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The Foreigner Counts: a spatio-temporal analysis of occupiers, immigrants and expatriate residents in Malta

Keywords: immigration, Mediterranean Region, Malta, illegal immigration, North Africa

1 Introduction

The effects of immigration on the resident population and the overall resources of the receiving countries has always been a contentious affair with the ongoing debate centering on whether the new entrants (illegal or otherwise) are having a negative financial and environmental effect on their hosts. This situation has been highlighted through the contrasting situations put forward by Portes (2013) in his article entitled "An Exercise in Scapegoating." Here Portes (2013) reviews a book by Goodhart (2013), who argues that the assertions concerning the plight of the young, white working class whose jobs are being taken up by low-skilled immigrants and that, on the opposite educational spectrum, the highly skilled immigrants who occupy positions that would otherwise be taken by the local graduate workforce, are stunting social mobility. The second issue centers on the decline in the shared sense of community at all geographic levels, where immigrants form separate enclaves within urban agglomerations, with language differentiation, which ultimately raises the question as to the extent to which immigrants identify with their host country. Successive generations of this create a palimpsest of superimposed cultures (Portes, 2013).

In the case of particular regions, such as the Mediterranean, intensive population movements between countries have been known for centuries. As a consequence Mediterranean societies have fundamentally influenced one another since ancient times.

The islands of Malta lie 96 km south of Sicily and 290 km from North Africa in the Mediterranean Sea. They have been the southernmost tip of the European Union since accession in 2004. The islands have a total area of 318 km², of which 27% is built up mostly in a continuous urban agglomeration and consists of the main island of Malta, with a population of just over 384,912, and Gozo and Comino, with

a population of 31,143 (NSO, 2012). The population density is one of the highest in the world and the space is limited, creating pressures on the use of land and economic development. In addition to the resident population, Malta also experiences over one million tourists a year, particularly during the summer (NSO, 2008).

This paper provides an overview of the history and geographies of the main occupants of Malta and then explores the changing nature of foreign residents in the islands. The study uses literature to outline the historical occupation of the islands and the national Censuses of Population and Housing to provide a spatio-temporal analysis of immigrants and expatriate residents in the islands. The paper aims to shed some light on the history and geographies of immigration in Malta and contribute to the current discussions on security, boundaries and immigration in the Mediterranean Region.

2 Literature Review

Population migration has been one of the most researched themes in human geography ever since Ravenstein (1885; 1889) provided the academic world with his Laws through his observations of internal migration movements in Britain and Irish emigration to North America. Subsequent studies tackled the intervening obstacles faced by migrants (Stouffer, 1940; Lee, 1966); intercity movements (Zipf, 1946); and chain migration (Hugo, 1994). Economic scenarios were studied in the Roy (1951) and the Harris and Todaro (1971) models, whilst Massey et al. (1993) provided a comprehensive review of the late 20th century literature, providing a particular emphasis on international migration - a key element being that of family units controlling their offsprings who emigrate to provide the necessary capital for those who remain back home and therefore affecting the redistribution of income and land. Massey et al. (1993) emphasise the fact that "migration begets migration" and provide a cumulative process that results in Castles and Miller's (2003) "assistance of new migrants by those already in the receiving society". Castles and Miller (2003) called the last years of the twentieth century the "age of migration". Zolberg (1989) went further in writing that the late twentieth century has seen migration propelled to the forefront of humanistic and political concerns.

The global migratory flows of people across landmasses and seas has been the result of population pressures, the effects of short or long term changes to the immediate environment, the need to find alternative sources of food, energy and climates, and humankind's thirst for adventure and discovery. These flows of people across a range of geographies brought about cross-fertilization of cultural norms, exchange of traditional artefacts, genes, ideas, and the absorption of one culture into another.

Some of the overall geographies of these movements included: people travelling towards and later around temperate climates with the main pathways traced along coastal margins; people travelling across seas only after land territory was secured; and finally people travelling to islands as the last outposts to be populated (Watson, 2012). The Mediterranean was colonised, via the fertile lands of the Middle East and the South-western Asian continent, about 20,000 years ago. Grove and Rackham (2003) identify a range of possible dates at which the earliest known evidence of human presence on the larger Mediterranean islands could have existed. The range shows a spread of about 15,000 years from ca. 21,000 BC for Sardinia to about 6,000 BC for Malta. Grima (2011) details the environmental situation in Malta when the first settlers travelled from Sicily.

