nobody wants to rock the boat'* (30:11). Again, party politics are suggested as a key reason for the slow decision-making process, with decisions delayed so as not to alienate the electorate. The representative of the Ministry for Tourism and Culture also believed that the decision-making process had taken too long. He explained that these types of controversial decisions do take time but he believed that, *'A decision is needed now because it is taking too much time and some people just keep dragging their feet'* (1:4). He was not explicit about who was dragging their feet, but like the Gozo Channel representative, it could be assumed that he was referring to MEPA. Whether the delay at MEPA was considered to be due to government influence was not clear from this response.

The MEPA representative was the only Maltese respondent who contended that the decision-making processes were progressing as they should be. He suggested that the golf development in Gozo was not as far advanced as that in Malta: *'In the Maltese case it was quite advanced, because there was an Environmental Impact Assessment, the whole lot, I mean, application'* (12:4). The MEPA respondent implied that there had not been an application for a golf course in Gozo, let alone an EIA, and therefore no decision could have been made yet. Of course, this was the case and it was due to the developer using golf as a means to get planning approval for a real estate.

8.2.8 Conclusion

Analysis of perceived power configurations in tourism development arenas at the micro-level, and in the context of core-periphery relations, can help us to understand the overall balance of power at the macro-level. Examination of the golf course development arena in Gozo has revealed that, for the most part, the decision-making power lies at the core. More specifically, respondents perceived the overall power to be held by the central government and MEPA. Interview responses and newspaper articles indicated that both political parties supported the idea of golf development in Gozo, though it was less clear whether the MLP supported development at the Ta' Cenc site. It is unusual for both political parties in the Maltese Islands to agree on policy issues, but they would have been very reluctant to oppose any significant development projects in Gozo that had the potential to benefit the local economy as this would risk losing substantial Gozitan electoral support. In this respect, the voting power of residents at the periphery can influence decision-making processes at the macro-level, but up to now it has only resulted in non-decision making.

The majority of actors and actor groups located in the golf course development arena were at the core. In particular, respondents readily identified Malta-based environmental NGOs as being against the golf course development at Ta' Cenc. It seems that the core involves itself in environmental issues at the periphery, whether this involvement is wanted or not. In fact, the majority of Gozitan respondents were in favour of the golf development proposal and perceived the involvement from the core as an unwanted interference in their island's affairs. That is not to say that the Gozitans were not cautious about the potential negative impact of the development on the environment, but the perceived economic benefits in terms of attracting tourists seemed to be their priority.

A local-level actor, Victor Borg, was located at the development interface (Figure 8.2) and was perceived to have significant power over the macro-level decision-making concerning the golf course proposal at Ta' Cenc. Borg was believed to have economic power over the project, and thus was perceived to have significant influence over central government and MEPA. Respondents did not perceive much enrolment between actors and actor groups in the development arena but analysis of newspaper articles and some responses revealed that the Gozitan entrepreneur had very probably tried to enrol the support of government and MEPA, and vice-versa, as their 'projects' were deemed

mutually beneficial. In this respect, an actor at the periphery demonstrated a significant degree of 'human agency' in a development arena characterised by formal power at the core.

8.3 A history of the runway development arena

Gozo is geographically peripheral to Malta, and doubly peripheral to the rest of Europe. During the survey period, all visitors to the Maltese Islands had to arrive in Malta and then continue their journey to Gozo by helicopter or ferry. Thus, Malta is the main gateway to the Maltese Islands. A reliable and frequent transport link between these islands is vital for both the tourism industry and the large number of Gozitans that commute to Malta for work or university. Like the golf course, the runway development for Gozo has been discussed and debated for many years. It has been described as, 'One of those skeletons in the cupboard which simply refuses to go away' (Deidun, 30/09/05). This section provides a brief history of the transport links between Malta and Gozo, and how the runway development proposal has remained such an important issue for the peripheral island.

It was in the late 1960s that a runway and fixed-wing air service was first proposed by a private businessman, and a site was earmarked at Ta' Lambert in Xewkija, but the plans were never realised (Pisani, 01/02/05). Later, in 1990, the Nationalist Party decided instead to construct a heliport at the site and a regular helicopter service between Gozo and Malta International Airport was started by Malta Air Charter, a subsidiary of the national airline Air Malta. This service was subsidised by the government, with approximately 15% of the cost of each fare being paid by Malta Air Charter (Castelain, 31/10/04). The helicopter service operated for several years, with between 8 and 16 flights daily. It was used by both tourists and business people, and in 2003 the service transported over 60,000 passengers (Castelain, 31/10/04). However, in 2004 the service was terminated due to the helicopters not meeting new EU safety requirements and because the company was operating at a loss (Bonnello, 08/12/03). Several months later, after considering tenders for fixed-wing and seaplane services, the government chose to introduce a new helicopter service. The fares were not subsidised this time, so they almost doubled, and passengers complained that it was not affordable (Bartolo, 28/01/05). At the end of October 2006 this service was also terminated because it had been incurring losses (Zammit, 12/11/06). Gozo was twice left for several months without a helicopter service, and this issue was exacerbated during periods of bad

weather when the ferry service between the islands was also cancelled, meaning Gozo was left completely isolated from the main island. The Gozo Business Chamber, the Gozo Tourist Association and the Malta Labour Party all deplored the cessation of the helicopter service because they felt that 'to leave the island without a helicopter service was a blow to the tourism industry and to the Gozitan economy' (Castelain, 07/11/04).

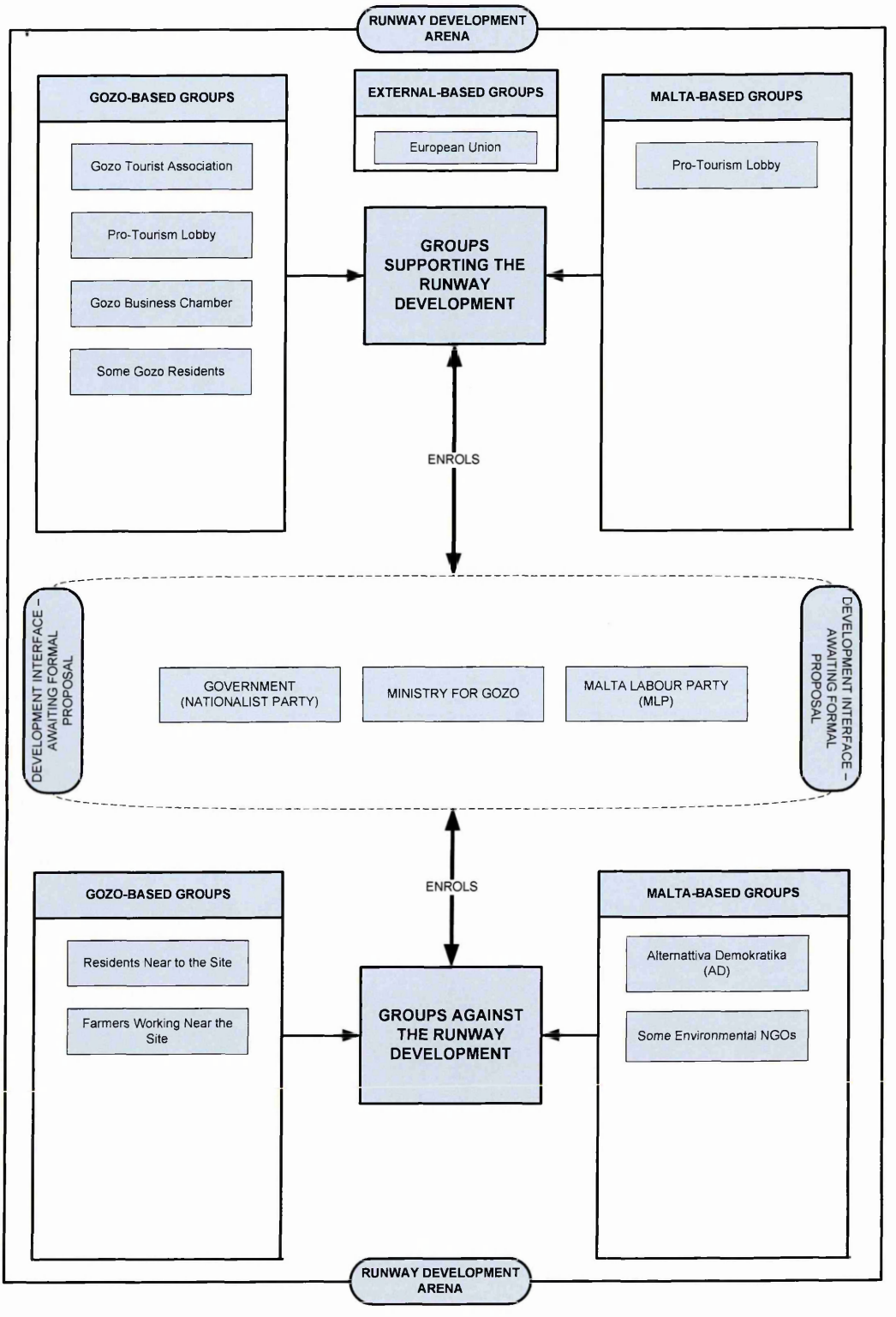
Although the runway development has been discussed 'on and off' for many years, it was during the times when Gozo was left without a helicopter link that the idea of a fixed-wing air service was again a hot topic for discussion. It was commonly believed that a fixed-wing air service would be more reliable and cheaper than the helicopter service, and many people argued that in present circumstances the island could not go forward without an air-link between the islands. The proposal involved extending the existing runway at the heliport from 230 metres to approximately 500 metres, as it was commonly believed that short take-off and landing aircraft needed only 500 metres of runway. The terminal building, fire station, and other necessary infrastructure are already in place. The location of the proposed site at Ta' Lambert, Xewkija, can be seen in Figure 8.1.

8.3.1 The runway development arena

The 'development arena' for the proposed extension to the runway in Gozo to allow for fixed-wing aircraft is presented diagrammatically in Figure 8.3. There are various actors and groups of actors with their own 'projects' or agendas relating to the runway development, all affecting to some extent the overall decision-making process. This development did not result in as much public protest as the golf course, and there was far less 'enrolment' at the development interface, probably because there had not yet been any formal application for the project. Nevertheless, the runway proposal still received significant political, public and media attention. This section will examine the runway development arena at the micro-level as it reveals differences in opinion between those at the core and those at the periphery, and the ways in which issues of peripherality and accessibility are dealt with in the context of core-periphery relations.

The majority of Gozitan respondents clearly considered the development of a runway as an appropriate development for Gozo, with around two-thirds of respondents supporting the idea. The most common discourse was, as expected, that it would benefit the local tourism industry by making the island more accessible. Wanhill (1997) suggests that

Figure 8.3: Diagram of the runway development arena



accessibility problems in peripheral areas, which are often compounded by weather conditions, can deter visitors and limit the length of the tourist season. It was revealed in Chapter Seven that Gozo's tourist numbers are considered too low and therefore it is not surprising that the locals would favour a development that has the potential to attract

more tourists and increase the length of the tourist season. Castelain (08/01/06) suggested that a fixed-wing air-link is, 'An inevitable decision if we want tourism in our island to improve and to become more appealing'. Similarly, the manager of a diving centre in Gozo commented, *'I am all in favour of this one...If any land has to be sacrificed I would rather it be sacrificed for a fixed-wing aircraft than a golf course...I think just a small bit of land should have been sacrificed to make it easier for tourists reaching here'* (43:12).

It was discussed in Chapter Three that there has been a recent increase in people wanting to visit those destinations that are more remote as isolation and remoteness represents peace, difference, even exoticism (Brown and Hall, 2000). However, Gozitan respondents did not seem to consider that a less accessible island would be more beneficial for their tourism industry. On the contrary, emphasis was given to the potential benefits that improved accessibility would bring to the tourism industry. This may have been influenced by the tourism focus of the interviews, but could also reflect the importance of the tourism industry to those at the periphery. Interestingly, a comment made by a Maltese respondent suggested that tourism is often used as an excuse for development: *'All this is in the name of tourism, no-one is saying the Maltese crossing over need an aircraft, it's always for the tourists. Tourism is always being used as the excuse'* (20:8). Gozitans have often complained that they feel neglected by the powers at the core, and it may be the case that they exaggerate the importance of the air-link for tourism purposes because they think they would be more likely to gain government support. They seemed to doubt that government would provide an air-link as a basic social service, and a comment from the NP Competition Minister suggested that they may be right. He argued that the main purpose of the helicopter service was to attract high quality tourists to Gozo as well as meeting the needs of overseas travellers who needed to cross from the airport to Gozo, and that the service could by no means be considered as a social service (Times of Malta, 27/01/05). Here the Government does seem to have tourism as the priority.

The issue of Gozo being isolated from the main island was another significant reason given for supporting the runway development: '*When there is very bad weather in the channel, the crossings are cancelled, so Gozo becomes isolated...If it's bad weather or outside of peak season, and a flight arrives after a certain hour, they have to lose a substantial chunk of their business because people have to stay overnight in Malta*'

(21:8). Many visitors to Gozo have to spend a night in Malta, either on arrival or the night before their departure, because the link between the islands is not frequent enough. Consequently, Gozo, not only misses out on these extra overnight stays, but tourists may be deterred from travelling to Gozo at all: '*People have to overnight in Malta on arrival and overnight in Malta prior to departure if it is a 6am flight...You might as well stay in Malta*' (21:8). These comments, and others, revealed more than just the problem of isolation, but also a significant issue in terms of tourism and core-periphery relations, where the periphery has to compete with the core for tourists. Malta is the main gateway to the Maltese Islands, and Gozo has to encourage visitors to accept the added cost and inconvenience that the journey to the further island entails; in effect, Gozo is directly competing with Malta for tourists. Those in favour of the runway development argued that a fixed-wing air service would improve accessibility and create a more even 'playing field' in terms of attracting tourists.

