THE MALTESE GIFT: TOURIST ENCOUNTERS WITH THE SELF AND THE OTHER IN LATER LIFE.

by

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ABSTRACT

This thesis takes a case study approach of the tourist-host encounter in the Maltese Islands, an ex-British Colony and older British tourists (OBTs). OBTs are an important source market for tourism as this is set to grow in volume and propensity.

The research investigates how OBTs negotiate identity and memory through their narratives. It does so by examining what is being transacted at a social, cultural and symbolic level between the Maltese and the OBT. It then enquires as to the extent the previous colonial relationship is influencing the present ex-colonial and neo-colonial Anglo-Maltese tourist encounter.

The ethnographic study employs a two-pronged strategy. The first interrogates the terms under which spatial and temporal dimensions of the cultural production of the post colony, and the ongoing representations of specific spaces and experiences, are circulated and interpreted by these tourists. The second examines the relationship through the 'exchange lens' which is manifested along social and cultural lines within the Maltese tourism landscape context.

The research indicates that older adult British visitors have a 'love' for the island, which is reciprocated by the Maltese Anglophiles, in spite of some tensions between the two nations in the past. The relationship extends beyond a simple economic transaction but is based on more of a social, symbolic and cultural exchange.

This research is one of the first to examine the phenomenon of non-economic capital and gift exchange and the role exchange plays in building relationships at the tourist-host interface. The study concludes that the value, which is placed on the gifts, or capital which are generated or exchanged through the tourist encounter, encourages further visits to the island. Much of this value is based on the significance of Empire to the OBTs who re-discover lost traces of Britishness in Malta through experiencing Anglo-Maltese cultural hybridity. It also advances the view that tourism is really about the self rather than the other - or, at least, that the other is in some senses a mirror of the self.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

Deo gratias

This thesis is dedicated to my loving and supportive husband, Robert.

SCHOLARSHIP STATEMENT

AUTHENTICITY STATEMENT

I declare that this dissertation is the result of my own research, fieldwork and reflection under the supervision of Dr. Julie Scott and Profs. Tom Selwyn.

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Marie Avellino

Date

PRE – PUBLISHED STATEMENT

A number of publications and conference papers have been produced as a result of the research undertaken for this thesis. A list with reference to the chapters they are taken from, together with any other relevant information is provided hereunder.

Stewart, M.A. 2009, "*Negotiation, Imagination and Re-invention of Place*", Paper presented during a one day Interdisciplinary PhD colloquium at the University of Westminster	Various Chapters: first participation at a conference, and was presented to receive peer feedback
Avellino, M., 2011, *Touristic encounter: local Maltese and British tourists*, Paper presented at the 1ères Doctoriales du Tourisme de la Chaire « Culture, Tourisme, développement » Tourisme / Tourism, Concepts et méthodes à la croisée des disciplines Concepts and methods at the disciplinary crossroads http://www.univ-paris1.fr/fileadmin/doctoriales-tourisme/Textes_doctoriales/Avellino_Marie_Doctoriales.pdf	Chapter 3
Avellino Stewart, M. Britain in Aspic: Tourist Visits to Malta, Chapter Five in Matthews, J. and Travers, D., eds. 2011, *Islands and Britishness: A Global Perspective,* Cambridge Scholars Publishing	Chapters 2, 4 and 6
Stewart, M.A. 2012, "*Consuming Culture in Malta: British Tourists' Invention And Re-Invention Of Home*", Presentation given during the AHTMM Conference, Corfu	Section 2
Avellino, M. 2014, "*State of the Art Research Report*", for EU funded Socialising Tourism Project.	Chapter 4
Pending: Avellino, M. and Cassar, G., Branding a Nation, Chapter in Book entitled *Commercial Nationalism*, Australia. Note: Avellino wrote the main paper based on research carried out for Chapter 2, section entitled *The Song remains the same*. Cassar contributed the historical aspects of the paper.	Chapter 2.

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Around 1999, whilst conducting research amongst guides and heritage attractions in Malta, I noticed that the tour itself could be augmented and enhanced for the guest by giving a talk to the guest before being taken to the visitor attractions. This could help the tourist to understand the culture of the people which they were visiting. This might provide for an enhanced visiting experience through gaining some sort of insight which would not have normally, been imparted to them. At that time, the interpretation given at memory sites was rudimentary, when available.

About a year later, I was invited by the manager of a British tour operator to give my advice on how their fully inclusive tour programme for older guests could be enhanced. I gave my advice based on my previous research and experience. This was considered, followed up and on my suggestion, the day prior to the guests being taken on a guided tour, a tourist guide was invited to give a talk about the places they would be visiting the following day. Guests started attending but were not really enthusiastic about the pre-tour talk. Therefore, it was shifted to the evening after the excursion and attendance was slightly higher. During the course of the season, attendance diminished and then remained stable at about 5 per cent of the hotel occupancy.

Towards the end of the season, I was asked if I could give a few of the talks myself, as I had finished my first degree and had the time to do so. I asked to go along to some of the talks given by the guide to give me an idea of what was being expected. Before commencing the talk, the guide recommended that should I start giving the talks, they should not be longer than 30 minutes as most of the guests would fall asleep. And how right she was, half way through her talk many of the guests were having a lovely snooze, as they sat in semi-darkness looking at acetate slides and listening to the same story that would have been given by the guide on her guided tour! No wonder the talks were not a success.

I took over the weekly talks about Maltese culture and gave them a different slant. I did not just talk about buildings, but spoke about the people who lived in them, what was important to them. I explored topics on, for example, how the Maltese culture is moulded by religion and belief systems, the coexistence of Catholicism with Pagan concepts, and how civilians survived WWII. Other interesting topics were developed based on the Question and Answer time I had allocated at the end of the talks. Attendance shot up and so did the positive comments left by guests through the customer survey questionnaires. The following year I was given two hotels and within three years later, I was delivering four different talks per week, sometimes in four different hotels. The chance to actively participate in topics, which were relevant, or of interest to the guests proved to be the reason for this success.

This rather long introduction has not been included to show the success, of the talks, but to show that when people are given something which they can relate to, such as what at that time I had considered to be a shared history or shared culture, they could feel that what is being offered is worth their time and enhances their holiday. Many tourists would comment that the talks made all the difference to their trip and made them realise that there was much more to Malta. They also said that the talks allowed

them to hear about events that they knew about or that they had actually participated in to some extent.

One of the most successful talks was the one about the Second World War (WWII) period in Malta. Guests would sign up for these and turn up half an hour beforehand to make sure they would get a good seat. Sometimes we have had to run two consecutive talks as all the guests would want to attend. After the talk, there was a lot of excited interest as all types of questions are asked. Then afterwards, a number of guests would queue up to tell me of their own experience or to ask a question which they would not have wanted to ask in public. I met George Medallists and other war medal recipients. Most medallists wanted the other guests to hear their stories. Others did not: they spoke about their experiences in private, to me and yet had never spoken about them even to close family members. Other guests visited places that had some link with their family or loved ones. At least fifty per cent were repeat visitors and some came at least twice per year.

Then around 2008-2009, the arrivals of the veterans and their spouses started to taper off. One veteran told me it would be his final trip as he was not well enough (he was in his early nineties). A few months later, I found out that he had passed on. Others told me that they would not return as they wanted to visit other places as they now realised that they were coming to the end of their 'travelling days'. Other guests with different stories to tell and different interests such as dowsing, jazz and even diving replaced these.

This change led me to ask whether these new guests would still want to hear about the War, will they still want to visit the War Museum, and if not, what they will be interested in. Will the next generation still come to Malta or will they prefer somewhere else? What motivates these tourists to visit the islands? These questions prompted me to embark on a field study of the older British Tourist in Malta.

This is the cohort group, which will form the basis of this research study, and for the purpose of this research will be identified as the 50+, British Senior Tourist or Older British Tourist. It is an ethnographic account of these tourists and their encounter with the Maltese in the early years of the third millennium.

Figure 1 Culture and History Talk

Source: Avellino, 2015

"But then, shall I never get any older than I am now? That'll be a comfort, one way --
never to be an old woman -- but then -- always to have lessons to learn!"
— <u>Lewis Carroll</u>, <u>*Alice's Adventures in Wonderland & Through the Looking-Glass*</u>

SECTION ONE

This section introduces the main protagonists of this study: the Older British Tourists (OBT), the Maltese Hosts (MH) and the Cultural Intermediaries (CH). The leitmotifs and the cross cutting themes are presented together with an overview of the historical and cultural context. It outlines the rationale as well as signposts the strategy taken to achieve the research objectives. It concludes with the methodology employed for this thesis.

Figure 2 Edutainment - Noonday Gun Salute

Source: Avellino 2015

CHAPTER ONE - TOURISM IN LATER LIFE
Introduction

"*Unlike class, ethnic, racial or even gender-based distinctions, the boundary between life and death is a perennial human preoccupation*" (Hazan, 1994, p. 1).

Age marks the annual stages in one's biological life, and ageing signifies the accretion of time in one's life. Ageing, or becoming aged, as a social and cultural construct, indicating the progressive last stages of a physical maturity and is commonly referred to as becoming old. Old age is a symbolic space instilled in everyday language and demeanour, perpetuated by organisations and social policies and embroidered in popular culture (Blaikie, 1999).

'The world is in the midst of a unique and irreversible process of demographic transition that will result in older populations everywhere' (United Nations, Ageing, online, n.d.). The United Nations (UN) estimate that more than 2 billion people will be aged 60 and over, and the number of those aged over 80 will be close to 400 million by 2050 (United Nations, Ageing, online). In 1991, the United Nations Principles for Older Persons was adopted by the UN General Assembly and 1999 was declared as the International Year of Older persons. (United Nations, Ageing, online, n.d.) . The build up to this particular year, and after, generated much discussion and research, including that in the tourism industry (Patterson, 2006. p. 2).

The European Union designated 2012 as the European Year for Active Ageing and Intergenerational Solidarity. Currently in the European Union older adults aged between 55 and 80 years exceed 128 million people (EUROSTAT, online, n.d.) Predictions are that, by 2060, about 30 per cent of the EU population will be aged 65+. The rise of the 'oldest old', that is, those aged 80+, in the EU is forecast to increase fourfold from 1990 to 2060 (European Union, online, n.d.).

This increase in older persons is also evident in the United Kingdom (UK). To quantify this I refer to UK national statistics which indicate that in 2012 the UK population aged between 60 and 74 amounted to 9.4 million, with another 5 million aged over 75. This is expected to increase to 10.7 and 6.6 million respectively by 2022, and 12.3 and 8.5 million by 2032 (UK Office for National Statistics, 2014, p. 5). This signifies that over a period of 20 years, the total population is expected to increase by 8 million, with 6.4 million of these aged over 60. The proportion of the

population aged 65-74 who were economically active in 2011 [16 per cent] was almost double the proportion in 2001 [8.7 per cent] (UK 2011 Census, 2012). Based on these figures, we may surmise, that the Senior British outgoing tourism market is also set to grow as the older generations have access to better health care, decreased mortality, and higher incomes.
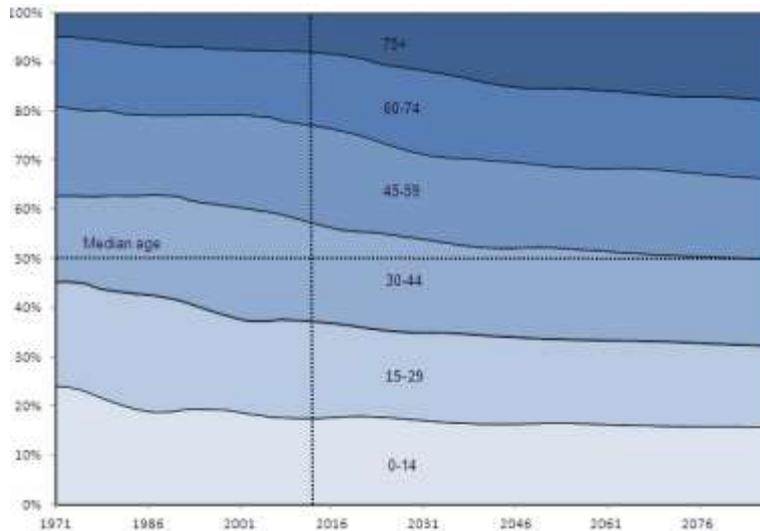
Figure 3 Percentage Age Distribution

United Kingdom, mid-1971 to mid-2087

Source: Office for National Statistics (2014, p. 7)

Half of all usual residents in England and Wales aged 65 and over living in households reported very good or good health in 2011; this compares well to the 88 per cent for those aged under 65. Similar trends are noted for Scotland and Ireland. (Office for National Statistics, 2014). The mid 2013 population estimates revealed that for the first time in history there were over 11 million people aged 65 or over in the UK, 4.7 million are aged between 60 and 65, and 3 million aged over 80 (Age UK, 2015).

During the latter half of the twentieth century, socio-demographic changes due to improved contraception, a fall in average size of families, higher standards of education, and a greater number of women in the workforce, created a number of potential implications for the tourism industry. One of the main outcomes of these changes are such that, the late adult population, especially in the industrialised world, is perceived to be 'a rapidly growing component of the tourist industry. More specifically in the UK where, according to a report by Mintel (2008), many of the over

50's in the UK 'still regard travel as hugely aspirational, and it features as their main spending priority'. This coupled with rising incomes and pensions, early retirement and better health indicates a growth in potential demand for travel for older persons. This group of people forms the basis of this study. It will include the cohort known as the baby boomers: the persons that were born between 1946 and 1964 as well as the cohort that were born previously whom I shall refer to as the seniors. The choice of these two labels have been based on the blurred taxonomy, which is found in the literature on the older tourists. There are various reasons for this blurring. The definition of old used to coincide with persons reaching their retirement age and later with that of persons getting access to their 'bus passes' or 'pension books'. However over the last couple of decades, early retirement, or partial retirement has increased, and there is no longer a specific cut off point, given that the official retirement age in Great Britain, which was formerly 65, has been phased out (https://www.gov.uk/retirement-age, online, n.d.) The state pension age in UK, (which is not the same as retirement age) ranges between 61 and 68 (https://www.gov.uk/retirement-age, online, n.d.).

From my personal experience of working for the airlines and tour operators over thirty years ago, a senior citizen, would be able to access 'senior fares' or 'senior concessions', meaning a cheaper International Air Transport Association (IATA) airfare on showing identification that indicated that the person was older than 60. These concessionary fares were also provided by other transport carriers such as ferries as well as by hospitality providers such as hotels. This allowed tour operators to offer special packages to the over 60s which were cheaper than those available to other adult travellers. A limited number of service providers still advertise these concessionary or discounted airfares, but these are usually not available in Europe[1]. As these rebated fares and rates became obsolete, they were replaced with other offers such as discounts for older persons. The discount is not really given because one is older but because the travel product is availed of during the low or off season, thereby boosting low sales. Of course, marketers could advertise their products as being discounted because they are going to be used during a period when there is

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[1] Online blogs such as The independent traveller (http://www.independenttraveler.com/blog/index.php/2011/08/08/how-to-find-airfare-discounts-for-seniors/), and cheapflights.com (http://www.cheapflights.com/travel-tips/senior-airfare-discounts/), which advise senior travellers on how to save, give suggestions as to which airlines offer senior discounts however also ask their readers to note that the airlines' regular discount fares may be cheaper than the senior fares.

low demand. However to make this type of approach effective and financially viable, it sounds more attractive if the advertising material indicates that the discount is a form of a gift in recognition that one is 'special'. In this case, a traveller is being special treatment, including being giving a discount for being older. From the marketing perspective, it allows the industry to identify a specific group of people who fit into a general but coherent profile and who can be reached through advertising and marketing through common mediums such as high street shops or brochures. In this case, retired persons are ideal.

There are two main reasons for this and they are not mutually exclusive. Firstly, since older and more specifically retired persons have the possibility to travel at any time during the year, they have the option of travelling during the off-peak season. Secondly, retired persons are usually on a lower income than when they worked and therefore are more price sensitive. These two reasons, especially when taken in tandem, are used by the tourism industry to create a product or package, which can be attractive to a particular group of persons or segment of the population, which are the retired persons. Therefore the tourism industry 'offers' its products to this group of persons and uses the 'ploy' of describing the product as being discounted or concessionary as if it is a special gift of benevolence because one is older.

Over the years, one can notice a trend for reducing the age barrier, which granted access to reduced prices. Saga Group, for example, have now reduced the age barrier to 50 (from 60) for the main traveller, and even lower for the accompanying person. This is because operators such as SAGA, want to take advantage of the changes taking place in the current labour market, which in the case of older persons usually involves taking early retirement, or reduced working hours. To add to the confusion, national statistic offices use different age bands for older adults. For example in UK, according to Figure 3 the cohorts range from 45 to 59, 60 to 74 and the over 75s whilst in the case of the National Statistics Office in Malta, tourist arrivals for older adults are banded from 45 to 64 and the over 65s.

For the purposes of this study, I have opted to classify my two groups according to the year of birth. The younger group coincide with the cohort that were born before Malta became independent, right up to the post WWII period: the years of birth ranging from 1946 to 1964. They coincide with the cohort known as the Baby Boomers (or Boomers). The other group is what I will call the Seniors: the group of

people who were born during the war and before, prior to 1945. When I refer to the two cohorts together, I will use the term 'older tourists' or 'older adults'.

I have been involved (as a practitioner) with Maltese tourism since the 70s and from experience know that the effects of the low season in Malta are compensated for by the arrival of older tourists. Right up to the 90s, it was mostly the older British that were attracted to Malta during the winter. For example in the 80s, I worked in the timeshare industry and in real estate, and the major markets were the 'Silver Brits' who came to Malta for the 'Winter Sun'. At the time, when one compared the utility rates that were being charged in Britain, and the hotel package prices that were being offered in Malta, it made financial sense for a good number of these people to holiday in Malta for a couple of months or more during the coldest UK months. Of course, the typical type of accommodation, which was booked, was of the fully inclusive or half board basis, such as three star hotels in places such as Bugibba, Qawra, Marsascala and Mellieha. This type of tourism meant that large hotels, which had good economies of scale, could garner sufficient bookings to even return a profit in what is traditionally a period when hotels lose money or breakeven. It also meant that they did not need to close down for the winter months, which is typical for some seasonal resorts in the Mediterranean, with the result that staff have to be made redundant, so as not to incur higher losses.

Working in the tourism and real estate, in Sales and Marketing in the 80s and 90s, and even though we did not have access to professional market research, one could notice a distinction between the older British tourists themselves. This distinction was made along the lines of age and what at the time were considered tourists' 'spending power or affordability'. For example we knew that the 'good' clients arrived in the shoulder season, meaning October, November, and late March and April. These clients were usually younger, early retirees or business owners such as publicans. The retirees would have been predominantly professionals such as engineers, doctors or ex-Services from the higher ranks. They would stay in accommodation ranging from four to five star, hiring a car and eating out in good restaurants. Some were interested in purchasing property or time-share, and when they opted to do so, invariably paid cash. The majority of the others who visited Malta, especially between January and early March, were older, stayed in 3 star accommodation on full or half board and spent their time walking along the promenade, reading, or just

relaxing at the hotel. With hindsight, it seems that the main reason for these people to travel to Malta were the price and the agreeable climate.

Thirty years later, it might still be the same, but there is definitely something else going on. Older tourists still go off in search of some bench were they can sit in the sun, either reading a book or having a chat with some passers-by. However, it is not the beginning and end of it all. Now they want to know about which cultural places they should visit, others make friends through repeat visits, and some visit old haunts or places associated with friends and families who had once stayed in Malta. The changes I have been witness to, enticed me to want to know what these older British Tourists expect from their holiday in Malta, as I am interested in understanding the changing nature of Malta's attraction for the older tourists.

The British colonial period and the attachment that the British tourists felt that they established with the Maltese people in the previous stays on the islands, are common reference points in the narratives of the older adult tourists involved in my study. The period which is of interest to my senior tourists, straddles both the colonial as well as the post-colonial period. Tourism according to Hall and Tucker (2014, p. 2) "is embedded in post-colonial relationships", as "the detritus of post-colonialism have been transformed into tourist sights" and "ex-colonies have increased in popularity as favoured destinations" (Craik, 1994).

As a person that has been involved in Maltese tourism for a number of decades, I can attest that a good part of the detritus of all the ex-colonisers presence in Malta has been put to full use as either a tourist attraction as in the case of the fortifications, and other military installations. Some also have a functional use such as the offices occupied by the Malta Tourism Authority (MTA) offices and the ex-services barracks. The MTA head office is housed in the *Auberge d'Italie*, one of buildings dating back to the period of the Order of St John in Malta. Some of the ex-British Services barracks now house tourism offices, entertainment venues and accommodation.

This thesis takes a case study approach of the tourist-host encounter in the Maltese Islands, an ex-British Colony and older British tourists (OBTs). The research aims to firstly, investigate how the OBTs negotiate identity and memory through narratives and interpretation of their visitor experience. Secondly, it seeks to does so by examining what is being transacted at a social, cultural and symbolic level between the Maltese

and the OBT. Thirdly it enquires as to the extent the previous colonial relationship is influencing the present ex-colonial and neo-colonial Anglo-Maltese tourist encounter.

The central focus of this study is to explore the role of the contested-uncontested, or shared-unshared interpretation of history within the individual and collective memory of the older British tourists. This will be based on their negotiations of place experience and place identity within the context of their lived tourism landscape in Malta. The landscape here serves as the locus of the insider and outsider meanings attributed to their Maltese touristic experience (de Haan & van der Duim, 2008; Knudsen, Metro-Roland, Soper, & Greer, 2008). The Circuit of Culture model (Johnson, 1986, Norton, 1996, Salazar, 2007), the theoretical synthesis of landscape, place and identity (Huff, 2008) and social and cultural exchange theories (Bourdieu, 1986; Putnam, 1995) are used to frame the theoretical discussion. The next section explores 'the territory', which provides the 'background story' to our field of action and the actors.

The lay of the land
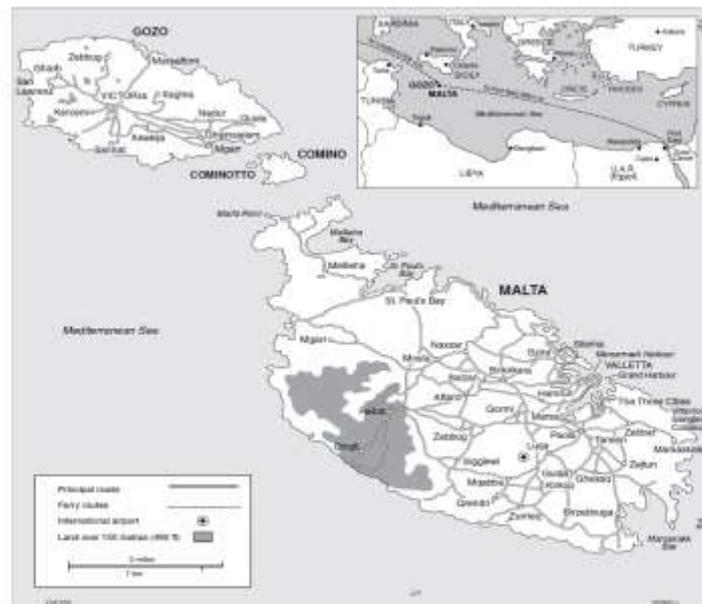
The Maltese Islands

Figure 4 The Maltese Islands

Source: Smith, 2006

The Maltese Islands are situated in the centre of the Mediterranean Sea and have been occupied by various colonisers whilst also serving as a hub for mercantile trade for at least 7000 years. Its rich history has bestowed on the islands a wealth of attractions ranging from the Neolithic temples that have been designated as world heritage sites to the new entrance to the capital city, which has been designed by world-renowned architect Renzo Piano. Throughout the last 500 hundred years Malta was the home of the Knights of St John for two hundred and sixty eight years, a colony for the Republican Revolutionary French for just under three years, and a British colony crown possession for one hundred and sixty four years. Independence from Britain was granted in 1964.

Independence itself was not absolute, as Malta remained a Constitutional Monarchy with the British Sovereign as the Head of State. In 1964 Malta also joined the United Nations and the Commonwealth. In 1974, then it became a Republic with its own President, although it continued to be bound by a military service agreement with Britain. In 1979 the Military Agreement between Malta and the United Kingdom expired and the British forces left the island. In 2004 Malta became a full member of the EU, which, to some political observers[2], spelled the end of Malta's de facto Independence.

Malta has had a long line of colonisers ranging from the first people who settled on Malta in prehistoric times probably from nearby Sicily, to the Phoenicians, Romans, Byzantines, Arabs and many other Feudal overlords from the Anjouvine and Aragonese Kingdoms. These were then followed by the Order of St John, the Revolutionary French and the British. This chequered history indicates that, although the islands are physically isolated from mainland Europe and consequently did not develop at the same pace of continental countries, its people have traded and

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[2] In the run up to the EU referendum, a political group called Campaign for National Independence (CNI) led by Dr Karmenu Mifsud Bonnici (an ex-Prime minister of Malta and one time leader of the Malta Labour Party [MLP]) swore 'to free Malta from the slavery, colonialism and dictatorial illegal European union rule' (http://www.cnimalta.org/e1.html .Last accessed 19/12/2013). The group is still active and regularly transmits its messages through the TV, Radio and internet. In the 5 years leading up to the EU accession and referendum (2003) the Labour Party also continuously campaigned against membership, also citing the loss of independence as one of the main reasons why the Maltese electorate should not support it. It was joined by the General Workers' Union, the CNI (led by former Labour Prime Minister Karmenu Mifsud Bonnici), a sizeable section of the hunters and trappers' lobby (even if not officially), Ghima2 (made up of a section of industrial entrepreneurs catering to the local market, such as a section of the furniture industry), the Progressive Farmers' Union, and Dom Mintoff's (ex- Prime Minister of Malta and ex-Leader of the MLP) *Front Maltin Inqumu* (FMI) (Malta Arise Front). (http://sdonline.org/53/maltas-labour-party-and-the-politics-of-hegemony , last accessed 19/11/2013)' Malta's Labour Party and the Politics of Hegemony Posted on October 11, 2011 by sdonline .Last accessed 19/12/2013

participated in many forms of exchange with other peoples, especially those living around the Mediterranean littoral.

This encounter with others still takes place today, through either trade or tourism. Tourism is an important economic element for the Maltese Islands and its development is directly linked to the growth of tourism. The annual visitor level of 1.7 million (1,714,533) in 2014 (NSO, 2015) is nearly four times that of its inhabitants (429,344) (NSO, 2015) and as such one can say that the touristic encounter is intense as the tourists share the same space as the locals.