Over the last eight millennia population movements into the region have patterned the landscape. Debussche et al. (1999) provided a pictorial interpretation of this landscape, whereas King et al. (1996) showed flows from the Mediterranean towards northwest Europe in contemporary times. Braudel (1949) acknowledged that although flows of people characterised the Mediterranean, the "genuine intermingling of populations was to be found only inside each region [east or west], and within these limits it defied all barriers of race, culture or religion".

3 The Mediterranean Population

The Mediterranean Sea has an area of 2.5m km² with a watershed area of about 400,000 km², a 36,000 km coastline, is characterised by five major peninsulas, many islands, all of which are (except two) identified with any one of the 20 littoral countries, and has a population of 150 million living along its coastal areas (Bluemassed Project, 2013). It occupies a central position in the absorption and diffusion of cultural norms between the historical East and West and the contemporary North and South. This fusion of the main population flows can be clearly experienced in Malta, which is at the centre of the Mediterranean, with its proximity to both Sicily and North Africa, and is influenced by a succession of occupiers from all directions, including non-Mediterranean people such as the British in the 19th and 20th centuries and sub-Saharan immigrants mainly in the 21st century. Whereas in the past sheltered harbours and strategic value influenced colonisers, today it is economic and political stability and European Union membership (and proximity to Europe) that attracts immigrants.

The nature and character of Mediterranean migration changed dramatically in the last century, mainly due to changes in the broader political and economic context of the region (de Haas, 2011). Southern Europe, in particular has played a pivotal role in reshaping migration flows, as it joined the European Union and changed from a region of mass emigration (to the North) to one of mass immigration – especially since the 90s, with illegal immigrants from sub-Saharan Africa and Asia (Fonseca, 2001).

Table 1 shows the population of the Mediterranean countries, with the region divided into three sectors identified by the countries in the northern rim, those on the eastern seaboard and the south, and the smaller states and islands in the third group. The five-fold increase in the countries of the second group since 1950 is clearly evident.

Table 1: Population trends (in millions and % change) in the Mediterranean subregions 1950-2025, Grenon and Batisse (1989).

	А	% change	В	% change	С	% change	Total	% change
1950	140	-	67	-	5	-	212	-
1980	180	28.6	142	119.4	10	200.0	333	57.0
2000	194	7.8	226	59.2	14	40.0	433	30.0
2025	199	2.6	329	45.6	19	35.7	547	26.3

Sub-group A: Spain, France, Italy, Greece, [ex-] Yugoslavia Sub-group B: Turkey, Syria, Egypt, Libya, Tunisia, Algeria, Morocco Sub-group C: Malta, Cyprus, Albania, Israel, Lebanon

De Haas (2011) identifies four main phases of post-war Mediterranean migration patterns. The first phase (1948-1963) surrounded the post-war reconstruction era with rapid economic growth and increased labour demand in the north-west of Europe, which reflected in a northbound migration to northern Mediterranean countries. The second phase (1963-1973) is associated with the 'guest worker' boom with migration from Morocco, Tunisia and Turkey into Europe which peaked in the early 1970s (de Haas, 2007a). The third phase (1973-2008) is marked by milestones which changed the patterns of migration, starting from the Oil Crisis in the early 1970s, when Southern Mediterranean countries experienced an increase in immigration; the subsequent economic recession in Europe slowed down northbound immigration, and eventually the political upheavals of the early 1990s changed once again the migration trends in the Mediterranean. Southern European states such as Spain and Italy emerged as main destinations for labour migrants from the southern Mediterranean (Gallina, 2006). During this phase the number of sub-Saharan migrants into North Africa grew and led to the increasing numbers of illegal attempts to reach Europe by boat (de Haas, 2007b). The fourth phase (2008 - to date) sees the rise of strict border controls and the impact of the financial crisis on the number of movements.