Whereas the majority of Gozitan respondents supported the runway development, most of the Maltese respondents opposed it. Their discourses varied, but they all shared the perception that the development of a runway and a fixed-wing air service would have too much impact on the small island. For instance, an MTA representative was concerned that it, '*would create an urge or a need to attract volume, which in turn needs development...And the sensitivity of Gozo, even more than Malta because of its size, because of its character, would be so seriously jeopardised*' (21:11). Weaver (1998) suggests that in an island core-periphery relationship, such as Malta and Gozo, the dominant island has the power to facilitate or restrict tourist arrivals, and there may be considerable temptation to adopt an approach which deliberately employs tourism as a vehicle for further consolidating the dominant island's control over the subordinate island. Thus, it may be suggested that the Maltese would deliberately keep the island less accessible and prevent any development which would increase Gozo's tourism competitiveness, in order to protect their own tourism interests in Malta. In addition, as was suggested earlier, the Maltese may want to keep Gozo as a 'crib', and prefer the fact that the island is reached by ferry as it adds to the feeling of 'getting away from it all' when they visit as tourists. Furthermore, the Maltese reluctance to support the runway development may stem from the fact that they have not had to experience the same inconvenience and isolation associated with living on the more remote island. What is clear is that there are many reasons why the Maltese would have different priorities to the Gozitans concerning accessibility issues for the peripheral island.

The Nationalist Party, the Malta Labour Party and the Ministry for Gozo were key actor groups in the runway development arena, and were located at the development interface, (see Figure 8.3). It seems that the runway proposal has become a highly politicised issue. Respondents most commonly believed that the Nationalist Party was in favour of the development and the Malta Labour Party was against. The NP has actually been quite vague in their stance, expressing their main concern to be that of maintaining some link between the islands. The MLP has been inconsistent with its stand on the Gozo airstrip. At the end of 2005, Labour MP and spokesperson for Gozo pleaded with the government to plan seriously for the substitution of the helicopter service with a fixed-wing service after complaints from Gozitans that the helicopter service was too expensive. At the same time, another Labour MP stated that the MLP was not officially in favour of a small airport in Gozo (Castelain, 27/11/05). A draft plan for the socio-economic development of Gozo was later launched which stated that the MLP would support a subsidised helicopter service (Refalo, 08/12/06). Respondents tended to describe a situation where the political parties' stances were strongly influenced by the electorate: *'As usual, one is in favour and the other is against, and they switch around and will put I'm against, a Maltese tradition!'* (7:9). It seems to have been very much a political issue where both parties continually strived to 'show' themselves to be looking after Gozo's best interests. The Prime Minister stated that he needed to listen carefully to the views of the Gozitans, and to 'feel the pulse of these before decisions are taken for an extension to the present airstrip' (Scicluna, 30/09/04). The transport link between the islands was very important to the Gozitans, and the political parties were aware that their actions could significantly win or lose them votes. For instance, an influential Maltese actor in planning and environmental issues believed that the NP had been in favour of the development, but dropped the issue as a result of Gozitan opposition. He contended that, '*The Conservatives were full square behind the idea, [but] the public mood in the area was against it. Labour attached on to that public mood so officially they became against it. When government saw that in that particular election there was a huge swing to Labour in Gozo they probably attributed the air-strip issue as having contributed to that swing, so they dropped it*' (21:11). Similarly, a representative of the GTA commented on why he thought the runway had not yet been developed: *'I think the main reason is because the government is afraid of the people of the area...the government is very reluctant because of the general opinion of the few'* (17:7). The impression given was that the political parties were not making decisions based on what was best for the island, but based on how they could secure votes.

The Ministry for Gozo was also located at the runway development interface. For all three development proposals the overall political power was perceived to be with central government, but for the runway development it was suggested that the Ministry for Gozo would have some influence over the decision-making process. A Gozitan nurse commented that, *'The final decision is [with] the Maltese Minister, [but] the Gozo Minister consults with the Maltese Minister'* (6:9). The perception was that decisions would be by central government, but only after consultation with the Ministry for Gozo. A possible reason why respondents perceived there to be more influence from the Ministry for Gozo in the runway project was that, unlike the marina and golf course projects, it was likely to be government funded. The development was also considered to be a very local issue, mainly because it would affect the lives of the Gozitans much more than the Maltese. However, it is important to note that although the Ministry for Gozo was perceived as having some political power in the runway development arena, it was fairly limited. The periphery was not perceived to be autonomous in any development decisions, regardless of how 'local' the issue was considered to be.

Both Gozitan and Maltese respondents perceived the government as having the economic power over the runway development: *'It would have to be the government, it's government property anyway' (14:10).* Respondents contended that as it was an infrastructural development the investment would have to come from the Maltese government through the national budget. Bramwell (2004) explains that governments have long served an entrepreneurial role in tourism, and in this role they are responsible for the provision of basic infrastructure such as airports and road networks. This is because the provision of such infrastructure is likely to be considered commercially unprofitable by potential investors, and all are considered advantageous for the tourism industry. A representative of the Gozo Tourist Association (GTA) contended that, *'It has to be government money. We do believe that transportation between the islands should remain in the hands of the government'* (17:8). The GTA, with the support of the Gozo Business Chamber, urged government not to 'shirk its responsibility' and provide a fixed-wing air service (Castelain, 07/11/04), and that, 'Nothing less than this basic service can do justice to Gozo' (Muscat, 05/05/07). Transportation links between Gozo and Malta were considered by the Gozitans as a 'basic service' because so many residents have to commute to work or university, or access the various services that are not available in Gozo. It was discussed in Chapter Six that Gozitans would like to have much more control over their own affairs, yet they strongly believed that government

should be financially responsible for this development. Whereas the physical building of the runway was considered to be the responsibility of the government, the costs of running the airport were believed to be the responsibility of whichever airline or airlines use the airstrip. Public-private agreements are appearing more often in tourism as governments reduce their intervention in tourist ventures (Middleton, 1998).

The power of the EU was not often mentioned by respondents during the interviews, possibly due to the relative novelty of the islands' membership. However, several respondents mentioned that government might receive funds from the EU to construct the runway. This is an instance where the external core is perceived to have some influence over the affairs of the subordinate island, with little involvement from the dominant island. A representative of the GTA contended that, *'Government has to pay for this airstrip...Most probably today you would be very lucky that if we asked Europe to pay for it, that we are such a distinct island with its own regional problems, probably Europe will help us out'* (29:9). Similarly, a representative of the MTA commented that the government, *'Might even try to tap into EU funds, regional development funds...It would be government funding and probably they would look for EU funding'* (21:11). These respondents are referring to the possibility of Malta and Gozo benefiting from EU Structural Funds. Malta and Gozo are classed as an 'Objective One' region, that is a region whose development lags behind markedly, and should receive considerable additional budgetary resources to, among other things, improve its infrastructure. However, the perception among respondents was that the Maltese government, and not the Ministry for Gozo, would be responsible for approaching the EU for any funding concerning a development in Gozo, and thus the economic power of the external core over the subordinate island is still filtered by the political power of the dominant island. Gozo's ability to approach the EU directly for funding was removed when Malta, Gozo and Comino were declared as one region.

Those actors in the development arena that were opposed to the runway were mainly perceived by respondents to be those that lived nearby to the heliport due to potential noise pollution. This is very reflective of the 'Not In My Back Yard' syndrome (NIMBY), where residents oppose development near to their homes, but would probably support the same development elsewhere in the island. A smaller number of respondents suggested that there might be farmers who work on the land near the heliport that would object to the development, and these groups are shown on the

development arena diagram (Figure 8.3). Alternattiva Demokratika, the Green political party, opposed the development claiming that it was an unnecessary use of land (Malta Independent, 19/01/04). Some environmental NGOs expressed similar concerns; for instance, Nature Trust considered the runway to be, 'Excessive development with respect to Gozo's vision as a green haven for Maltese and tourists alike' (Times of Malta, 14/01/04), and the Moviment Graffiti environmental group complained that, 'The development of an airstrip would result in such destruction and would also result in pollution due to noise and fumes' (Malta Independent, 05/03/04). Although environmental groups were opposed to the development, respondents perceived their involvement as being on a much smaller scale than for the golf course, and not particularly influential in the development arena. This was possibly due to the fact that the land at the heliport was not considered particularly fragile. A representative of MEPA commented that, *'The area around the existing airstrip, it's mostly disrupted, tipping and what have you. So, ecologically, I would be very surprised if there is anything of note or worthy of conservation. So perhaps the main objections would be in terms of increased activity, pollution, noise and visual'* (12:6). In this case it would seem that the electorate in Gozo had more power over the decision-making process than pressure from the environmental lobby.

One interesting issue revealed in the interviews was the Gozitan's desire to reduce their dependence on the core. Respondents discussed whether they thought the fixed-wing air service should be limited to flights between Malta and Gozo or expanded to operate to and from other destinations. The majority of Gozitans were in favour of having flights from other destinations, so long as the runway, the aircraft, and any associated development remained small-scale. For example, a Gozitan DMC manager contended that, *'If there won't be any increase, for example, for a plane coming in from Malta it needs to be 100 metres, if to get one from abroad it only needs 100 metres, why not?'* (15:12). Similarly, another Gozitan respondent argued that, *'They must have an airstrip here. They come direct from Heathrow to here, Gatwick to here, Manchester to Gozo. It's very important because when they stop in Malta they only see Malta and not Gozo'* (5:6). This comment illustrates how, with flights arriving directly into the smaller island, Gozo would not have to be dependent on Malta as the gateway. It would mean that Gozo could increase its tourism competitiveness and target the same tourists markets as Malta. Rather than being a component of the Malta tourism product Gozo would be a tourism destination in its own right.

The Maltese respondents acknowledged that Gozitans would prefer flights to arrive directly to their island without first having to land in Malta, but they were not very supportive of this idea. An influential Maltese actor involved in planning and environmental issues suggested that, *'If it can boost the Gozitan economy I think they will go for it, so long as it is pounds, shillings, and pence...That's the Gozitan way of life'* (23:12). This respondent seemed to lack faith in the Gozitans' ability to prioritise the long term impacts of such a development over short term financial gain, and reflects some of the reasons given by other Maltese respondents as to why Gozo should not be given more autonomy (see Section 6.3.4 which examines responses to changing the balance of power). An MTA representative also made an interesting comment, suggesting that the Gozitans, *'They wanted the full blown thing...I would say psychologically it goes back to this quest to free oneself from Malta. Malta is a gateway, we don't need Malta as a gateway anymore if people can come straight to Gozo'* (21:8). A Maltese university lecturer similarly commented that the Gozitans would like to have the runway, *'So they would be totally independent of Malta'* (9:7). These comments reflect the Gozitan desire for more autonomy; and eliminating the need to use Malta as a gateway would reduce the level of dependency of the periphery on the core.

8.3.2 Conclusion

Accessibility is a particularly significant issue for peripheral islands, and even more so in terms of a doubly peripheral island like Gozo. The decision-making process was viewed as being highly politicised, where both parties were reluctant to declare a clear position on the runway development in case they alienated the electorate. It would seem that in this respect the actors at the micro-level did have some power in the runway development arena. However, both the economic and political power were perceived to be with central government in Malta. The transport link between the periphery and the core was considered a 'basic service' by those at the periphery, in terms of everyday living and with respect to the tourism industry. The Gozitans felt that it should be the responsibility of the core to provide this service and prevent them from being isolated again in the future. However, the Maltese tended to view the accessibility issue with less significance, probably because they have not had to experience the problems associated with living on a peripheral island. They were less convinced that a runway development was necessary, and viewed it rather negatively as a way for Gozo to be less dependent on the main island. They may have also been

reluctant to support the development because it would mean Gozo could gain a competitive edge in term of tourism, and this would probably be seen as a threat to the Maltese tourism industry.

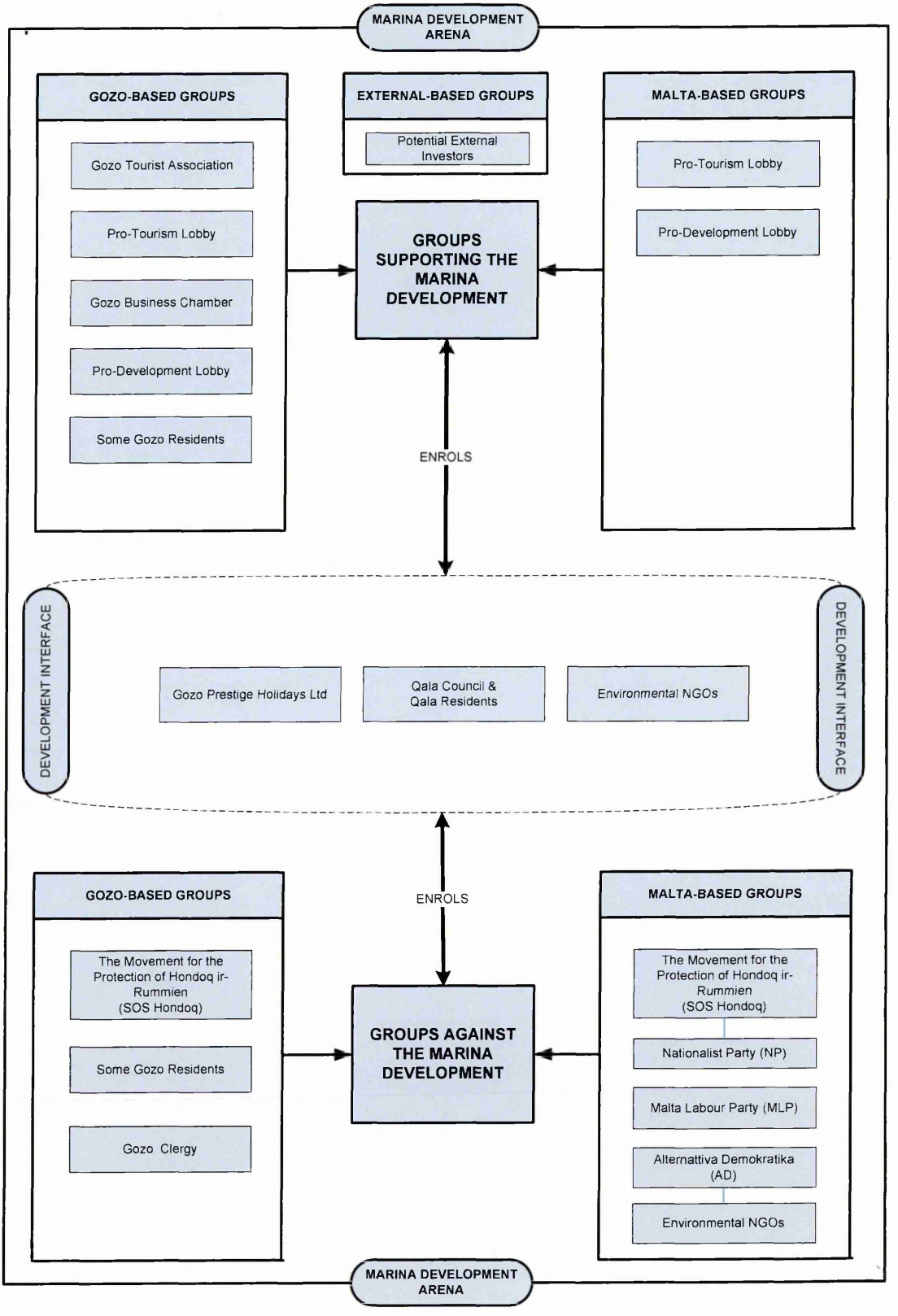
8.4 A history of the marina development arena

The 'Qala Creek Project', referred to by respondents and in this study as the 'marina project', was proposed more recently than the golf course and the runway, but in a short time it created much interest and debate. In 2002, Gozo Prestige Holidays Limited, a luxury accommodation provider for visitors to Gozo, presented details of the marina and tourist village project to the public. The proposed site for the project was at a disused quarry in the village of Qala, on the island's eastern coast (see Figure 8.1). The Draft Gozo and Comino Local Plan (MEPA, 2002) indicated that the quarry area was relatively dilapidated and it suggested the need for upgrading. The proposal was to create a seawater inlet at the heart of the quarry to allow for the construction of a yacht marina for up to 150 vessels, and the development of a tourist village in part of the north, east, and west quarry faces. The village was to include a 5-star deluxe 170 bedroom hotel, 85 self-catering villas and other units, 200 multi-ownership timeshare residences, a small church, administration offices, shops, restaurants, and underground parking (Environment Management Design Planning Ltd, 2006).