Malta's first concentrated effort to attract tourism to Malta came in 1923 when the colonial government set up a Tourist Committee which was tasked with advising and helping local authorities to promote tourism (Pollacco, 2003, p. 199). A couple of years later this was superseded by a Tourist Bureau which, conceding that a number of attractions found in Malta were equal to and even at times superior to 'those of other resorts of much greater pretensions" (Curmi, 1926, in Frendo, 1972, pp. 112-114; Pollacco, 2003, p. 201 and Frendo, 2012, pp. 95-151). The Tourist Bureau also lamented the lack of tourist accommodation and that the "local population was not so attuned to the tourist idea" (Curmi, 1926, in Frendo, 1972, pp. 112-114; Pollacco, 2003, p. 201 and Frendo, 2012, pp. 95-151). Manwel Dimech, a Maltese anti-British political thinker and activist, also shared this sentiment. (Frendo, 1972, pp. 112-114; Pollacco, 2003, p. 201 and Frendo, 2012, pp. 95-151).

Extensive marketing was carried out not just in Britain but also as far away as the United States such as at the New York World Fair in 1939, where the islands were marketed as a winter and health resort and 'touted' as the 'British Riviera in the Mediterranean' (Pollacco, 2003, p. 202). However, the outbreak of World War Two soon changed this image and many soon began to associate Malta with being 'Churchill's unsinkable aircraft-carrier'.

The post-war period was taken up with rebuilding the Island Fortress that had suffered extensive damage and it was not until the 1956/57 budget that capital was allocated for development of tourist amenities on the recommendation of the Schuster report (1950). The other two 'expert' reports that commissioned by the British Government, namely the Woods report of 1945 and the Balogh and Seers report of 1955, had both agreed that any investment in tourism would not be beneficial to the national coffers.

The Malta Government Tourist Board (MGTB) was established in 1958, with a remit to do "all things necessary to encourage tourists to visit Malta" (NTOM, 1997). Considered as a pioneer, in the field of tourism promotion for the Islands, tourism at that time was still seen as something of a small sideline; little did people realise that this would become one of the most important economic pillars of the Maltese economy. As by the late 50s the situation in Britain started to improve and people started to travel, many British service members based in Malta would also bring their families and friends over for holidays. Since Malta was English speaking, and was using the same currency, it was especially welcoming.

One of my associates from the National Tourism Agency said that with the setting up of the MGTB, Malta was featured as the George Cross Island, to attract upper or high-class Service officials. The informant also revealed that another type of tourism marketing was undertaken by Thomas Cook who used to bring 'students' over to Malta to learn English. This information was quite surprising, as most persons in Malta seem to be under the impression that this is a recent innovation in Malta's tourism. These students would come over, usually from Italy or France, and they would stay for a good part of the summer, usually at the Phoenicia[3], which was one of the best hotels on the island at that time. According to the informant, this type of tourism reached its peak between 1964 and 1965, when Thomas Cook of France set up its first School of English in Malta.

The UK market generated the majority of tourists and "every time the flow of British visitors to the islands declined the industry was put in crisis, the economy in difficulties and the jobs of those employed in the industry in jeopardy" (Pollacco, 2003, p. 40). The Davis report noted the steady decline in tourism in the late 60s, which continued in 1971,

> "*then in January-March, 1972, at the peak of tourist bookings for the year, there was a crisis in the negotiations between Malta and the UK concerning the rent for military bases and UK arrivals dropped by a further 30 per cent and were scarcely more than half their 1969 peak*". (Davis, 1973, in Pollacco, 2003, pp. 39-40)

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[3] The Hotel Phoenicia was initiated in 1936, by Lady Strickland, wife of Lord Strickland, Governor of Malta and Maltaphile. It was intended for a cosmopolitan clientèle but was also to provide accommodation for the wives of the officers of the Mediterranean Fleet. Its architect, Lt.Col. W. B. Binnie was involved from its inception, right through the reconstruction which was undertaken after the war. It opened its doors officially in 1947 (http://issuu.com/phoenicia/docs/phoenicia_story_pt1 , online, n.d. and http://www.hotelsite.com/Malta/Valletta/Hotel-Phoenicia-Malta_1152022/history.html, online, n.d)

This period is often referred to by my British informants as the 'Mintoff Period' and is significant because of the way it is referred to by the informants as a case of shared-not shared history. In the ensuing decade, the international travel market underwent great changes in the 80's; at the same time, that Malta was looking for other sources for National Revenue.

> "*New kinds of life-style and a new realization of the importance of relations between people and between people and nature are features of the 1980s. Gaining in importance are participation in outdoor activities, aesthetic judgement and improvement of self and society. The search for these new values in the exercise of tourism is reflected in organized recreation and the new products that have emerged, such as active holidays and special interest tourism*" (UNWTO, 1985, p. 3).

Until 1979, Malta had been used as the main naval base for the British Mediterranean Fleet and, as a result, received a rent, which, together with other income indirectly generated from such use, accounted for a substantial portion of the country's total earnings. As this source of income was coming to the end of its life, there was a shift in emphasis in Malta's economic policy towards the development of the manufacturing and tourism industries.

Malta also experienced a drop in UK bookings because of the negative feelings, which ensued after the termination of the agreement with Britain. Around this time, there also was the transition from the MGTB into the National Tourism Organisation of Malta (NTOM)[4] and in the Goztman[5] Report (1978), it was noted that three issues needed addressing, namely: diversification, seasonality and product improvement. The reason for the necessity for diversification was to "protect the Maltese economy from detrimental external economic fluctuations, particularly those in Great Britain, that still remains the single most important source of overseas tourists to Malta" (Pollacco, 2003, p. 47).

Ten years later the Horwath & Horwath (1989) report and once again in 1997 the Deloitte and Touché Consulting Group (Deloitte & Touché, 1997) report, also confirmed the need for diversification as far as product and markets were concerned. Both reports explicitly recommended that there should be a concentration on Special Interest Tourism, or as it is also called, Niche Tourism (Malta Tourism Policy, 2007-

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[4] In December 1984 the NTOM was set up under the provisions of Act XXI and amended by Act XXVII of 1986 and 1988, however the preparation for its set up started as early as 1978.
[5] Gotzman Jochen, 1978. Consultant to the Government of Malta from the UN Centre for Human Settlements in New York. Prepared a report during the period 30 October to 28 November 1978 as a Special Technical Advisor for technical assistance in the field of tourism under the UN Inter-Regional Advisory services

2011, 2012-2016). This advice has been taken and the last two National Tourism
Policies focus on the creation and strategy for Niche Markets.

Marketing and Motivation Dimensions

The background to Malta's tourism industry would not be complete without an
understanding of the political and the tourism context. This section will explain how
local Maltese politics and tourism are linked. The promotion of Maltese tourism is
communicated through destination marketing which has close links through the
messages being conveyed by the state and tourism industry players. I will then go on
to elaborate on the reason why the marketing is a crucial element in this particular
anthropological study.

From a social and cultural perspective, the Maltese population is highly involved in
politics[6], which on the one hand may be commendable as it means that people are
interested and active in decision-making; however, on the other hand, there is also a
negative aspect to it. 'Political relations are still characterized by intense and
destructive factionalism that effectively inhibits any form of cooperative long-term
planning' (Boissevain, 2006) which includes any strategy that is taken vis-à-vis
tourism. There are many reasons for this amongst which Boissevain points his finger
in the direction of the 'new Elites' when he addressed a seminar in 2006:

> "*With the end of British control, the power of local politicians has greatly
> increased. Ministers have become the new super saints, often dispensing
> patronage to the detriment of democracy and the long-term interest of your
> cultural and physical environment*".

He went on the say that

> "*One problem in particular has struck me most forcefully. This is the massive
> destruction of the environment since you became independent. Your
> countryside and architectural heritage, your coastal zone, the sea surrounding
> you, even your underground water supply and the air you breathe, quite
> literally have been and still are being raped, to put it harshly. They are being
> exploited for private gain*."

This outburst from Boissevain was timely as later in the same year the Maltese
government published the *National Tourism Policy and Plan for 2007 to 2011* where

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[6] High voter turnout of 93% in 2013 General National Elections (Times of Malta Sunday, March 10, 2013, 19:30
by **Herman Grech; http://www.idea.int/vt/countryview.cfm?CountryCode=MT)**) Malta uses the Single
Transferable Vote, which in Malta is known to have been developed by the English barrister, Thomas Hare.
(Times of Malta, Saturday, March 9, 2013, 19:31) based on the system first advocated by John Stuart Mill
(http://www.um.edu.mt/projects/maltaelections/stvsystem).

it affirmed its commitment to sustainability in the tourism sector. In the forward, penned by the then Minister for Tourism and Culture, Dr Francis Zammit Dimech, we are told that

> "*Out of a billion euro €120 million euro are to be invested in tourism. In its call for proposals for €180 million worth of projects under Cohesion Policy 2007 – 2013, €80 million are earmarked for product development, niche market development and branding*" (2007, p. 3).

Earlier I indicated that in Malta there was a shift (at least in mentality) firstly towards garnering a more sustainable growth in incoming tourism, which was then followed by recognition that niche markets should be pursued. The reasoning behind this strategy was that through the offer of a wide spectrum of 'niche offerings and products' (Malta Tourism Policy, 2012-2016, p. 16) a wider mix of 'better quality tourist' would be attracted. This would also mean that the Maltese Tourism industry would not be 'exposed to economic failings in any one source market' and that these niches would attract 'Tourists that have the propensity and resources to spend more'. (Malta Tourism Policy, 2012-2016, p. 16). This is the perspective from the supply side.

However, in 1987 Krippendorf had suggested that the new patterns of tourism consumption, which were developing, would lead to fundamental changes in the tourism market. He proposed a concept of balanced tourism development that would help to bring about the humanisation of travel and a greater harmony between hosts and guests (1987). He outlined a framework based on his concept of the changing tourism market. He predicted that one of the market segments he called 'New unity of everyday life'[7], had the following as travel motivators: 'the desire to broaden their (the tourists' sic.) horizon by learning something; to return to what were considered as simpler things and nature; inclination towards experiments, creativity and open-mindedness, as well as to introspection and communication with other people'. The two other segments he proposed were the 'work-oriented' market segment, which was composed of persons who lived for work, and the other was the hedonistic life-style segment, which was composed of persons who had the 'work in order to live' philosophy. All these would lead to a change in the composition of the western tourist market. For example in 1986 the market share percentage of the 'New Unity

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[7] Meant to reduce polarity between work and leisure

of everyday life' had stood at 20% to 30%, whilst changing social patterns would result in a growth of market share ranging from 30% to 50% by the year 2000 (ibid.). Poon (1993) also noted the changes that were taking place in the tourist marketplace, which was giving rise to the 'new' tourist, who was perceived to be better educated, and culturally and environmentally aware. This would make them more active in tourism participation as they seek out knowledge and self-awareness. (Poon, 1993, in Ritchie, 2003, p. 26). Further dimensions of the motivations of the special interest travel was provided in research undertaken by Crompton (1979), Ritchie and Zins (1978), Smith (1989), Hall and Zeppel (1990, 1991) and O'Rourke (1990).

Another interesting link comes from the psychological discipline, which is rooted in Greek philosophy, and found right through, to the Enlightenment and into modernity through theorists such as Maslow, Lewin, Rogers, Seligman, Werner and Csikszentmihalyi (Jorgensen and Nafstad, 2004, in Ward and Maruna, 2007). This is the concept of human flourishment and the attainment of 'the good life'. According to Ward and Maruna (2007), 'the good life' involves 'two distinct dimensions: personal happiness and finding meaning in life'. These aspects of 'the good life have an impressive pedigree behind it dating back at least to Aristotle, who argued that the good life combined both pleasure and virtue' (Ward and Maruna, 2007, p. 109). Each person pursues the two distinct strands according to what each perceives will help to attain happiness and it is exactly this choice, according to Ward and Maruna which is the basis for providing an individual's sense of identity (2007). These two dimensions which people pursue are classified according to two terms: eudaimonic (which refers to purpose in life and which is growth-based) and hedonic (which is pleasure-based). What one chooses to pursue and the means one chooses to pursue it: this is what defines a person. Archer (2000, p. 10) clearly states that "we are who we are because of what we care about: in delineating our ultimate concerns and accommodating our subordinate ones, we also define ourselves". She also posits that personal identity is an achievement which can only be attained at maturity and not by all: it can be lost, yet re-established.

Anthropologists might not have researched the 'Good Life' as much other disciplines, as according to Thin's (2008) comprehensive database research, 'anthropologists appear to have been more interested in basket weaving than in happiness. He contends that 'the cold-shouldering of well-being by anthropologists is itself a bizarre

feature of the culture of academic anthropology, one that begs to be analysed'
(2008, p. 26). Since this comment was made, we have seen anthropology of
happiness research being produced[8]. The edited volumes of Mathews and Izqueirido
(2008) and Jimenez (2008) led this, although indirectly the pursuit of happiness and
the Good Life has always featured strongly in anthropological tourism literature
though not under such a heading or classification, but more as the pursuit of
pleasure. Fischer's (2013) anthropological perspective on wellbeing and the Good
Life, is that these terms imply more than 'mere "happiness"' but include core
elements such as 'Adequate Material Resources ("adequate" as based on a relative
and socially positional baseline), Physical Health and Safety, and Family and Social
Relations'. He shows that wellbeing is tightly linked to other key dimensions such as
"aspiration and agency, opportunity structures, dignity and fairness, and
commitments to meaningful projects." Bauer et al (2008) argue that 'narrative
identity, which refers to the internal, dynamic life story that an individual constructs to
make sense of his or her life, is closely tied to the subjective interpretation of oneself
as happy'. "Notions of the good life orient the aspirations of agency and provide a
dynamic framework through which to interpret one's own actions and those of others,
all the while bound by the realm of what is seen as possible (what Bourdieu (1977)
termed "doxa")" (in Fischer, 2013, p. 10). My study explores the concept that the
pursuit of the Good Life is central to many of my British tourists' visits to Malta. Later
in the study, I aim to show that through my unpicking of their narratives, the elements
of what well-being means to them are revealed together with how these are
addressed through their holiday experience in Malta.

Knowing what these tourists seek in and through their holiday experience is of
paramount importance to the organisations, destination managers and entrepreneurs
in Malta if they are to be successful in promoting Malta to this particular group of
tourists. As we saw in the earlier part of this chapter, tourism is one of the main
strategies employed by the Maltese government to generate export-led
development, where to a certain extent 'relations of production in the economy of

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[8] In 2013, The Oxford Handbook of Happiness was published, however according to a review by Thin "*While the quality and variety of these chapters is excellent, it is disappointing that the editors seem to have made little or no attempt to find contributors from those disciplines most experienced in theorizing about society and culture, namely sociology, socio-cultural anthropology, and cultural studies. True, these disciplines have been rather slow to take happiness seriously as a systematic research theme, but their participation in the future could help happiness scholarship avoid psychologism, ethnocentrism, and the reductionism of survey-based studies*" (2013, p. 220)

tourism remain veiled behind the curtains of paradise-island images (are, sic.) sold through a successfully blurred tourist's gaze' (Neveling and Wergin, 2013, p.10). In Malta, most of the population is interested in one way or another in the tourism economic activity as the island is highly dependent on it. In this thesis, the 'lifting of the veils' will be limited to the marketing strategies employed by the strategists and how these 'offers' are consumed by the older type of British Tourist in Malta within the contexts of landscapes and culture.

As anthropologists we explore the commoditisation of culture: this is the process by which cultural objects, people, their lifestyles and activities are evaluated in terms of their exchange value. We also explore the cultural and social consequences of commoditisation such as when cultural meanings embedded in cultural artefacts and material culture of the various groups of people are lost. Marketers too, are involved in the process of commoditisation in their quest to offer products for consumption by tourists. In this thesis, when I refer to marketers, I am not just referring to the marketing organisations that represent or are part of commercial tourist services organisations such as tour operators, hospitality providers and airlines, but I am also including organisations such as National Tourism Organisations, which take on the role of promoting destinations or Nations as destinations. I refer here to the commercial aspect of the nation state that under the 'guise' of the National Tourist Boards such as the Malta Tourism Authority (MTA) or the Malta Ministry for Tourism, brand the Nation for tourism consumption[9]. This too is marketing.

The Oxford dictionary defines Marketing as 'The action or business of promoting and selling products or services, including market research and advertising'. Kotler, the renowned Marketing guru, defines marketing as

> "*the science and art of exploring, creating, and delivering value to satisfy the needs of a target market at a profit. Marketing identifies unfulfilled needs and desires. It defines, measures and quantifies the size of the identified market and the profit potential. It pinpoints which segments the company is capable of serving best and it designs and promotes the appropriate products and services.*"

From an anthropological standpoint, modern marketing could be thought of "as a system whereby consumption myths and rituals are created and sustained through the mechanism of branding" (Lannon, 1994, p. 26).Indeed "discourses, as tools of

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[9] The national airline, Air Malta also has a significant role to play as 'the evolution of how air travel is marketed, bundled, distributed and sold has far more reaching implications ... Tourism marketing is strategically vital, especially for a small economy, as it determines the negotiating power of the stakeholders in the destination and source markets (Graham, Papatheodorou, and Forsyth, 2012, p. 128)

knowledge and power, not only represent the world as it is (or rather as it is seen to be), they are also projective 'imaginaries' (Gaonkar and Lee, 2002; Salazar, 2007, p. 23). Marketers, tourists and cultural brokers make use of these discourses and imaginaries to represent "possible worlds that are different from the actual world" […] "touristified representations are created and mediated through broader cultural and ideological structures" (in Salazar, 2007, p. 23. See also Hannam and Knox 2005; Mowforth and Munt 2003; Selwyn 1996; Urry, 2002).

In order to understand how my group of tourists interpret and re-create their own 'discursive imaginaries' (Salazar, 2007) based on their touristic experience and the 'seducing discourses' (Dann, 1996) that enticed them to visit Malta, it is important for this study to explore the mechanisms that are being used by marketers to target the older British Tourists.

In the case of the relationship between the Maltese and tourism, there is a national tendency for the majority of the population to 'think' in terms of marketing. The Maltese are all "Brand Managers"[10]. Every month, leaders and 'breaking news' items in the local media refer to tourist arrival figures. Every time the Maltese Tourism Minister or a high-ranking tourism official utters anything about the incoming tourism sector, it quickly becomes a national news item with the consequence that it features in everyday conversation. In fact just as in UK a common discussion subject is the weather, in Malta, it is tourism. Weather too is a popular discussion topic (may be due to British influence), but more often than not, it is linked directly to tourism. So for example if there is a spate of warm sunny days in Winter, opening conversation one liners would be "I bet all those tourists are outdoors "licking the sun" (literal translation meaning sun worshiping) or "they're having a freezing winter in UK: as soon as they see our temperatures they'll be off to book their holiday in Malta". In a sense, many Maltese are socialised from a young age to appreciate the value of tourism and the benefits that accrue from it for the island's development, so that it becomes second nature to 'think' in a particular 'marketing' mind set.

The reasons why this thesis will include the marketing perspective is so that firstly, the anthropological approach can contribute to marketing from a general perspective and secondly it can contribute in a more focused dimension, to that of the senior tourist market to Malta and other similar tourist destinations.

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[10] See chapter 2 for explanation

Anthropology can contribute to marketing in general in at least two substantial ways. Firstly, anthropological research, which is used by marketers, can benefit them as it can allow them to deliver what is known as the 'product message' or to create a product, which is targeted specifically for its target audience. Market research tends to specifically focus on particular groups of people or markets whom the marketer perceives as able to bring in the maximum profits to an organisation or entity. In marketing, a market is defined as a set of actual and potential buyers who might transact with a seller (Kotler, Bowen and Makens, 1996, p. 20).

Although both anthropologists and marketers carry out research on specific groups or communities, there are a number of significant elements, which distinguish between the two approaches. In the case of marketing, the groups under study are groups which are being assessed for their profit generating potential, whilst in the case of anthropology, in many cases, the groups are studied for the knowledge which can be harnessed for the common good as well as for commercial benefits. Anthropologists aim for a holistic and comprehensive research study, which brings a depth and breadth of knowledge that the market researchers, on the other hand are not only unable to access because of the type of methodologies that they use, but also because of budget and time constraints. The third fundamental difference lies in the theoretical frameworks, which are used to analyse the collected data.

According to Gray (online, nd), a member of The Association of International Product Marketing and Management, 'Anthropology's toolbox can offer much to assist business practices, especially marketing' because it can offer a 'better understanding of their customers'. This study means to do just that: offer a much better understanding of a specific source market and a specific demographic segment, which is quite important to the Maltese tourism industry.

It can do this in two ways. Anthropologists are trained to switch between emic and etic viewpoints. From the emic perspective anthropologists take the insiders' point of view. From the etic perspective, anthropologists view the behaviour and culture from one's own perspective, that is, from the anthropologists' own cultural category to understand the other culture. Anthropology can also compare different cultures: cultural relativism as well as looking at culture on different levels such as on a national, ethnic or kinship level. Anthropology differs from other disciplines as it emphasises context, cultural integrity and place together with the sense of temporality, bringing a historical dimension to the study.

Anthropology can offset an ethnocentric bias, which may be understated but nevertheless present, to the detriment of both marketer and tourist as this is significantly crucial when the target audience or the consumer is culturally different from the marketer. From interviews with marketers associated with the Malta tourism product, it seems that they do not think that there is an ethnocentric bias as the British consumer is not that culturally different from the marketer. However my fieldwork proves otherwise: there is a disconnect along the way, as the devil is in the detail and the nuances. When marketing people pre-determine that there is no cultural bias, then the way they determine the needs of their market is flawed at the roots.

The second way in which anthropology can contribute to marketing and other market and consumer researchers is through the fact that anthropologists studies human society in a holistic manner. They do not look at people purely as a 'market' or as 'consumers'. For cultural anthropologists, culture is at the root of all human learned behaviour, it is also the framework or the main reference point for cohesion of groups of people. If marketers do not understand this, then the data that they collect is flawed. "Ignorance of cultures often leads to misunderstandings which can result in ineffective marketing strategies and at worst can actually offend or repel the very customers that the marketer is attempting to attract. In the age of relationship marketing when the focus has moved from the goal of simply moving or selling product to actually creating and maintaining a relationship with a customer, using the tools of anthropology will help marketers achieve those new goals." (Gray, online, nd, p. 7). The next section is a discussion on how marketing uses segmentation to target specific markets.

Typologies, Segmentation and other marketing initiatives

Malta similarly to other islands is highly dependent on its tourism industry (Sharpley and Telfer, 2004, pp. 139-143. Ministry for Tourism and Culture, 2007, Briguglio 2008, McElroy, 2003, Ellul, 1999; McElroy and Olazarri, 1997; Liu and Jenkins, 1996). In periods when Malta witnessed a stagnation or negative growth in tourist arrivals and foreign earnings from Britain, which was one of its major source markets, various initiatives were undertaken to address this decline. These initiatives have not always been effective. For any project or initiative to be successful (touristic

or otherwise) destinations such as Malta, have to grasp and maximise all their resources. These resources do not just include the tangible components such as land and financial investments, but also the intangible components, which are Social, Cultural, Political and Intellectual Capitals. Traditionally, tourism development too, tended to be valorised according to economic and tangible components such as the volume of visitors or their spending power, however this perspective tends to be blinkered when it comes to assessing impacts on the host community. Consideration has to be given to the concept that sustainable tourism development may be too inwardly focused that it may become unachievable in practice, which according to Telfer (in Sharpley and Telfer, 2004, p. 328) "has also resulted in a highly polarised and value laden perspective on tourism development" which may underpin its role as a potential barrier, as opposed to contributor, to development".

According to Prosser (1998), there are two major variables in tourism and these are the origin-destination relationship and the motivation for travel. Theorists and researchers have produced prolific typologies for categorising motivation for travel (Mannel and Iso-Ahola, 1982, and 1987, p. 323; Cohen, 1979; Smith, 1989; Plog, 1997; Goossens, 1998). The typologies tended to include all age groups, so much so that at times the typology is based on the tourists' life cycle as certain activities are suited for specific age groups. Most are based on tourist being generated from traditionally affluent regions such as UK, USA, France, West Germany and Japan. These 'Broad-brush' (Swarbrooke and Horner, 2007, p. 90) typologies are simplistic and do not encompass the complex patterns of behaviour we see in the real world. What they certainly do not do, is take into consideration that in most cases, tourists do not make an individual decision but the decision is based on a compromise between the couple or group of family or friends that are travelling together. However in the seniors market, it may be the case that the decision is made by an individual or couples whom besides being like-minded persons, may also share a similar economic and social context. In this age group, health and mobility may be the most significant factor that one has to take into consideration when deciding upon a holiday destination.

Faranda and Schmidt (1999, in Wang, 2005, p, 3) suggest that senior tourism marketers must recognize three critical components: the aging process comprehended from multiple disciplines, the acknowledged "heterogeneity and

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dynamic nature" of the mature market, and the "necessity for sound segmentation methods".

Few studies have been carried out which take into consideration the constructs of senior travel and their general health. Wei and Milman (2002) used path analysis to ascertain if tourists' psychological well-being was positively affected by the variety of leisure activities, which they engaged in while on holiday. Wei and Milman (2002) found a positive and significant relationship between the senior travellers' participation and their overall satisfaction with the travel experience and their level of psychological well-being. Moscardo and Green (1999, p. 59) warn that tourism researchers may overestimate the importance of age as an explanatory variable for travel behaviour patterns if they ignore psychological and life experience factors. To address this warning, Wang (2005) attempted to utilize an aging theoretical framework, known as the Selective Optimization with Compensation Model (SOC) in the context of mature tourism. The model proposes that "as people age, they will narrow down the scope of activities, select activities and goals which are important to them, optimize related skills and compensate for deficits in order to remain successful in the selected areas" (Wang, 2005, pp. 5-6). She based her survey on five categories of variables, namely: Socio-demographics, travel psychographics, quality of life, travel behaviour and the SOC process. She concluded that the five categories were interrelated.

Swarbrooke and Horner propose that tourists do not associate taking a holiday with rational decision- making (2007, p. 66). Urry has the notion that the motive for tourism is simply to take leave of ordinary, everyday life' (in MacCannell, 2001, p.23). MacCannell "argues that the basis for specifically tourist desire is in the structure of the second gaze as always suggesting that something is missing from it". I argue that in the second gaze "where visibility presupposes invisibility; that in every seeing, there is an unseen" (Ibid), the invisible part is the rationalization of 'leisure', the attempt to extract a return on investment of that leisure time and the money spent in purchasing the holiday. It is the eudaimonic pursuit of a good, which can contributes to the feeling of well-being as a benefit. This benefit from the receipt of a gift (gratuitous or otherwise) such as being invited to share a seafront bench by a local, or the benefit through an accumulation of capital such as through learning about history whilst on a guided tour, can in fact be used to 'create' another form of capital.