The concerns over security of European borders have been particularly high on the agenda for the Mediterranean (and Europe) in the last decade or so primarily due to the numbers of illegal immigrants crossing from the South to the North of the Mediterranean. These immigrants are also called 'boat people' and the term refers to seaborne migrants, including refugees and asylum seekers who in many cases are smuggled into Europe (Pugh, 2000); many perish at sea during the dangerous journey on small boats. Recent events, such as the Arab spring, have pushed further the security concerns in the Mediterranean. Fargues and Fandrich (2000) estimate a total of 1.1 million persons fled Libya during the Spring/Summer of 2011, with over 27,000 migrants and refugees fleeing to Italy and Malta.

Mediterranean islands have a chequered history when it comes to their political occupation and utilisation of their location, space and resources. All islands in the Mediterranean fall under the political jurisdiction of a continental country, with the exception of Cyprus and Malta, both of which are former British colonies. Most of the Mediterranean islands are located along the northern littoral with large numbers in the Aegean and the Adriatic. Islands to the south (Sicily) and west (Sardinia and Corsica) of Italy are classified among the largest in area whilst Malta, although considered as one of the smallest, has a very high population density. The central Mediterranean islands are considered to be relatively isolated, with the Pelagic Islands (considered as part of Italy) and Malta having an interesting history. The sovereign powers who occupied them over the last five centuries have given them different socio-economic and political pathways, such as the number of languages spoken in these islands throughout history (Brincat, 2011). Table 2 details the various occupiers of Malta and provides the context and influence of migration to and from the islands over time.

4 Migrant influence on the demographic situation in Malta

Although strict periodicity of the decennial census was respected during the British period between 1851 and 1931, the carrying-out of the last four demographic exercises (1985-2011) was thorough enough to provide reliable information on the local and foreign population. Another reason to focus the study on the last four censuses was the departure of the British military garrison which might have offset any foreign enumeration during the British presence.

Table 2: Chronological sequence of Malta's occupiers, Blouet (1994); Azzopardi (1995).

Period/Occupiers	Years
Neolithic	5000–2000 BC
Megalithic	3750-1800 BC
Phoenician	800–480 BC
Carthaginian	480–218 BC
Roman	218–395 AD
Byzantine	395–870 AD
Arabic	870–1090 AD
Norman	1090–1194 AD
Sicilian and other Europeans*	1184–1530 AD
Knights of St. John	1530–1798 AD
French	1798–1800 AD
British	1800–1964 AD
Independence	1964—to date

^{*}Swabians, Angevins, Aragonese, Castillians

Overall, Malta experienced a rapid increase in population over the last century (more specifically 75% increase in the last 80 years), coupled with economic growth and a steady increase in GDP. Table 3 shows the relevant data with the age structure used as a demographic variable. The drastic decline in the percentage of the young age group is reflected in an increase in the 65+ group. Taking the argument a step further and using the same parameters but differentiating between the local and the immigrant population, the percentage of the immigrant working age group, as represented by the 15-64 cohorts, increased from two-thirds of the population in 1985 to three-quarters of the population in 2011.

The overall foreign population in the islands has increased from 2% to 5% in the 26-year span between 1985 and 2011, when compared to the national population enumeration (Table 3). The actual immigrant population increased four-fold during the same period, increasing faster following Malta's EU accession.

Table 3: Percentage distribution of Maltese and immigrant population by agegroups 1985-2011, CSO (1987); NSO (1997; 2007; 2012).

	1985		1995		2005		2011	
	Maltese	Foreign	Maltese	Foreign	Maltese	Foreign	Maltese	Foreign
0-14	24.1%	17.7%	21.9%	11.7%	17.2%	10.9%	14.8%	10.4%
15-64	66.0%	61.9%	66.7%	75.2%	69.1%	76.7%	68.9%	76.1%
65+	9.9%	18.4%	11.4%	13.1%	13.7%	12.4%	16.3%	13.2%
Total	345,418	4,798	378,132	<i>7</i> ,213	404,962	12,112	416,055	20,084

4.1 Regional distribution

Although by international standards Malta ranks as a small country, the National Statistics Office divides the islands into six demographic divisions (Figure 1). To ease the analysis the districts have been grouped into three: the southern group, the northern group, and Gozo (Table 4).