8.4.1 The marina development arena

The 'development arena' for the proposed marina and tourist village in Gozo is presented diagrammatically in Figure 8.4. An examination next of the actor discourses around the development arena reveals how the prospect of this large-scale development was discussed. Gozo is a small island, measuring only 67km^2, and the proposed marina and tourist village would be a very large-scale development in this setting. The project would be highly significant in terms of both economic benefits and environmental impacts, and these were the main points of contention in the development arena. For this project, the groups located at the development interface were Gozo Prestige Holidays Limited, the Qala Council and Qala residents, and environmental NGOs. Gozo Prestige Holidays Limited was located at the development interface because it was the project proposer, but interestingly not one of the respondents identified this. This was surprising considering that at the outset the company held a well-attended public meeting to discuss the proposal. In fact, respondents were not at all certain who had the economic power over the project; for example, some Gozitan and Maltese

Figure 8.4: Diagram of the Marina and Tourist Village Development Arena



respondents perceived that it lay in Gozo, while others claimed it lay with Maltese or foreign investors, or both. Although the location of the economic power was unclear, it was evident to them that the investment was from private investors and not government.

The Qala Council and Qala residents were also located at the development interface. Unlike the other two development arenas, in this case the local residents were perceived to have considerable power at the development interface (examined further in Section 8.4.3). The Qala Council chose to organise a referendum for local residents, and it stated that it would declare its stance on the project based on this result. 1, 309 residents were eligible to vote and it received a high 74.4 percent turnout, reflecting the significance of this project to them. 84.5 percent of residents – a clear majority – voted against the development (Maltamedia, 2002 & Massa, 18/11/02). Consequently, the Qala Council declared itself against the development, arguing that it was excessive and disproportionate to the size of the area, and that it would be detrimental to the environment, and to the picturesque Hondoq ir-Rummien Bay in particular (Times of Malta, 14/10/02).

It was discussed in Section 8.2.5 that Gozitans tend not to air their views in public as they fear it could affect their position in this small island society. It was also shown how the Maltese tend to share the Sicilian characteristic of 'omerta' or 'code of silence', meaning that there is limited public enrolment between actors. Unusually, the residents of Qala did publicly cooperate in this case to oppose the development. A University of Malta lecturer suggested that a true representation of opinion may be sought where the opinion can be given secretly: *'In a referendum where the vote is secret they might do it, but they wouldn't show it to the public'* (9:9). Similarly, the Mayor of Qala claimed that the referendum result, 'Clearly shows the will of the Qala residents who expressed their decision in a democratic and transparent way' (Massa, 18/11/02). However, as the following comments reveal, the referendum may not have been a completely true representation of public opinion. The political editor of the Malta Independent newspaper claimed that people were afraid to speak out in favour of the development, such was the pressure being exerted on them by the influential local Clergy to vote no. He explained that, 'The Priests' power has been influential for centuries...[and] with local councils now being a micro reflection of the country's divide between Nationalist and Labour supporters, and with a small number of votes making up the difference, any councillor, especially the Mayor, would feel the heat if he risks going against the established power in the village or if people start to murmur that he has been "bought" by the developers' (Grima, 10/11/02). Further, the referendum may have been used as a way for the Qala Mayor to justify his position against the development. If the Mayor had shown support for the project he, and his council, would have risked upsetting the

well-established and influential 'church', and consequently a large number of the electorate. The developers also claimed that certain individuals had put pressure on residents to oppose the development, and the Director of Gozo Prestige Holidays argued that the issue had been 'highjacked' by certain individuals against the development (Grech, 02/11/02). It would seem that even when Gozitans do enrol each other for support and display a united front, it still may not be a true representation of opinion due to external influences.

The referendum result was well publicised in the media, and the interview respondents agreed that the local residents had expressed strong opposition to the development. The perceived discourses varied, but interestingly the main reasons for opposition seemed not to be the large size of the project, but the fact that the development would cause disruption to the area in the short-term, it would restrict access to the bay, and it would negatively impact the environment in the long-term. A Gozitan respondent commented on the disruption that it would cause: *'You have to remember that in construction, if it's a village, it's going to be a big construction. That means they're going to have five years of constant noise, traffic, trucks, noise pollution, dust pollution, pollution of the sea'* (2:12). In terms of access to the bay, there are only a small number of places to swim in Gozo and, with Hondoq ir-Rummien being one of the nicer areas, there were many concerns that it would be ruined. Residents of Qala were particularly concerned about access to what they considered to be 'their' beach. The respondents did not express strong concerns about the impacts of such a large scale development for the island, whether good or bad, and it appears that they were more concerned about how it would directly affect their daily lives. A NIMBY syndrome seemed to be present, where personal interests were the priority. Concerns about the negative long-term environmental impact on the bay were discussed by a Gozitan barman, who contended that, *'In Gozo there are only two or three sandy beaches. Ramla Bay [is] one of the biggest, and [then] Hondoq: it's not that sandy, but you can call it a sandy beach. It's small, you have to take care of it. When the boats are there and the oil and things like that, it won't be as it was before'* (7:10).

The well publicised opposition to the project from the environmental NGOs also occurred at the development interface. However, respondents did not perceive the NGO involvement as being as significant here as it was for the golf course and runway developments: *'They are against, but they haven't been so vociferous'* (9:13). This may

have been because there was such a strong focus in their statements on the Qala referendum. The environmental groups mainly expressed concerns about the size of the project and its potential environmental impacts in the short and long-term. Din L'Art Helwa, Friends of the Earth (Malta), and Nature Trust were united in their view that the development plans for the marina and its related tourist accommodation were 'Objectionable and unsustainable, both in principal and practice' (Times of Malta, 06/11/06). They feared that what the developers were proposing was tantamount to the creation of a new village in Gozo. They suggested that it would be better to refurbish existing hotel developments, some of which had closed down in recent years, than to build new properties on virgin land (Times of Malta, 06/11/06).

A Malta and Gozo-based coalition called 'The Movement for the Protection of Hondoq ir-Rummien', or 'SOS Hondoq', was set up specifically to oppose the Qala development. They argued that the project was too extensive for such a small area, and that the building would be crammed along the rock face, 'Turning the present beautiful rock panorama into an eyesore' (Castelain, 27/10/02). They also feared that the bay would become heavily polluted, the peace and quiet of the village would be destroyed by heavy traffic and an increase in tourists, and that the project would act as a catalyst or trigger for further development in the area (Moviment Harsien Hondoq, 2007).

Unlike the golf course and runway development arenas, the marina and tourist village development was not viewed as being a particularly 'political' arena. Thus, the two main political parties were not placed in Figure 8.4 at the development interface. In fact, respondents were not certain whether they were for or against the project. The Minister for Gozo was reported as describing the development as a 'Good thing for Gozo', and suggested that, 'No-one could possibly disagree with it' (Times of Malta, 23/09/06). This was very surprising considering the project's obvious large scale for such a small island, and the strong opposition demonstrated by the residents of Qala. A small number of respondents suggested that the government was in favour, but believed that they were remaining very quiet on the subject. A Deputy Mayor in Gozo also thought that the Ministry for Gozo was in favour, *'But there was nothing official'* (5:9). On the other hand, a Maltese actor contended that, *'They are against, but they haven't been so vociferous. They are not involving themselves, they are staying out of it'* (9:13). In their interview, the Nationalist Party representative gave a very non-committed,

'balanced' opinion, explaining very simply that a marina could help generate tourism, but that it would also severely affect the environment of the area.

For the Opposition Party, the Malta Labour Party, they had previously earmarked the same Qala site for a yacht marina in 1998, with the intention of carrying out the project in partnership with the private sector. The MLP leader at that time promised that a Labour government would give first priority to the project, and that if bureaucracy were to cause problems then the project would be approved through a special law or through a special resolution in Parliament (Times of Malta, 27/05/02). It can be assumed that this intention reflected a majority support for a marina in Gozo at that time. However, the 'Qala Creek Project' involved much more than just a marina, with a conservative real estate element, and the MLP leader has since stated that, 'The proposed project would amount to speculation and exploitation of priceless land' (Sunday Times, 15/10/06). In the interview, the MLP representative commented that this type of development made sense for Gozo, but not at that location due to the opposition from the Qala residents. Thus it would seem that, both political parties wanted to keep all the islanders happy by not declaring unequivocally either for or against a large marina scheme in general, and partly even for this particular scheme. While there were occasional statements in support, there were other statements that seeded doubts and uncertainty and this may have been deliberate to maintain the support of all parties.

It was the political pro-environment group, Alternattiva Demokratika, that seemed to be most clear in their stance, although respondents did not identify them as a key actor group in the development arena. AD objected to the project proposal describing it as, 'The tourist complex threat to the Gozo coastline' (Times of Malta, 27/10/02). AD suggested an alternative project which consisted of an industrial and heritage park.

Many of the pro-environment groups argued that the proposed site for the development lies outside the development zone established by the 1992 Structure Plan for the Maltese Islands, and as such should not be permitted by MEPA (Moviment Harsien Hondoq, 2007 & Times of Malta, 27/10/02). An AD spokesperson contended that, 'The policies state very clearly that the disused quarry can only be reopened for extraction of further stone on the condition that the site is returned to agriculture, tree-planting or creating a natural habitat for wildlife. The developers have twisted this by trying to claim that a few plants scattered on rooftops can pass as afforestation' (Times of Malta,

27/10/02). Environmental Impact Assessments have been carried out as required, but this has also received some criticism. It was claimed by an opposing group that MEPA had accepted the developer's choice of site without demanding a serious site selection exercise. Moreover, they argued that EIAs were being routinely written by the same experts who were commissioned by the developers, claiming that there was a blatant case of conflict of interest (Times of Malta, 09/09/06). As with the golf course, some parties questioned MEPA's ability to act as an independent body that protects the environment, and to be objective in this development arena.

8.4.2 Marina and tourist village as an appropriate development for Gozo

The marina and tourist village development received such strong opposition from Qala's residents and the environmental groups that it was perhaps surprising that almost every Gozitan interview respondent considered the project to be an appropriate development for Gozo. The most common discourse in favour of the project was, again, that it would help to generate more tourists. A non-tourism related Gozitan respondent argued that, *'Gozo is lacking from such development, and I think [it is why] the tourists are not coming along, it's one of the problems'* (6:10). It was believed that the marina development would be a good addition to the tourism product. A Gozitan DMC manager suggested that with the marina, *'You are creating another niche market for Gozo: yes, of course it's a good idea'* (15:13). A Gozitan accommodation provider believed that it would help Gozo to be an up-market destination, a popular idea that was discussed in Chapter Seven. He contended, *'I think it will put Gozo in a better standard... [attracting tourists] that can spend more money on the island'* (8:8). Many suggested that Gozo needed a new marina because demand for the existing small marina at Mgarr in Gozo was too high. A DMC manager commented that, *'What we have at the harbour, it's a joke, it's a couple of platoons'* (15:13). Some respondents that owned boats complained that it was very difficult to obtain a berth, particularly during the summer months, and they suggested that a second marina was necessary: *'Definitely at the moment the marina at Mgarr is becoming too small'* (29:14). Interestingly, respondents did not link the marina development with the issue of accessibility. The prospect of tourists arriving directly into Gozo, rather than having to travel to Malta first, was an important issue in the runway development arena but the same accessibility issue was not linked to the marina development. Respondents seemed to view the potential benefits of a marina and tourist village as being similar to that of the golf

course; as an addition to the overall tourism product that had potential to attract higher spending tourists.

A less frequently used discourse, yet still significant, was that the marina development would generate employment for locals. A non-tourism Gozitan respondent suggested that most Gozitans would favour the project, *'Because it's more jobs, isn't it. I mean, we need progress. You can't just wait for somebody to give you a job if there's no jobs around, and if you build a hotel and a marina of course there's going to be jobs'* (24:10). The disadvantage of many of these jobs being temporary and seasonal was not acknowledged by respondents. Gozo suffers from higher unemployment than in Malta, and it would seem that any potential employment opportunities for Gozitans were considered beneficial, particularly to encourage youngsters to remain in the island.

It is important to note that, while the majority of Gozitan respondents supported the marina and tourist village development in principal, they wanted to see the size of the project scaled down. For example, the manager of a diving centre in Gozo commented that, *'My first reaction was - it's too big...Big for such a small island, for such a small place at Hondoq... If you look at the statistics for the tourism of Gozo, I think it's way too big for Gozo'* (14:12-13). Some referred more specifically to the appropriateness of the hotel development and questioned whether the extra accommodation was necessary. A Gozitan Mayor commented that, *'I agree with it because it's nice to have the marina, but how many hotels are we going to have here in Gozo'* (5:9). This reflects comments in Chapter Seven that suggested that the tourist accommodation supply already exceeded demand. Respondents also commented that they would be in favour of the development as long as it was carefully planned to minimise environmental impacts: *'The idea is good because it creates jobs, it creates a better environment, and so on. But I believe that someone has to be careful as well so as not to have the local people deprived of what they have'* (33:12). It would appear that, as with the golf course and the runway development, the majority of Gozitan respondents considered the marina and tourist village to be an appropriate development for Gozo, but perhaps on the condition that care was taken to protect the surrounding environment. As with the other projects, this seemed to be a 'secondary' concern, suggesting again a certain degree of ambivalence toward the environment. As for the size of the project, even if the plans were to be scaled down it would still be a large-scale development in the Qala setting. Yet, respondents seemed to be more supportive of the project for its potential tourism

benefits than they were concerned about the impacts of its size. Respondents commented in Chapter Seven that they would prefer to see small-scale tourism development for Gozo, but this opinion did not seem so strong here. Primarily their responses reflected a desire to encourage more tourists to the island and to improve the economy. It could also be suggested that they supported this development because it symbolised progress and modernisation, even if at some cost to the environment.