This concept underpins the basis of the research questions and will be explored in later chapters of this research project.

The next section will introduce the Older British tourists who travel to Malta. In it I will define which particular group of older adults I am including in this study and why. I will also explain why this type of tourist constitutes a promising market for Malta and therefore worthy, of such a study.

The Older Adult British Tourists Segment

Older Adult British tourism is significant for Malta for four main reasons. Firstly, the British link: Malta has been a staple destination for British tourists for the last 50 years or more. However, in the last 10 years, Malta has witnessed a significant decline in British arrivals. For example in 2002, total arrivals from Britain stood at 42% of the total arrivals, whilst in 2006 it stood at 38%, 2008 at 35.2%, and in 2014 at 29% (NSO). The second reason is that the grey market in Britain is set to grow for various reasons amongst which are better health care and decreased mortality. Thirdly, the 50+ tourist also has a high propensity to travel. Fourthly, and this is from a non-economic perspective, a number of these potential tourists have a special relationship with the Maltese islands because of the past shared/unshared history. It is important for us, firstly as social scientists but also, as British and Maltese, to understand the nature of this relationship. The significance of this relationship will become clearer later on in this thesis.

On a general note linked to age, it is important that destinations such as Malta are aware of the needs and wants of this particular market segment. This type of tourist has been identified on an international scale as constituting a specific market, with its own demands and requirements ((Wheatcroft and Seekings 1992, p. 1) and is now a market to be reckoned with (Vellas, 1995, Avcikurt, 2009). It has greater economic power than other groups (Fitzpatrick Associates, 1998, p. 19) and demands services and destinations, which, in the past may not have been considered 'suitable' (Avcikurt, 2009, p. 148) for these discerning tourists. Avcikurt (2009) contends, "Many hotels and tour operators consider that everyone over the age of 55 is looking for the same type of products and services". This generalised perspective was confirmed by my Malta fieldwork when a good number of hoteliers tended to consider the older British tourists who travelled to Malta in the shoulder and low

season as laid back, wanting to sit in the hotel lobby or near the pool reading, or enjoying sitting around in groups chatting or playing board or card games. A few of the hoteliers complained that "nothing pleases them" or "only a handful are pleasant: the rest are just grumpy and bored". Others look forward to the winter season when their client base changes over from the young students who visit Malta to learn English, or other younger and livelier tourists. As the summer wanes and the younger tourists are replaced by the older adults, preferring a quieter and serene atmosphere, some hoteliers describe the atmosphere as less hectic, the hotel lobbies are described as 'dead', and the Senior British tourists as '*qammiela*' (literal translation for 'flea-ridden' meaning that they are tight fisted or miserly).

In the case of the disgruntled hoteliers, one may question whether the product that is on offer by their hotel suits the needs of the older clients. One also must bear in mind that the senior market in Malta fits the 'repeat visitor' profile (personal communication with Maltese Marketing Executive 2012). In May 2014, the Maltese Minister of Tourism met a British man on his 50th visit to Malta. On that occasion he also drew attention to the fact that "Half of the visitors from Britain, from where the majority of tourists come, have visited Malta on more than one occasion" (Malta Today, May 2014). The Minister also commented on the importance of repeat visitors and said that this could be "strengthened if the country improves the quality of its products and services" (ibid.).

In the past, British elderly persons were mostly targeted for retirement homes in the sun. In fact, specific areas such as Santa Maria Estate in Mellieħa and parts of Buġibba and Qawra were created specifically to cater for British retirees. In UK, the trend of catering for the older tourist took off with the establishment of Saga Holidays[11], which even to today, is synonymous with holidays for older persons. Nowadays the trend has changed in that tour operators and destinations are beginning to see the potential in catering to the needs of these customers. In fact according to a survey by Mintel (2008), many of the over 50's in the UK "still regard travel as hugely aspirational, and it features as their main spending priority".

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[11] Saga started off from Folkestone from a small hotel called Rhodesia Hotel in 1951, with Sidney de Haan founding a travel company to offer affordable off-peak holidays exclusively to retired people (http://www.sagacareers.co.uk/about-saga/history/ last accessed 10 September 2014). He called his company 'old People's Holiday Bureau' with the aim of attracting older guests from the north of England during off peak times. By the sixties, the name had changed to the Saga Travel club, to replace the Senior Citizen's Holidays. (http://www.sagacareers.co.uk/about-saga/saga-timeline/ last accessed 10 September 2014).

Market research organisations such as Mintel uses 'lifestage' as a way of segmenting a market. Lifestage segmenting means compartmentalising people according to their stage in the family life cycle. The markets tended to be segmented into Pre-family, (such as child, young adult and young couple), Family (young couple with young children or couple with growing children), Empty nesters (such as couples whose children have left home) and Post family (which includes single elderly persons, and elderly couples without dependencies) . There are groups of people who do not fit in neatly into these categories, and this creates a problem for marketers who may opt to use other types of segmentation criteria such as lifestyle, place of residence or personal characteristics.

This dilemma is not just limited to practitioners such as tourist consumer researchers but also to academics. Swarbroke and Horner (2007, p. 83) affirm that 'for over two decades, both academics and practitioners have sought to produce meaningful typologies or market segments of tourists and their behaviour'. They suggest two key differences between typologies and segmentation. The first is that the typologies developed by academics such as Cohen (1972 and 1979), Plog (1977), Perreault, Dorden and Dorden (1979), Smith (1989), Urry (2002) and Wickens (1994) who were generally not concerned with their potential role in marketing' (Swarbroke and Horner 2007, p. 92) as opposed to the typologies developed through segmentation. The second difference is that "whereas the typologies have been devised specifically in relation to tourism, segmentation as a concept derived from general marketing across all industries". (Swarbroke and Horner, 2007, p. 92).

The aim of this thesis is not to try and devise a new classification of tourists or to discuss if academic typologies are similar, superior or inferior to practitioner segmentation techniques: however what is clear from this research is that persons who went through similar major life experiences such as a deep recession or a war, or who were exposed to a form of media communication which they may have considered to be significant, or experienced similar life changing events, tend to behave in similar ways and also have similar views on life values. I therefore broadly consider the two major groups, which exhibited the major distinctions, those that were born before and during the war and those that were born after. In practical terms, there are many overlaps and grey areas, especially where one of the couple was born on either side of cut-off date, or when persons were part of a family, where siblings and even close friends cut across the 1945/1946 line. In the case of this

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qualitative study, the distinction between the two groups is not fixed and acknowledges that there is a certain amount of overlap. The group of older persons who are excluded from this research are what Hazan (2009, p. 61) calls "the fourth age", […] "the inaudible and invisible elderly, with the most extreme features associated with aging: frailty, dementia, Alzheimer's".

Signposting the Route

This study examines the present neo-colonial and post-colonial relationship between the British and Maltese, within the tourism context, and does so through a two-pronged strategy. The first prong seeks to interrogate the terms under which "spatial and temporal dimensions of the cultural production of the postcolony and the ongoing construction (and consumption – my own addition) and representations of specific spaces and experiences" (Hall and Tucker, 2014, p.2), are circulated and interpreted by the OBTs. Secondly, and as a support for the first prong, the approach is to examine the relationship through the 'exchange lens': the exchange which is manifested along social and cultural lines within the Maltese tourism landscape context.

To achieve the first strategy I use the Circuit of Culture model (Hall, Du Gay, Janes, Mankay and Negus, 1997; Johnson, 1986; Norton, 1996) and the Huff (2008) Landscape theory as a framework and apply it to Malta as a case study of a negotiated tourist landscape experience as this provides a semiotic process for encoding and decoding meanings in texts, images and artefacts.

Strategy 1: Deciphering the Landscape Codes

The roles that tourists and locals play are never straightforward. It becomes even more complex when mediators or brokers enter the fray. These include front liners such as guides, interpreters, and tour companies but also include behind the scenes organisations such as national tourism agencies, elites, and travel principals. They often have different and sometimes even hidden, agendas. The tourism industry is an arena where discourses concerning the landscapes, cultures and nature of tourist places are represented (Norton, 1996, p. 358). These widely circulating discourses are instrumental in the creation of a global 'culture of tourism' (Rojeck and Urry,

1997). Theoretical frameworks are needed to understand these discourses and their dynamics. One such theoretical framework is called the Circuit of Culture.

Selwyn (in Waterton and Watson, 2010, p. 196) explores the concept that 'Tourism marketing and tourism itself are underpinned by a dialogue between the image-makers and tourists on the nature of the self'. The Circuit of Culture model is ideally suited to explore the dialogue not just between the tourists and image-makers, but also between the host community and other intermediaries. It is composed of five interrelated cultural processes: production, consumption, regulation, representation and identity. Taken together they complete a 'circuit', which can be utilised to analyse a text or artefact. In this study the 'texts or artefacts' consists of biographical narratives, blogs, souvenirs, photos and other paraphernalia that one normally associates with travel. Culture here is understood "as a social product with its own forms of objective existence and its own real shapes" (Johnson, 1986, p. 282).
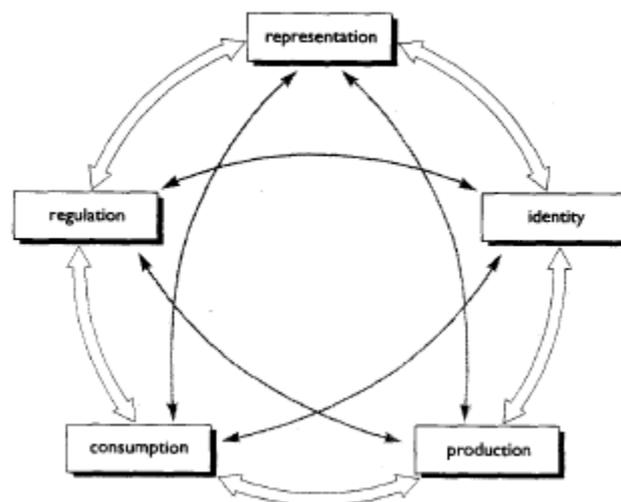
Figure 5 Circuit of Culture Model

Source: Hall, Du Gay, Janes, Mankay and Negus, 1997, pg. 3

The original model was created by Hall, Du Gay, Janes, Mankay and Negus, (1997, pg. 3) as an innovative way to analyse a cultural text or artefact. They applied the concept to the 'story of the Sony Walkman' (1997). In 1986 (p. 47), Johnson referred to it in his work entitled "What is Cultural Studies Anyway" although he does not credit Hall, Du Gay, Janes, Mankay and Negus, with its inception. In 1996, it was "modified (it) for the institutional specificities of tourism" by Norton (pg. 360) so as to

provide "a framework within which the encoding and decoding strategies respectively employed by tourism marketing texts and tourists are elaborated" (Norton, 1996, p. 360).
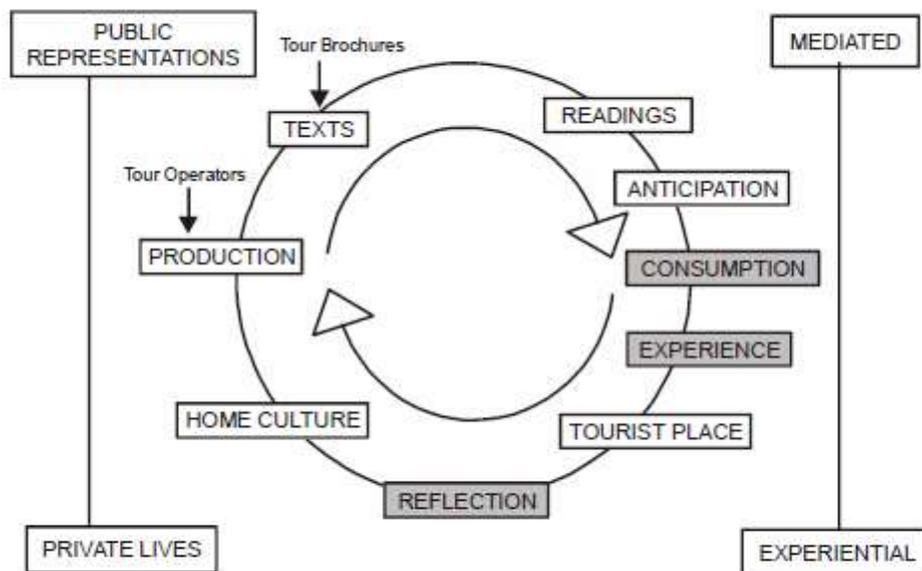
Figure 6 Circuit of Culture Model in Tourism

Source: Norton, 1996, p. 360

This particular research employs a modified version of Johnson's (1986) Circuit of Culture (CoC) so as to understand how "culture deploys power to shape identities and subjectivities within a circuit of practices that range from the production and distribution of goods and representation to an ever-growing emphasis on regulation and consumption", (Salazar, 2007, p. 24). Salazar finds this model useful as he believes that "The circuit of culture idea moves away from one-way processes to viewing globally circulating products and processes in a more integrated way as circulation and dissemination" (2007, p. 24). The model is "a dynamic interconnected whole, where players and stakeholders may (re)align themselves with any other player or stakeholder as need, desire or opportunity allows" (Ateljevic, 2000, p. 382). Tourism is multi-faceted and multi-dimensional. The consumers, intermediaries and the producers within the tourism industry are not culturally, socially, and economically differentiated. Piecemeal or heuristic approaches to studies of certain aspects of tourism may not give us a clear picture of the dynamic cultural relations between host and guest and their intermediaries or brokers. It is for this reason that I have opted to use a holistic approach based on the Circuit of Culture. Combining the

circuit of culture model with landscape theory (Huff, 2008) to frame the ethnographic and discourse analysis of material collected during the fieldwork, together with an analysis of the flows of social and cultural capital brings a rich and integrated approach to this particular research.

According to Johnson (1986, p. 72), there are three main models of cultural studies research: production-based studies, text-based studies, and studies of lived cultures. He based his CoC model on these three perspectives and each of these approaches implies a different view of the politics of culture. He goes on to stress that the circuit is not presented as a '*fait accompli*' but that the researcher should look closely at each moment and the transformations that occur around them. The original CoC presented by Johnson (1986, p. 47) had a circuit with four main moments or aspects of a cultural product: production, texts, readings and the lived cultures. These represent the production, circulation and consumption of a cultural product which in most cases are independent processes. He based the general model on his understanding of Marx's account of the circuit of capital and its metamorphoses (Johnson, 1986, p. 76).

Change is inherent in all cultures (Bruner, 2005, pg. 3), and the manifestations of it, together with one's understanding of it, also changes. This is what makes the touristic experience unique, and in a sense makes each case study unique too. The geographical or architectural landscape may remain or seem the same, but the interpretation of it does not. "The landscape literature does not approach interpretation from a single standpoint: it does not offer an omniscient gaze but rather multiple views are afforded by the rich sweep of theoretical approaches found within the history of landscape studies" (Knudsen et al., 2008, p.133). Huff's (2008, in Knudsen et al., 2008) proposition that landscape is the reification of identity resonates with Mitchell's assertion that the landscape is "a repository of memory both individual and collective … (and) is a site of and for identity" (2007, p. 42). Huff's model of landscape, place and identity together with additional tourism and memory components are here used for theoretical synthesis and as an aid to interpret the cultural texts used in my study. This analysis helps to give a better

understanding of what goes into making the Malta visit a unique experience for the older adult tourists from Britain.

Strategy 2: Exchange and Transformation

The second strategy is achieved through the analysis of the exchange, accumulation, circulation and utilisation of cultural capital which is circulated by and through the older British Tourists (OBT), the mediators and their hosts. As this research seeks to understand the nature of the relationship between the tourist and others, exchange theory is useful in providing a framework for understanding relationships, transactions and interactions in a tourism setting. Analysing the transactions and interactions that place throughout the exchange process can allow us to map the interactions between the tourists and the landscape.

Exchange is of primary interest to anthropologists and can be classified under two broad typologies: Gift exchange and commodity exchange.

Exchange theory or social exchange theory is based on the concept that the exchange of resources is the basis for human relationships (individuals and groups) in an interaction situation (Brinberg and Castell, 1982). The seminal work on Social exchange theory is attributed to the American Sociologist, Homans (1958), Peter Blau, Harold Kelley and John Thibaut (1959). Cook, Ekeh, Emerson and Palmer (1974) have also contributed to this field. Thibaut and Kelly (1959) expressed power in terms of mutual dependence of exchange partners, just as Homans (1961, 1974) and Emerson (1974) gave power as the central force of the relationship. Blau (1964, p. 2) argues that "exchange processes give rise to differentiation of power". This is of particular interest to this study since it deals with issues pertaining to colonialism as well to the host-tourist relationship, both of which have power as a core element of the phenomena under study.

Long, Perdue and Allen (1990) applied social exchange theory to tourism and suggested that it was an appropriate framework for explaining residents' differing perceptions towards tourism impacts. In fact in 1967, Sutton had recognised that "exchange is a social characteristic that defines the relationship or encounter between hosts and guests" (in Gartner and Munar, 2009, p. 103). In order to sustain interaction at least a two-way flow of resources between individuals or groups, must take place (Ap, 1992, Beeton, 2006). This is the basic premise of social exchange theory, which is a behaviour based. Sutton (1967) went as far as to suggest that the

encounter is asymmetric and unbalanced. Later research proved this to be so (Shamir, 1978; DeKadt 1979 in Jennings and Nickerson, 2006, p. 121, Hoivik and Heiberg, 1980; Matthieson and Wall, 1982, p. 136; Pearce, 1982, p. 85 in Ap 1992, p. 667; Farrell,1982; Van den Berghe and Keyes, 1984; Cohen and Cooper, 1986; Mittelberg, 1988; Din, 1989; Jafari, 1989; Din, 1989; Fridgen, 1991, Richards 2013). The second typology is that of Gift Exchange. Much of the knowledge of gift giving derives from the social sciences accumulated over half-a-century since Mauss's (1954) seminal text on Exchange. At this stage of my thesis, it is pertinent to note that amongst the many sub-topics (e.g. gender, cultural context, or self-gifting) the intangible gift has not been singled out for observation (Clarke, 2008, p. 530): I hope to address this lacuna in this research study.

Research linking tourism with gift exchange is also very sparse. To date, the notion of gifts and gift giving in tourism has been confined to vacation souvenirs as gifts for others (see, for example, Kim and Littrell, 2001), rather than to the experience itself as a gift from one party to another to express a personal relationship (Clarke, 2008 p. 530). The study of the social ties is relevant for this study as in gift exchange, "the inherent value of the gift is less significant than its effect of consolidating social ties" (Morris, 2012, p. 90). I suggest that part of the holiday experience, especially in case where Maltese Anglophiles establish 'friendships' with the OBTs may in fact also constitute a gift by the hosts to the guests. I consider the gift experience and the role it plays in building relationships at the personal level: institutional or corporate gift giving and receiving are outside the scope of this study. Value is a social construct and is defined or weighted according to the society and culture within which it is being used. Traditional anthropology sought to understand this concept by examining societies and their customs and norms of trade, exchange, kinship ties, consumption patterns and other economic relations. However research showed that there are societies where objects are not always consumed, but are circulated such as in the case of Malinowski's Kula ring, Marcel Mauss's Hua, and Bataille's objects that are not consumed but destroyed.

This study aims to go beyond the discussion and analysis of gift exchange and social exchange theory that examines the tourism interaction between hosts and guests. It is being suggested that the interaction is taking place through a process of negotiation across various landscapes (literal or virtual), which may or not be bounded. It is based on the premise that "gift and commodity are not necessarily

opposed to one another; instead they are continually reconfigured within an intricately contextual relationship" (Laidlaw, 2000, p. 628; in Benson and Carter, 2008). This study focuses on non-economic resources which are exchanged and negotiated either as gifts (meaning something outside the market economy) or as 'cultural and social capital' (in a Bourdieun sense). The economic exchange is taken as a given. The hosts need economic capital as it is perceived to be crucial for their development (Mihalic in eds. Sharpley and Telfer, 2004, pp. 81-111, Hashimoto in eds. Sharpley and Telfer, 2004, p. 202-230). However, research as regards the tourist and the value which is placed on the gifts or cultural and social capital which may be generated or exchanged through the tourist encounter has not yet been studied in great depth, and therefore this study also attempts to address this lacuna in tourism research.

Clarke (2008, 2013) takes a marketing perspective and focuses on consumer behaviour vis-à-vis tourism products as gifts and experiences as gifts. Research on tourism based on the principle of social exchange theory has also been taken from various perspectives. Shamir (1984) adopted a sociological perspective, when he analysed tourist tipping. Nash, (1989), Villere, O'Connor and Quain (1983), and Wachtel (1980) took a psychoanalytical approach through the application of transactional analysis as their research focused on resources of a psychological nature. Moyle, Croy and Weiler (2010) explored the cultural interaction between communities and visitors to islands using social exchange theory at a micro-level to enhance the understanding of the island experience. They found that previous tourism research based on social exchange theory, focused on its application at the macro-level (Chhabra, 2008, Sirakaya et al, p. 202 in Moyle et al, 2010, p. 99) as well as on the interactions between collective entities (Hernandez et al., 1996; Lee and Black, 2003, in Moyle et al, 2010, p. 99). They posit that macro-level applications may be limiting as the social exchanges that take place in the tourism context are in 'the complex involvement of people as individuals (Hernandez et al., 1996, Lee and Black, 2003 in Moyle et al, 2010, p. 99). This thesis takes the micro-level approach however this is set against the 'big picture' which goes some way towards a more comprehensive understanding.

Challenges and Transitions

To study the interaction, the fieldwork includes the local Maltese hosts as well as the intermediary brokers. This research strategy provided me with a double challenge as the fieldwork includes studies of a second group which for the purpose of this research we are calling the hosts, and a third group made up of cultural intermediaries. One of the challenges which I faced in the course of my fieldwork was that of having tourists who were also cultural intermediaries[12]. The transitory nature of tourism is an added challenge when studying a group of people who are in a state of flux. This is further compounded by the decision to include the Maltese: both those living in Malta and also those living in the UK, together with the International Tour Operators and other non-Malta based intermediaries.

Falzon, in his book entitled Cosmopolitan connections: *The Sindhi Diaspora, 1860-2000* (2004, pp. 9-11) based on his PhD research among diasporic Sindhi businesspeople in Malta, United Kingdom and India, discusses this issue at length. He was concerned that his fieldwork would be short of depth as he would not be working in one place for an extended period of time, in the classical anthropological sense (Falzon, 2004, p. 9). However he goes on to deliberate on how anthropologists in the field had always practised some form or other of multi-sited ethnography and gives the example of Malinowski's (1922) and Polly Hill's (1963) foray outside "their villages" to "follow people, commodities, gifts and such" (Falzon, 2004, p. :10). Multi-sited ethnography "allows for a more considered study of social worlds" (Falzon, 2009), the worlds of the tourists and the host and their intersection. Carrying out ethnographic field research with tourists is limiting in the sense that they, as tourists do not spend a long time in the tourist destination, in other words the researcher's field. However in my case I did not feel that this in any way prejudiced the fieldwork because it was 'short of depth' (Falzon, 2004) as although the tourists did stay for a short while, it was undertaken over a very long period and includes a three year participant observation period, ethnography, in depth interviews with agents, exit surveys, blog and brochure analysis and home visits. It also included fieldwork with repeat tourists as well as correspondence with tourists even after they left the 'field'.

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[12] A small number of tourists came to Malta as tour organisers for specialist tours. One of these came as a couple to Malta as they had a ballroom dancing class in UK and would organise a twice yearly week holiday to Malta for their students and friends. Another came to Malta once a year as a tourist, but he was also a musician for the Jazz Tour. He was not paid for his musician services, but his holiday was either free or heavily discounted depending on the number of 'friends' he brought with him.

Positionality and Reflexivity

The voice used in this thesis is a reflection on how I, as researcher, perceive my position in relation to 'my field', 'my tourists' and the people I worked with on this study. Opting to use the first person instead of the third person when referring to myself as the researcher implies a subjective position. My choice in adopting the first person is to highlight my own subjectivity as to the interpretation I give to the experiences provided by this research and it also hints at the power relations that I have had to negotiate and navigate through.

In the case where there is reference to the collection of data, working in the field, and analysing the evidence collected, the first person singular is sometimes used to support the notion of a personal disclosure and positionality. It is specifically used to express responsibility, orientation, and reflexion, where the input and influence on the research and the interpretation of the findings in particular is not totally subjective (Standing, 2009, p. 58). "The ethnographer's assumptions, interests, and theoretical commitments enter into every phase of writing and ethnography and influence decisions that range from selecting which events to write about to those that entail emphasizing one member's perspective on an event over those of others" (Emerson, Fretz and Shaw, 1995, p. 167).

One may support the concept that in social sciences, the research should be objective however according to Thomson (2013) this is simply not achievable.

"*For ethnographers, it is the researcher who recreates 'images' of the people, settings, and interactions for the reader to interpret. For qualitative interviewers, it is the researcher who takes snippets of the interview data and effectively becomes the biographer of their participants*" (Thomson, 2013).

In this thesis I find myself oscillating between being an outsider looking in and also sometimes as an insider looking both out at the 'Maltese as other' as well as inside myself. This is discussed further in the methodology chapter.

Mapping the research

This thesis is divided into three parts. It will not have a separate chapter for the 'traditional' literature review as the literature analysis will be interwoven throughout

the whole work to substantiate the ethnographic material. This will allow the discussion and analysis of the ethnographical material to move away from being merely anecdotal as it is upgraded to a theoretical narrative which underpins and supports my findings. I believe that this approach will make the thesis far richer and substantial.

The first section is made up of three chapters. Chapter one starts off with providing the background to the key related issues that have led to the development of the research objectives. Chapter one introduces the subject, and provides the context to the study: Malta as the field of action. It then introduces the rationale for the research and pre-figures theoretical routes which will be followed. It also outlines the layout of the thesis. Chapter two presents the main leitmotifs of identity, memory and landscape together with the cross cutting themes: the colonial, post-colonial and ex-colonial rapport. It then moves on to provide an overview of the conceptual framework for the case study and how this is supported by literature relevant to landscape, place and identity in nexus with tourism and memory. Chapter three presents the methodology used for data collection and its analysis.

The next two sections will loosely follow the model presented by the circuit of culture. Section two comprises chapters four, five and six and focus mainly on the British senior tourists in Malta and how these experience and interpret their visits to the archipelago. These chapters are concerned with bringing into focus the ethnographic material of the thesis. Chapter four entitled 'Shades of Grey' introduces the main informants of the study and expounds their narratives. It discusses the travel behaviour, memory, identity and beliefs of the senior tourists. It explores the concepts that age, motivation and one's self-identity provide links to the different stages of the travel cycle and to the perceptions of the place being visited. It will also introduce the reader to a selection of informants and their life histories.