Figure 1 and Table 4 present the number of non-Maltese in each of the districts. Whilst the figures for Gozo only show a marked increase in the last six years, the percentage share over the study period declined by over a half. This was due to the influx of foreigners in the other districts. In addition, although the public impression is of a South replete with foreigners (mostly illegal immigrants housed in refugee centres), it is the North that always registered two-thirds of the immigrant population in the islands. Further remarks about Table 4 are listed below.

- The major change occurred in the South-eastern district, with an almost nine-fold
 increase in immigrants living there, and with a quintuple increase over the last
 six years.
- The increase was more gradual for the Western district and for Gozo than for the other four districts.
- The Northern district houses the highest number of foreigners, with one-quarter of the total mostly for Gozo.
- The Northern districts have about four times as many foreigners as the South, with three-quarters of the foreigners housed within.
- Whilst the share of the foreigners in the North increased by only 2% that of the south increased by 8.4%
- Although the figures for the Southern Harbour district increased almost fourfold there was an overall decrease of 2.1% with respect to the whole of Malta.

Figure 1: Growth in non-Maltese population by District between census years 1985-2011. Drawn by author. Drawn by author, COS (1987); NSO (1997; 2007; 2012).

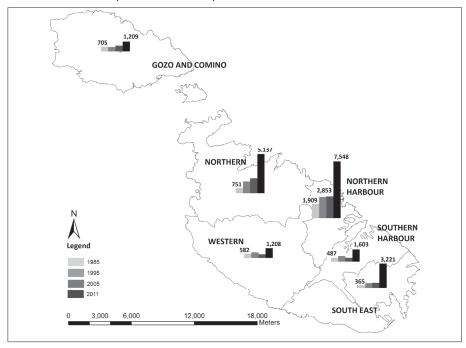


Table 4: Enumerated non-Maltese population by District 1985-2011, CSO (1987); NSO (1997; 2007; 2012).

	1985		1995		2005		2011	
District	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%
Southern Harbour	487	10.1	735	10.5	498	6.9	1,603	8.0
South Eastern	365	7.6	654	9.3	669	9.3	3,221	16.0
Total - South	852	17.7	1,389	19.8	1,167	16.2	4,824	24.0
Northern Harbour	1,909	39.8	2,799	39.8	2,853	39.5	7,548	37.6
Western	582	12.1	742	10.6	479	6.6	1,287	6.4
Northern	751	15.7	1,524	21.6	1,967	27.8	5,137	25.6
Total - North	3,242	67.6	5,065	72.0	5,299	73.4	13,972	69.6
North+South	4,094	85.3	6,454	91.8	6,466	89.6	18,796	93.6
Gozo/Comino	705	14.7	579	8.2	754	10.4	1,290	6.4
MALTA	4,799	100	7,033	100	7,220	100	20,084	100

However, with Malta having one of the highest population densities in the world, discussing density becomes useful when evaluating the impact of humans on the environment. The scope of Table 5 is to provide the population densities per district. The figures, besides demonstrating the high population densities also indicate a high density of foreigners. Whilst the percentage of foreigners make up 4.8% of the whole population, the highest number and percentage is found in the Northern Harbour district and accounts for 8.1% of the people residing there. The lowest percentage is found on Gozo, at 1,290 foreigners from a population of just over 30,000. Despite the fact that the number of foreigners in the North is almost three times that of the South, the density of foreigners is 2.8 times higher in the South. The ranges are similar to (whole) population densities across other countries in Europe such as the UK (259 p/km²), Germany (235 p/km²) and Norway (16 p/km²). In North Africa very low densities are evident in Egypt (80 p/km²), Algeria (16 p/km²) and Libya (3 p/km²) (The World Bank, 2013).

Table 5: Distribution of population and density by District 2011, NSO (2012).