The Maltese respondents were also generally in favour of the marina and tourist village project. This was surprising because the respondents from the core have usually expressed a more negative attitude towards development at the periphery, yet for this case some actually argued that the impacts of the development would be minimal. A MEPA representative contended that the site of the proposed marina complex was, *'In a disused quarry, so from that point of view it's not as big a deal as if, for example, it were to happen on the other side of Gozo, like at the inland sea...So the starting point here is a damaged landscape'* (12:9). An MTA representative believed that the marina would be a good idea, *'Because if nothing else, it will re-embellish that area'* (28:4). A Gozo Channel representative also supported the development and argued that the complaints from the locals that the beach at Hondoq ir-Rummien would no longer be accessible were not significant enough for the development to be stopped. He contended that, *'Okay, you might be taking a bit of beach, I might have swam there and I won't be able to swim, or there'll be much more yacht users and the beach won't be like it used to be, yes, but then there's going to be lots and lots of economic interests and benefits there...Even the employment, it will probably employ 10s or 100s of people there'* (30:7). There were just a few concerns expressed by the Maltese respondents. For instance, one Maltese actor thought that the development was a good idea but doubted whether there would be sufficient demand, and another questioned whether the distribution of economic returns from the project would filter throughout the island if, for example, the accommodation was to be all-inclusive. Their main concerns did not relate to the size of the project or its potential negative impacts.

It was very surprising that the Maltese were generally in favour of this development, considering that it has previously been revealed, in Chapter Seven, that they would prefer Gozo to remain relatively unchanged, and that any tourism development should remain small-scale. A possible reason for this attitude could have been that a similar development had recently been completed in Malta at Portomaso, to much success.

Also, the site where the development was proposed in Gozo was not very attractive. If they had imagined a similar development to that in Malta, then they would probably have considered it an improvement. Furthermore, it has been revealed that a lot of the opposition to the development came from those living in Qala, and their opposition may be influenced by the NIMBY syndrome. The Maltese would not have to suffer the disruption caused during the construction period, or the subsequent increase in tourists to the area. In fact, the Maltese would have the option of using the marina and staying in the tourist village, and so would benefit from the development as tourists themselves.

8.4.3 Satisfaction with decision-making at the marina and tourist village development arena

Responses to the decision-making process were much more positive for the marina than for the golf course and runway developments. Gozitan respondents strongly believed that the opposition shown in the Qala referendum was the reason for the project not going ahead. They believed that in this case the views of the majority of Qala residents had been taken into consideration and the project had consequently been stopped: *'Well, they were listened to because nothing happened... It was taken notice of because it was most of the village that said 'no''* (25:10). If this was the case, it was a good example of how people at the local level can influence decisions at the macro-level; that is, of agency over structure.

The Maltese respondents also generally agreed that Gozitans' views had been taken into consideration, and that Qala's residents: *'Were quite effective at lobbying to stop it'* (10:13). Others agreed that their views had been taken into consideration, but they were less positive about how effective they would be. They suggested that a consultation process may only be for 'show', and that it may not affect the final decision. For instance, an MTA representative commented that, *'There is a process, [but] I mean, taking into consideration the views doesn't mean you go by those views, obviously'* (27:11).

Some Gozitan respondents were similarly more sceptical about the real influence of the referendum and they doubted that the Gozitans had much substantive power in the development arena. Some perceived that the government and the developer still had most power. A Gozitan hotel developer contended that, *'At the end of the day it [the referendum] wouldn't be enough, I think. If the government decides, for whatever*

reason, because you have the pressure from the developers or whatever to go ahead with this, I think they would go ahead' (16:10). A Gozitan school teacher also contended that the power would be with the developer, and not the Gozitans. She argued that, *'What actually happens is some powerful contractor or some powerful businessman would get the deal and then they start working on it. And by then this is when the local people get to find out about it; so most of the time the decision has been made already'* (31:12). The Ministry for Tourism and Culture representative made an interesting comment related to the power of the Gozitans and the developer in the development arena. He claimed that no decision had been made and that, *'If there has been a decision by the developer I'm not sure, I really don't know where it has stumbled so far, because for all I know it's the developer who had second thoughts'* (1:7). Thus, the reason for the development not going ahead at that time may not have been influenced by the views of the islanders at all, and instead it may have been purely a decision made by the developers for reasons of their own.

A GTA representative believed that, *'It is still in the process of being considered... I think they will eventually make some alterations to make it more saleable'* (17:9). This turned out to be true because in 2006, four years after the initial proposal was made, a slightly revised project was again presented to the public. Consequently, the marina and tourist village development still remains hotly contested.

8.4.4 Conclusion

The most significant aspect of the marina and tourist village development arena, in terms of core-periphery relations, was that the respondents perceived that the Gozitans had a certain degree of power at the development interface. Many believed that it was the Qala Council's referendum result that prevented the development from going ahead, at least for the time being. Whether this perception was accurate is not known, but the developer has since reviewed the development plans to reflect some of the concerns raised by opponents of the scheme.

The majority of both Gozitan and Maltese respondents generally considered the project to be an appropriate development for Gozo. For the Gozitans, the support for the project was understandable considering Gozo's dependence on tourism and the prospect of such a development being a significant attraction to tourists. There was some concern that the project was probably too large in comparison to the size of Qala and in

the context of the small island, but the main opposition from the Qala residents centred round the disruption that would be caused by the construction, and concerns that access to the bay would be restricted. In Chapter Seven, Gozitans argued that small-scale tourism development was the type of development to be encouraged for Gozo. However, with the very real prospect of a multi-million pound tourism development for their island, they tended to prioritise the potential benefit to the tourism industry. On the one hand, Gozitans expressed concerns for the future environment of Gozo, but on the other hand, they were driven by a need to improve their economy. As one Maltese respondent commented, *'If I know the Gozitans, they would want to have their cake and eat it!'* (20:9).

Chapter 9

Conclusion

9.1 Introduction

To date, there has been little research on residents' attitudes to the development and governance of tourism in peripheral islands, and this study has filled that gap. The Malta-Gozo case has provided a useful peripheral setting in which to examine responses to issues surrounding tourism development and tourism governance, and to examine these responses in the context of core-periphery relations. The research focussed on views about the processes of peripheral tourism development, and the most appropriate future development path, as well as the geographical, socio-economic, and institutional control of this development. The conceptual conclusions that this study has reached challenge existing theories and assumptions that relate to dependency theory and core-periphery theory and provide an alternative The study has been successful in developing a conceptual model from these responses which can be transferred and applied to other tourist destinations in similar core-periphery settings. It has also provided one of the most detailed reviews of literature related to Gozo and to Gozo's tourism.

This chapter begins with a review of the overall objectives of the study and how each of these objectives has been met. A principle objective was to develop conceptual frameworks which focus on the responses to tourism development and tourism governance and the theoretical basis for the development of these conceptual frameworks is reviewed here. The next section outlines the key empirical findings of the research, drawing on results from Chapters Six, Seven and Eight. These key findings are presented by four themes that are significant to the study. These themes include responses to decision-making at the macro- and micro-scale, responses to Gozo's future development path, and responses to the overall balance of power. Based on the study's empirical findings, conceptual conclusions are presented and suggestions are made as to how these conclusions relate to and challenge existing theories and assumptions. This chapter also reviews some of the key features of the conceptual frameworks to demonstrate how they have been useful in organising the research and how they have contributed to social theory and development theory. Recommendations are also made for the future development of the conceptual frameworks. Further, some

limitations of the research methodology are outlined with suggestions for improvements. The chapter ends with a brief reflection on the research process.

9.2 Review of the study objectives

The main objectives of the study were outlined in Chapter One, and are presented again here in Figure 9.1. Firstly, in line with objective one, a review of secondary literature was undertaken to identify issues associated with tourism development and governance in peripheral islands. Literature related to the Maltese Islands was also reviewed to gain a full understanding of the case study location, and to identify local issues and characteristics which then influenced the conceptual frameworks. Other secondary sources, such as Maltese newspapers and tourism-related documents, were examined to gain an insight into tourism development and governance processes in the Maltese Islands, as well as to view readers' opinions on them. The newspapers were examined, in particular, to understand three tourism-related development proposals in Gozo, which were then used as micro-level studies to explore more closely the decision-making processes surrounding Gozo's tourism.

The second objective was to develop conceptual frameworks focused on the responses to tourism development and tourism governance, and to assess their value based on their practical application. Five conceptual frameworks were developed, and their theoretical basis will be briefly reviewed in the next section. An evaluation of the value of these conceptual frameworks, based on their practical application, will be presented in this conclusion chapter, along with recommendations as to how they may be developed and transferred to other research studies.

Objectives three, four and five relate to the evaluation of responses to tourism development and tourism governance in the context of core-periphery relations and in the context of socio-economic and political networks of local and external relations. A series of interviews were carried out with tourism-related influential Maltese and Gozitan actors and Gozitan residents to discuss these issues, and an analysis of these interviews was presented in Chapters Six, Seven and Eight. Chapter Six dealt with respondents' views on the processes of decision-making related to tourism development in the context of core-periphery relations. Chapter Seven explored what respondents considered to be the appropriate future tourism development for Gozo, and discussed

Figure 9.1: Study objectives

1. To review secondary literature to identify issues associated with tourism development and tourism governance in peripheral areas and in the context of core-periphery relations.

2. To develop a conceptual framework which focuses on the responses to tourism development and tourism governance, and to assess its value based on its practical application.

3. To examine responses to tourism development and tourism governance at the periphery and in the context of core-periphery relations.

4. To evaluate views about the most appropriate scale and types of tourism for the periphery in the context of core-periphery relations.

5. To assess responses to specific tourism development proposals at the periphery and the associated socio-economic and political networks of local and external relations.

6. To consider the differing perspectives on these issues between the core and the periphery.

whether maintaining traditional values is important in the face of development and change. Chapter Eight examined responses to the processes of tourism development and tourism governance in relation to three micro-scale development projects in Gozo. This revealed the discourses of actors at the project interface and the perceived power configurations in the development arenas. The key empirical findings that are most relevant to perceptions of decision-making processes for tourism in the context of core-periphery relations are reviewed in this chapter, along with a discussion of connections between agency and structure. Further, key findings concerning views about the most appropriate future development path for Gozo will also be evaluated.

The final objective was to assess differing opinions between the core and the periphery on all issues related to tourism development and governance in the core-periphery context. These findings were important in determining how and why decisions were reached for the peripheral island, and whether they were fully supported. Differing

opinions between the core and the periphery were assessed throughout the results chapters and are examined again here as part of the study's key findings.

9.3 The theoretical basis of the conceptual approach

The conceptual approach to this research was developed through an understanding of theory and concepts from several fields of literature, as reviewed in Chapter Two, and the conceptual frameworks were subsequently developed and applied to the case study. The conceptual approach and frameworks were primarily based on core-periphery theory, as this is the context within which all responses to tourism development and tourism governance issues have been examined. The frameworks were also strongly influenced by agency-structure theory, Long's (2001) actor-oriented analysis, and literature on the social and political characteristics of Maltese society. This section briefly reviews the main principles underpinning the development of the research's conceptual approach, and it will identify the most influential theory and models shaping the development of each conceptual framework.

The conceptual approach was primarily based on an understanding of dependency theory, and more specifically 'core-periphery' theory: an understanding of spatial disparities in power and development levels, with the periphery usually being dominated by the core (Weaver, 1998). Tourism is often considered as a typical manifestation of spatial disparities in power. This link between tourism and dependency theory is perhaps best associated with Britton's (1982) research, in which he argued that the international tourism industry imposes a development mode on peripheral destinations which reinforces dependency on, and vulnerability to, developed countries. All responses to tourism development and tourism governance are examined in this context.

In addition to core-periphery and dependency theory, the 'agency-structure' dialectic has also significantly influenced the study's conceptual frameworks. The agency-structure relationship, and the power that one has over the other, can enhance our understanding of core-periphery relations. Core-periphery theory and structuralist explanations of development indicate that control emanates from the macro-level, but the agency-structure approach – and Giddens' (1984) structuration theory in particular – contends that individuals' actions are not simply the product of the structural system in which they live, but rather they also have 'agency' to influence the system as they see

fit. A key element of the conceptual approach for this study is that the periphery potentially has some power over the core; or agency over structure.

Long's 'actor-oriented' approach is very closely influenced by the concept of agency and structure, and his approach has also strongly influenced the development of the conceptual frameworks here. Both Giddens' (1984) 'agency-structure' duality theory and Long's (2001) 'actor-oriented' approach suggest the need for less reliance on structuralist explanations of development, and favour a more local-level actor-focussed analysis. Long (2001) argues that the structuralist perspective fails to give significant attention to the multiplicity of social actors and interests involved. He favours a more 'actor' or 'agent' focused approach which recognises the central role played by human consciousness and agency. Similarly, this study began with analysis at the local-level and acknowledged the potential influence that actors at the micro-level can have over peripheral tourism governance and development.

9.3.1 The theoretical basis of the two macro-scale conceptual frameworks

The first macro-scale conceptual framework developed for this study (Figure 3.1) considers the overall balance of decision-making power, and the external processes affecting this balance, in the context of core-periphery relations. The second macro-scale conceptual framework (Figure 3.2) includes the various elements likely to affect tourism development and governance in the context of the core and periphery. The elements in this framework guided the development of the questions in the interview schedule.