Chapter five discusses history – the shared, unshared, and contested. It investigates how history is packaged, marketed, and consumed as heritage, and how this ties in to the older British tourists' perceptions of national identity. Chapter six discusses how the variants of packaged heritage are interpreted by OBT and how this relates to self- identity and memory and nostalgia. It also explores the production and consumption of specific heritage products such as food and its links to tourists' performance, food and home.

Section three shifts the focus to the perspectives and perceptions of the hosts at the interface of tourist encounter. Chapter seven links in with the Consumption/Realisation moment on the CoC. It takes us on a quest, a journey of self-discovery, not just for the tourists but also for the islanders as they struggle to come to terms with a post-colonial reality and yet still feel enchained to a type of all–invasive tourism. It questions how this form of tourism offering may be considered as the panacea to the islands' financial independence and yet may also be considered by others to be a form of neo-colonialism. It identifies the tensions that exist in the tourists' imaginary between dichotomies of inner and outer landscapes, post colonialism and cosmopolitanism. This chapter also explores cross cutting themes such as gender, retribution and closure as well as 'hot issues' such as the George Cross and Marshall Aid.

Chapter eight draws conclusions based on the findings from the research, both primary and secondary sources such as the literature review which is merged in with the discussion throughout the thesis. These will be analysed and translated into specific recommendations for strategies mainly at policy levels and further research. It concludes with a synthesis of the highlights of what this study contributes to knowledge.

Conclusion

This work is about the circulation and flow of culture through Older British tourists' discourse and imaginaries in neo-colonial Malta. It explores how these imaginaries are expressed as a product of culture and social capital and how these imaginaries are negotiated across the backdrop of the different agents' understanding and interpretation of the shared-unshared history. The research into the exchange of social and cultural capital feeds into our understanding of the circuitry of culture within the Maltese and Senior British Tourist dynamic. What originally started as research about motivation of the senior tourist to Malta has now led to a study about the post-colonial and tourism relationship between the older British tourist and Malta. It tries to answer the following: how has the relationship from colonialism and post-colonialism (which is all about the past) transitioned to post-colonialism and neo-colonialism (which is more about the present and the future) as Malta celebrated its 50th year of Independence from Britain in 2014? What does this mean at the

individual level, both for the senior tourist and the Maltese hosts? De Reuck and Webb (1992 in Hall and Tucker 2014, p. 1) claim that "there is no reason to think that to be one of the post-colonised is a homogeneous position". I will add that there is no reason to think that to be one of the post-colonialists or neo-colonialist is a homogenous position, either.

The overall aim of this study is to explore the relationship between the Maltese hosts and the older British tourists. It examines the role of the past as a palimpsest of landscapes of collective and individual memories and identities, and how these facilitate or hinder the construction of a touristic relationship, between the older British tourists and the modern day Maltese. It focuses specifically on the Maltese heritage product as the backdrop or landscape which is the location of this touristic encounter.

The study is all about understanding this relationship because, firstly, it tells us about the senior market and how tourists in this category bring quality to their present day experiences through their own past baggage of experiences, which are grounded in historical background and their understanding of it. It also shows that the older tourists are not a homogeneous group, and that we, either as anthropologists working 'on home ground' or as marketers promoting destinations or selling tourism to particular age-cohorts, should take a critical view when trying to understand the foundation of this relationship based on a shared-unshared history and a shared-unshared culture. According to observations made by Hall and Tucker (2014), who also cite Mowforth and Munt, 1998; Meethan, 2001; "the condition of postcoloniality and the power relationships that it situates have not received anywhere near the level of overt recognition or interrogation in tourism studies it deserves". With this study, I aim to "address the need to probe the contradictions of capitalist culture and its implications for tourism" (Britton, 1991; Jackson in Hall and Tucker 2014, p. 6). Another significant aspect to this thesis is that it will bring into the limelight the treatment by marketers, both at commercial as well as at national levels, of the senior market segment in Malta. This type of research can have benefits not just for Malta but for other destinations which are similar to Malta. It can provide an insight into the mechanisms and games at play in the construction of a commercial national identity and a national tourist product as these produce key imagery to promote the destination whilst simultaneously shaping national identity.

The next chapter will develop the ideas and framework which are introduced in chapter one. It will also introduce the reader to aspects of the colonial relationship with the British and how this part of Anglo-Maltese history influences the present understanding of nationhood, loss of empire and other aspects of identity of both the Maltese as well as the British older visitors. The chapter will also include a marketing perspective and a discussion on how this is relevant to this study, and to the creation of a Maltese national identity.

CHAPTER TWO - CONTINUITY AND TRANSFORMATION

Introduction

This chapter starts by introducing the main structure of the study and its rationale. It then shifts to a discussion of the three themes that are the focus on the study: identity, memory and experiencing the landscape. The cross cutting theme of the neo-colonial relationship is particularly relevant to the subject and therefore the next part analyses the discourse of Empire and post-empire and its quest for resources. In discussing the aspects of the colonial and post-colonial relationship between the British senior tourists and the Maltese, I argue how aspects of the shared Anglo-Maltese history influences the present day nuanced understanding of nationhood, and other aspects of identity of both the Maltese, as well as the British older visitors. The final part of the chapter examines how the discourse, texts and narratives are played out between state, marketers, and other players, I also examine how these agents, manipulate and mediate between the lived landscapes and its (or their representations) of this specific type of tourist encounter, fifty years since Malta's independence.

Structure and Rationale

Narratives and tales about people's pasts abound in literature. They form the bases of novels, biographies, films and ethnographies. Narratives are the fabric of culture (Niles 2010). The stories which are told by my OBT do not just deal with the holiday experiences that conjure up images of a 'paradise found' or of a 'holiday from hell'. Many of them are about the landscape: the physical and the cultural, woven into the tapestry of everyday life. This thesis aims to tell the tourists' stories, but not just of their holiday experience on the islands of Malta, but of their love or hate affair with the island. The affair could have started in their youth or later in life, it could have begun when they first came to the islands or before, it could have started on a personal level or through another person: what is significant is that there is a form of relationship. Malta's relationship with Britain or 'l-*Inglizi*'[13] as they are known

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[13] Literally translated 'l-*Inglizi*' means the ' the English' and can refer to both English as well as British persons. When the Maltese want to specify if a person is Scottish, Welsh or Irish, they will use either the English or the Maltese nomenclature: *Skocciz, Galliku* or *Irlandiz* respectively, but *Ingliz* could refer to any of these as well as to the English.

colloquially, started well before Malta became part of the British Empire[14]. However this relationship has changed over the last half century[15] especially after Malta became independent in 1964, and it is important to evaluate the current status quo as it simultaneously affects not just tourism with Britain but also the self-perception of the Maltese identity and culture. Chabal (1996, p. 37) in reference to African countries after independence, observes that the debate about postcolonial identity is "more of a concern about ourselves than about those who do live in actual postcolonial societies". He, together with Bahri (1995, 1997), Finnstrom, (1997) and Hall and Tucker (2004) assert that 'postcolonial studies too often ignore actual societies of the postcolonies' (Hall and Tucker, 2004, p. 17). Whilst this research is not a postcolonial study *per se* it does focus on a particular section of the population of a postcolony: a group of people who have first hand experience of living through the transition period from Empire to post-empire. It also considers their relationship with the post-colonials.

The binary oppositions of 'us and them', 'home and away', 'the past and nowadays' and 'integration and independence' are re-constructed and re-negotiated through mobility and the agents' perception of the global and postmodern world. De Boeck (1996, p. 94) suggests that "key binary categories in postcolonial theorisation must be complemented by aspects of localised strategies of adaptation, accommodation and collaboration". The meanings which are attached to the landscape, are conditioned by the stories which are told by competing and cooperating actors and agents. These stories create circulating imaginaries which are continually being challenged or absorbed by audiences to give meaning to their lives. In this work, the main focus is on identity and culture as pliable concepts for interpreting landscapes and the relationships one forms with them, through tourism.

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[14] The local council of Birgu, a town situated in the Grand harbour area of Malta, presents, on its website, (http://birgu.gov.mt/node/21) an unreferenced narrative about the link between Malta and the English during the Knights of St John's occupation. One of the stories which is presented is linked to the Order of St John's arrival in Malta. During the period when the Knights had been ousted from Rhodes, an English Knight, Sir Richard Salford had visited the island and recommended that it should become the new permanent base for the Order. During the transitional period (between 1522 and 1530), the Grandmaster travelled to England to ask King Henry VIII for a base, but this request was denied. In 1530, when the Islands were granted to the Knights by the Emperor Charles V of Aragon, it was an English knight, Sir William Weston who commanded the Grandmaster's vessel, to the Order's new home. Sir William Weston died 10 years later, of a heart attack, when he heard the news about the suppression of the English Langue by King Henry VIII. This was in retaliation after the refusal by the Pope to grant him an annulment from Catherine of Aragon, daughter of Charles V (http://birgu.gov.mt/node/21). This and other similar stories are told to both locals as well as foreign visitors as a way of showing the long historical links with England.

[15] In 2014 Malta celebrated 50 years independence from Britain, and 35 years since the closure of the British and NATO bases.

Postcolonial theory is suitable to reach this objective, as it is "useful in reminding us that the aspect of tourism discourse which promotes the preservation of the 'traditional'. For tourist experience is itself based on a colonial desire to fix the identity of the other in order that it remains (or perhaps in actuality becomes) distinct from tourist identity" (Hall and Tucker 2014, p. 17). This distinctiveness and its depth, will be discussed in greater detail in later chapters.

The main aim of this chapter is to outline the conceptual framework that will inform the discussion and analysis which will take place in subsequent chapters. It begins by describing the 'field of action' (Bourdieu, 1993) which takes place on the Maltese Islands. It then goes on to introduce the actors and agents that are the main protagonists of this study.

Cross cutting themes: Tourism, Imperialism, post Empire and access to Resources

"Tourism, like many other cultural and social phenomena, is based on exchange" (Richards, 2013, p. 15). Tourism is not only a commercial medium for exchanging money, but is also the means by which knowledge about different cultures and societies, are exchanged and circulated. It is also a platform for the exchange of, or providing the impetus and inspiration for, creativity, between host and guest.

A lot of research has been devoted to the host-guest relationship (Smith, 1989; Uriely, Moaz and Reichel 2009; Moyle, Croy, and Weiler, 2010) however "much of the tourism literature on development, for example has focused on the unequal exchanges between hosts and guests" (Richards, 2013, p. 15). In Malta, tourism is the major source of economic growth, however Richards, a frequent visitor to Malta, asserts that the Maltese may not be considered as the classic hosts of anthropological theory as they were not, "cast helplessly to their fate by a rapacious international tourism industry" (2013, p. 16). He implies that the islands have had greater benefits from tourism than other destinations and that much of the tourism literature indicates that contrary to the situation in Malta, "the tourist guests are usually seen as coming out on top of their local hosts" (Richards, 2013, p. 15). This is not to say that the economic growth and development emanating from tourism did not leave any scars on the islanders: rampant construction in pristine locations (Bugibba and Qawra is a classic case), loss of traditional values, and other negative impacts have certainly left their marks on the physical, cultural and spiritual

landscapes too. As Boissevain in reference to Malta (Boissevain and Theuma, 1998; Boissevain, 2006), and Bianchi also in reference to the Canary Islands (2004), argue, it is not simply a case of outsiders doing it to insiders, but of internal power divisions and unequal capital accumulation.

In examining the tourist-host encounter taking place between the OBT and Maltese Hosts (MH), the preliminary fieldwork research immediately revealed that the historical link between the two nation states was and still is, considered to be very important to both the Maltese and British elderly visitors. At times this is expressed by the British informants in terms such as, 'Malta was part of the British Empire', 'was under British rule' or 'was really important to us during the war'. This also indicates that at times, the relationship is expressed in colonial terms: Malta as subservient to Britain, to the informants' minds. Some Maltese informants indicate that they resent the way that some British tourists look down upon the Maltese, and often allude to the sentiment that the past colonial dominance is still being expressed by the British tourists today as well as by British tour operators or Maltese incoming tour operators who handle foreign tourists and /or foreign tour operators[16]. Michelle, a Maltese holiday representative working for a British tour operator told me,

> *"I have been repping for over 20 years now but I cannot stand working with these Tour Operators any more. They send over these reps from UK, with lower qualifications than I have and they come and lord it over us as if we were still the Queen's subjects. They think that they can do a better job than we can, just because they have blue eyes, but they can't, as they know jack ****"*.

(Michelle, personal communication, June 2012).

One of the earliest works to address the debate surrounding the idea that tourism may be considered as a form of neo-imperialism, was the seminal essay entitled "Tourism as a form of Imperialism." In it, Nash (1989) suggests that, in the past, neo-colonialism was the exploitation of resources by the First World to the detriment of the Second and Third Worlds. Both Nash (1989) and Urry (1995) "demonstrate that

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[16] This sentiment is not only directed at Tour Operators, but also at Politicians who are sometimes accused of being 'lickers' (in Maltese known as '*laqgha*' [plural]) of foreigners' posteriors when these are given what may be considered as preferential treatment. Such was the case when a Maltese Minister, was accused of being '*laqghi*' [singular] to the British because he appointed a British person, Peter Davies as Chief Executive Officer, to the then failing national airline, Air Malta. Anyone who in Maltese society's eyes prefers a non-Maltese (and more specifically a British or Italian) to a Maltese company or person, is considered to be a '*laqghi*' and has connotations of being an Imperial lackey. The term 'blue-eyed' or 'blond' in Maltese idiom, has an entirely different connotation when used in a Maltese context. It means English or British, as in having a 'preferred status'.

the tourist–host transactions rely on structures in which hosts of various kinds must work whilst the tourist plays, rests, reads, etc." (in Verstraete 2010, p. 53).

The agents and structures such as tour operators and National tourism agencies and organisations, have as their main aim, the creation of a demand for a tourism product, the provision of the supply of a tourism product, or the supply of tourists. This is done so as to generate profit from the tourist industry and Nash (1989) argues that these are rooted in relations of neo-colonialism:

> "*If productivity is the key to tourism, then any analysis of touristic development without reference to productive centers that generate tourist needs and tourists is bound to be incomplete. Such metropolitan centers have varying degrees of control over the nature of tourism and its development, but they exercise it -- at least at the beginning of their relationship with tourist areas -- in alien regions. It is this power over touristic and related developments abroad that makes a metropolitan centre imperialistic and tourism a form of imperialism*" (Nash, 1989, p. 39).

In the case of Malta as a tourist destination, the Metropolitan centres referred to by Nash, would signify the countries in the industrialised Western and Northern Europe zone: discourse inspired by the dependency paradigm within the ideological underpinnings of modernisation development theory. In the specific context of tourism, the Mediterranean is considered as pleasure periphery of the north (Turner and Ash, 1975; Scott, 2000; Bramwell, 2003). In the case of Maltese incoming tourism, Great Britain is one of the major metropolitan centres as it has (and had)[17] 'power over touristic and related developments' (Nash, ibid.). The above statement by Nash also implies that there is a form of 'cooperation' between the productive centres. In the case of Malta we must certainly enquire as to what sort of cooperation is taking place between the productive centres such as the metropolitan UK, and Malta as the pleasure periphery (Scott, 2000; Turner and Ash, 1975). If there is a form of cooperation, then the implication here is that culpability for any form of colonialism cannot be placed entirely at the door of the dominant metropolis, but that one may also consider that the productive centres at the periphery are in agreement with, or, willing partners in the imperialist machinery. Dependency theory suggests

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[17] Prior to, and after, Independence there was substantial British (direct and indirect) investment in Malta such as in the construction and management of hotels, tour operations, airlines and so on.(Pollacco, 2003),In 2014, over 400 delegates were in Malta for a conference organised by Institute of Travel and Tourism, UK. They discussed cooperation between the two states. (Balzan, Malta Today 3 June 2014) http://www.maltatoday.com.mt/lifestyle/travel/39597/malta_hosts_travel_and_tourism_conference_#.VCw92BZZPhQ

that there is an elite, which mediates the relationship between the coloniser and the locals. Frank (1967 in Holden, 2005, p. 113) refers to them as ruling elites and Mitrovic (2010) as the 'comprador bourgeoisie': these are groups whose economic and political links and interests are aligned with the metropolitan centres, rather than their own societies. Research by Boissevain and Theuma identified such groups in Malta and brought their agenda to light (Boissevain and Theuma 1998; Boissevain, 2006; Boissevain, 2010).

In the case of Small Island Developing States (SIDS) such as Malta, 'tourism is the development option of choice … where there is lack of resources and a limited range of other economic activities" (Telfer, 2002, p. 139). This Hobson's choice places Malta in a vulnerable position, as it becomes highly dependent on tourism, and is subject to the exigencies of external agents such as the tour operators and airlines. "In pursuing tourism, a destination opens itself up to the forces of the market and the forces of globalisation" (Telfer, 2002, p. 147). Thus Malta is exposed to high rates of leakages as most of the resources used by tourism are imported due to "very limited natural resources" (Bramwell, 2003).

Nash goes on to explain that

> "*The terms of tourist-host transactions are defined not only by the condition of strangerhood but by the nature of tourism itself. As a tourist, a person is at leisure, which means that he [sic] is not bent on shaping the world, only experiencing or toying with it. ... To put it more succinctly, others must serve while the tourist plays, rests, cures, or mentally enriches himself. Accordingly, he finds himself separated from those in the touristic infrastructure who serve him by the different, if complementary, nature of the activities specified in the touristic contract. ...* " (1989, p. 45).

Serving a tourist is something that professionals in the industry are obliged to undertake. Most of the persons I spoke to and who work in the hospitality sector, aim to please and gratify the tourist to such a high standard that he would want to return and will encourage others to do so. However, at the lower levels of the hospitality profession in particular, to the interviewees, serving usually equates with being servile, with connotations of exploitation, underpayment and submissive roles (personal communication by hospitality executives working in Malta). This resonates with the discourse of 'the other' and 'colonialism' as "the dominate (guest) is pandered to by the servile native" (Sheringham and Daruwalla, 2007, p. 35).

Tourism Destinations, especially those that evolved during the advocacy[18] period of mass tourism which took off in the sixties (Jafari, 1989, 2001), would not have seen anything wrong with this. In fact, it was considered beneficial to the developing destination as

> *"with respect to employment, the labour-intensive tourism product would provide a large number of direct and indirect jobs suitable in particular for largely unskilled labour forces bedevilled by high unemployment and underemployment"* (Weaver 2006, p. 5).

In the case of Malta

> *"From the 60s to the mid-80s, many residents appear to have tolerated mass tourism's unwanted effects because of their perception of its substantial economic benefits".*

For example, Boissevain 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",* and also that they *"see tourists as beneficial to their notions of progress and development"* (Boissevain, 1977a: Boissevain, 1977b).

Over the years, this attitude has changed. The traditional destination countries and zones such as the Mediterranean and the Caribbean, of the richer Northern countries such as the USA, Britain, France, and Germany, began to attain a higher standard of development, which in some cases is on par with that of the tourist generating country. This was also the case in Malta, which also had a standard of living higher than in some other Mediterranean countries (Bramwell, 2003).

> *"Such supportive views up to the mid-80s were also encouraged by many people being able to recall the island's colonial period, the presence of the British military, and the struggle to find jobs to replace those in the earlier fortress economy and to avoid having to emigrate" (Busuttil 1994; Inguanez 1988 and Mallia 2000 in Bramwell 2003).*

However the attitudes of local residents started to change after this (Boissevain and Thuema, 1998) together with a top down initiative under the auspices of policies which served to attract 'quality tourism' (Bramwell 2003, Horwath and Horwath, 1989: Markwick, 1999;). As a result of these policies

> "*quality tourism's infrastructural requirements include luxury hotels, golf courses and marinas. These consume more natural resources than mass sun, sand, and sea tourism for which the infrastructure was already in place. Recent public protest about threats to Malta's environment have all concerned*

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[18] Jafari (2001) proposed that the development of the global tourism sector was influenced by the appearance of four platforms. "The first phase, the advocacy platform—was dominated by economists who emphasised the economic benefits of mass tourism. The cautionary platform evolved in the 1970s and emphasised the negative as well as positive impacts of tourism—particularly on the environmental front. The adaptancy platform, which became popular in the 1980s, turned its attention to alternatives to mass tourism. The fourth platform—the knowledge platform [...] sees tourism as a more mature study and offers a more comprehensive understanding[...]" (Tribe and Airey 2007) , Tribe, John and David Airey (2007), Developments in Tourism Research, , Oxford, Elsevier

new projects aimed at attracting up-market tourists" (Boissevain and Theuma, 1998, p. 98-99)

With this new threat, 'sustainability' and 'alternative tourism' become buzzwords in the Maltese public sphere especially when it attributed to either tourism or building development projects. Although most of the Maltese population did not fully realise what all of this meant and what the implications could be, the fact that the words are bandied about in a form of greenwashing, creates a consciousness about resources which in the past were 'consumed by tourism' such as uncontrolled building developments on pristine or heritage spaces. There was a growing concern that these resources, (including also the intangible such as religious feasts and food), would now need to be used with care and preserved. It also created an awareness that every activity should be sustainable, including such involvement by the community in decision making, the protection of flora, fauna and other tangible resources as well as the intangible such as language, religion, customs and traditions. Boissevain and Theuma (1998, pp. 114-115) suggested that the Maltese, in the 90s, were

"*Experiencing what amounts to a sense of loss. Their leisure space is being taken away, again, as it was under the British colonial establishment which withdrew large areas of choice countryside from the public*".

In fact, it was not just choice countryside which was taken away from the public during the colonial period, but even more importantly, prime coastal zones. Some of these zones were not used for Military purposes but for the explicit enjoyment of the Services personnel and their families. In one case a beach in the North West part of Malta, which in the past was known by the Maltese name of '*Ramla Il-Mixquqa'*, and is now called Golden Bay, because of the golden coloured sand, was called Military Bay[19] by the British ex-pats and British and NATO service personnel. It was off limits to the locals (Gaul, 2007, pp. 184-185) and for the exclusive use by the British service personnel and their families and friends. Other beautiful beach locations were also taken over in this way, all over the island. This meant that right up to 1979 these beaches and other locations such as cliffs and forts were not accessible to the Maltese and certainly not accessible as a resource for tourism. However once they were relinquished by the Services and many taken over exclusively by the tourism industry the Maltese questioned how much of the benefits generated by tourism

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[19] Close by to Military Bay, the British Services had a military camp, *Ghajn Tuffieha* Barracks and a naval rifle firing range.

were actually trickling down to the public. This type of concern allows us to bring into the discussion the role that elites play in tourism development.

Baldacchino and Milne (2000) explain that post-independence, in the case of island economies based on cash crops, local elites who replaced metropolitan leadership used their newfound autonomy to create tax havens and other non-traditional activities like offshore finance and ship registry. In the case of Malta, the elites used not just their 'new-found autonomy' but also their 'historically endowed' kinship and commercial ties with the metropolitan to start up new initiatives in Malta by attracting foreign direct investment. Some also took the enterprises that they had established in the colonial period to a higher level by wielding economic, political, and symbolical capital.

The discourse of Colonialism in the case of Malta and Britain is rooted in the shared history and as Edward Said so eloquently argues "history is made by men and women, just as it can also be unmade and re-written with various silences and elisions, always with shapes imposed and disfigurements tolerated" (2003, p. xiv). The OBTs and their local Maltese hosts, have a repertoire of narratives based on the 'shared history' of their colonial relationship, which they will call upon to give meaning to the tourist-host relationship. However, is there really a shared understanding of the nature of the colonial experience? My data suggests that there is a mix. My informants' descriptions of their experience of colonialism, with its nuances of nostalgia and memory, suggest widely diverging, fluid and changeable versions of their 'shared pasts'. Whilst some Maltese informants describe the colonial period as offering a good feeling, as it meant being 'looked after' by the Empire and Queen, at the other end of the spectrum others described it as being 'oppressive', 'suffocating', and 'exploitative'. Even the language used to describe the transition from Colony to Independence reveals widely discrepant experiences. 'We were granted Independence', 'we gave you independence' or 'we had to fight for our Independence' - all conjure up different images or scenarios of how the road to Independence was 'paved', or 'pot-holed'.

On the other hand, the Maltese interviewed expressed a gamut of feelings ranging from a sense of inferiority, rebellion, antagonism to admiration, loyalty and even in one case 'deification' of the Monarchy as seen from the following vignette. One day as I was crossing over to Gozo on the ferry, an old Maltese man, asked to share my table. As we went through a turbulent patch, he noticed that I was feeling

apprehensive as people around me started to scream. He told me not to worry as he had seen far worse and had been saved from his ship twice in the Indian Ocean. We started a conversation, as one does in any public area in Malta, where he told me about his life in the British Navy. I found out that he was in his mid-eighties and when I remarked that he did not look it, he replied

> "*Filgħodu malli nkum, inrodd is-Salib u nghidlu 'Grazzi Mulej li sliftni ġurnata oħra*' (In the morning as soon as I wake up, I make the sign of the Cross and say
> 'Thank you God for lending me another day') (at the same time, he makes the Sign of the Cross).

> *U mbagħad nerġa nrodd is-Salib. 'This is for Lizzie, Thank You God*' (And then I sign the cross again and say 'This is for Lizzie, Thank You God') (as he repeats the Sign of the Cross) (Gamri, aka John, February, 2013)

At this point, I had no idea who Lizzie is and why he switched over to English at that particular point in our conversation. He explained that the first Sign of the Cross is to thank God for giving him health to see another day and the second Cross is to thank Lizzie, the Queen and '*ngħidilha 'Grazzi Liz għaċ-cheque li tibgħatli kull xahar*' (to tell her 'Thank you Liz for the cheque you send me every month') referring to his UK Navy pension. He certainly did not feel resentful for having been in the Navy and remarked that he would lay down his life for Britain and the Queen any day, as he felt that 'we' (meaning the Maltese Islands) are 'Inglizi' (meaning he feels British). The discourse relating to imperialism and dependency relations between nation states can be extended to tourism too. Tourism is equated with 'neo-colonialism' and 'imperialism' within the dependency theory discourse. Hall (1994 in Holden, 2006, p. 120) suggests that neo-colonialism and imperialism are "powerful metaphors to describe the relationship between core and periphery areas, illustrating the potential loss of control that the host community may experience in the face of foreign tourism interests and the actions of local elites".

Accounts of the post-colonial period in Malta are politicised, polarised, and highly contested, and these imaginaries will be discussed in later chapters. However, the main thrust of this thesis are insights gained from our understanding of the dynamic 'new' relationship between the British senior tourists and the Maltese, which is rooted in the present status quo but which, in the case of my senior informants, draws heavily on the past and their understanding of it. As I examine the perception of the Maltese hosts of this shared – unshared past, the 'manipulation' and presentation of

this same past by the intermediaries or brokers and by the local elites, I show how these agencies negotiate and manipulate the present day tourist relationship.