Demographic District	Area (km²)	Total Population	Total Population density p/km²	Foreign Population	Foreign population density p/km²
Southern Harbour	26.13	79,203	3,026	1,603	61.3
South Eastern	49.71	64,121	1,278	3,221	64.8
Total - South	75.84	143,324	1,890	4,824	63.6
Northern Harbour	24.07	120,063	4,997	7,548	313.6
Western	72.88	57,928	799	1,287	17.7
Northern	73.65	63,597	254	5,137	69.7
Total - North	170.60	241,588	1,416	13,972	27.3
North+South	246.44	384,912	1,561	18,796	76.3
Gozo/Comino	68.78	31,143	454	1,290	18.8
MALTA	315.22	416,055	1,320	20,086	63.7

The source of immigrants into Malta has also changed over the last three decades (Table 6). The European countries' share has remained consistent and increased threefold, with extra-EC immigrants providing around one-fifth of the total. The share of foreigners from African states and other third countries has declined, with the introduction of "stateless" residents appearing in 2005 and making up 1.6% of the foreign residents in Malta. These refer to regularized illegal immigrants who were granted refugee status and settled in Malta.

Table 6: Nationality of foreigners residing in Malta 1985-2005, CSO (1987); NSO (1997; 2007).

	19	85	19	95	2005		
Nationality	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	
British	2,400	50.0	3,555	48.5	4,713	38.9	
Italian	154	3.2	410	5.6	585	4.8	
French	31	0.7	51	0.7	127	1.0	
German	102	2.1	196	2.7	518	4.3	
Other EU	241	5.0	289	4.0	1,079	8.9	
Other Europeans	-	-	574	7.8	2,033	16.8	
Total	2,928	61.0	5,075	69.4	9,055	74.7	
Libyan	216	4.5	285	3.9	493	4.1	
Egyptian	13	0.3	-	-	-	-	
Total	229	4.8	285	3.9	493	4.1	
American	488	10.2	297	4.1	255	2.1	
Canadian	311	6.5	259	3.5	170	1.4	
Australian	-	-	556	7.6	372	3.1	
Others	842	17.5	853	11.5	1,569	13.0	
Stateless	-	-		-	198	1.6	
Total	1,641	34.2	1,965	26.7	2,564	21.2	
TOTAL	4,798	100	7,325	100	12,112	100	

4.2 Expatriate residence

The influx of foreign residents into Malta has been a relatively steady flow of mainly British and European nationals, with retirees being predominant. A number of returning migrants also add to the inflow. Regulations and programmes pertaining to residency permits issued by the Malta Government have been in place for decades and also modified over the years. The latest study (Deloitte Malta, 2012) identified three main categories – namely, the Malta Retirement Programme (MRP), the High Net Worth Individual Scheme (HNWIR) and the Ordinary Residence (OR). Applicants are expected to follow regulations pertaining to income tax, annual remittances, the minimum immovable property requirement, and the health insurance requirement.

Over the last few years Malta was able to attract many foreigners to invest in property. Almost 5% of the residential base is foreign owned, mostly by the British, whose expat population nears 15,000. According to Henderson (2013) this is due to the changes in residency regulations and the availability of top-end, high-quality property and prestigious locations, together with a limited but steady stream of older, traditional houses on the market. A flat rate tax of 15%, with a minimum of tax payable at &20,000 and &2,000 for each dependent, and a minimum of 90 days residence per year have turned Malta into a retirement haven (Henderson, 2011; 2013).

Table 6 indicates a doubling of British settlers in Malta over a 20-year period,¹ with other nationalities showing significant increases, mainly from Eastern European and non-EU nationals. The year 2005 shows a broadening of the sources of immigration to include significant arrivals from a spread of other states, this includes the 'Others' category that shows the global spread of origins from countries never before listed.

4.3 Boat people

Various terminologies identify the mainly sub-Saharan immigrants that undertake hazardous journeys across Africa and the Mediterranean Sea to reach European shores, and the term 'boat people' was coined in 1975 at the end of the Indochina war when "Vietnamese left clandestinely in ramshackle boats" to nearby lands (Butterfield, 1979). Today the term is used to identify the broad range of people arriving by boats on the last leg of their journeys from, in the case of the Mediterranean, sub-Saharan Africa (Spiteri, 2013). This illegal activity has been highlighted by the media in recent years and has been discussed in various fora, including human rights fora. The situation in the Mediterranean is practically the reversal of the European expatriate movement, with flows of Africans into the Southern European countries. A marked socio-economic and cultural contrast is identified with respect to boat people when compared to that of the Maltese returned migrants or the expatriates. Figure 2 reports the number of boats arriving in Malta between 2002-2012 and carrying illegal immigrants to Malta.