The development of these two macro-scale frameworks was strongly influenced by core-periphery theory and in particular Weaver's (1998) internal core-periphery model, as presented in section 2.6.6. Both Weaver's (1998) model and the first macro-scale framework for this study indicate that the external core has significant power over the dominant island, and that the dominant island is a core to, and has considerable power over, the subordinate island. The power of the external core over the subordinate island, and vice versa, is filtered by the dominant core, and lessened. As a result, the subordinate island is doubly peripheral; it is controlled by both the external core and the dominant island. However, Weaver's model has important deficiencies as it does not acknowledge that the subordinate island can influence the dominant island, and also the external core. This is resonant of structuralist theories that focus on central control and

do not give significant attention to the importance of human agency in local level development processes. This study moves away from such structuralist explanations of social action, and thus it began with analysis at the local level. The study's conceptual framework acknowledges that the subordinate island may have some influence, albeit limited, over the dominant island and the external core.

9.3.2 The theoretical basis of the micro-scale conceptual framework

The micro-scale conceptual framework (Figure 3.3) considers the various issues at the local-level likely to affect tourism development proposals for Gozo. Long's (2001) actor-oriented approach significantly influenced the development of this framework, as he stresses the importance of micro-analysis and human agency. This framework includes similar elements for discussion as at the macro-level, but here they are related to micro-level perspectives. The actor-oriented approach involves unravelling the knowledge frameworks and discourses utilised by actors and actor groups involved in Gozo's development arenas, and identifying the resulting power configurations. This framework allowed for the examination of respondents' views on local-level tourism development proposals, and this helped to understand their perspectives on tourism development and governance affecting Gozo in the context of core-periphery relations.

9.3.3 Theoretical basis of an actor-oriented conceptual approach

An actor-oriented conceptual approach has been particularly relevant and useful for this research. Long's (2001) actor-oriented approach moves away from a reliance solely on structuralist explanations of development, and encapsulates the notion that the power of 'actors' deserves more attention. This approach has been adopted to examine the views of respondents at the periphery on issues of tourism development and governance, and to assess the extent to which 'human agency' influences macro-level decisions. Long's (2001) actor-oriented approach has also influenced the use of specific key concepts and terms in this study, such as 'power configurations', 'knowledge frameworks', 'actors' and 'human agency', all of which are central to the research.

9.3.4 Framework for the study of core and periphery responses

The framework for the study of core and periphery responses (Figure 3.4) includes the same general issues as are in the macro- and micro-scale frameworks, but it focuses on the *evaluation of the responses* of residents and tourism-related actors at both the core and the periphery. This conceptual framework has been applied to each of the other frameworks. The intention throughout has been to identify similarities and differences

in opinions concerning tourism development decision-making between tourism and non-tourism-related respondents, and between Gozitan and Maltese respondents. This analysis required examination of responses at both the macro- and micro-level (at both the core and the periphery). The framework was influenced by dependency theory assumptions that peripheral areas will inevitably be dependent on their respective cores or centres of control (e.g. Britton, 1982), and the assumption that those at the periphery would resent this dependency (Weaver, 1998). This framework was also influenced by Boissevain's (1979) comments that there is a strong feeling of antagonism between the Maltese and the Gozitans, mainly due to the Gozitan perception that the Maltese held little respect for its sister island and treated the periphery as their 'playground'. This core-periphery framework was developed to guide evaluation of both Maltese and Gozitan's responses to core-periphery relationships.

9.3.5 Conclusion covering the study's conceptual frameworks

The development of the overall approach and conceptual frameworks for this research has been influenced by core-periphery theory, the agency-structure duality, and an actor-oriented approach. A further important influence on these frameworks has been literature on the characteristics of Maltese society. The frameworks helped to organise relevant issues surrounding tourism development and governance, they have provided a basis for respondent selection and the interview schedule, and they were invaluable in guiding the research.

9.4 Key study findings

According to Madrigal (1995:98), 'Citizens do develop perceptions of the tourism industry and do have attitudes related to government's role in its development as a result of residing in a host community'. This research examined the opinions of Gozitan residents, and of influential Maltese and Gozitan actors interested in Gozo's tourism industry. This section reviews the research's key empirical findings, drawing on results from all three results chapters (6, 7 and 8). Four main areas of discussion are presented that are significant to the case study, and to core-periphery issues.

The first section (9.3.1) looks at responses to decision-making at the macro-scale, including the perceived location of political and economic power. Section 9.3.2 focuses on responses to decision-making at the micro-scale, and particularly to tourism development proposals for Gozo. Section 9.3.3 examines views on Gozo's future development path, focussing on respondents' views on the type and scale of tourism

considered most appropriate. The final section (9.3.4) explores opinions on the overall balance of power concerning Gozo's tourism development, and whether this balance should be changed.

In line with the study objectives, and guided by the framework for the study of core-periphery responses, the differing perspectives of the Gozitans and Maltese are considered throughout these sections, and the implications are discussed. It is important to note that, as outlined in the methodology chapter (Chapter Four), the Gozitan interviewees represented an even mix of those directly involved in the tourism industry and those not directly involved, with the intention to identify any differences in opinions between these two groups. However, it became apparent that in fact there was very little difference between them, with all Gozitan respondents – whether directly involved or not – considering tourism to be greatly significant for Gozo and its economy, and all taking a healthy interest in its development.

9.4.1 Responses to decision-making at the macro-scale

Development theory suggests that a defining feature of core-periphery relationships is that of domination of the periphery by the core; with the centre's power determining events and conditions at the periphery. The study's first macro-scale conceptual framework developed mainly follows this theory, but importantly it also acknowledges the potential power of the periphery over the core – or agency over structure – for tourism-related decision-making. This study assesses the extent to which this framework can be applied to Gozo and the extent to which it can be transferred to other cases.

A key objective was to understand perceptions of the location of power in decisions related to Gozo's tourism industry, and to discover whether the power was perceived to be in Gozo, Malta, or elsewhere. The study clearly revealed that power at the macro-scale was perceived to be located in Malta, with no indication by any respondent that the power was located in Gozo. This follows the commonly accepted notion that peripheral conditions are determined by the core. There was also no reference to external powers, such as the European Union, thus reflecting Weaver's (1998) internal core-periphery model, which suggests that external powers are filtered by the dominant island, and consequently that they are not fully realised in the peripheral island. Further, islanders tend to have an insular mentality, described by Baldacchino (1997:55) as living in a 'self-contained' universe, where everything external is viewed as remote

and unimportant. This may be particularly true for Gozo due to its geographical distance from the rest of the E.U. members. However, this lack of appreciation for the EU's power was probably due to the relative novelty of their membership at the time, and it is likely to have increased subsequently.

Macro-scale decision-making power over Gozo's tourism development was most often discussed in political terms. This can be explained by the fact that Government in small states is characteristically weighty and omnipresent, and in the Maltese Islands political debate is popular and politicians are usually familiar personalities. Power over Gozo's tourism industry was perceived to lie with central government and MEPA. Central government and MEPA were supposed to work independently, but MEPA was often described as 'an arm of government', and consequently central government's perceived power was all the more significant. The Ministry for Tourism and Culture and the Malta Tourism Authority – both government departments based in Malta – were also mentioned by a few respondents as having power over Gozo's tourism, yet Gozo had little representation and involvement in them. In fact, while Gozo was represented in Cabinet by the Ministry for Gozo, it was not represented in MEPA. Further, only one of the eleven members of the MTA Board was required to have knowledge and experience relating to Gozo. This presents a situation where Malta has significant political control over Gozo's tourism. It is commonly accepted that, irrespective of a country's political structure, there is invariably some form of government intervention in tourism (Hall, 1994), and due to the failure of private decision-making systems in peripheral islands governments are often forced to take on a greater role. This would seem to be the case for Gozo, and thus it is somewhat surprising that there was such limited formal involvement of the peripheral island in the macro-scale decision-making affecting their island's tourism, especially so when public and stakeholder consultation is considered so important for successful tourism development (Bramwell & Lane, 2000), and with the recent shift from government to governance and a trend towards decentralisation (Krahmann, 2003; Richards & Smith, 2002; Turner & Hulme, 1997).

The Ministry for Gozo is an example of a decentralised department specifically set up to represent Gozo's interests at the macro-scale, yet respondents did not consider it to have significant political power over Gozo's tourism development. The Ministry for Gozo was generally viewed as just one of thirteen Ministries, with limited power, and with too many responsibilities to be able to give Gozo's tourism industry the attention it deserved. The reasons for the Ministry's limited power were not clear, but it could be

that the priorities of the Gozo Ministry were not considered as important as the more pressing strategic priorities affecting the whole of the Maltese Islands. It could also simply be that the government saw decision-making as easier without this Ministry's involvement. The Ministry for Gozo was the main local-level political representative with potential to influence decision-making at the national level, thus it is perhaps surprising that it was perceived to have such limited influence over Gozo's tourism development. Rather than being the main political force shaping the future of Gozo's tourism, the Ministry's decision-making power seems have been restricted to the island's public services.

The Maltese often considered economic power to be synonymous with political power, and thus they largely equate economic power with public sector funds. As with political power, respondents considered the economic power over Gozo's tourism development to lie with Malta. Gozitans often complained that the proportion of national budget received by Gozo was inadequate, and when considering Gozo's relative population, proportion of land area, and socio-economic difficulties then these complaints may be valid. It was notable that respondents focused on public sector funds and tended to neglect the private sector's significant economic power. Indeed, it was shown that the economic power of Gozo's private sector was substantial at the micro-scale, and this will be reviewed further in the next section.

Respondents often focussed on political issues when discussing their experiences of core-periphery relationships, and there was a common discourse that party politics deeply influenced Gozo's tourism, and that decisions were made not for Gozo's benefit but to benefit the political party in power. With such large proportions of decision-makers perceived to be at the core, a further common discursive claim – made mainly by Gozitan respondents – was that decisions were made by people who did not understand the local situation; they did not fully appreciate Gozo's needs, and their priority was Malta's tourism industry. These views related to the common discursive notion that, in terms of governance, Gozitans are treated as 'second-class citizens'. Other researchers have argued that power and benefits tend to gravitate to the large islands at the expense of smaller islands (Lowenthal & Clarke, 1980:302), and that central government, while not hesitant to emphasize its own status as a periphery oppressed by an external core, often appears unable to acknowledge the possibly exploitative nature of its own relationships with its small island partners (Weaver,

1998). In this study, many Maltese decision-makers may have made decisions that prioritised Malta over Gozo without consciously doing so, or if they had business interests in Malta's tourism industry then they may have felt that they had no choice other than to look after Malta's interests, even at Gozo's expense. Acknowledgement from the core of this exploitative nature was all the more difficult since Gozo as the peripheral island had been given a theoretically significant degree of autonomy by central government to look after its own interests. But, in practice the actual degree of control granted to the Ministry for Gozo was perceived to be limited.

In sum, the macro-scale power over political and economic decisions was clearly perceived to lie at the core. Some Maltese respondents did suggest that this balance of power was not as clearly one-sided as it appeared, with the Gozitans possessing a degree of indirect power (as will be discussed in the next section), but generally they agreed that Malta had the predominant control over decision-making concerning the smaller island. This supports Weaver's (1998) internal core-periphery model, and the first macro-scale conceptual framework developed for this study, which indicate that the dominant island holds considerable power over the periphery.

9.4.2 Responses to decision-making at the micro-scale

Responses to decision-making at the macro-scale revealed some rather similar findings to that indicated in core-periphery theory, where the periphery can only expect to experience abject dependency on the core. However, this study also identified instances where Gozitans have used their 'agency' to affect tourism development decisions at the core, thus challenging this interpretation. This power from Gozo over Malta was not necessarily achieved through formal channels, and could best be described as indirect, but it nevertheless challenges the common portrayal of peripheral islands as being totally dependent on the core, and it supports the 'agency over structure' element of the frameworks developed for this study.

At the macro-scale, economic power was clearly perceived to be at the core, and this was mainly in terms of the national budget allocation. However, respondents neglected the significant economic power of local-level tourism businesses. In terms of tourism investment, it is common for foreign multinational companies to significantly control development in peripheral areas (Andriotis, 2004; Ryan, 2001). But, when asked about the main investment sources for Gozo's tourism industry, respondents expressed little doubt that the majority came from Gozitans. Many hotels, restaurants and other

tourism-related businesses in Gozo are owned by Gozitans and are often family-run, meaning that in this respect the periphery was not dependent on the dominant island or the external core. With the exception of the day-trip market, where visits tended to be organised by Malta-based agencies, there was little interest from external multinational tourism companies in investing in Gozo, and in this context economic leakages were low. Gozo was not dependent on external investment sources for much of its tourism industry, and the ability of the periphery to source much of its own tourism investment implies significant economic agency. Economic power at the periphery was illustrated by the golf course case, where project investment was expected to come from a Gozitan entrepreneur. While it was suggested that this entrepreneur's golf course proposal was likely to have been nothing more than an attempt to gain government permission to develop tourist accommodation, nevertheless this 'project' appeared to be in line with government policy on golf tourism, and this meant that this Gozitan developer held economic power and also considerable influence in the political arena. However, this economic agency was constrained by factors such as powerful market forces, political agendas, and even public opinion. The study's macro-scale conceptual framework acknowledges the potential power of the periphery over the core, albeit to a limited degree, and it was supported by the instances of economic agency at the micro-scale discussed here.

It was also revealed how residents at the periphery could use their 'agency' to influence political power in the development arena. One important mechanism was to use their right to vote to influence decision-makers involved in the island's tourism development. This may seem obvious, but it was particularly effective in a country as highly politicised as Malta, where support for the two main political parties was so balanced, and when Gozo was considered an extremely important electoral district for both parties. In the golf course development arena, both main parties showed support for golf development in Gozo, but the MLP remained neutral in its views about the Ta' Cenc site. With strong Gozitan support for new schemes likely to help their local economy, neither political party wanted to oppose such schemes. But, with strong opposition from Sannat's residents and environmental groups, they were also reluctant to show outright support. In fact, Sannat's residents demonstrated their opposition to the project by electing to its Council an AD candidate who had campaigned strongly against the Ta' Cenc golf course. Similarly, evidence that political voting could influence decision-makers at the core was demonstrated by the Qala referendum

concerning the marina development. The result influenced the Qala Council's decision to oppose the development. This demonstrates how, at least occasionally, the Gozitans used local elections to express views about development issues, regardless of strongly held loyalties to political parties, and it would appear that the 'agency' of local electorates could influence decision-making processes and also the lack of action on the Ta' Cenc and Qala projects.