The themes of the research

The research informing this ethnographic study is based primarily on participant observation, and in-depth interviews undertaken mostly between 2008 and 2012. The fieldwork took place on the Maltese Islands with a cohort of British tourists aged 50+. In the course of the ethnographic fieldwork, themes were identified which form the basis of the research. The themes are identity (both self and national), memory and nostalgia, and what I call the "the landscape experience." This last theme incorporates the notion of the negotiation between the internal landscape of the tourist and an external island landscape.

The three themes, singled out through contextual analysis of the tourists' narratives, emerge as recurring topics of discussion. The tourists, as informants, use them as reference points when they discuss their motivation to visit Malta or their experience in Malta. As a result of these findings, the fieldwork research goes on to examine the extent to which old ex-colonial ties may be binding, through the identification of social, cultural and symbolic capital which is exchanged, negotiated or circulated between host and guests. It also explores the ritual expressions, which frame the relationship, together with an examination of the social interactions and mutual, nuanced and/or conflicting imaginaries. This facilitates an understanding of how the 'British mature tourist' negotiates images of self, cultural and national identity by visiting places and spaces in Malta which, *prima facie*, may not conform to what are considered to be the standard type of tourist attractions found on excursion itineraries, but in effect are spaces which hold hidden and deeper meanings. These spaces are culturally and socially redefined through the tourist gaze, affecting both the guest and the host, as well as being (re-)created as a bi-national reinvention. Most tourism research concentrates on either the tourist or the holiday experience. More recent research has widened the focus to include intermediaries such as tour guides (Salazar, 2007, 2012) and anthropologists as tour guide-lecturer (Bruner 2005). In this thesis, a holistic approach is preferred: the residents or the 'home

culture' together with its 'cultural intermediaries' all need to be brought into the discussion.

Tourism research in the past tended to be rather de-contextualised in the sense that it tended to look at particular facets of the industry, in isolation. Andrews (2011, p. 20) laments the fact that although the 'socio-anthropological approach to tourists has been shaped by a number of key theorists…all are lacking a dialogue with actual tourists'. She also goes on to refer to work produced by various researchers, but notes the fact that 'none of these have been directly concerned with British tourists' (ibid.). My study, just like Andrews', focuses on the British tourists; however it specifically focuses on the older generations. It examines their emotions, notions of identity and their relationship with specific spaces on the touristic landscape. Andrews' (2011) study is based in Mallorca and considers British tourists and their relationship with representations of Britishness, which they encounter in two specific zones. Various authors such as Catherine Palmer (2003, 2005) at three sites in England, Tim Edensor (1998) at the Taj in India, Susan Frohlick (2011) in Costa Rica, and Crouch (2000, Crouch et al 2001), also took a holistic approach. They concentrated on studying tourists and their behaviour, and their relationship with the destination or with specific sites, rather than using 'essentialised categories of 'hosts' and 'guests'' (Salazar, 2013, p. 16).

Throughout the fieldwork, many of the tourists' narratives are expressed in a way that involves the 'other'. Hall and Tucker (2014, p. 9) affirm that "The representation of otherness was, and still is, also inextricably linked to the popularisation of accounts of travels and explorations in the Imperial lands as well as through place promotion", however one must be aware that not all engagements with the 'other' constitute a 'neo-colonial relationship'. As the tourist as consumer, exchanges 'value' with the owner or producer, one is witness to the oldest form of relationship, the barter or exchange. It is through the understanding and analysis of the consumption activities of these tourists, as they gaze upon and consume the experience provided by the landscape, feed upon Malta as a repository of memory and nostalgia and partake of choice bits of the islands, that feeds into their notion of Identity: then one can begin to understand the visitors, and their relationship with the visited. This thesis will, in subsequent chapters discuss the different forms of objects or things which are being traded in this complex relationship.

One must also consider that in this relationship there are mediators involved. Salazar (2007) writes about the guides who act as mediators of imaginaries, and Andrews (2011) introduces us to the tour operator reps who mediate and serve as gatekeepers to 'knowledge' which is given to the charter tourists in Spain. In Malta, there are similar 'brokers' who together with elites play a similar role as can be seen from the following discussion.

Who Brands the Nation?

Caneday and Zeiger (1991) assert that there is an association between residents' involvement in tourism and their attitude towards tourism. Jackson and Inbakaran (2006) noted that residents' economic reliance on tourism is positively associated with their attitudes towards tourism. In 2006, during the Branding Malta exercise[20] there was an attempt to integrate the locals in the campaign by posting letters to every household on the island urging them to 'provide a good experience' to the visitors. This action, was received by many Maltese with utter disdain, as all the Maltese were promoted to brand managers without a "so much as by your leave", putting "the onus of salvaging our dying tourist industry" on the locals (Zammit Tabona, 2006). The concept behind this approach was that "Strong brands are built from the inside, outwardly. Our intention is to ensure that the core of Brand Malta is as strong and healthy as possible... a firm base upon which to build the Brand further". (Drake, 2006).

The Branding Campaign was not a success mainly because of the way the local people were approached and many felt that "we did not want to be accomplices with the government which wanted to depict Malta as clean, hospitable and welcoming" (Personal communication with informant). "People would have preferred it, if the campaign money was spent on upgrading the island's infrastructure such as the roads and not given away to come foreign marketing company" (Personal communication with informant). One letter to the *Times of Malta* had this to say

> "*Until the government shows respect for the people who actually live here, who pay taxes, and have to suffer the short-sighted policies of an impotent and uninspiring administration; until the government shows respect for the environment - the beaches, the roads, our urban cores, our countryside, our*

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[20] In 2006 the Government of Malta, through the Malta Tourism Authority embarked on a national Branding Campaign. Booklets and other marketing material was distributed throughout the island "To have 400,000 Maltese citizens transformed into 400,000 Brand Managers living and breathing the Brand on a daily basis." (MTA 2006). It was a dismal flop.

infrastructure; until the government shows real respect for our collective heritage. Until then I cannot see how we can be expected to show real, honest and genuine respect to our visitors". (Lightfoot, 2006, in the Times of Malta).

These attitudes indicate that the locals are not passive, ready to let Governments and marketers put a spin on their lives to attract tourists at all costs. My analysis of letters sent to newspaper editors and blogs written during the Brand Malta campaign indicate that the contributors wanted the image of Malta 'out there' to be the 'real thing'. 'Tourists should know what they will find when holidaying in Malta' and some went as far as to send photographs of overflowing garbage skips and uncollected rubbish located in tourist zones such as St Julians and Bugibba (Farrugia, 2006). Earlier I suggested that there is a form of host-guest resentment, which may also play into the post-colonial resentment. The above also indicates that there is an internal political resentment, which could be being used manipulatively by political parties and interest groups, for ulterior motives such as political mileage. However, one could also draw the conclusion that this shows that the *Times of Malta* bloggers are demonstrating autonomy and independence, rather than a persistence of neo-colonialism as a subject position. It may also be a knee-jerk reaction to the then opposition's supporters (*Partit Laburista*) to what was considered the Government's (*Partit Nazzjonalista*) political decision.

So, one may ask, what about the tourists? Are they being used as pawns in a political game or are they being recruited or called upon to help put pressure on what the *Times of Malta* bloggers consider to be a political *faux pas* by the government. During the same period of the Branding correspondence, one tourist decided to write in and join in the discussion. She wrote about the wonderful ten days she experienced whilst staying with her friends in *Mellieħa*, however she was also concerned about the building development plans that were in the pipeline and called for a stop to it.

> *"Whoever can put a stop to this must do so immediately and before it is too late. This is the other face of Mellieħa that I witnessed and I do not like it one little bit. As a visitor, I appeal to MEPA, the local council, the parish council, the MTA, the prime minister and environment minister - please stop the rape of Mellieħa*
> *If it is political, a lot of votes can be lost or won on this issue. Do what you have to do but do it quick and do it for the sake of this quaint village and its residents. Do it also for the sake of your ailing tourism industry"*. (Wilkinson, 2006, Times of Malta)

This tourist could have found out that "the local developers are two warring family members who would like to get one better on the other" because she was staying with friends (Wilkinson, 2006, Times of Malta). However I have noted that many letters to the editor and newspaper blogs come from British tourists who would also be staying in hotel accommodation, and who are interested in Maltese local life. They find a way of finding out more than is presented to them by the marketing media, to the extent that they feel qualified to voice their concerns and criticism through the National press. Do they do it because of a sense of ownership or concern for the island? Or is it because they feel that they have a right to do so, once they have paid for their holiday on the islands? The fact that the bulk of the letters or 'tourist' correspondence emanates from British tourists might give us an indication of the motivation behind these letters.

Uzzell (1984, p. 79) argues that holidaymakers are "active participants in the creation of ideology and myth" despite being "seduced" and "manipulated" by the advertisers of tourist destinations. Seducing discourses are so predominant that without them there probably would be little tourism if at all (Dann, 1986; in Salazar, 2007, p. 23). This may indicate that gone are the days when tourists were considered, by tourist operators or hosts, to be '*gullible persons just hellbent on spending their money on enjoying themselves*', but are more aware on what is going on' (personal communication by Maltese business entrepreneur, 2013).

There are forms of tourism where the tourist is kept isolated from the local community such as in enclave tourism when tourists stay in resorts, islands or cruise ships and where contact with the resident population is minimal. In cases where tourists stay in tourist resorts, the encounters with locals take place through intermediaries such as guides or when participating in consumption activities such as dining out at a restaurant, or purchasing goods and services. However, in the case of the Maltese Islands, which are densely populated, touristic activity is well enmeshed into the local fabric[21]. Less than 20 years ago, Boissevain had reported that "most Maltese do not live in the tourist resorts, but in inland villages and towns far removed from established tourist attractions. Their communities are only visited by tourists for two days during the celebration of their parish's annual *festa*" (in Briguglio et al., 1996. p. 224). This is not the case nowadays where tourists actually

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[21] **Malta** has 1,557 inhabitants per square kilometre, (Source: http://gozonews.com/25433/malta-population-density-per-km2-in-eo-high-rate-group/Eurostat Regional Year book 2012)

live inside Maltese towns and villages as 'homestay' or bed and breakfast tourism, boutique hotels are springing up in locations, which in the past tourists were warned by foreign tour operators or guides not to go as they were considered as sub-standard or deprived areas. Tourists nowadays also visit 'off-track'[22] areas with jeep tours as well as locations which are 'off limits' such as in hunting and trapping localities[23].

The Maltese also live in what are considered to be, tourist resorts. Tourist resorts, such as St Julians, Sliema, and the Bugibba/Qawra areas, in fact started up as *'villegiatura'* (summer residences) where families from Valletta (the capital city) and heavily populated towns such as Birkirkara and Mosta would spend their summer holidays, a tradition that is still prevalent today and has extended to other seaside locations in Malta and Gozo, (the smaller island which is just 25 minutes away by ferryboat from mainland Malta).

Whereas in many destinations, tourists and locals live in separate areas, in Malta they share everything: the accommodation, the infrastructure, the beaches, the nightlife, the attractions, shops and so on. This sharing with non-Maltese is not a new phenomenon for the locals – it has been around for hundreds of years. Sharing with colonisers, sharing with visitors such as sailors and traders has been going on in the coastal areas such as Valletta, rendering the places cosmopolitan. For example Boswell (1994, p. 134) describes how

> "*the urban concentration of population around the Grand Harbour was advanced by the Knights and under the British who developed the dockyard and built barracks on the northern side of the harbours, where substantial residential development provided both summer houses for the old-city residents and property to let to the British*".

If one were to consider just the British colonial period, one would note that although many service personnel were housed in barracks belonging to the crown, this accommodation did not suffice. My research indicates that houses and apartments were rented by the British services in places such as Sliema, St Julians, Gzira, Birzebbugia, Cottonera and Rabat as well as in other towns and villages which were close to the bases run by the Services and amenities such as ports and airports. Although these persons cannot be classified as tourists, as they were in fact working

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[22] There is no such thing as a remote area in Malta. Some places are more accessible than others.
[23] Stones painted in white paint with black letters RTO indicate that the open space or fields are 'riservato' (reserved) for hunters and trappers. Every year tourists report that they have been showered with pellets when venturing into such areas or other locations which have public right of access such as Dingli Cliffs and Buskett: areas which are prime sites for trapping and hunting birds.

in Malta, they did generate 'visiting friends and relatives' (VFR) tourism, as well as being users or consumers of tourism services such as restaurants, bars, banks, shops and so on. Two of my main British female informants lived in small villages where their only support, during most of the time they spent in Malta as service wives, came from other Maltese neighbours. They formed very strong bonds with these families, so much so, that even now, in old age, they continue to make it a point to visit them and keep in contact with the younger generations.

The Song Remains the Same: Interplaying tourism discourse

Foucault (1979) suggests that a society will favour a preferred version of truth over others. This 'regime of truth' would in fact repress other versions of reality (Foucault 1979). Discourse such as cultural texts, photographs and other media used by the tourism operators, is a social practice, which constitutes and conditions in its representations of power structures (Foucault 1972; Wodak 1996). Hall suggests that critics argue that all social practices are organised through meanings as they are 'signifying practices' (Hall, in Du Gay and Hall, 1996, p. 3; Hall, in Du Gay et al., 1997, p. 13). In my research[24] I carried out an examination of the Maltese marketing material and travelogues which over the last fifty years have been targeted at or produced by British or British speaking travel constituents such as tourists, tour operators and agencies. The aim of this exercise was to gain an insight into understanding how travel mediators construct power relations within the relevant travel discourse and its various elements. As a framework it referred to a study which was carried out by Simmons (1999; 2001; 2003; 2014). Simmons carried out a narrative analysis of four popular women's and travel magazines in Australia in 1998 and 1999. She concluded that a travel discourse is comprised of four discursive elements: privilege, desire and longing, sightseeing and fanciful play.
This particular part of my study hinges significantly on two of the moments of the heuristic Circuit of Culture model (Du Gay and Hall, 1996; Johnson, 1986; Du Gay et al., 1997; Norton, 1996). These are the production and representation pivots; however the other pivots or moments of regulation, consumption, identity on the CoC model, all contribute to the interplay of meanings and imaginaries that are elicited by

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[24] Part published in paper, (Avellino and Cassar 2016)

the cultural artefacts. These were cross–referenced to the elements identified by Simmons (2014) to suggest the following observations.

Privilege

The first element of Privilege is captured through the following excerpt from the *DK Eyewitness Top 10 Travel Guide* which aims to convey the idea that the tourist is in a favoured or prestigious position.

> "*The tiny Maltese archipelago, floating on the cusp of Europe and Africa, has been coveted and invaded throughout its history. The Knights of St John (later of Malta) bequeathed palaces, fortresses and the glorious golden capital Valletta, while the British left red telephone boxes, iced buns and a predilection for tea.*
> *It was the islands' earliest settlers who left the most spectacular legacy: the extraordinary megalithic temples, unparalleled elsewhere in the world. Malta, the largest island, has the most cosmopolitan resorts and the edge in cultural treasures, while sleepy Gozo and tiny Comino offer unspoilt countryside and a gentler pace*" (Gallagher, 2007, p. 6).

The narrative in the guidebook uses a form of discourse which aims to create a tourist-other relationship through the privileged lens. It builds up the expectation that the tourists are travelling to an elite destination because they are social elites themselves. It also uses familiar places and items such as the red telephone boxes or tea drinking rituals, that are recognizable and readily available to the British tourist at home, creating a sense of closeness and belonging. In this case, Malta, is given a privileged status mostly because it can establish superiority through its heritage sites and other tourist attractions, which have a British or Western link. The element of privilege is also identified through the assumption that the tourists are already aware of the historical and geographical places indicated, and that they will be gain a superior culturally privileged position once they visit them for themselves.

Back in the 1960s the discourse was somewhat different although it still sought to convey an 'honourable status' to the visitor. It too was based on the element of privilege as it conveyed the message that Malta was the right choice for the right visitors. In '*Tourist Guide to Malta and Gozo*, Manduca (1967, p. xv), suggests that "there is much in the Maltese Islands which is of interest to the lover of art and architecture, the historian and archaeologist". Other material suggested that Malta could also be the ideal place where to retire, and where the winter season was much milder than that in the UK, prices in Malta were much lower than those in Italy,

Northern France and Spain, and one could use the same currency as in UK - the sterling (O'Callaghan, c. 1965).

Desire and longing

Tourists' desire and longing are constructed in three dominant ways. Firstly it is constructed through seeking out pleasurable, hedonistic or escapist experiences; secondly by a longing for a past; and, thirdly through a yearning for a Colonial or Western influence (Simmons, 2014, p. 46). For a British tourist, travelling to the Maltese islands can fulfil these wishes on all the three counts. In the DK Eyewitness Travel Guide (Gallagher, 2007) quoted above, the tourist is invited to visit 'sleepy Gozo' and Comino to go back to a rural past which was slow paced and where contact between tourist and host is personal and face-to-face. It gives the traveller the feeling of experiencing an authentic back-region, where a benign domestic existence is eked out and reminds the visitor of what a sanitised past could provide. A SAGA travellers' guide suggests its readers pay a visit to Gozo as the Malta mainland "is perennially popular with the British yet its smaller neighbour often gets overlooked" (Sissons 2010, p. 26). SAGA travellers can also visit the capital of Gozo, with its "rather English –sounding St George's Square" (Sissons, 2010. p. 6). Desire and longing is targeted in other guidebooks as tourism is also made up of what the heart yearns for and wants to satisfy. Thus *Frommer's Malta & Gozo day by day* entices the visitors thus:

> "*The Maltese Islands bask in the heart of the Mediterranean Sea and their 200km of craggy coastline contain fine beaches, an abundance of opportunities to take to the water and some glorious coastal walks. The coastline has witnessed 7,000 years of often dramatic history and inland you'll discover outstanding sights that include megalithic temples, baroque cities and palaces built by the Knights of St John. A tiny archipelago, this devoutly Catholic nation has for centuries constructed incredible cathedrals and churches.... no visit to Malta is ever complete without spending time sampling the country's cheeses, meats and breads, or mulling over a glass or two of local wine*" (Rose, 2009, p. 3).

This is certainly a different perception to that found in earlier guide books which proclaimed that:

> "*though many of the Maltese eat extremely well […] the visitor may find the bastardized Italo-British fare common to most restaurants something of a trial. Fry-up meals in the sailors' cafes of Valletta are usually first rate*" (Kininmonth 1967, p. 93).

However surprisingly within the same guide book we find a lashing out at the ex-colonisers when Kininmonth describes the Maltese as:

"*In the main a peasant and artisan people whose education has (to Britain's disgrace) been neglected, they are mostly wholly ignorant of anything which could act as a comparative scale or standard against which they could judge their islands and their way of life*" (1967, p. 89).

The above excerpts place the author as an authority, in itself a privileged position as he maps and interprets Malta for his English speaking audience, which is the third category of Desire which was presented by Simmons, although it also forms part of the second construct which is that of longing and nostalgia. Kininmonth (1967) encourages the tourist to visit "The peasant and artisan people" of Malta, a back region which has stood still. It encapsulates a life that is authentic and primordial. Simmons suggests similar examples such as a text promoting an Andalusian region of Spain as a destination which exhibits a slower pace than modernity dictates (Sheard, 1998, in Simmons, 2014, p. 47) She argues that the text does not present tourism as a solution to economic decline in the region. However, even if this had been the case, this also would have been perceived to be a neo-colonial and paternalistic attitude.

The *Saga Explore Malta* brochure of 2010, an eight page booklet, dedicates the centrefold to introducing the members of management, staff and Saga representatives of the flagship hotel. Five key personnel are presented accompanied by their own photo as well as group photos of other members of staff. Each presents their own mini biography which focuses on their professionalism which is supported by over ten years of experience in the industry. The texts focus on the friendly atmosphere that is created between the guests and the staff, and these affirmations are confirmed through quotes from guests. These quotes include phrases such as "service and friendliness were exceptional, exceptional skills of Saga team was truly praiseworthy […] treated everyone, including colleagues with courtesy, warmth and professionalism" (Saga, 2009, pp. 4 - 5).

This and similar texts, indicate a clear shift away from the older dominating colonial mentality to a 'new' relationship which is based on pure commercial terms of supply and demand, with a level playing field of equals. Professional staff at the interface with tourists delight in appreciating the professionalism that is being presented to them on an 'exclusive basis' (Saga, 2009, p. 3). This brochure represents a new approach to how Malta is depicted – no longer a backwater, but a modern,

professional, if somewhat clinical image. It is also interesting to note that women are no longer placed in an inferior role to men, as in this case the manager level positions are represented by a male and a female.

Sightseeing

"Of all the senses, sightseeing is presented as if this is the only way to know or discover place (Simmons in Hall and Tucker, 2013, p. 47). In the *Collins Nutshell* Book, entitled '*Going Abroad'* which was published within a year of Malta's Independence, Malta is advertised as "basking in the middle of the sunny Mediterranean… a good choice for those in search of out-of-season sunshine" and offering a multitude of places to see and activities to enjoy. (Priestly, 1965, p. 110-111). *Cadogan Guides* describe the northern town of Mellieħa as:

> "*a craggy and picturesque hilltop town with bewitching cave dwellings and houses that cling like limpets to the rock face. It has a comparatively modern street plan, with none of the haphazard charm of the southwest, but Mellieħa has its own different and more affluent appeal*" (Gaul, 2007, p. 180).

Elsewhere in another guidebook Valletta is the idyllic subject for the sightseeing visitor. Thus:

> "*Valletta, a glorious city of golden stone, straddles a narrow promontory flanked on either side by magnificent natural harbours. Built for the Knights after the Great Siege of 1565 and named after their victorious Grand Master, Jean Parisot de la Vallette, this fortress city is contained behind a massive ring of impenetrable walls and bastions. Within the walls, the Renaissance streets unfold in an elegant grid. Valletta's heart is broad Triq Ir-Repubblika, Republic Street, lined with princely palaces and dominated by the spectacular Co-Cathedral of St John. From here, side streets flanked by crumbling palazzi slope steeply down to the harbours. Time, neglect and the terrible bombardment of World War II have all taken their toll on this miniature capital, and yet its cobbled streets remain hauntingly redolent of the era of the Knights. Still dreaming of the past, the somnolent city shuts down at nightfall*" (Gallagher, 2007, p. 60).

Tourists consume places through the 'tourist gaze', which establishes superiority over the 'Other' (Urry, 1990, 1992, 2002). According to Urry and Rojek, self-discovery is lost in modern tourism (Urry, 1990, 1992, 2002; Rojek and Urry, 1997), however I do not agree with this in all cases. It certainly was not always the case with my group of informants. A particular form of 'privileged sightseeing' which is 'touted' as being offered specifically for the older British tourist, gives these visitors a sense of a heightened status as they are given tips as to what are the best places to visit in the form of 'selected gazes'. In the case of the older British tourists, Saga

Holidays recommends themed holidays in Malta, which include sightseeing trips to the coastal, countryside, historic sites for their 'walking in Malta' themed holiday. The Art History in Malta holiday package takes in Caravaggio's, Annigoni's, Murillo's, Rembrandt's and Preti's works of art together with "a range of art from Roman mosaics and Byzantine frescoes to paintings by Caravaggio" (Saga, 2011, p. 20). Following on Bourdieu (1979), these 'selected gazes' through their consumption as distinct cultural experiences increase the tourists' cultural, social and symbolic capital in various ways. For example, once the tourists return home they are able to show off their status symbols in the form of photographs, souvenirs, and other acquired holiday paraphernalia. They may also boost their social capital whilst still at the destination as they follow the current Web 2.0 trend and post their achievements and adventures on the numerous platforms available through social media such as Facebook and Twitter or by traditional means such as photographs, film and narrative texts.

However, as I indicated above, 'self-discovery' is certainly not lost in modern day tourism as conversations with my older tourists have indicated. The pilgrimage trip to visit sites that once formed part of their daily life in Malta is in itself a longing to 'rediscover' a paradise lost of a younger self. In a number of cases, all that they wanted was to, in a sense, touch base, so that they could continue with their lives. Viv, Edna, Bill and a number of others just wanted to see where they had spent a number of years of their lives. Without visits to old haunts, the taking of photos, the stroking of the only remaining wall of a billet or the feeling of walking into an old 'dance hall' they had felt that their life was incomplete. Bill wrote back to me and told me that he had started to write his story, Edna looked up an old friend from her 'Malta years' and has taken up water colour painting. Jill, who had spent the first years of her married life, living away from her mother and sisters, always considered her Maltese neighbours as friendly towards her mainly because they considered her superior because she was British and had come from a more 'modern world'. She also thought of them as being friendly because they were 'peasants' and simple, and they looked up to her. She carried this notion with her for around forty years or more. When her own children left home, she and her husband decided that they would spend their holidays travelling abroad. On her first return visit to Malta, she went to look for her old home and to see if any of her neighbours were still around. She was

amazed when word got around the town that she was in Malta, and a few of her 'old' friends turned up at the hotel. She declared that

> "*only now, that I am older, I have realised that my notion of being special and superior has been dashed. I have come to realise that my Maltese neighbours had in fact been real friends. In all the other places we had been stationed in, I have never experienced such a strong support network as that which I had in Gzira, the town I had lived in when we were stationed in Malta. I have also come to realise that although I always thought of myself as being reliant on my husband and other people, I have now gained a sense of perspective and have become aware that at the time I must have been quite strong and resilient".*

She had come to Malta, an unknown country, as a very young woman, after having lived in a small village in England, surrounded and protected by her close-knit family. She spent a lot of time on her own, as her husband would have to live on board his ship in the harbour or would be away at sea. She had to learn to communicate with her neighbours, shop for strange looking vegetables, and then cook them. She also had her daughter in Malta and was looked after by her neighbours both during the pregnancy and after the birth.

Fanciful play

Tourism is a phenomenon that is concerned with the leisured society at play (Pearce, 1982) and according to Graburn (1977) it is a special kind of play or game. Simmons identified 'fanciful play' as the fourth discursive element in the travel discourses. This element has also been identified in my selection of travel guides, as a narrative that "draws together the three discursive elements of privilege, desire and sightseeing together, to transform the controlled mass tourist into an autonomous traveller" (Simmons, 2014, p. 48).

In the Malta scenario, the traveller's fantasy is drawn from the colonial discourses as he is displaced into a fantastical power game where he is an all-knowing, expert explorer by way of his elite position in the global world. In the travel guide discourses which were analysed for this research, the harsh reality of oppression and subjugation by previous colonialists and their lackeys, are mitigated or pushed aside as if they did not exist. Instead, the traveller is regaled by Sir Walter Scott's reference to Valletta as, 'a city built by gentlemen for gentlemen', an idiom that smacks of privilege, as colonial class and gender relations are subsumed by the immensity of the collective and the transposed imagination of a sanitised and distorted past that is offered to the tourist.