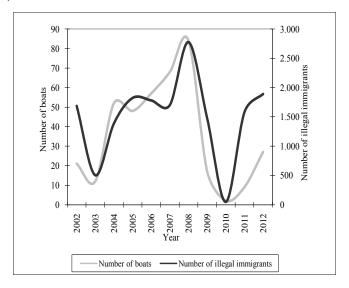
The substantial decline in the number of landings in 2010 is mainly attributed to the economic crisis in Europe but also to the initiatives set in place by Frontex, particularly in the central Mediterranean, with collaboration and joint patrols between Italy and Libya in 2009 (Anon, 2010; Frontex, 2010).

The procedures to protect the irregular immigrants in Malta, although heavily criticized by the European Union's watchdog administrators, are in place and generally

At the time of writing, the full 2011 Census had not been published; therefore details about the nationality of foreigners in 2011 are not yet known.

follow established lines. Following rescue, boat people are taken into custody at the police headquarters for administrative, medical and other matters. They are then placed in either closed or open centres, mostly located in the south of the island, depending on their statues of refugees or otherwise.

Figure 2: Number of boats and illegal immigrants arriving in Malta 2002-2012, NSO (2013).



5 Conclusions

The scenario of the Maltese immigrant population has changed appreciably over the last two decades. From the main sources being expatriates originating from the UK and returning migrants from Australia and North America, the situation today involves mainly immigrants from sub-Saharan Africa. This situation sparked off moral debates involving Governments, NGOs and the European Union, to practical measures involving the surveillance of the Mediterranean area and the housing and safe keeping of immigrants. Debates about repatriation, relocation and permanent residency are on-going.

In addition to these one needs to add the question of local carrying capacity. The discussion of densities and how the local immigrant population density is equivalent to that of the whole population inhabiting some European countries raises an important dimension with respect to the impact of immigrants on the geographies of the local resource base.

Future scenarios envisage: tri-partite discussions among the governments of Italy, Malta and Greece to establish the best possible ways to handle sub-Saharan immigrant influx; ways of attracting second and third generation offspring of Maltese migrants as a way of enhancing the tourist product; and the efficient utilisation of skills pertaining to the continuous flow of EU nationals from Eastern European countries.

Further research on this theme is necessary to understand the diffusion of sub-Saharan immigrants into the various localities of the islands; the growth in expatriate immigration; the spatio-temporal analysis of the impact of all types of immigration based on the country of origin, employment, property and the impact on social benefits and health services. Finally, the distribution of the foreign influx in the islands needs to be addressed especially in view of Malta's ageing demographic profile and its aspirations for economic growth.

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Tujec šteje: prostorsko-časovna analiza okupatorjev, priseljencev in izseljencev na Malti

Ključne besede: priseljevanje, sredozemska regija, Malta, nezakonito priseljevanje, severna Afrika

Priseljevanje v Sredozemlje ima večtisočletno zgodovino, ki se na malteškem otočju odraža skozi zaporedje okupatorjev, ki so ga kolonizirali. Vendar pa so trendi v zadnjih desetletjih pokazali izrazite spremembe v starih vzorcih, tako da namesto povratnih migrantov in naseljevanja britanskih izseljencev sedaj prevladujejo selitveni tokovi iz Evrope in podsaharske Afrike, zlasti po vključitvi Malte v Evropsko unijo leta 2004. Članek preučuje količine vključenih v te tokove, spreminjajočo se prostorsko razmestitev izhodiščnih držav ter spreminjajoče se starostne strukture priseljencev v zadnjih dveh desetletjih. Da bi zagotovili zanesljivost podatkov, so bili uporabljeni podatki zaporednih popisov prebivalstva in stanovanj, ki jih je zbral Državni statistični urad Malte. Glavni ugotovitvi prispevka sta spreminjajoča se starostna struktura priseljencev ter njihove regionalne porazdelitve na Malti. Ker je Malta najmanjša država v EU in ima eno najvišjih gostot prebivalstva na svetu, je bila obravnavana tudi problematika gostote priseljencev. Pokaže se, da je gostota priseljenega prebivalstva na Malti tako visoka kot gostote vsega prebivalstva v nekaterih evropskih državah.