It was demonstrated how the Gozitan electorate could considerably influence decision-makers at the core, albeit indirectly and informally. Yet, the Gozitans frequently complained that their views on local tourism development issues were inadequately taken into consideration, claiming that Gozo was not considered the priority island, and that decisions were not made for the island's best interests but for the personal interests of decision-makers at the core. It is possible to suggest that the tendency of Gozitans to exaggerate their lack of representation, and to widely voice their views and complaints, actually resulted in their representation being enhanced. This exaggeration of powerlessness itself could have constituted a form of agency, by encouraging the powerful to sympathise with their situation.

Actor-network theory was not a focus of this research, but the actor-networks for the three proposed tourism developments revealed other instances of 'agency over structure' at the micro-scale. Enrolment within and across networks was not frequently identified by the respondents, and the Maltese version of 'omerta' was blamed for a reluctance to cooperate on contentious issues. However, the newspaper articles and other sources showed that actor-networks were evident, and through careful analysis and interpretation the 'real' location of power could be identified. And at times this location of power was certainly at the periphery. For instance, the Gozitan entrepreneur with most economic influence over Gozo's golf development had discussed his development plans with both political parties, in an attempt to gain their support. These discussions could have influenced the controversial government decision to omit Ta' Cenc from the EU's Natura 2000 list of sites for environmental protection, due to the golf course potential of the site. He had also informally sought to enrol MEPA by providing a costly Environmental Impact Assessment for Ta' Cenc, even though no formal application to develop a golf course had been made. These examples of enrolment at the micro-scale were likely to have impacted on decision-making at the macro-scale, albeit indirectly. Enrolment was also demonstrated by groups opposing the golf course and marina developments, in particular the Gozo-based 'Eko-Logika'

coalition which managed to significantly raise awareness of the potential environmental impact of the Ta' Cenc scheme through the media. However, instances of cooperation amongst Gozitans were fairly unusual, and the majority of environmental groups opposing Gozo developments were Malta-based. This means that the geographical core had become involved in development and environment issues at the periphery, despite the Maltese often being accused of not understanding what Gozitans want or need.

Respondents made little reference to the EU's direct power over Gozo. In the European Union context, the Maltese Islands have been declared as one region, and consequently the EU influence over Gozo is filtered by Malta, and vice versa. If Gozo had been declared as a separate region, which the Gozitans had hoped for, then the island's power over the external core would have likely increased; but this was not the case. That is not to say that Gozo had no influence on the EU, as for example, there were opportunities for Gozitan businesses to apply for EU funding, but it is understood that these applications still to some extent have to go through formal Maltese channels. The periphery does have some impact on the external core, but this is limited and is subject to filtering at the core. The reverse situation is also true, as the EU had become involved directly in Gozitan affairs, on issues such as hunting and planning permissions, but ultimately these would all entail changes to policy, planning and regulation at the core and not directly at the periphery.

The findings show that domination of the core over the periphery is not inevitable. Contrary to the contentions of dependency theorists, actors at the periphery can significantly influence decision-making at the core, although it is accepted that influence from the periphery is not always exerted through formal channels, and therefore it is not necessarily transparent. Where the core has official economic and political power in relation to the periphery, as Malta does over Gozo, then the periphery has no alternative than to use less formal and more indirect methods to influence decisions and to make changes.

9.4.3 Responses to Gozo's future development path

Gozo's economy is heavily dependent on the success of the local tourism industry, and so this sector's future development path should be carefully considered. This study examined respondents' preferences for the future development path for Gozo's tourism, and it explored how this affected the core-periphery context. Small-scale tourism is

usually considered more suited to small peripheral islands than is mass tourism and its associated numbers. However, the potential economic benefits and environmental degradation that mass tourism can bring were likely to divide opinion as to just how 'small' the number of tourists and scale of tourism development should be in Gozo.

Whether based in Malta or Gozo, every respondent commented that the current number of tourists to Gozo was too low, much lower than the tourist numbers that Malta received, and in particular they complained that there were too few overnight visitors. Interestingly, respondents tended largely to dismiss the high annual number of day visitors to Gozo, probably because they were not considered to benefit the local tourism industry sufficiently as profits leaked back to Maltese agencies. Instead, the overnight tourists were considered the 'real' tourists, and many indicated they wanted their numbers to increase. Gozitan respondents commonly considered that one reason for Gozo's lesser share of tourists was because visitors discovered Gozo only after visiting Malta. Malta is the main gateway to the Maltese Islands, and all visitors to Gozo must arrive through Malta's airport or ports. Thus, the promotion of Gozo at these ports, and the ease with which visitors can journey onward to Gozo, are important factors that the Maltese have significant control over. Gozitans widely expressed dissatisfaction with the MTA's promotion of Gozo, on and off the islands, believing it was treated as secondary to the promotional focus of Malta. This further emphasises Gozo's dependence on Malta for its tourism success, and also its struggle to compete with Malta for tourists. Malta is well placed to maintain its competitive tourism advantage over Gozo, and the Malta-based priorities of many tourism decision-makers meant that many would be reluctant to create a more even playing field. Weaver (1998) suggests there may be temptations to deliberately employ tourism as a vehicle for further consolidating the dominant island's control over the subordinate island. It could be suggested that Malta is in effect further consolidating its control over Gozo by monopolising gateway functions and leading the destination promotion, and thereby it is restricting Gozo's future tourism development. However, this portrays an extremely exploitative relationship between Malta and Gozo, and this may be too simplistic.

All respondents acknowledged that Gozo's supply of tourism facilities and accommodation far exceeded demand. Yet, the lesser scale of Gozo's tourism development, in comparison to Malta, was seen as a positive feature of its tourism industry, and both Gozitan and Maltese respondents contended that Gozo should not

make the same mistakes as Malta in terms of over-development. Gozitan respondents, however, also tended to express a rather simplistic desire for further tourism development, with some suggesting that new hotels were needed, based on the perception that demand could be stimulated through increased supply. Further, the impression given was that if there was an increase in demand, then extra development should be encouraged to meet it. At times, the Gozitans seemed to want the same development as Malta, regardless of the suitability to the smaller island. This apparent contradiction in opinion can be said to reflect a sense of desperation to see some improvement in Gozo's struggling tourism industry, and an element of jealousy towards the Maltese and their tourism success. The Gozitans have learnt lessons from their sister island, and are aware that any future development in the island needs to be carefully planned, but it is not clear whether the Gozitans have taken this fully on board. Maltese respondents expressed a very protective, and at times frustrated, attitude towards Gozo's future tourism development, suggesting that Gozitans did not fully appreciate the island's attractive environment, and that they preferred to focus on short-term economic benefits rather than the potential long-term negative impacts that future development may bring.

This desperation was also evident in the Gozitans' seemingly wanting to attract all types of tourists. They seemed to appreciate that niche tourism would be most suited to this small island, but then wanted the island to offer all kinds of niche products. The Gozitans also tended to exaggerate the tourism strengths of their island, and at times they were seemingly over-enthusiastic about the potential of certain niches, especially when considering similar offerings at competing destinations. Many believed that more up-market, higher-spending tourists should be encouraged to the island - and it is likely that these tourists would be more suitable than mass markets - but the existing tourism facilities would certainly need upgrading. Importantly, there was a clear awareness among respondents that one of Gozo's main attractions is that it is less developed and more distinct than Malta, but still some Gozitans expressed a desire to replicate Malta's tourism development in Gozo, even if not suited to the small size of this peripheral island.

Gozo's tourism industry is heavily reliant on contributions made by the Maltese domestic tourist market. Unlike the day-trippers, Maltese tourists were described as 'big-spenders', and it is likely that without their custom many Gozo tourism businesses

would be forced to close during the quieter off-peak months. In effect, the periphery is largely dependent on the core for sustaining its tourism industry and contributing considerably to its local economy. The relationship between Gozitans and visiting Maltese has always been somewhat antagonistic, with Gozitans frequently accusing the Maltese of not treating Gozitans with respect and of using Gozo as their 'playground'. As Weaver (1998) argues, tourism can reflect and reinforce existing core-periphery relationships, and in this case the periphery's dependence on the core for its governance, and for its financial contribution to their tourism industry, appears to be a reluctant one. Despite the Gozitans' antagonistic relationships with their core, if Gozo is to continue to profit from domestic tourism it needs to provide a suitable tourism product. Opinions on the extent to which Gozo should remain the 'pleasure periphery' are unsurprisingly divided between Maltese visitors and Gozitan hosts.

The study has revealed that many Maltese would prefer Gozo to remain less developed than Malta, and this may well be for personal reasons as Gozo is a popular short-break destination for Malta residents and many own second-homes there. Gozitans often noted this attitude, and often complained that the Maltese want to keep Gozo as a 'crib'. But, by remaining less developed, the peripheral island can actually benefit from the demand of second homes. Gozo has been described as 'the jewel in Malta's crown', and it is a very important element of the overall Maltese tourist experience. Gozo's tourism industry is well established, and substantial investment has already been made in terms of infrastructure, thus it would not make economic sense for Malta to allow the industry to decline. While Gozitans often describe an exploitative relationship between Malta and Gozo, in reality the relationship has the potential to be mutually beneficial.

9.4.4 Responses to the overall balance of power

It was unsurprising that attitudes differed between Maltese and Gozitans concerning the degree of power attributed to each island, as relationships between the Maltese and Gozitans have long been antagonistic. The Maltese were not always sympathetic to Gozitan complaints that they were treated as second class citizens, and instead described them as a 'crafty lot' that usually managed to get more than their fair share. The majority of respondents agreed that the influence of the Ministry for Gozo was limited, but there was a small yet significant number of Maltese respondents that used an alternative discourse which reflected this less sympathetic attitude. Some contended that the Ministry for Gozo had sufficient, or even too much influence over Gozo's

tourism, mainly thanks to the Minister's significant influence in terms of her strong character and informal networks which may have allowed her to influence decisions despite her lack of formal power. This reflects the discussion on 'personalised politics' in Malta, outlined in Chapter Five, Section 5.5.3. It can be argued that small-scale settings often have a form of administration which centres more on person than on the office, and this is often thought of as bad administration (Baldacchino, 1997), yet use of personal contacts at the micro-scale to influence decisions at the macro-scale may be the only way for small-scale societies to reach key decision-making players. This created situations where Gozitans potentially could influence decisions through informal channels, yet protest vociferously that they were insufficiently involved in formal decision-making arenas, and at times this is much to the Maltese chagrin.

Based on the proportionate sizes of the populations and land areas, it has been argued that Gozo probably deserves more formal political representation and economic support than it currently experiences. Further, despite their grumbles that Gozitans tended to exaggerate their lack of representation, the Maltese also mainly agreed that Gozo should have greater powers to make their own decisions. However, no respondents contended that the balance of power should be transferred completely from the Maltese to the Gozitans. It would seem that, while the Gozitans complained about having inadequate control, and expressed the need for autonomous government, they also felt secure in the knowledge that Malta was there to support them when necessary. There are double standards here of course in that they wanted greater influence on decisions concerning their island's tourism, but they still looked to Malta to fund much of the island's infrastructure and support services.

The Maltese opinion tended to be that Gozo should not be autonomous, but rather that there should be improved cooperation between the two islands, and that Gozo should be more involved in decision-making. There was also a common perception that if Gozo were to be given more power over its own tourism development then it might not use it wisely, and that they would tend to concentrate on short-term financial benefits rather than long-term development impacts. Many argued that Gozitans tended to want everything that Malta has, whether suitable or not. In this respect, the Maltese respondents showed little faith in Gozo's ability to control its own affairs and often expressed a very protective attitude towards the island.

9.4.5 Conclusion concerning the key study findings

A key issue raised by the study findings relates to who has, and who should have, control over Gozo's future development path. It was shown that formal political power over Gozo's tourism development was located in Malta, and that economic power was split between Malta and Gozo. The national budget allocation comes from Malta, but Gozo had considerable economic power in terms of local investment in the tourism product. Although the Ministry for Gozo was deemed to have little power over macro-level decisions, there were several instances where human agency at the micro-level influenced decision-making at the macro-level. Gozo must not be portrayed as a 'helpless' island, being controlled, manipulated and used by its core. Gozo does have potential to manipulate the core in many ways to its advantage, and certainly in terms of indirect power through human agency, it has much more power than may first appear.

It is arguable whether Malta should have control over Gozo's tourism development. The Gozitans may not be capable of controlling their own affairs because they lack the skills and expertise required, and their future intentions for the island may tend to focus on short-term financial benefits for the private sector, rather than benefiting the whole island in the long-term. With Maltese control the intention may be to keep the island less developed, more rural, and more traditional, resulting in a tourism product that is differentiated from that of Malta, and from many other Mediterranean and North African tourist resorts. This type of tourism has the potential to attract both domestic and foreign markets, to minimise negative environmental impacts, and benefit the island's economy in the long-run. Gozo is an important element of the overall Maltese Islands tourist destination, and much government and private investment has already been ploughed into the industry, thus, it would not make economic or political sense for the Maltese government to allow Gozo's tourism industry to decline further. However, Gozitan opinion tends to be clouded by their mistrust for decision-makers at the sister-island and it seems that at times they are unable to appreciate that Malta's ideas for Gozo's tourism can be anything but restrictive.

9.5 Conceptual conclusions

This section discusses the conceptual conclusions to be drawn from the study's empirical findings, and it suggests how these conclusions relate to and challenge existing theories and assumptions.

This research examined responses to tourism development and governance at the periphery and in the context of core-periphery relations. Dependency theory has been one of the dominant frameworks used in tourism research, often suggesting that tourism is another form of imperialism or colonialism, where tourism benefits at the colony are reaped by the 'motherland' (Harrison, 2000; Matthews, 1978). It suggests that there is a considerable leakage of tourism profits from peripheral tourism destinations, where only a fraction of tourist spending remains at the periphery, and that a high percentage of staff employed in tourism and goods consumed by tourists are imported. Furthermore, it is contended that over time the tourist destination is likely to lose control of decision-making processes governing its development, and that the periphery will inevitably be dependent on its core for political and economic support (Keller, 1987; Weaver, 1998). Responses to tourism development and governance for the Malta-Gozo case revealed instances which support some of these assumptions of dependency and core-periphery theory. In terms of formal political power, control over Gozo's tourism development clearly lay at the core, primarily with the government but also with the Malta Environment and Planning Authority, and to some extent the Malta Tourism Authority. The Ministry for Gozo is the island's official political representation at the core, yet its influence was considered minimal. In this respect, Gozo demonstrated a form of dependency on the core, yet, analysis at the micro-level also revealed several instances where Gozitans potentially have influenced decisions at the core, albeit through indirect and informal channels. These results challenge the dependency theorists' common portrayal of a subordinate island that is controlled and manipulated by its core, and instead they highlight the significant human agency of local-level actors.