Colonial Discourse

A 'new' type of tourist is being courted to Malta – that of the educated 'culture' tourist. The *Tourism Policy for the Maltese Islands 2012/2016* specifies that this 'new' breed should consist of "Tourists that will respect Malta's unique constructed (from temples to hotels), natural (from marine to terrestrial) and intangible (from local customs to quality labels) heritage..." (2012, p. 20).

One notes that a version of colonial imperialism accentuates the position of the dominant Western traveller who, as a romanticised version of the explorer reminiscent of the distinct visitors from the Grand Tours, and due to his privileged position of being a member of the cultured and educated elite, is able to gain entry into a select club. What follows is one discourse that illustrates the elitist mode in the tourism sector alluding at what may be interpreted as exotic, mysterious and *exclusively adventurous.*

> *"Travelers with an appetite for history will now find it easier to register for in-depth exposure to one of the Mediterranean's best kept secrets: an English-speaking island museum boasting multiple UNESCO World Heritage Sites. With lectures by University experts, excursions and field trips, the program covers Malta's pivotal role in 7,000 long years of human history in the Mediterranean including the Hospitaller Order of the Knights of St. John, the myth of Calypso and Ulysses, World War II, the shipwreck of St. Paul and the archaeological trail of a mysterious culture that created enigmatic curvilinear shrines to an Earth Mother. Accompanied by an archaeologist, participants are permitted to enter megalithic monuments that are the oldest buildings still standing in the world. [...]*
>
> *Group members arrive, usually with extensive prior travel experience, eager minds and a wealth of world knowledge to share. Operated by the Florida-based OTS Foundation, the program receives consistently high ratings for its seamless organization and highly qualified presenters. Site visits are greatly enhanced by a series of lectures by area experts"* (Eneix, 2010, n.p.).

A visit to the 'English-speaking island museum' enhanced by expert lecturers allows the traveller to become members of a 'prestigious and exclusive' group as they explore and dominate this 'treasure island' paradise steeped in mystery and seduction. The traveller is aligned with the upper echelons of society steeped in the academic world. In this role-play of a colonial present-day privileged position, "fantasy elevates the tourist over an imaginary past, as well as over the contemporary social and financial status" (Simmons, 2014, p. 49). In this narrative, the tourist is provided with a secure and protected zone where one's fantasies can

be played out safely, detached from the local population. A sanitised environment cushions the visitor from the natives and yet the tourist is surrounded with familiar trappings which denote civilisation and colonial class. The tour organiser is an archaeologist who uses the 'superiority narrative' to assert her position of power as an explorer-colonising tourist over the local Maltese experts. When a modern day traveller emulates the colonial explorer of the past, he is declaring a social position pertaining to the colonial elite. He does not intend mixing with the inferior locals, even if he does not declare it openly. This fact makes the traveller's position even more critical as in the colonial period the locals knew that they were considered depreciated subjects – the natives. The fact that modern-day travellers do not announce this openly makes it subversive and acrimonious: they do not make real contact with the local people and are thus rendered to a sightseer category – aloof from all that is real and actual. Yet, as Minh-ha (1994) suggests, "tourists need interactive contact with the Other to affect self-discovery or transformation".

Thus, while considering themselves elite, this does not exclude travellers from needing the locals and feeling constrained to seek their support. After all they are still visitors in a foreign land. This facilitates contact even when this is effected at a distance. The locals may look at the tourist with awe, or with a sense of respect, if not with a hint of servitude. It is common to hear comments such as 'everything is done for the benefit of the tourist'. Frequently many Maltese tend to overlook the fact that their land belongs to them and that the visitors are foreigners in their country. Thus, the foreigner becomes the guest who takes over, influences and impinges on the local culture, the native habits and the vernacular. Many locals tend to feel privileged to serve the tourists and go out of their way to provide them with what they need. Much of the foregoing duplicates and in fact contradicts the more subtle nuanced analysis of this relationship as it appears in an earlier section of this chapter Older guide books from the 60s and 70s sought to inform and warn the visitors about the Maltese as hosts. "Although the Maltese people are naturally very friendly and talkative, they can easily be offended, particularly by anyone who, although meaning well, appears to be patronising" (Balls and Cox, 1969 and 1981). Kininmonth also warned that the "Maltese are acutely sensitive to criticism" (1967, p. 89).

In spite of these types of warning, in general, the Maltese are showered with adjectives such as 'friendly', 'kind' and 'welcoming' throughout the literature surveyed whist authors such as Brown sought to inform the visitor that:

> *"there can be little doubt that Britain brought a new prosperity to Malta: trade flourished, the shipyards and harbours were used to full effect, even a railway line was built"* [and] *"The islanders did receive some measure of autonomy following World War 1 although internal clashes between the British Authorities and the Catholic Church led this to be suspended in 1936"* (1990, p. 22).

This serves to remind the British visitor that the Maltese did not achieve what they did on their own merit. To some Maltese this smacks of a patronising attitude indicating that the Maltese should be grateful to Britain for helping them to improve their lot, and when they misbehaved in the past, they (the British) had the power to take away their privileges, which were so magnanimously bestowed upon them by Britannia.

While hospitality is considered a Maltese trait (the Maltese have a national narrative that says that they consider themselves to have been welcoming strangers with open arms at least as far back to the arrival of St Paul) welcoming foreigners traditionally forms part of a Maltese ethos. Yet nowadays people are starting to think of it also as a form of servility or a neo-colonial imposition. Some Maltese still consider the British as an 'elite' race of people; having English as an official language along with Maltese strengthens this feeling further. More than a century and a half under British domination has left its mark on the Maltese as vestiges of Imperialism and which are still evident today in contemporary guidebooks and other promotional media.

Landscapes as narrative texts

Landscapes in their role as a locus of tourism carry multiple "insider" and "outsider" meanings (de Haan & van der Duim, 2008; Knudsen, Metro-Roland, Soper, & Greer, 2008). Decoding this interplay is crucial as it allows me to unpack the intricacies of this process, and its implications for tourism. Through tourism, the palimpsest landscapes are deciphered and recorded (Knudsen, et al., 2008), through a process of re-definition of place identity. Landscapes, place, and identity are part of the theoretical synthesis necessary to discuss issues related to travel (Bærenholdt, Haldrup, Larsen, & Urry, 2004; Barenholdt & Granas, 2008; Castells, 1997; Coleman

& Crang, 2002; Crouch, 1999; de Haan & van der Duim, 2008; C. Kaplan, 1996; Knudsen et al., 2008; Meethan, Anderson, & Miles, 2006; Minca & Oakes, 2006). "Tourists bring into play aspirations based on past and present interpretations of landscapes visited, and their own memories from past and places elsewhere deemed important for the desired experience." (Cottrell, 2010, p. 13). Renegotiations of the past are acute, especially in my group of older adult tourists as they look back on a world, as first hand witnesses of major changes and fractures. Some examples of these disruptions and fractures include loss of empire, social change, mobility (upwards and downwards), wars, civil unrest, bombings and terrorist attacks on home ground, fiscal and economic troughs and peaks, and even the contested membership of the European Union. The contemporary British are no different to the rest of "European society which is fractured in a struggle with conflicts of Identity" (Graham, 1998b; Tunbridge, 1998; Tunbridge & Ashworth, 1996; Verstraete, 2002). Their tourism experience in Malta gives us an indication of how they deal with this.

My Quest in search of narratives of the 'other'

In the case of the touristic encounter in the Maltese Islands, there is an extremely complex situation as on one hand we have the British tourists who some Maltese feel are representative of the ex-colonisers of the islanders. On the other hand we have the Maltese hosts that have ambivalent feelings towards these paying guests, Maltese who feel that the colonial era is over and 'Britain of today is different'. The relationship between the hosts and the guests, can at times be harmonious but at times can be quite tense, such as when guides talk about the war period and present the perspective that 'the British fobbed off Malta with a metal cross'.
The relationship at times also becomes formal, as it is subject to negotiation through brokers such as the tour operators, guides, and even the government through the National Tourism Agency. In 1986 Boissevain described the Maltese as devout, modest, parochial, cheerful and open to strangers (Boissevain, 1986). The tourists who took part in my research 25 years later repeated these same adjectives. These could indicate that the friendliness and welcoming hospitality were some of the endearing and enduring elements, which according to my informants contributed to

repeat visits to Malta. This could be in spite of the fact that tourism has encroached on what may have been considered as no-go spaces for tourists such as visits to churches, local markets and the most sacred space of all: 'the family home'. "Increasingly they [the Maltese] feel that they are being asked to sacrifice their privacy and the tranquillity of their small, intimate town… Many complain that tourists constantly peer and sometimes even sneak, uninvited, into their houses…" (Boissevain, 1996, p. 223). However tourists, are in most cases, unaware of these 'annoyances' as the Maltese usually consider it 'impolite' to point out this inappropriate behaviour. One may refer to Doxey's irritation index model to explain this outcry from residents, which in most cases, tourists are oblivious to. Doxey (1976) found through his research in Barbados and Long-Mile Island, that in the early stages, tourists were heartily welcomed by their hosts. However as tourism increased, so did the hosts' negative feelings towards them, passing through stages of apathy to antagonism to xenophobia. "This model could in no clear way be applied to the Maltese case as host reactions to the effects of mass tourism can often be mixed and ambivalent" (Black, in Boissevain, 1996, p. 115).

This is diametrically opposed to the situations where Maltese families welcome British persons into their villages, towns, families and homes. According to the Borg family in Rabat, Malta, they do it 'not because of some interest in promoting British tourism, but because they feel that there is a natural affinity, a friendship which surpasses political and economic agendas' (personal communication, 2013). In fact my Maltese informants felt that although, in general, they find tourists' behaviour annoying and bothersome, in the case of older British tourists, it is seen as 'quaint' and 'acceptable' as they 'harmless'. Some of these tourists become family friends and are invited to Maltese family weddings and christenings: a sure sign that they are what the Maltese refer to as 'ta' ġewwa' (insiders).

So one may ask, what are the emotions and feelings towards older British tourists at the present? Have the positive feelings, which are referred to by some of the Maltese informants, such as the sense of admiration or sense of security, which had been felt when Malta was part of the Empire, resurfaced once again in relation to the British tourists? Or have the negative feelings, such as those of contempt for dragging Malta into a war which was not theirs, or the feeling of being looked upon as inferior (which were also described by some Maltese informants) and which had lain subsumed for decades reared their head once again? Have colonial attitudes

towards a dominated people been replaced by tourism as neo-colonialism, has one form of dependency and subservience been replaced by another form? What role do the cultural brokers and mediators, such as marketing people, have in this changing environment? Craik argues that "Tourism has an intimate relationship to post-colonialism in that ex-colonies have increased in popularity as favoured destinations (sites) for tourism" (1994). I will now explore the main elements that forms part of the post-colonial relationship as I seek to understand what is the nature of the 'other' and how this sits in the post-colonial landscape.

The Other and the Post-colonial Landscape

Non-ordinary experiences form the essence of tourism (Jafari and Gardner, 1991). This is echoed by Salazar (2013, p. 690) who affirms, "Undeniably, global tourism is the quintessential business of difference projection and the interpretive vehicle of Othering par excellence". The search for the 'Other' and novel experiences is manifested through the stories which tourists tell, and according to Ricoeur (1984, p. 74 in Bruner, 2005, p. 23), tourists travel "in quest of a narrative", a story to tell about their own experience in which the tourist is the protagonist.

Valene Smith's (1978, p. 1 in Uriely, 2005, p. 203) definition of a tourist as a person "who visits a place away from home for the purpose of experiencing change." This is a change, which according to Erik Cohen (1972) and to Natan Uriely (2005), is a quest for strangeness and novelty. That which is not "usual" or "mundane" is considered "different," or even "exotic." Tourism commoditizes these "differences" (between the host and the guest). The guest or the tourist is the person that is willing to pay for something which is different. The differences may be quotidian, such as the climate or the landscape, or they may be to do with encounters of culture and lifestyle. The perspectives on what makes something different from the norm are as diverse as each individual tourist; what is mundane for one may be exotic for another.

Destination management organisations seek to gain competitive advantage by highlighting these differences and commoditising them, turning them into a product for tourist consumption or for the tourist gaze (Greenwood 1977, Urry, 1990, 1995, 2002). The "other" or the differences between the destination and home can also be amplified (sometimes in an artificial way) so as to provide an experience of sorts

which may range from the inauthentic or staged to the authentic and real. In some cases, the differences that tourists may perceive (rightly or wrongly) as a threat are minimised so that tourists do not feel threatened or at risk: they are made to feel safe, just like at home. In this case, instead of 'something different', 'more of the same' or 'home away from home' is offered by the marketer. The case presented here, of senior British tourists visiting Malta, demonstrates something slightly more complex: such as the instance of finding Britain from an "other" era on an island away from the Britain of today.

Hall and Tucker (2013, p. 3) warn that '*the state of being postcolonial, particularly in tourism, may not be directly informed by what is generally referred to as postcolonial studies*'. This raises my concern as I explore the relationship between the older British tourists and their hosts. I also question whether even after fifty years on from Malta's independence we should be discussing it at all. The answer is an unequivocal 'yes' with the main reason presented to us by authors such as Bahri (1995, 1997), Chabal (1996), Finnstrom, (1997) and Hall and Tucker (2013) who contend that 'postcolonial studies too often ignore the actual societies of the postcolonies' (Hall and Tucker, 2013, p. 17). As mentioned earlier, in this work I examine not just the ex-colonisers, but also the society of a post colony they interact with in Malta. More significantly, I try to avoid 'to write only in terms of binary oppositions of colonisers and colonised' as it is too essentialistic as 'no colonial state was working as a homogeneous entity, they were all the result of a patchwork of conflicting and opposed social, political and economic interests' (Finnstrom, 1997, in Hall and Tucker, 2013, p. 17). De Boeck (1996, p. 94 in Hall and Tucker, 2013, p. 17) suggests that the key binary categories should be "complemented with aspects of localised strategies of adaptation, accommodation and collaboration".

Hall and Tucker contend that tourism discourse within a postcolonial theory framework "promotes the preservation of the 'traditional' […] based on a colonial desire to fix the identity of the other" (Hall and Tucker, 2013, p. 17). This can be seen from the previous on discussion on travel discourse, which highlighted references to this desire to 'fix the identity of the other' as the travelogues and other marketing material analysed for this thesis, sought to promote the 'traditional, historic and authentic elements for tourist consumption.

Identity here refers to how meaning is constructed both by the hosts, tourists as well as by the tourism industry. The cultural production in the form of images and texts is

a manifestation of the identity that these producers want to project of Malta. This is problematic in that, in the case of the tourism industry, the 'manufactured representation' of Maltese identity, the 'reproduction' or 'recreation' of a landscape which is fabricated so as to incite feelings of familiarity, or exoticism, friendliness or contempt, authenticity or synthetic, with the main aim of attracting visitors is commonplace. This could also lead to the host community believing and moulding their way of life, to fit an image that has been created purely as a marketing narrative. It is this mix of presentation of cultural products produced for tourist consumption, amalgamated with cultural products which are produced for the sake of accessing EU funding, plus the 'unconscious' production of the culture within Maltese society which leads to the Maltese trying to come to terms with what it means to be Maltese in a globalised world. It also sends out conflicting messages of what the visitor believes is Maltese Identity. This can also impact on the self-identity of the visitors themselves as in the case of Vicky, a 70 year old daughter of an English war veteran and a Maltese mother, and who although has a British passport, feels British and yet British persons do not consider her to be British. Yon claims that "*…identification refers to the complex dynamic that brings identity into being as individuals name themselves, but at the same time naming calls that very identity into question and makes it a problematic*" (Yon, 2000, p. 71). This is further compounded by the identity process which Yon (2000, p. 71) calls "*two-directional*" in that one identity defines what one is it also define what one is not.

Tourism studies are rife with binary oppositions (Urry 1990,) and "landscapes in their role as a locus of tourism carry multiple 'insider' and 'outsider' meanings" (de Haan & van der Duim, 2008; Knudsen, Metro-Roland, Soper, & Greer, 2008; Raadik Cottrell 2010). It is these meanings and the varied interpretations given to them, and how their effects are inscribed on landscapes, which resonate within tourism and in spite of tourism, which will be discussed in later chapters.

These two chapters have sought to present the conceptual building blocks that frame the study. Collectively they produce context for the research analysis which I embark upon in Section two, however before I turn to Section two, I will discuss the methodology employed for this research in the next chapter, Chapter Three.

CHAPTER 3 METHODOLOGY

Introduction

Anthropology embraces a particular methodology that takes a bottom up approach. The research takes place within the group of phenomena under study and is informed by the subjects themselves being researched. The researcher is also part of this process and therefore there is a cetain amount of reflexivity involved. One may argue that this type of research is not objective, however, with this type of approach, objectivity is not the goal. In my particular research, the goal is to make the narratives of my informants central so as to extract authentic and deep level findings which are central to my research enquiry.

To reach this goal I elicited a research paradigm, which would support my objectives. This chapter will start with a discussion about the research paradigm chosen and will then go on to discuss the research methodology employed and its design. Various research components were utilised and these are systematically discussed. Throughout the discussion, I include my own reflexive input, as it too forms part of the research process.

Research Paradigm

"Research aims to be as complete as possible, however all research is specific" (Bernard, 2006, p. 79). This specificity hinges on the research question or questions. In my case the main research questions are firstly: How do the older British tourists negotiate their notions of identity and memory through the medium of the Maltese tourism landscape? Secondly I ask: To what extent does the previous colonial relationship have an impact on the present Anglo-Maltese tourist encounter? Thirdly, I want to establish what is being transacted at a social, cultural and symbolic level between the two parties.

To formulate a reply to these questions requires a comprehensive and holistic understanding of the dynamics involved. Attempting to achieve 'wholeness' presented a challenge as to the choice of research paradigm which would support this research. This was resolved by using a hybrid approach, based on the model developed by Roy and Banerjee (2012).

Paradigms or theoretical perspectives contain a "few basic rules for finding theories of events" (Bernard, 2006, p. 79) and in the case of the ethnography, the basic rules have developed from pioneer as well as tried and tested approaches. "Among the qualitative methodologies currently in use, the ethnographic method has a long and distinguished history. As practised by anthropologists, ethnography involves a 'particular set of methodological and interpretive procedures that evolved primarily in the twentieth century'" (Sanday, 1975). "The pioneering proponents of ethnography differed in their conceptualization of the method, resulting in the development of three distinct schools of thought - holistic, semiotic and behavioristic" (Roy and Banerjee [2012] based on Sanday, 1975]). The contributions from eminent ethnographers such as Boas, Geertz, Goodenough, Malinowski, and others (Boas, 1920; Geertz, 1973; Goodenough, 1956; Malinowski, 1994) have not only enriched the way we conceptualise and carry out ethnographic studies, but have also contributed, together with other eminent ethnographers such as Radcliffe-Brown to sub-divisions and different practices. Helm, (2001) presents the case of the different paths taken within the semiotic school, by the 'iconic stalwarts' Geertz and Goodenough, who have also been critical of each other's approach (Roy and Banerjee, 2012, p. 2).

The ethnographers mentioned earlier had very different theoretical – almost, one might say, paradigmatic - orientations, with the early functionalists and structural functionalists seeing themselves as 'scientists', whereas Geertz, with his interpretative approach to culture, was clearly phenomenological/constructivist in his orientation. In my case, when I first started out on my research I had already identified which approaches would be suitable for my study. I called this a mixed method approach based on Hammersley's classification (1996). He proposes three approaches. Firstly, he proposes Triangulation, which refers to the use of research data from one source to corroborate research data taken from an alternative source. The second approach called facilitation develops when one research strategy is employed in order "to aid research using the other research strategy" (Hammersley, 1996). The third approach advocated by Hammersley (1996) is that of complementarity which "occurs when the two research strategies employed are employed in order that different aspects of an investigation can be dovetailed" (Hammersley, 1996, in Bryman, 2008, p. 607).

As I have a management and marketing background this type of approach seemed to be the ideal due to its positivist methodology. However as the critical process of inquiry which I pursue is iterative, long term and immersive, it soon became very clear that I did not need to have such a strong positivist or quantitative element to my research, as proposed by Hammersley, so as to corroborate my qualitative research findings. The corrobarative elements would come from the various ethnographic elements of my study, themselves. This was explicitly revealed when I carried out a pilot survey. I felt that the data collected from the surveys was 'flimsy' and at best would serve to provide a 'customer profile' which in marketing terms would be very useful, but in my case did not give me the depth and richness associated with approaches such as interviews and participant observation findings. However, it also indicated to me, which strands of enquiry would need deeper investigation.

Just as 'ethnographers who typically employ a relatively open-ended approach' (Maxwell 2004, Hammersley and Atkinson, 2007), the initial research aim of the PhD, was to look at the British mature market and its motivation to travel to Malta. The plan was to carry out fieldwork with older aged tourists, when they were on holiday in Malta. During the course of the preliminary fieldwork, certain observations were made of issues, which led to what Malinowski called 'foreshadowed problems' (Malinowski, 1922, pp. 8-9): a particular phenomenon that I became interested in investigating more fully. In many cases, my tourists said that they came to Malta because there was a 'good offer ' in the sense of a cheap price, at the time. However in the majority of cases, the main 'pull' factor had been the affinity that the tourists said that they felt they had with Malta.

Up to this stage, as I indicated earlier in this chapter, my research approaches had included demographic surveys, which had given me indications as to how many of these tourists were motivated by different reasons such as weather, price, affine relations, or other reasons. However, I felt that the research would have more value if I were to understand what this 'affinity' or 'being in love with Malta' actually meant. This affinity seemed linked to previous visits or other connections to the island. During these previous visits, friendships with local people were established, and in some cases, even affine ties were formed with local Maltese through marriage. As the inquiry progressed, and I read literature related to my area of enquiry. This led me to deduce, that to study the interaction, the ethnographic 'field' would now have to widen and include the local Maltese hosts as well as the intermediaries such as

travel agents, and cultural brokers such as guides and curators. Therefore, a change in the research direction and strategy was necessary. This presented me with a double challenge: logistics and choice of research paradigm.

The logistical challenge was similar to what other anthropologists had encountered. Traditionally they tended to study bounded communities, or persons in a fixed place for a substantial length of time: I would have the added challenge of studying a group of people who were in a state of flux, mainly because of the transitory nature of tourism. This was going to be further compounded by the decision to include the Maltese: both those living locally and in the UK, together with the International Tour Operators and other non-Malta based intermediaries. This change also presented a theoretical challenge as I wanted this study to be as 'comprehensive' as possible and to include as many perspectives as possible. I will talk about this later in this chapter.

One of my concerns about the research was that since tourists' time is at a premium, I might not be able to have in depth material, the 'thick description' that is the hallmark of good ethnography. This would have to be addressed by carrying out further research at people's homes or through other media such as Facebook, emails and traditional letter writing.

Falzon, in his book entitled *Cosmopolitan connections: the Sindhi diaspora, 1860-2000* (2004, pp. 9- 11), based on his PhD research among diasporic Sindhi businesspeople in Malta, United Kingdom and India, discussed this issue at length. He was concerned that his fieldwork would lack depth as he would not be working in one place for an extended period of time, in the classical anthropological sense (Falzon, 2004:9). However he goes on to discuss how anthropologists in the field had always practised some form or other of multi-sited ethnography and gives the example of Malinowski's (1922) and Polly Hill's (1963) foray outside 'their villages' to 'follow people, commodities, gifts and such' (Falzon, 2004:10). Multi-sited ethnography 'allows for a more considered study of social worlds' (Falzon, 2009), the worlds of the tourists and the host and their intersection. In my case I did not feel that my fieldwork lacked depth as the fieldwork has taken place over a four year period and includes a two year participant observation period, in-depth interviews with agents, airport exit surveys, blog and brochure analysis and home visits.

Once the fieldwork began to include the locals as well as the cultural brokers, an interesting feature started to emerge. The views and the perceptions of the visitors

were sometimes at a tangent and at other times in parallel to that of 'the Maltese'. At times, what was supposed to be a collective history, was narrated in different ways by the Maltese, the tourists and the brokers, that makes one wonder if they are speaking about the same period, the same place, and the same persons: in fact it was a case of many collective histories. At this stage, it became evident that there are various levels or degrees of otherness as to how the British tourists and the Maltese perceived each other. This was further compounded by the interpretations given by the intermediaries and brokers, who to different extents influence the perspectives of identity and recollections of the parties involved at the tourist interface.

Due to the complexity of the different voices and events of my research study I understood that I would need to employ multiple approaches which would ultimatly converge. To achieve this I built my research design using what Roy and Banarjee call a hybrid ethnographic paradigm (2012). They too were cognizant of the tension which exists as to the styles or paradigms which should be used for ethnographic research, and their own experience of using ethnography **"to explore the perception of national identity and regional identity among everyday Indian citizens". They addressed this by first carrying out a review of the different approaches used in ethnography. The review revealed that there were potential benefits to using each approach, and each approach could aptly complement the other. I will now review this hybrid approach which incorporates three styles or methods namely: holistic, semiotic and behaviourist (Sanday, 1979, p. 3) and to explain how this formed the basis of my research design (Roy and Banarjee, 2012).

Research Design

Roy and Banarjee's model (2012) is based on Sanday's paper (1979) which took a historical perspective of what she calls "the different styles of the ethnographic paradigm". Her aim was to bring a coherence as to what at that time, was an academic discussion, as to whether there is more than one paradigm guiding ethnographic practice. In her paper, she identifies three main styles with various subdivisions and suggests that 'which mode one adopts depends on one's goals as well as one's taste' (1979, p. 537). Whitehead (2004) suggests that "the

ethnographer should employ any and all means necessary and prudent to create the most holistic understanding of the cultural system or group being studied, including qualitative, quantitative, classical, and non-classical ethnographic methods". Nowadays, there is definitely a trend for multi-style approaches or different combinations of ethnographic enquiries in a single study; however, Roy and Banerjee noted that there were no well-defined guidelines for ethnographers wishing to "generate more holistic and novel understanding of the contextual socio-political issues (2012, p. 3). In their ethnographic investigation of the perceptions of the public about their national and regional identities (ibid.), they were faced with the same critical questions that were facing me.

Firstly, they asked: "should we find evidences of national sentiments from India's rich historical background to build the launch pad for our study as per the holistic paradigm?" (ibid.) In my case, I was sure that I would definitely need to include research of the historical background and evidence of how Malta was being presented to British visitors. This would serve to give a more holistic perspective to the situation.

Secondly, they asked "should we observe only from the native's point of view or should we consider an external perspective as well?" (ibid.) This question seemed out of place for an "ethnographic investigation" as the whole point of participant observation is that it goes beyond observation of behaviour, but is also concerned with what people say about what they do and the meanings attached to it.   In my case, I had pondered if I should just consider the tourists' point of view for thick description, but then later realised (as indicated earlier) that this was not sufficient and decided to include research of the behaviours not just of the tourists themselves but also of their behaviour in relation to the cultural brokers and to the hosts.

Thirdly, they queried if they needed to "develop a symbolic description of the phenomenon under observation as per Goodenough's ethnoscience style" (ibid.). "According to {…} the ethnoscience approach of Ward Goodenough, culture is located in the minds and hearts of men; it is intertwined at different levels of social strata" (Sanday, 1979 in Roy and Banarjee, 2012, p. 6). In my case, I had already embarked on this approach to document the cultural meanings behind key terms that were used by my informants, as I knew this was important to my research full of

hidden and nuanced meanings, even though I was a 'halfie'[25]. They produced a schematic diagram which elucidates their suggested approach and which is replicated hereunder.
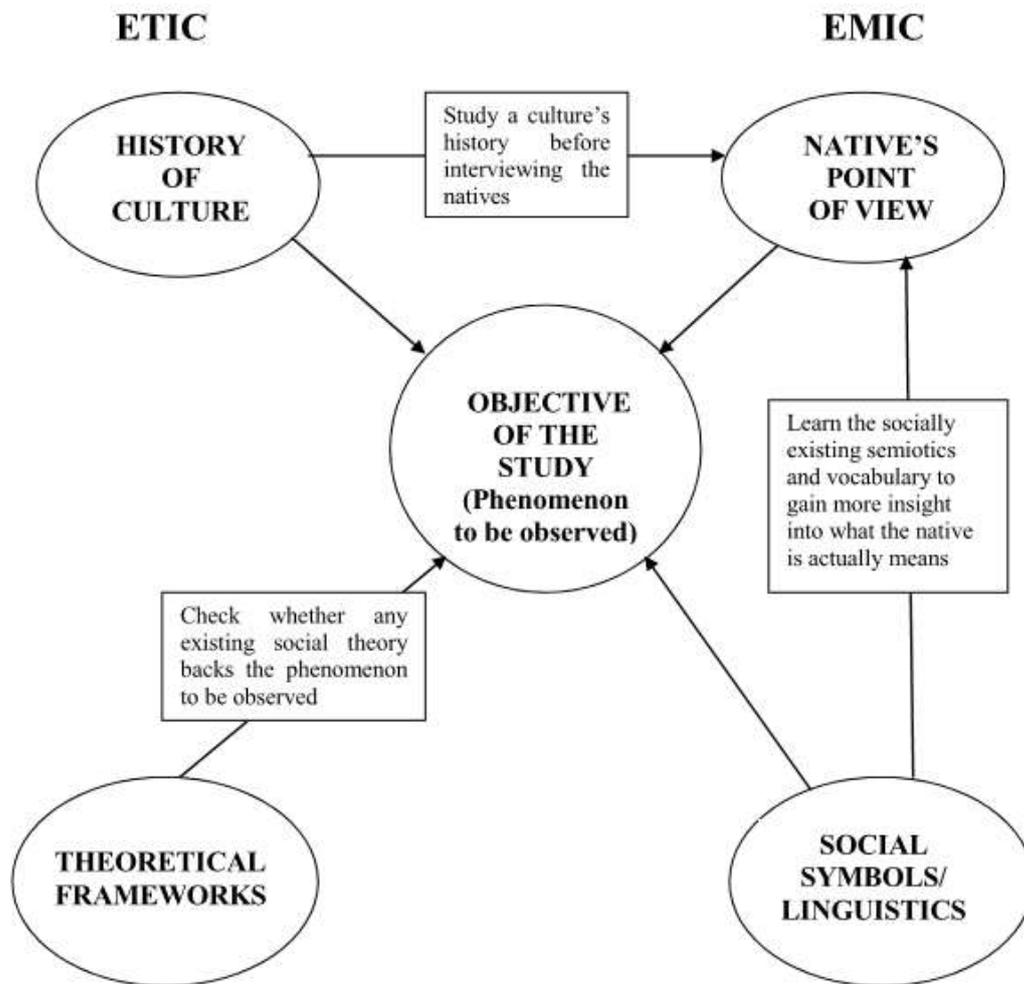
Figure 7 Schematic diagram of Hybrid Ethnographic Paradigm

Source: Roy and Bannerjee, (2016, p.14).

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[25] According to Abu Lughod (1991, p. 466) 'Halfies' are people whose national or cultural identity is mixed by virtue of migration, overseas education, or parentage. In my case it is Anglo-Maltese parentage.
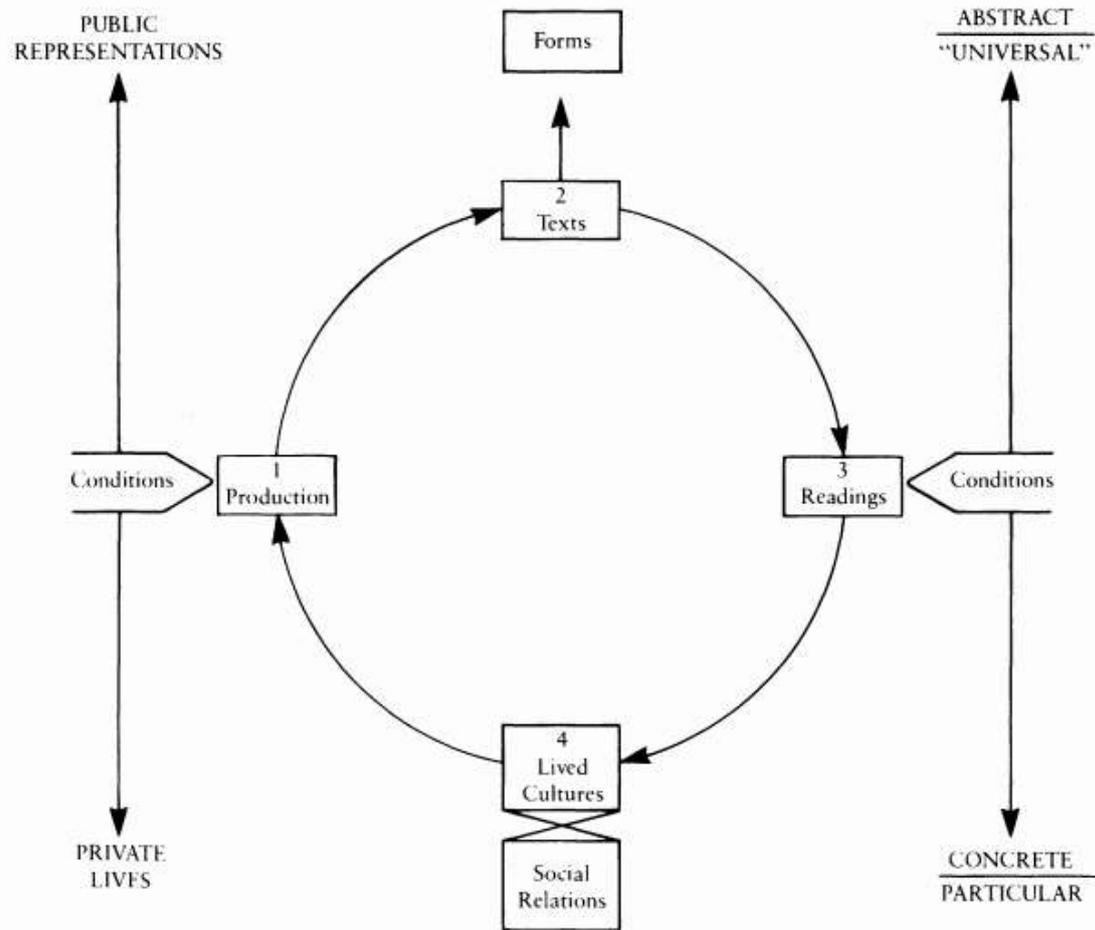
Figure 8 Circuit of Culture model

Source: Johnson, (1986, p.47)

To develop my own research framework I decided to seamlessly overlap the Circuit of Culture (CoC) model, which I introduced in the earlier chapters, onto the research paradigm model developed by Banarjee and Roy (2012). This is conceptualised by the Hybrid Ethnographic Research Framework Model (Figure 3.1) presented below. There are many reasons for this. Firstly, it maps out the areas of enquiry and indicates their context. This aids in the analytic and synthesis stages of the research. Secondly, this combined approach is used to triangulate the research findings gathered from the interviews and observations carried out during the *in situ* fieldwork.
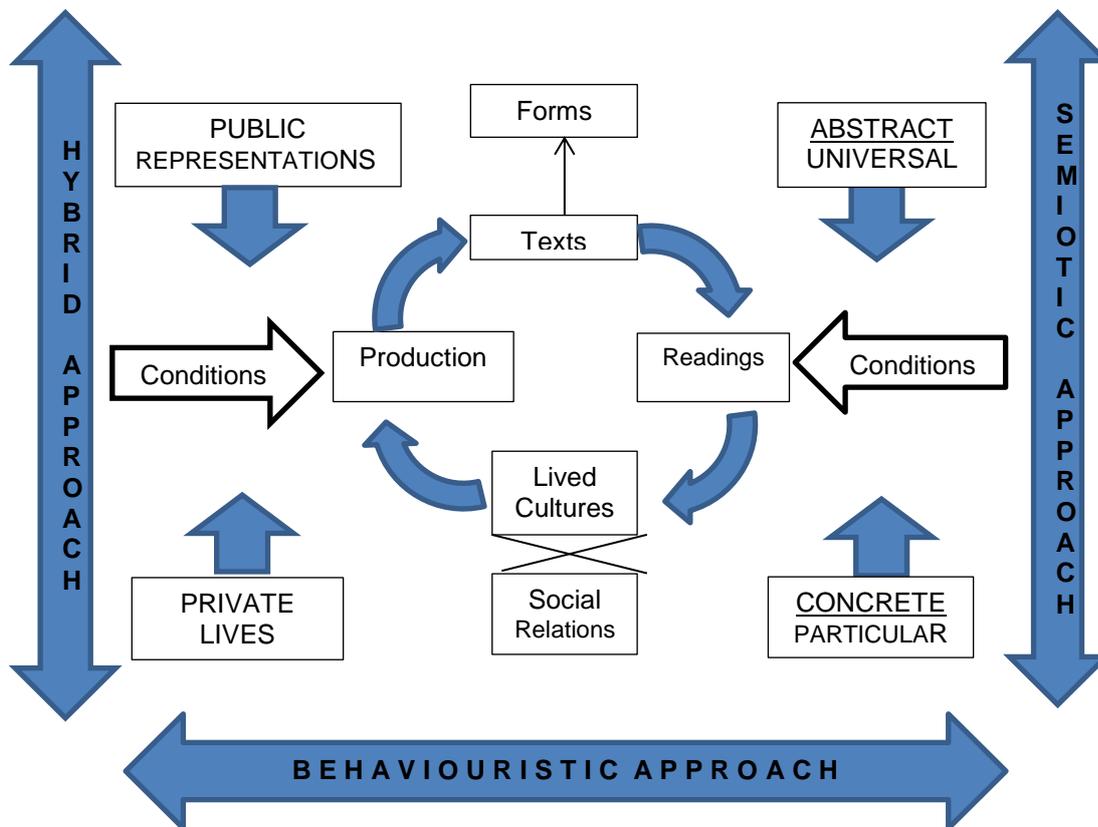
Figure 9 Hybrid Ethnographic Research Framework

Based on Hall et al, (1997), (Johnson (1986), Norton (1996) and Roy and Banerjee (2012)

The Circuits of Culture (CoC) (Johnson, 1986) model is based on the concept that meanings of cultural texts are continuously circulated in an ongoing dialogue between the public and private spheres (the producers, the consumers and the consumed) (Ateljevic, 2000, p. 376). As I show in this study, the cultural texts, which I review for this study, are evidence of the negotiation going on between production and consumption of the tourist landscape, across time and therefore ties in with identity and memory as outward expression of this dynamic. My research aim goes beyond establishing what is being negotiated but takes the stance that cultural and symbolic capital exchange is taking place. I do not include the economic aspect as this is taken as a given being that tourism is in fact an industry and economic gain is one of its main tenets. However, I also wanted to investigate whether there is also an element of non-capital gain or a variation of non-monetary gift exchange or gift giving

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or receiving. Of course, this is dialectically opposed to commercial exchange but it an avenue of enquiry which I wished to pursue as it is relevant to my research questions.

The next section presents the discussion on the research programme and for ease of reference, the Methodology Toolkit Table (Figure 10) now follows to indicate the main research methods used, how each link to the research questions, and how they were employed in terms of sampling and processes.

Methodology Toolkit and its Usage				
Method Toolbox	**Link to research questions**: RQ1: How do the older British tourists negotiate their notions of identity and memory through the medium of the Maltese tourism landscape? RQ2: To what extent does the previous colonial relationship have an impact on the present Anglo-Maltese tourist encounter? RQ3: What is being transacted at a social, cultural and symbolic level between the two parties?		**Method employed in terms of sampling**: e.g. no of respondents	**Method employed in terms of process**: e.g. number of observation days, dates, etc.
	Hybrid ethnographic paradigm: incorporating holistic, semiotic and behaviourist methodological styles (Sanday, 1979, p. 3: Roy and Banarjee, 2012)	Circuit of Culture (Johnson, 1986; Norton, 1996; Du Gay, Hall, Janes, Mackay, Negus, 1997). Examination of five interrelated cultural processes: production, consumption, regulation, representation and identity.		
Pilot exit-survey	Motivation for visit to Malta		300 random surveys: UK-Bound flights.	January-February 2011

Historical background research including statistical data	RQ 1 and 2: 1. Holistic outlook to confirm facts as well as the reasons behind certain behaviours. 2. Evaluate how much the historical background was important or not to the lived experiences of OBT.			
Analysis of brochures, guidebooks. Analysis of blogs, Facebook posts, Visual methodology	RQ 1 and 3: Semiotic perspectives and how these compare and contrast with the behaviours	Examination of five interrelated cultural processes: production, consumption, representation and identity.	Blogs from the Times of Malta, (main English language newspaper in Malta) accompanying articles about the George Cross and Brand Malta campaign.	
Ethnographic fieldwork including review of texts, images and narratives	Addressing RQ 1, 2 AND 3: 1. Holistic approach to understanding the cultural system of various agents under study. 2. Observation of behaviour and symbols used by the agents. 3. Evidence of how Malta was being presented to OBT. 4. Data collected through various texts (including images)	Addressing RQ 1, 2 AND 3: 1. Analysis of ongoing dialogue between the public and private spheres (the producers, the consumers and the consumed). Analysis of what is being exchanged and negotiated between the different agents. 2. Understanding of the webs of meaning and webs of significance. 3. Examining the	4 Year fieldwork including 2 year participant observation of tourists' holiday experience. Random excursions either as tour manager or as guest (> 30). Accompanying tourists to sites of memory and participating in events e.g. such as New Year's	3 years which included working as a speaker in hotels in Malta on average 3 time per week (over 500 sessions of a minimum of 1.5 hours each). Attended over 40 special events linked to the Islands' colonial history

	narrative analysis to triangulate the research findings gathered from the interviews and observations carried out during the in situ fieldwork.	mechanisms enabling people to experience Britishness in Malta. 4. Examine the components of and social processes by which identity and belonging are communicated and maintained in Malta vis-a-vis OBT. 5. Understanding the 'lived culture' through social relations between hosts and guests	Eve celebrations, Commonwealth Day, D Day, V Day and Armistice Day (>40)	to meet informants using snowball sampling or introduction through 3rd parties.
Attended special events linked to the Islands' colonial history	RQ2: Connecting facts observed to their backdrop (Palmer, 2001, p. 304)	Examination of cultural processes pertaining to: production, consumption, representation and identity.	> 35 to observe OBTS, reenactors, etc in a non-formal social setting	
Participant observation and interviews with cultural brokers	Behaviouristic: expression of transactions between cultural brokers and tourists. Semiotic: Understanding socio-cultural interaction.	Examination of cultural processes pertaining to: production, representation and identity.	Interviews with 5 guides/curators. Observations at 28 visits.	Carried out over 3 years, during excursions accompanied by guides. Observations at memory sites, hotels and events.

Participant observation and interviews with Maltese persons	Behaviouristic: expression of transactions between native residents and tourists. Hybrid approach: documenting cultural meanings behind key terms used by British and Maltese informants so as to elicit nuanced meanings too. Semiotic stance and thick description to understand features of the OBT experience.	Examination of interrelated cultural processes pertaining to: production, consumption, representation and identity.	Various locations at places frequented by older British tourists	
Review of selected tourism marketing and policy material dating back to the 50s	RQ 1 and 3: 1. Understanding how signs and signifiers communicate meaning about the other. 2. How recipients interpret these messages.	1. Understanding how culture is circulated, mediated between the public and private spheres, 2. and how it is regulated and appropriated for political agendas	Material from Malta National Archives, which was salvaged from the Malta Tourism Authority basement (1950s- 1990s)+ with my own private collection of Malta Guidebooks (1960- 2010)and other tourism marketing material + online research	
In depth semi-structured biographic narrative interviews with key informants	RQ1: Narratives show how the informants negotiate their inner landscape and identity with their lived experience and external landscape.	1. Understanding how OBTs negotiate identity and memory through their narratives. 2. Insight into the relationship between OBTs and Malta	12 Older British Tourists, 1 Airline Marketing Manager, I Malta tourism Marketing key person, 2 Curators, 2 Hotel Managers, 2 Tour Operations Key personnel. Tourist informants were chosen at random and accepted to be interviewed. Key personnel chosen because of their position vis-a-vis older British tourists	

The Journal	RQ 1 and 3: Unprompted biographical narratives, giving a deep insight into the tourists' lived experiences of Malta	1. Understanding how OBTs negotiate identity and memory through their narratives. 2. Insight into the relationship between OBTs and Malta	8 entries
Modified Focus groups as an extension of a Q and A session	RQ1: Insight into what the OBT's encounter with the Maltese landscape means to them, behaviours and webs of significance of the cultural texts they were exposed to, or which they themselves had sought out.	Exposition of dynamics between OBTs relevant to their interpretation of critical events or memory of past events (representation and identity)	10 random sessions with 6 to 20 participants, over 4 years.

Figure 10 Methodology Toolkit

The next section will outline the research process of my research programme which was based on the hybrid ethnographic model I explained above.

Research Programme

As I indicated in the prologue, in order to answer research questions and gather research material, I chose to freelance for a few hours per week, giving talks to hotel guests about the History and Culture of the Maltese Islands. Guests would meet me after or before these talks to talk to me about their holiday experiences. First timers ask many questions and regular guests meet up and talk about their previous visits or their travels in other parts of the world, including holidaying back in the UK. Some of these persons, also passed on my contact details to their friends and family who would be visiting Malta in the future and who might also be willing to be part of my research informants. In this way, my pool of potential informants grew.

At times, the older tourists would be asked if they would like to take part in an extensive interview. If the informants showed hesitancy or were not comfortable with sharing information, the interview would not take place. The informants would have to show that they felt they could trust me enough to ensure that certain information would not be revealed which could be detrimental to the informants. I always assured them on confidentiality and anonymity.

Ethnography, a fundamental research method of anthropology, seeks to answer central anthropological questions concerning the ways of life of living human beings, the link between culture and behaviour and/or how cultural processes develop over time. The data base for ethnographies usually consists of an extensive description of the details of social life or cultural phenomena, as the work of the ethnographer goes beyond reporting events, but tries to represent the webs of meaning in a society or community.

The ethnographer or researcher seeks to gain an 'emic' perspective, or the 'native's point(s) of view' without imposing the researcher's own conceptual frameworks. The emic world view, which may be quite different from the 'etic', or outsider's perspective on local life, is a unique and critical part of this type of research, and this understanding was developed through close exploration of different sources of data. A long term engagement in the field setting was achieved by having over 35 years' experience working in the tourism industry. This represented a dual role for myself as an ethnographer: as an insider and as an outsider. In the field as participant observer it was beneficial for me to have an understanding of what it is like to work in the setting, to understand the 'language' and the 'culture'. This was addressed by the work experience in the travel industry as well as having British[26] lineage in that although I have spent most of my life in Malta, have a British father and an Anglo-Maltese mother and husband. This means that I have close family members who are British and Maltese, and who live either in Malta or in the UK. Thus, I did not need to 'learn' a new culture or language as I have been exposed to both the Maltese as well as the British way of life, food, language and other idiosyncrasies. This was supported by a literature review, which included work by Paxman (1999) and Fox (2008), renowned for writing about Britishness.

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[26] I use British here as my direct family members are Scottish and English, with distant Irish heritage too.

These skills were used to advantage both when researching the British as well as the Maltese informants and organisations. This duality has its drawbacks as informants may decide that I am or that I am not British, or I am not Maltese 'enough' to share certain information with me. It also could mean that people tell me things because they think that this is what I want to hear or not to upset what they think are my national sentiments. Because of all this, there is certainly an element of bias from the informants' side, but possibly from my side also, even though I tried to be as 'objective' and neutral as possible.

I first commenced what I considered to be my 'preliminary fieldwork' by meeting British Tourists in Malta and asking them about why they travel to Malta for their holiday. Based on their responses and an overview of the literature pertinent to the study objective, I designed a survey which I distributed to 300 older British tourists at the end of their holiday in Malta (Appendix A). This laid the groundwork for what was to be the ethnographic research plan.

The first step was to define my research objective and its aims, the sources for my data collection, both as regards the primary sources such as informants, cultural brokers, and stakeholders and also as regards the secondary sources such as historical accounts, newspapers and other media sources as well as the pertinent academic literature. The historical literature which besides history documents also included statistical data, brochures and marketing literature as well as artefacts would serve as a source of triangulation[27] of the primary source findings.

These, together with the thick description method advocated by Geertz (Hannerz, 2003; Ponterotto, 2006; Sanday, 1979), enable me to firstly balance the etic-emic[28] approach. Secondly it is also key to understanding behaviours and interpreting social and cultural symbols. Thirdly it allows me to relate my findings to the theoretical frameworks.

I began my ethnographic enquiry with a foray into the historical background of the historical development with a focus on cultural attributes of the two nations, with a specific interest on the last two hundred years, which is from the time Malta became part of the British Empire. The aim of this was to compare the 'facts' to what I was learning from the field. Concurrently I carried out an extensive literature review of the

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[27] For more on Triangulation see Gable (1994), Kaplan and Duchon (1988), Lee (1991), Markus' (1994) Mingers (2001) and Ragin (1987) .
[28] For more on Emic and Etic see Luthans and Davis (1982), and Morey and Luthans (1984).

main key themes such as identity, memory, experience, landscape, older adults, social and cultural capital and gift reciprocity. I also examined similar studies which would provide insight and support my research.

One of the studies which influenced my research is that carried out by Catherine Palmer. One of her main objectives was similar to mine: "*the ways in which individuals experience identity through encountering sites of national significance: landscapes, artefacts, buildings, and monuments that promote a sense of collective belonging*" (Palmer, 2005). Catherine Palmer's study examined the mechanisms enabling people to experience Englishness at three heritage sites which symbolize fundamental aspects of Englishness. It also sought to examine both the components of Englishness and the social processes by which identity and belonging were communicated and maintained (Palmer, 2001, p. 302). Palmer analyzed the ways in which individuals both related to and with the cultural locations, practices and artefacts on view by carrying out reviews and analysis of material pertaining to three sites chosen for the study (2001, pp. 303 - 4). She also interviewed key people as well as visitors and well as participant observation at the sites. (Palmer, 2001, p. 304). All these elements which make up ethnography, contributed to Geertz's 'thick description' (1973). I use a similar approach to examine the social processes by which identity is communicated at Maltese heritage sites and if these include components of Britishness. I also examined what exchange of social and cultural capital, if any is taking place at these memory sites. The focus on the experience of the British and Maltese identity at heritage sites which have been identified as significant for the informants (in the previous phases of the research) meant that it was useful to interview both British tourists as well as Maltese persons at the sites. The curators and members of staff at the sites were also interviewed.

I attended special events which are linked to the Islands' heritage and history connected to the British Colonial period and which British tourists are encouraged to attend. One such event is the noon day Gun Salute[29] which takes place every day in Valletta overlooking the Grand Harbour. It is free of charge and elderly British tourists make it a point to go there at least once during their stay in Malta. Fieldwork

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[29] After the adoption of a time ball service by the Royal Navy at Portsmouth, England in 1824, a similar service was started in Malta. This indicated the exact hour at mid-day for the benefit of ship-masters on board vessels to calibrate their ship clocks by (http://www.salutingbattery.com/history.html.). Although the history of the noonday salute dates back to the period of the Knights of St John, the British tourists who throng there at noon, do so because of the link with the Royal Navy and as a sign of respect to those who gave their lives during their Navy Service.

at these sites not only allowed me to meet people whom I could converse with, it also allowed me to observe tourists and others such as the re-enactors in a social setting. Baszanger and Dodier (1997, in Palmer, 2001, p. 304) argue that "a study becomes ethnographic when the researcher is careful to connect the facts that s/he observes with the specific features of the *backdrop* against which these facts occur". Seeing the emotions such as tears, signs of respect such as saluting and the tipping of a hat, clapping and filming of the events showed that the seniors are visibly moved by such events. In conversations I was told that they visit these sites to honour the other British soldiers who lost their lives during the war, or who fought bravely in the Grand Harbour to defend Malta. The boomers show less attachment but are more interested in the logistics, or the hardware such as the guns, or uniforms and so on. The site visit is more of a ticking off the 'to visit' list unless they have some personal attachment to the place such as a relative dying or being in Malta at the time of the conflict. The visit then becomes a pilgrimage, which is sometimes even taken on behalf of others back in UK.

Figure 11 Grand Harbour Noon Day Gun Salute

Source: Avellino 2015

The next phase of the research study focused on analysis of brochures, guidebooks blogs, Facebook posts and other media (this ran concurrently with fieldwork in the sense of interviews, participant observation and so on). I was lucky enough for this to coincide with a 'find' that was made at the same time. A colleague of mine was working at the Malta Tourism Authority and during the course of relocating to different premises, a substantial number of documents were found in a damp basement. He noticed that they were being packed away for disposal and upon closer study realized that these mouldy and damp papers included minutes, brochures and other marketing material from way back in the late 50s. He immediately started to look for an entity that might be interested in housing them until they could be curated. In the end, the National Archives of Malta (NAM), together with my Institute for Tourism, Travel and Culture (ITTC) at the University of Malta, reached an understanding that they would take this up as a joint project. The NAM would house and provide archival support and ITTC would provide the human resources to document the material. Through my insider status at ITTC, I was able to negotiate access by becoming directly involved in the Tourism Archive Project. In this way I gained access to a number of documents which had been forgotten in a damp basement in Valletta. At the time of writing the archival documentation is still ongoing although a good number of these documents have now been archived and are accessible to the public.