The research findings support a move away from structuralist explanations of development and also support Giddens' contention that social action is not determined by structure alone, but rather that society is produced by the interactions between agency and structure: an agency-structure duality. Long (2001) argues that structuralist perspectives fail to give sufficient attention to the multiplicity of social actors and interests involved in development, and his actor-oriented approach to development sociology favours a more actor-focussed perspective. Malta and Gozo's core-periphery relationships exhibit certain structuralist tendencies in terms of formal political power, but this does not mean that all decision-making is completely 'top down' in character. This study recognises the significant role played by actors at the micro-level and has

demonstrated that they possess agency and use it to create 'room for manoeuvre' in decision-making arenas.

The Malta-Gozo case also reflects the shift from 'government' to 'governance'. In an era of governance it is recognised that there are many centres of power, with a diverse range of actors who affect the policy process (Richards & Smith, 2002). The analysis of responses to tourism development proposals in Gozo (Chapter Eight) has shown that there are diverse actors from both the core and the periphery involved in each development arena – including politicians, developers and investors, as well as various interest groups – all affecting decision-making. Governance also tends to be associated with the fragmentation of authority, this often being manifested through decentralisation. For the Maltese Islands, this decentralisation is demonstrated through the creation of the Ministry for Gozo, though respondents' perceptions indicated that its power was limited. The reason for the lack of decision-making power attributed to the Ministry is unclear, but perhaps it is simply a 'token gesture' of political representation rather than a true attempt to relocate power to the periphery.

The power of actors at the micro-level has been demonstrated, such as through the personalised politics that are characteristic of the Maltese Islands. In small-scale settings, where nearly every social relationship serves many interests, there is frequently a form of administration which centres more on the person than the office. 'Malta is small; its people are well known' is a translated Maltese proverb which reflects this situation. For instance, it has been suggested that the influence of the Minister for Gozo is not gained through formal channels but rather it results from her network of contacts. Also, well-known hotelier Victor Borg appears to have used his personal contacts and influence – rather than formal development applications – to gain power in the golf course development arena, helped by the fact that his agenda appears to be in-line with government policy; the relationship between Borg and government is deemed mutually beneficial. Another saying – 'It is not what or how much you know which counts but who you know' – suggests the effects of personalisation, patronage and clientelism in the Maltese case (Baldacchino, 1997). There is a general consensus in Western democracies that this type of administration is bad practice and that government should avoid 'client politics' as it severely undermines governments' actions for the public good (Hall, 2000). However, this research has shown that informal methods and '*Klientelizmu*' (clientielism) forms of administration may be the only way that residents

at the Maltese periphery can have some influence over decisions that affect their island. Mitchell (2002), a commentator on Maltese society, refers to Long's (2001) concept of 'room for manoeuvre' in relation to Maltese Society. He suggests that through kinship, trust and gift exchange, favours are traded and obligations created which enable the population to manage their existence. This core-periphery case study has revealed that formal political power is clearly perceived to lie at the core, and so anti-bureaucratic activities may be the only way that actors at the periphery can have some influence over decisions concerning their island.

9.5.1 Conclusion covering the conceptual contribution

This study has examined responses to tourism development and governance from the periphery, and in the context of core-periphery relations, and therefore the principal conceptual conclusions relate to dependency theory. The research findings challenge the notion that peripheral tourist destinations are inevitably dependent on their respective cores, and instead support the concept of an agency-structure duality. Long (2001) argues that research should give more attention to actors at the local level, which this study followed by seeking the views of locals on tourism development and governance, and also their responses support his contention that actors can use agency to create 'room for manoeuvre' and influence decision-making at the macro-level. It has been concluded that this 'room for manoeuvre' is sometimes associated with personalised politics and actor-networks. This is usually considered as bad practice in administration, but for Gozo this may represent the only way that they can use their agency to impact on formal structures.

9.6 Conceptual framework contributions

The conceptual frameworks developed for this study provided valuable tools for evaluating the responses to tourism development and governance in relation to the core and periphery. This section will review some key features of the frameworks to demonstrate how they have been useful in organising this research. The key contributions that these conceptual frameworks have made to social theory and to development theory – as well as the contributions that the overall research study has made – will be discussed.

The macro-scale frameworks provided the core-periphery context for the study and helped to organise the relevant issues surrounding tourism development and governance in this setting. The first macro-scale framework (Figure 3.1) provided a diagrammatical

representation of the core-periphery context in which this study is focussed; this framework represents the 'big picture', within which all the other elements of the study are considered. The second macro-scale framework (Figure 3.2) included the various elements likely to affect, and be affected by, the processes involved in tourism development governance in relation to core-periphery interactions. Both macro-scale frameworks reflect development theory assumptions that the periphery is subordinate to its core. Significantly, these frameworks also acknowledge the potential power that residents of a peripheral destination may have over decision-making at the core, even though this power may be limited, and may be more effective from the peripheral island over the dominant island than over the external core. The frameworks emphasise the potential for a shift in the agency-structure balance, with more attention given to potential impacts of local-level actors. This is in contrast to Weaver's (1998) internal core-periphery model which does not acknowledge any potential power from the periphery, and, based on the results of this study, this is a significant omission. The macro-scale frameworks clearly influenced each of the other frameworks in this research as it is within the macro-scale core-periphery context that each framework was situated.

The micro-scale conceptual framework (Figure 3.3) presented the various issues and processes at local-level which could affect tourism development proposals, in the context of core-periphery relations. The elements included in this framework were influenced by the macro-scale framework, and also by knowledge of Maltese society's characteristics. The micro-scale framework was also significantly influenced by Long's (2001) actor-oriented approach. He argues that micro-level analysis is vital for examining the multiplicity of actors' interests and agendas in development arenas, and the micro-scale framework developed for this study provides a useful guide for such analysis. Close examination of issues and processes surrounding actual local development arenas can help researchers to gain understandings of these same processes at the macro-scale. The micro-scale conceptual framework provided the opportunity to examine a local development arena, and then relate the findings to the larger-scale core-periphery context. The micro-scale conceptual framework provided a case study within a case study. In a broader sense, the framework allowed for a more situated, and contextual analysis of tourism development and governance processes, and can be very useful for other researchers.

The conceptual frameworks for this study can also contribute to social theory and development theory in the field of tourism. There are areas within these fields which have lacked attention in the past, and the conceptual approach to this study attempts to fill these gaps. The core-periphery conflict is particularly true for small island economies (Britton, 1982), yet there has been a lack of attention paid to significant internal core-periphery relations where uneven patterns of development emerge between dominant and peripheral islands (Bianchi, 2002). Jordan's (2004) study of institutional arrangements for tourism in the context of internal core-periphery relations is a rare example of such research. She addresses these issues for the twin-island states of Antigua and Barbuda, Trinidad and Tobago, and St Kitts and Nevis. However, the study focuses on the views of tourism practitioners at the core and the periphery, and does not consider how the local residents view the decision-making processes within the core-periphery relationship. The present research examined an internal core-periphery relationship for Malta and Gozo, and it provided a rare insight into perceptions of decision-making surrounding tourism development in this setting. Furthermore, it examined the significance of domestic tourism in an internal core-periphery relationship, an important element of tourism in peripheral destinations which is often overlooked.

The use of an actor approach has been valuable for this study in attempting to understand people's conceptions of power, influence, knowledge frameworks, discourses, values and interests, and in gaining insights into their views about tourism development and governance. Yet, actor-oriented approaches have only occasionally been used in tourism research. One example is Verbole's (2000) use of an actor-oriented approach in relation to tourism development in a rural community in Slovenia, as outlined more fully in Chapter Two, but it does not have the same focus on tourism development decision-making as this study, nor is it related to core-periphery interactions. Also, Bramwell (2006) studies political debates surrounding tourism growth limits in Malta and employs an actor perspective to explore the mutual determinations between political economy and the actor agency. Bramwell's study does similarly examine the agency-structure dialectic, but the research is focussed on Malta only, and it is not considered in the core-periphery context. Therefore, the present study presents a rare example of a case study that has examined people's views on both tourism development and tourism governance from an actor-oriented perspective, and in the context of core-periphery relations.

The reluctance to use an actor-oriented approach in tourism research is disappointing as it can cross academic fields and contribute to social theory. Social theory is concerned with finding explanations of the world and consists of different forms of knowledge and modes of investigative activity. Changes in social theory result from shifts in the sources it draws upon, the approaches and concepts it stresses, the shapes of its discourses and interpretations, and the directions of its political implications. Bramwell (2007) argues that tourism studies could be strengthened if it was to engage more fully in wider debates and contestations around social theory, and if ideas surrounding one field of study were to be transferred to other study areas, allowing the formation of general social theory that has wide relevance across disciplines. By using an actor-oriented approach – in terms of both method and conceptual analysis – this tourism study engages in the field of social theory, and contributes to the wider debate.

As discussed, tourism research seldom engages in the main social science debates around alternative conceptualisations of social action. The agency and structure relationship in tourism is another area of social theory debate that is relatively new and deserves further attention (Bramwell, 2007). The core-periphery context within which all responses were considered for this study, and the use of an actor-oriented approach, has allowed the researcher to explore the agency-structure dialectic in the tourism field. By identifying the issues raised by the actors at the micro-scale and incorporating them into the macro-scale framework, the researcher can gain a clearer understanding of processes at both the core and periphery. As a result, the agency-structure balance can be closely examined, with a focus on perceptions of actors on the ground, ensuring that sufficient attention is given to the agency side of the equation. Using this approach, the study provides a unique examination of the agency-structure dialectic surrounding tourism development and governance for the island of Gozo and the findings can make new contributions to tourism and social theory debates.

The frameworks developed for this study can also be useful for other researchers, not only in the tourism field, but in other areas of social science where the aim is to study perceptions of development and governance around core-periphery interactions. The frameworks are flexible and can be transferred to other internal core-periphery settings. In fact, with a few small changes to reflect the case, the frameworks could be used to examine mainland destinations that demonstrate core-periphery relationships, assuming that the area deemed to be peripheral has limited political power. The micro-scale

conceptual framework – the use of a case study within a case study – can be particularly useful to other researchers. By using an actor-oriented approach to examine issues and processes for specific, local-level development proposals the researcher can better understand the same issues and processes in a wider context.

The study has provided a very detailed and useful review of literature relating to Malta and to Gozo in particular. There is already quite a wealth of literature pertaining to Malta, especially its politics (Cini, 2002 & 2003), its economy (Baldacchino, 2000, 2002 & 2005) and its tourism industry (Boissevain, 1977, 1996, 2000, 2001 & 2004; Bramwell, 2003, 2006 & 2007). There is also much written about Maltese society and characterisitcs in general (Black, 1990 & 1996; Boissevain, 2003; Mitchell, 2001 & 2002), but there is little written about Gozo's society, and there is limited data that refers specifically to Gozo's tourism industry or economic situation. Boissevain's (1979 & 1994) studies of the impacts of tourism on Gozo are very useful, but they are now quite dated. Briguglio (1994 & 2000) writes about Gozo's tourism industry in terms of the impacts on the economy and in relation to the accession to the EU, but these do not give attention to the Gozitans' opinions of these topics. This research provides a unique review of existing literature about Gozo from a range of sources, including academic literature, government documents and newspaper articles. Further, this research provides a unique insight into Gozitans' opinions about tourism development in their peripheral island, and about the way that this tourism development is governed in the context of the core-periphery relations that the Maltese Islands experience.

9.7 Limitations of the research methodology and recommendations for future development of the conceptual frameworks

This research study has been successful in meeting its objectives, notably in developing a model of responses to tourism development and government in the core-periphery context. The conceptual conclusions have contributed to social theory and development theory, and the flexibility of the conceptual frameworks means that they can be transferred to other settings by other researchers. However, as with most research studies, there were time and cost constraints which limited the elements that could be researched and the number of objectives that could be met. The researcher acknowledges that there are some less successful aspects of the study, mainly in terms

of study methods, and thus there are recommendations here for improvements to the conceptual frameworks for future research.

First, there were limitations regarding the mix of interview respondents in the empirical research. Around 40 respondents were interviewed, a suitable number given time and cost constraints, but the balance between Maltese and Gozitan respondents was not ideal. Interviews were carried out with a fairly even number of specific Maltese and Gozitan influential tourism-related actors, and also tourism-related and non-tourism-related Gozitan residents. An actor-oriented approach was used for this study which focused on the need for micro-level analysis, and therefore interviews with Gozitan residents were considered appropriate, but it would have been very interesting to also examine the views of Maltese residents regarding appropriate future tourism development for Gozo and their perceptions of the location of power. A recommendation for future improvement of the core-periphery responses framework is to include a category for local Maltese respondents. This addition would help the researcher to gain a more complete picture of perceptions regarding locations of power and suitable tourism development for a peripheral island, from both core and periphery perspectives.

A second limitation of the interviews was that there were no respondents in the 16-18 years age group. The interviews were scheduled at the same time as students were revising for and sitting school exams, meaning that there was some reluctance among this age group to take part in the interviews. This was not considered to be a significant omission in the study method as this age group were less likely to be aware of tourism and governance-related issues, but it is recommended that for future studies a small number of respondents from this age group would be useful to gauge whether perceptions vary by age.

Confidentiality was an important issue for some respondents and agreement to be interviewed was often based on the promise of anonymity. In an island as small as Gozo it is easy to identify people by their views and standpoints, and many were concerned that their comments could be offensive to others and jeopardise their positions in society. It was for this reason that respondents were not asked to state which political party they support. Politics are extremely important to islanders and their political stance was likely to influence their knowledge frameworks and discourses

concerning various tourism development and governance issues. However, it was hoped that respondents would be more likely to reveal their personal opinions if the question of their political support was not discussed. Examination of the political stance of each respondent and the extent to which this influenced their opinions on tourism development and governance could be a useful element to include in future research frameworks.

At the time of the fieldwork, the Maltese Islands had been a member of the European Union for less than a year, and although there had been much coverage in the media of the anticipated effects of EU membership, there had been few tangible results. EU membership was still relatively novel to most residents and its impact on tourism development and governance was not discussed in detail by them during the interviews. Now, in 2009, the Maltese Islands have experienced 5 years of EU membership and residents are much more likely to be aware of its impacts, both positive and negative. It is likely that this 'external core' will have taken on new meanings for locals and gained in significance with respect to its influence on tourism development and governance at the periphery. A focus on the EU dimension and its impact on tourism development in the Malta-Gozo context would make for interesting future research.

The micro-scale conceptual framework has proved to be particularly useful for the purposes of this study as it helped the researcher to examine the social, political and economic networks of relations – and the power struggles between them – involved in specific tourism 'development arenas'. However, actor-network theory only played a small part in this research as the intention was to examine actors' responses to the *perceived actor-networks*, rather than plotting them accurately. It is recommended that future research could pay more attention to the actor-networks in tourism development arenas as it has the potential to give a clearer picture of power configurations. A detailed examination of the actor-networks present in development arenas at the periphery could further support or challenge the assumptions made regarding the balance of agency over structure in this core-periphery relationship.

9.8 Reflection on the research process

This section will give the reader an insight into how this study has evolved. A research study of this depth involves many key decisions such as selecting the important areas for focus, identifying the significant themes, and choosing the most suitable methods.

Rather than justifying certain methodological choices – as presented in Chapter Four – this section reflects more on the thinking process behind some of the decisions made and the reasons for the direction the study has taken.

The researcher is from Jersey (Channel Islands) and so is familiar with life on a small, peripheral island. Jersey is very similar in size to Gozo and its economy is also largely dependent on the tourism industry. Jersey has a much larger population than Gozo, but both islands share a strong sense of 'community', where everyone tends to know everyone else, and nearly every social relationship can serve many interests. Carrying out research on tourism in islands was of particular interest to the researcher, and the knowledge and understanding of island life and mentality has helped the researcher in interpreting and understanding the islanders' attitudes to tourism development and governance. The researcher had never visited the Maltese Islands before the period of fieldwork, and so this allowed for the research to be approached with a relatively open-mind. This meant that the research focus and interview questions were mainly informed by academic literature and the local newspapers rather than any personal knowledge of Malta and Gozo, which may have created bias.

It was decided that just one period of fieldwork would be sufficient for the purposes of the study. The fieldwork was carried out relatively early on in the research process – in year two of five. This meant there was quite a long period of time between data collection and presentation of the results, but it was not considered necessary to delay the data collection or to repeat the interviews at a later date. Decision-making in the Maltese Islands is characteristically a slow process, and to date, there has been little progress with any of the three tourism development proposals examined for this study. For this reason, it was considered unlikely that attitudes to specific tourism development proposals – or to tourism development in general – would have changed significantly during the final three years of the research process. The only possible change in Gozitan and Maltese opinion relates to the influence of the European Union on Gozo's tourism development, and this limitation was acknowledged in section 9.6.

Certain key decisions on themes for the interview schedule were reached after a thorough review of the literature, but not all themes were eventually selected for detailed analysis. Conversely, some themes were not reviewed thoroughly in the literature review, but were selected for detailed discussion at the analysis stage because the primary data had revealed interesting results. For instance, the literature review

included a detailed discussion of how residents 'cope' with the presence of tourists, and the interview schedule included questions that related to whether residents felt that they benefited from tourism and what types of tourists they would encourage. However, the data did not reveal many responses that related to how they 'coped' with the presence of tourists, rather respondents' discussed the need to attract more tourists. Similarly, it was the original intention of the study to examine and explore the actor-networks involved in Gozo's tourism development, but the interview respondents claimed not to know much about the networks in development arenas, mainly due to 'omerta' and the perception that much decision-making goes on 'behind closed doors'. For this reason, initial drafts of the results chapters did not include detailed analysis of the actor-networks. However, analysis of newspaper articles about the tourism development proposals revealed significant insights into the networks of key players in the development arenas, and it was decided to examine this theme in Chapter 8 using these useful secondary sources. In fact, the original aim had been to try to map actual actor-networks, but this proved very difficult with the minimal responses from the respondents on this subject, so the study moved towards examining the perceptions of actor-networks in the development arena from the micro-level, in accordance with Long's (2001) actor-oriented perspective.

The data collected for this research study was transcribed, sorted, coded, and analysed manually by the researcher, rather than using qualitative analysis software. This method was chosen because it was felt that it would allow the researcher to 'get to know' the data better and to be more fully 'immersed' in its sorting and analysis. This method was probably more time consuming than using computer software, but it was believed to be a more effective method for the researcher.

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Appendices

Appendix i: Interview schedule for community respondents

Section 1: Respondent details

1. Please indicate your age group:
   Under 25 25-34 35-44 45-54 55-64 65 plus
2. How long have you live in Gozo? Do you consider yourself to be a Gozitan?
3. Where do you live in Gozo?
4. What is your occupation?
5. To what degree do you consider your job to be tourism-related?

Section 2: Tourism and core-periphery relations

6. In relation to how decisions are made about tourism development in Gozo, where do you think most overall power is located – is it in Gozo, Malta or elsewhere?
7. In relation to those same decisions about tourism, where do you think most political power is located – is it in Gozo, Malta, or elsewhere? Describe this balance of political power between Malta and Gozo.
8. Again in relation to tourism, where do you think most economic power is located – is it in Gozo, Malta, or elsewhere? Describe this balance of economic power between Malta and Gozo.
9. From where do you think most investment in Gozo's tourism development originates – is it from Gozo, Malta, or elsewhere?
10. Does this investment come mainly from local entrepreneurs or from companies based outside of Gozo and Malta?
11. Where do you think the majority of money made from Gozo's tourism development goes? Does it remain in Gozo, or go to Malta, or further afield?
12. Do you think the way that decisions are made about Gozo's tourism development is beneficial to Gozo? Why?
13. Do you consider that the Maltese Government does enough to benefit the people of Gozo concerning tourism?
14. Do you consider that the Maltese Government listens enough to the views of Gozitans concerning tourism?

15. Does the Ministry of Gozo sufficiently influence government policies that concern Gozo's tourism?

Section 3: Specific tourism development proposals

The following questions will be asked in relation to three potential tourism-related developments in Gozo:

a) golf course development
b) extension of the runway to allow for fixed-wing aircraft
c) marina and tourist village complex at Qala.

16. Tell me what you know about the history of this proposal.
17. Do you think this would be a suitable development for Gozo? Why?
18. Who are the main individuals or groups involved in this proposal?
19. Are these individuals or groups located in Gozo, Malta, or elsewhere?
20. Are these individuals or groups in favour of the proposal, or against it?
21. Why do you think that these individuals or groups hold these views?
22. Is there any support or cooperation at all between any of these individuals or groups?
23. Can you suggest why these individuals or groups have supported or cooperated with each other?
24. In terms of this development proposal, who do you think has the most political power? Who has the least? Does this political power rest more with Malta or Gozo?
25. Again in terms of this development proposal, who do you think has the most economic power? Who has the least? Does this economic power rest more with Malta or Gozo?
26. Who do you think might benefit from this development? Why?
27. Who do you think might be adversely affected by this development? Why?
28. In your opinion, has the decision-making process surrounding this proposal been satisfactory? Please describe any problems or debates that have occurred.
29. In your opinion, and in relation to this proposal, do you consider that the Gozitans have been sufficiently involved in decision-making?

Section 4: Future of Gozo's tourism

30. How would you describe the scale or quantity of Gozo's tourism at present?
31. How would you describe the type or types of tourism in Gozo at present?
32. How does the scale or quantity and the types of tourism in Gozo compare to those in Malta?
33. What scale or quantity of tourism should be encouraged in Gozo, and why?
34. What type or types of tourism should be encouraged in Gozo, and why?
35. Are there any types of tourism that should not be encouraged in Gozo, and why?
36. Do you consider that all Gozitans benefit sufficiently from existing tourism development in Gozo, and why?
37. How important is it to maintain traditional values in the face of development and change?
38. What advantages do you see in keeping Gozo relatively unchanged?
39. What disadvantages do you see in keeping Gozo relatively unchanged?
40. How do you think Gozo's tourism will be developed in the future, and why?
41. Is the way in which political decisions are made regarding tourism development in Gozo satisfactory? How and why?
42. Do you consider that the balance of power in decision-making in Gozo's tourism development between Gozo, Malta and elsewhere should be changed in the future? How and why?

Appendix ii: Interview schedule for specific influential tourism-related actors

Section 1: Respondent details

1. What is your job / position / role in your organisation / group / company?
2. What are your responsibilities?
3. What are the main activities or aims of your organisation / group / company?
4. With which other organisations / companies / groups do you cooperate or work closely?
5. Where do you live? If in Gozo, how long have you lived there?

Section 2: Tourism and core-periphery relations

6. In relation to how decisions are made about tourism development in Gozo, where do you think most overall power is located – is it in Gozo, Malta or elsewhere?
7. In relation to those same decisions about tourism, where do you think most political power is located – is it in Gozo, Malta, or elsewhere? Describe this balance of political power between Malta and Gozo.
8. Again in relation to tourism, where do you think most economic power is located – is it in Gozo, Malta, or elsewhere? Describe this balance of economic power between Malta and Gozo.
9. From where do you think most investment in Gozo's tourism development originates – is it from Gozo, Malta, or elsewhere?
10. Does this investment come mainly from local entrepreneurs or from companies based outside of Gozo and Malta?
11. Where do you think the majority of money made from Gozo's tourism development goes? Does it remain in Gozo, or go to Malta, or further afield?
12. Do you think the way that decisions are made about Gozo's tourism development is beneficial to Gozo? Why?
13. Do you consider that the Maltese Government does enough to benefit the people of Gozo concerning tourism?
14. Do you consider that the Maltese Government listens enough to the views of Gozitans concerning tourism?
15. Does the Ministry of Gozo sufficiently influence government policies that concern Gozo's tourism?

Section 3: Specific tourism development proposals

The following questions will be asked in relation to three potential tourism-related developments in Gozo:

a) golf course development
b) extension of the runway to allow for fixed-wing aircraft
c) marina and tourist village complex at Qala.

16. Tell me what you know about the history of this proposal.
17. Please describe your involvement, if any, in this proposal?
18. Do you think this would be a suitable development for Gozo? Why?
19. Who are the main individuals or groups involved in this proposal?
20. Are these individuals or groups located in Gozo, Malta, or elsewhere?
21. Are these individuals or groups in favour of the proposal, or against it?
22. Why do you think that these individuals or groups hold these views?
23. Have you or your organisation tried to gain the support of any other individuals or groups concerning this proposal?
24. Have you or your organisation supported any other individual or organisation in their views regarding this proposal? Why?
25. Is there any support or cooperation at all between any other individuals or groups?
26. Can you suggest why these individuals or groups have supported or cooperated with each other?
27. In terms of this development proposal, who do you think has the most political power? Who has the least? Does this political power rest more with Malta or Gozo?
28. Again in terms of this development proposal, who do you think has the most economic power? Who has the least? Does this economic power rest more with Malta or Gozo?
29. Who do you think might benefit from this development? Why?
30. Who do you think might be adversely affected by this development? Why?
31. In your opinion, has the decision-making process surrounding this proposal been satisfactory? Please describe any problems or debates that have occurred.

32. In your opinion, and in relation to this proposal, do you consider that the Gozitans have been sufficiently involved in decision-making?

Section 4: Future of Gozo's tourism

33. How would you describe the scale or quantity of Gozo's tourism at present?
34. How would you describe the type or types of tourism in Gozo at present?
35. How does the scale or quantity and the types of tourism in Gozo compare to those in Malta?
36. What scale or quantity of tourism should be encouraged in Gozo, and why?
37. What type or types of tourism should be encouraged in Gozo, and why?
38. Are there any types of tourism that should not be encouraged in Gozo, and why?
39. Do you consider that all Gozitans benefit sufficiently from existing tourism development in Gozo, and why?
40. How important is it to maintain traditional values in the face of development and change?
41. What advantages do you see in keeping Gozo relatively unchanged?
42. What disadvantages do you see in keeping Gozo relatively unchanged?
43. How do you think Gozo's tourism will be developed in the future, and why?
44. Is the way in which political decisions are made regarding tourism development in Gozo satisfactory? How and why?
45. Do you consider that the balance of power in decision-making in Gozo's tourism development between Gozo, Malta and elsewhere should be changed in the future? How and why?

Appendix iii: Photographs of Gozo

Photo 1: Garigue area at Ta' Cenc - potential site for a golf course. Opinion is divided as to whether this area should be considered as an area of natural beauty to be conserved or as wasteland.

Source: http://ambjentahjar.com/images/gallery/Ta%27%20Cenc%20Cliffs.jpg – accessed 09/05/09

Photo 2: Ta' Cenc cliffs - Gozo residents are concerned that access to the cliffs will be restricted or not permitted if the golf course development goes ahead.

Source: http://gozonews.com/wp-content/uploads/2008/08/ta-cenc-cliffs.jpg - accessed 10/05/09

Photo 3: View of the heliport at Xewkija, Gozo – proposed site for extension to the runway

Source: http://gozonews.com/featured/the-pros-and-cons-of-an-airstrip-in-gozo-lesley-kreupl/ - accessed 10/05/09

Photo 4: Beach at Hondoq ir Rummien, Qala – proposed site for a marina. Residents are concerned that access to the beach will be restricted by the development, and that it will cause pollution in the area

Source: http://www.gozo.gov.mt/showdoc.aspx?id=25&filesource=4&file=i3941.jpg – accessed 10/05/09

Photo 5: View of the quarry at Qala - site of the proposed marina and tourist accommodation complex

Source: http://www.gozo.us/?url=www.gozo.us&pos=side&showpic=galleries/hondoq-2006-11-12/100_0424.jpg - accessed 10/05/09

Photo 6: View of Marsalforn, Gozo's largest tourist resort. Tourist accommodation, restaurants and shops in Marsalforn, and around the island, have to close during the off-peak months due to such low visitor numbers

Photo 7: View of Xlendi, a popular tourist resort in Gozo – this level of relatively small-scale development is common in the island, though may residents complain that Xlendi has been 'ruined' by too much development

Photo 8: View of Victoria, Gozo's capital - the most developed area in Gozo. The Citadel is visited daily by large groups of tourists, often daytrippers

Photo 9: View of Gozo's rural landscape – Gozo is much less developed, greener and quieter than Malta.

Photo 10: Typical village church in Gozo and local bus – the type of architecture shown in this photo is common in Gozo. This is one of around 40 churches in Gozo. Residents hope that their traditions and culture, such as the religious festas which take place throughout the year, will attract tourists to their island

Photographs 6 to 10 are property of Samantha Chaperon