Another phase of the research project included twenty in depth semi-structured biographical interviews. These took place with what I call my key informants. These included Heritage site Curators, hotel managers, airline marketing managers and tour operators as well as my OBTs associates or informants. In the case of the tourists, some interviews took place at different times and different locations, as the tourist informants had returned to Malta on numerous occasions. Twelve of these informants, who were older British Tourists, also helped with the research as they invited me to join them on various trips around the island. Together we went to events, heritage sites, strolls along promenades and cliffs, dowsing and other activities. Some have also written up their thoughts and experience of Malta for me to use in my research.

I also used another approach which I called the 'Journal'. The idea for this came about when I found that at times it was impertinent to ask tourists to spend a few hours of their holiday talking to me. Some loved it and wanted to meet me every day

to talk to me and tell me all about their life experiences. Others had other commitments, which is fully understandable, but indicated to me that they really would like to talk to me but found it difficult to set aside an hour or two. So I set up what I called, the 'journal' method which I found to be remarkably successful. I pasted an introductory letter to the front page of a blank paged book, where first, I introduced myself and explained my research project. I then asked the guest to write about certain topics such as their Malta link, or their views about the trip as a whole. They can also write about themselves, and if they are willing to be contacted by me in the future should I have further queries. If they cannot do this whilst on holiday, I also invite them to send me their thoughts about their trip to Malta, or their personal experiences linked to Malta.

One tourist, whom I had interviewed whilst she had been on holiday, returned to Malta about 10 months later and brought back a 5 paged narrative of her stay in Malta when she was a child during the war period. She wrote it especially for me because she felt that she wanted her story to be known by others. This raised the questions of why did she want her story to be known by others, what story did she want to convey (as there were multiple stories in her text), and so on. As an outcome of two follow up interviews on successive visits to Malta, she revealed that she kept coming back to look for her childhood nanny, whom she had spent most of her time with when she lived in Malta. She had lost contact with her when she left Malta and desperately looked for her, but to no avail. From this Journal exercise I realised that it is not only the narrative that goes into the journal that is important, but it is the motivation behind it.

The journal was given to ten persons or couples and I got eight back. Some wrote a one –pager, a few others filled three A3 pages or more. Two of the couples whom I gave the journal to, had written a couple of pages. They then returned, one couple came back a few months later and another couple came back the following year and asked at the hotel for me as they had lost my contact details. One couple brought back a set of photographs to show me and a boxed war medal which they gave me. Another couple made me a copy of an 8mm film they had shot of Malta in the sixties and wanted me to have it for my research. In their second visit they allocated time out of their holiday specifically for me. On another two occasions, when I had set an interview appointment for the following day, with one single lady and a couple, both turned up with a notebook full of notes which they had made after meeting me for the

first time. In the two separate instances they told me that they wanted to be sure that they told me all the things which they considered to be important for me to know.

I found that there is a section of prospective informants, whom I was not reaching out to. Wives or family members would tell me in confidence that their partner (usually male) wanted to tell me their story or wanted to talk to me about 'their time' in Malta, but would not come forward unless pushed. This was not something I wanted to do, so I experimented with a modified 'focus' group.

The modified focus group evolved from a talk which I would give to tourists during their stay in Malta, wherein I would give a presentation using either PowerPoint or a film, about Malta. Sometimes the talk would be about why the island was awarded the George Cross, or what it was like to be a civilian during the war years, or even about the geology of the islands. This was followed up by a Question and Answer session (Q&A) whereby people could ask questions, or would give their perspective on what I had just been talking about. During a time when I was finding it difficult to recruit members for focus groups, I decided that at the end of the Q&A I would tell the attendees that I was carrying out research and that if they would not mind, I would like to ask them a few questions myself. The response was amazing. The discussion would flow and I was able to have my impromptu focus group. During this type of focus group, once someone spoke about their personal experience, others would join in and contribute also.

However, there were times when this was not successful. In a few instances, the wife would come up to me and tell me that her husband had received a war medal for some service he performed in Malta, but did not want to talk about it. I would then invite the couple to give me an interview about their holiday in Malta and in some cases they would accept, in other cases they would decline. In one case, one gentleman stood up and said that he would speak to me on condition that I paid him. He said that "after all, when you get your PhD you will be getting more money" and therefore he deserved some of it. I laughed off the comment, saying I had not thought about compensation at all.

Fieldwork with the Bodies of Expertise

". . .because identities are constructed within, not outside discourse, we need to understand them as produced in specific historical and institutional sites within

specific discursive formations and practices, by specific enunciative strategies" (Hall, 1996b, p. 4, in Palmer, 2005, p. 8).

The tourism industry is an industry that is propelled by supply and demand which is negotiated through third parties. These third parties can be classified as official and non-official intermediaries. The official intermediaries include National Tourism Organisations, tour operators as well as the authorised suppliers of services such as hoteliers, car hire firms as well as professional persons such as curators and guides. These 'bodies of expertise' (Urry, 1991, p. 92) or cultural intermediaries (Bourdieu, 1984) usually follow a set trajectory as regards the 'story' that is told to the tourists and this is conveyed through marketing material such as brochures, promotional videos, advertising campaigns and such like. The 'story' is also conveyed through interpretation that is given at visitor attraction sights, on guided tours and even through other media such as websites and travel magazines. The non-official intermediaries can include to a certain extent, all the persons that come into direct or indirect contact with tourists such as taxi drivers, shopkeepers and hotel staff.

In 2006, Malta had embarked on a branding campaign of the Islands, and one of the elements of this campaign, was to send an information pack by post, to all the local residents. The front page of the pack is a mirror (See figure 12) and one was supposed to look into in and say "I am the brand". The concept behind it was for every Maltese citizen to become a 'Brand Manager' who would promote the:

> "*essential messages that would give Brand Malta a qualitative and quantitative edge over other destinations which are a distinct heritage based on a long historical tradition, the impressive diversity – with hundreds of leisure options only 30 minutes away, maximum, from any one point and the warm hospitality straight from the heart.*" (quoted verbatim, Times of Malta, 2006).

Figure 12 You are the Brand - Marketing material

Source: Avellino Marie (2015)

This campaign was unsuccessful and was stopped before completion. One of the reasons which was given by the local hoteliers was that they were was not enough consultation with the community and 'now they expect us to be Brand Managers'. This resulted in underlying tensions.

Other forms of tensions were encountered during site visits and interviews with owners, manager, curators and guides. There seemed to be a tension between the official 'story' being told and the personal interpretation that was revealed by professionals in the field. This also begs the question of which is the authority that is being affected by these alternative versions – the Maltese version promoted in the interests of the island's tourism, or the British, as the (unwitting?) representatives of the former colonial power? Is this a subversive narrative or the 'true' version and what purpose does it serve? One curator said "What we tell them (the British tourists) has to change: we no longer should have to omit certain parts of our history to appease them" and he went on to give examples of this at certain sites and in some tourism literature. This indicates how important it is to include all the tourism stakeholders in any consultation process, as well as in research.

Analysis

My analysis of the material collected during the fieldwork could have been undertaken using a faster, systematic approach through software assisted analysis. I opted to use a more longwinded 'manual' format as I felt that this form of inductive analysis would be deeper and more intricate, due to its recursivity.

Although I will now present the structure for the text analysis I used, I must also point out that it does not actually go from point to point, step by step, but is actually recursive due to the nature of the anthropological method of enquiry. There is a constant moving to and fro between data collection and analysis. I explain it in this format so as to give a structure to the process.

The structure I follow is based on a methodology advocated by McCracken (1988) which he developed for what he calls 'long interviews' as a form of discourse analysis. Within the ongoing ethnographic context of my fieldwork, a number of interviews were carried out mainly because this was the most convenient way of communicating with my informants in a restricted amount of time. The interview takes the format of a conversation, so as to put the informants at ease. The interview uses an open-ended questionnaire, which follows a set order (when possible). It is embedded within the ethnographic context, however in a restricted time frame, it can accomplish "certain ethnographic objectives without committing the investigator to intimate, repeated and prolonged involvement in the life and community of the respondent" (McCracken, 1988). Of course, in no way it can replace full involvement with the participants but is useful in particular circumstances such as when the informants under study are not in a fixed place for a long time, as in the case of tourists.

I first carried out preliminary fieldwork which I mentioned earlier and together with an exhaustive review of a selected literature produced a set of categories or themes. These categories enabled me to define problems, assess the data and provide concepts on which the precepts will hang. Eventually these categories would aid in the construction of the interview questionnaires.

I then moved to review the cultural categories. According to McCracken (1988:73) "cultural categories are the fundamental co-ordinates of meaning. They represent the basic distinctions with which a culture divides up the phenomenal world". They also help "individuals organize and give meaning to the world and also assist the researcher to organize the work" (McCracken, 1988). There are several types of

cultural categories: categories of time, space, nature, and person. For example the category of time was evident as being of extreme importance. Time, in the context of the older adult British tourist, was significant because it was synonymous with ageing and was also significant because of its connection to memory as well as heritage. The cultural category of space was also evident through its links with landscape and place.

Cultural categories are formed according to cultural principles, or values. Similarly, D'Andrade (1992) also describes how mental schemata are influenced by culture. Thus, the anthropological view of culture also recognizes that cognitive constructs (i.e. categories) are determined by cultural manifestations (i.e. values). I was am also aware at all times that the deep and long-lived familiarity with the culture under study, and in my case tourism in particular, might, potentially, have the grave effect of dulling my powers of observation and analysis. According to McCracken (1988) this familiarity has an advantage: it gives the investigator a fineness of touch and insight, and a more detailed and systematic appreciation of his/her personal experience with the topic of interest. This is one of the key tensions that is currently being discussed in anthropology (Tsuda, 2015). Tsuda argues that "cultural differences are not detrimental, but productive for fieldwork" and in fact "difference is essential to the generation of anthropological knowledge" (2015, p. 15).

The purpose of the cultural review, according to McCracken (1988) is to prepare for questionnaire construction by allowing the interviewer to examine the cultural categories and their interrelationship (to seek out 'matches' in the interview data) and also to establish 'distance'. In short one has to go through cycles of familiarization and defamiliarisation.

In the next step I went in to the actual identification of the cultural categories (McCraken, 1988, p. 73). Once established they could be used for all formats of interviews and even impromptu conversations, because although I did identify the categories during the iterative process of the questionnaire construction itself, the end objective is to allow respondents to tell their own story. The sentences constructed for the questionnaire soon became so familiar that one could easily slip them in into any conversation, and the categories or themes are there as a guide to keep the researcher on track. I would listen out for key terms and listen out for implications and assumptions that will not come to the surface of the conversation by themselves.

In my case, this was important as at times I wanted to correct the informants when I realized that the facts such as dates, and the stories associated with them, did not tally up, that what they were telling me was 'incorrect'. It led me to become concerned that either the informants were trying to mislead me, or that they had actually forgotten the actual sequence of events, or that there was some other reason why they were 'lying'. I soon realized that even when this happens there are very valid reasons for doing so, one of which is that there are many truths and how what we narrate is our own present perception of the past. During the interview (and even during participant observation). Just like Dikomitis during her field work in Cyprus, (2009, p. 22) I came to realise that the context of the anthropologist and the content of the fieldwork are often an unbalanced blend in these highly reflexive accounts". I have tried to avoid highly autobiographical and reflexive accounts so as to retain as much subjectivity as possible, however this approach constrains 'one to thread carefully, the fine line between subjectivity and ethnography (Behar, 1996, p. 7).

The next step was the determination of the analytic categories. This was done by firstly treating utterances in their own terms, through ignoring the relationship to other aspects of the narratives or observations. Then I would see how they tie in to the previous literature and cultural review. I would do this by looking out for observations I had made to determine patterns of consistency and contradiction.

These cultural categories which were identified now become analytic categories through a 'sifting process' through to see how they can be organized. They were placed in hierarchical order as well as how they related to each other. Those that were not useful to me such as the value which was given to a 'cheap' offer or 'safety' were discarded. In my case 4 analytic categories where identified. These are identity, memory, landscape relationship and benefits. The first three are what in the thesis I call the emergent themes and which I focus my study on. The category which I identified as benefits, included all that which the older British tourists felt was of value to them by holidaying in Malta.

Concluding Reflexive Thoughts

Ethnographers immerse themselves in the lives of the people they study (Lewis 1985, p, 380) and this requires a significant amount of time not just in the field but

also to writing up and carrying out desk research. This was certainly the case for me as this has taken far longer than I had envisaged. Most of my fieldwork took place between October and June as most of the older tourists tend to avoid travel to Malta between July and September when prices, temperatures and humidity are quite high compared to UK. This period also coincides with my work commitments which tend to ease off in the summer months. Then in summer its full speed ahead with writing up, which is not so bad thanks to fans and air conditioners, but quite heavy going during power cuts. If I am pre-warned about the power cut, then I make sure that two laptops are fully charged and all necessary documents for the day's work are uploaded on pen-drives so as to set up my office in the courtyard. An early start means that a lot of work can be done before 11 am as after that it is too hot to stay outdoors. Then a couple of hours in the evening whilst my husband barbeques supper rounds off the day. It is also interesting to note that some of my OBTs who used to visit Malta in the 60s and 70s still recall the water and electricity cuts Malta was accustomed to at that time, with nostalgia as well as a sense of pride as to 'how did we manage to live through all that?'

One of the significant aspects of this work, which I was totally unprepared for, was the effect it had on my personal life. When I started this work I had just turned 50 and at the time, being 'old' seemed somewhere well beyond 'my horizon'. However due to a couple of instances when I had medical issues, coupled with the fact that I have elderly parents and in-laws, it began to dawn on me that there were certain realities out there which I would need to face one day, if I would still be alive.

Interviewing persons with disabilities due to old age such as arthritis, deafness and even a general slowing down of physical activities drives home to me, why as we grow older, most people feel that they need to make as much of what they have, as possible. At times, one also may feel the futility of it all and becomes disheartened. Even the fact that as I carried out desk research about older adults, non-academic literature constantly reminds older persons that they need to look after themselves even more such as from health, financial and mental agility perspectives, can become depressing. There were times, when I needed to stop carrying out research as it became overpowering and it meant that either I was losing my objectivity or it was leading me into new insights. But then, Powdermaker succinctly reminds me of one of the reasons why one chooses to be an anthropologist is "to step in and out of society and to study it – are those connected with family background and personality.

Class, religion, and other social (as well as personal) factors define certain experiences, and the reactions to them create new ones" (1966, p. 15 in Dikomitis, 2009, p. 18).

When I returned back to the field re-energized, after some self-imposed exile, I began to see how many of the tourists, themselves, look upon their holiday as a 'renewal exercise'. The time leading up to the holiday was filled with anticipation and good feelings about the prospect and once the holiday starts, they feel young again, happy and 'renewed'. Many of them return back home with a new energy and new ideas of how to face life.

The next chapter will introduce the older British tourists which are the central focus of this study and which will allow us to understand their perspectives and hopes about the future.

"It's a poor sort of memory that only works backwards,' says the White Queen to Alice."

— Lewis Carroll, *Alice's Adventures in Wonderland & Through the Looking-Glass*

SECTION TWO

The next section of this study is composed of two substantial chapters. Chapter four focuses on the British senior tourists and the literature on age and seniors which ties in with the Leif motifs of identity, memory and landscape and the underlying discourse. Chapter five discusses the older tourists' perceptions of the shared, unshared, and contested heritage elements which are presented to them as a tourist product. This is supported by examining how history is packaged, marketed, and consumed as part of the heritage landscape.
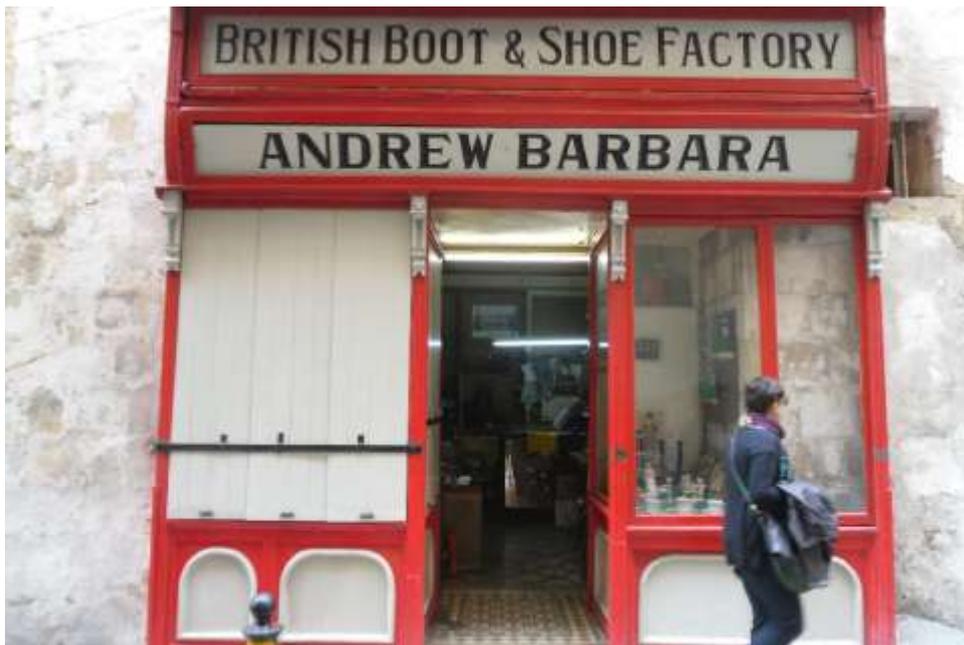
Figure 13 Shoe shop in Valletta

Source: Avellino, 2013

CHAPTER FOUR - SHADES OF GREY
Introduction

Patterson's review of the tourism and leisure literature, revealed a "lack of consistency in defining the age cohort and the specific name to describe older people's tourist behaviour at different stages of the lifecycle" (2006, p. 12) and a "lack of consistency in using similar age categories" (2006, p. 13). My review of the literature also drew a similar conclusion. This meant that I was challenged to establish my own criteria for defining my cohort group.

This thesis focuses on the older adult British tourists who were born around fifty years ago. The youngest generational cohort that will be included in this study are the Baby Boomers, although Patterson notes that they "do not really consider themselves as seniors" (2006, p. 16). The other group of people whom I worked with on this research project, are those born before the Baby Boomers and whom I call Seniors. Patterson (2006, p. 15) defines these as people who are aged 55 and older; however I prefer to use year of birth to define my cohorts than age. This is a significantly different approach with more of an emphasis on life cycle/life events than physiological aging. Baby Boomers, in this thesis, refers to people who were born during the period immediately after the end of World War Two between 1946 and 1964. Seniors will refer to people born between 1930 and 1945 and during this study, range in age between their late sixties and early eighties.

This study will not include what Hazan refers, to as the fourth age, "Frail people in advanced years, particularly those confined to institutions" (2009, p. 61). These persons were not evident in the groups of tourists that I met during my fieldwork and if they were, I would not have included them for ethical reasons.

Over the last fifteen years, I have worked directly with older tourists and many of my observations are based on this working relationship. In the course of my work, I have observed that many people feel that reaching their 50th birthday is a watershed event, a significant milestone. It is perceived to be on a similar scale for other decade birthdays such as 30, 40, 60 and so on: but 50 indicates a half way mark or the peak of the lifecycle. Not everyone celebrates it, but according to my informants, on reaching it, it makes one think that it is time to take stock of one's accomplishments and look ahead at what one would like to do in the future. It also seems to signify, for some people at least, that it is the "first foot on the old age

doorstep: its downhill from here on" (Albert, on his 50th birthday, personal communication, 2012).

One's 60th or 65th birthday used to mark a similar landmark event, mainly because to the working part of the population in the developed world, it meant that one stood on the retirement threshold (depending on whether one was male or female) and one now had access to the bus pass, pension, and the rest. However, as a few of the informants have confirmed, "some of us retire before 60 nowadays". For some others, it is not the birthday as such which serves as a catalyst or stimulus for change, but other significant life events such as the youngest child leaving home, retirement, divorce or death of a partner. Each person finds their own way of dealing with the inevitable changes that life and society throws at them.

My informants believe that as societies changed, so too do people's perspectives about life and ageing. Social change, especially that which is linked to the labour market manifest themselves in different ways. Access to early retirement funds, or an older workforce being coerced into taking redundancies means to some people, that life events, that in the past were associated with older persons, are now being faced by people who are younger in age, or who may feel younger than they really are. Some persons in the study commented that having to take early retirement made them feel older than they were as it seemed that they were no longer considered of benefit to society or because the labour market did not value their skills and experience. A few others, who were able to benefit from attractive financial 'silver or golden handshakes' felt that they still had a lot to give. As one gentleman in his late fifties put it "I had become too expensive for them. For the salary they were paying me, they could afford to bring in two younger people with lower salaries and less perks". He went on to explain that he was considering taking up consultancy work when he returned home after the Malta holiday, which had been a sort of reward to himself for negotiating a good early retirement package.

The feeling of being older or younger than one is supposed to feel, is a term that is used extensively by my informants. It indicates that there is a perception that one should 'feel one's age' and this seems to be based on a comparison either with ones parents and their cohorts or else with other people in one's same age group. Some informants feel that 'society' imposes an 'oldness' on them which they are not always in agreement with. A few would comment and say that they are as old as they feel, sometimes they feel younger and sometimes older, and this more or less depended

on their state of physical as well as mental health. This signifies that the informants'
age can be both a subjective experience as well as an objective 'label'.

Informants refer to life changing events as a specific birthday such as turning 50 or
60, or the passing away of a spouse or close friend in the same age group, or being
given bad news about a terminal illness. Around the time of these life changing
events, a number of them describe how they started to take stock of their lives,
change gear, travel more, start a small business, study, downsize their home or
purchase a larger home which they could not afford to do when they were younger.
Some also decided to pursue a career change, which more often than not also
involves other changes in their life. These indicate that growing older, is a time for
making conscious changes with the aim of having an improved lifestyle or doing
something which makes one happy, with the premise at the back of one's mind, that
all these changes must be done as soon as possible because as one informant
described it 'the countdown has started'. Here one must note that having a 'improved
lifestyle' or a 'good life' is something which was aspired to by nearly all my
informants.

This is not to say that all my informants communicated their feelings about ageing in
this way. Very few would avoid the subject altogether and a few others referred to
their friends, who belong to a similar age, as being old, or frail, or greying as if they
were distinct and that they, the informants, did not form part of those 'old people',
even if they were of the same age. Here the old informants are looking at the other
older adults as the 'other'. One woman explained to me "I don't feel old like they do. I
look after myself, walk for 30 minutes every day, go to the hairdresser every week
and watch what I eat. But look at me, no one believes that I'm 80 and yet Vera,
who's younger than me looks much older." Coe (1965) noted this occurrence in
research carried out in an old-age home with an average age of eighty one years.
Eighty three per cent did not consider themselves as 'aged' and according to Hazan
the reason for this is unknown, although there may have been contributing factors in
the study itself (1994, p. 16).

As I aim to show throughout this study, there are different types of people or groups
of people within this age group although the older British tourists that I interviewed
tended to be white and middle class, which I believe is the profile of the older British
tourist in Malta. (No studies have been carried out on class profile of incoming
British tourists to Malta.) As I argue in my thesis, this is a perception that tends to be

shared by the Maltese host population (as we shall see presently), who not only consider the older British tourists to be all the same because of their age group, but also similar as regards social- economic status.

One of the non-British interviewees, Karl (mid-fifties academic) commented to me

> "*Oh yes, you're studying those old 'fish and chips' tourists. They talk about culture and imperialism – what do they know – they're a bunch of service people. Do you know what these high and mighty did to the Grandmaster's Palace Courtyard? They turned it into a tennis court to play tennis. Can you imagine! But what do you expect from a bunch of imperialist soldiers. And now it is the same people and their families who keep coming here – it is not the cultured or the elite, but those that served as soldiers – they came from the lower classes. They can never appreciate our culture*".

This comment and other ethnographic material which I collected alerted me to inconsistencies as well as contradictory positions being taken by the agents. At this stage in my discussion, the point that I wish to make on this comment by Karl, is that he conflates age, social class and national stereotypes. It is a broad-brush approach to 'typifying' persons which I have found to be, through my research, pervasive and not just limited to what the Maltese think of the British tourists but also of what the British tourists tended to think of Maltese. These sweeping conflationary perceptions are not always derogatory but in cases can actually be complimentary. What follows is part of a conversation that took place in 2010, in the seaside village of Marsascala, between myself, a Maltese woman called Lilac (early eighties) and a bus driver[30] , Manuel (mid-thirties), which highlights this type of approach.

Me: *Do you mind if I take a photo of your bus? I notice that you have the Union Jack on the windscreen*. (Here I point to the upper third of the windscreen that is covered with a massive Union Jack sticker).

Lilac: *Oh, it's lovely isn't it – we go crazy for anything which is English. We're English, you know*. (Here she is referring to her English father).

Manuel: *I know exactly what you mean. You can live with them (referring to the English or British[31]. It is means colloquially that he gets on well with them). I always try to work on the Bugibba route so that I meet as many of them as possible. The old ones love our buses, they take photos with them, ask me such as lot of questions and always say please and thank you, not like the Maltese!!*

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[30] Manuel drove what is now called 'an old Malta bus'. These buses were painted in bright colours and bus owner/drivers would customise their buses with religious or cultural artefacts, different colours and advertising material. These were phased out of service and today a few of these buses are used as tourist attractions as Vintage Buses.

[31] English here could have referred to the English or British as the term 'English' is used interchangeably in colloquial Maltese conversations.

Lilac: *Yes, you're right, we like going to the Bugibba hotels to dance in the evenings. The English tourists come over and speak to us. They enjoy watching us dance. We stop to chat with them, sometimes in the afternoons we even sit on a bench and have a natter with them. Or else they come over to watch the men playing 'bocci' (Boules) on the front (in reference to the sea promenade at Bugibba). Some of them are regulars; they come and look for me and my husband every time they come to Malta.*

Figure 14 Scheduled bus with Union Jack on windscreen

Source Avellino, 2010

As we can see from the above, and other conversations I have had, there is a general perception that all the older British tourists are like the British people that travel on the Bugibba bus route, or stay at the Bugibba hotels, which host dancing and karaoke events. The overall perception is that OBTs, generally travel to Malta throughout the year, avoiding July and August. They spend their time relaxing, getting about on buses or on foot, are usually quiet but do not spend much money.

Seniors on the move

From my personal experience in the Maltese tourism industry, in the past, older persons especially those that had reached the state pensionable age, where not given particular attention by tour operators and destination managers as it was assumed that once these persons reached pensionable age, they would not have the financial means or physical ability to participate in tourism. Some specialist Tour

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Operators realising that this could actually be a lucrative market, targeted them for retirement homes in the sun or long holidays for Winter Tourism. Malta has been marketed as a Winter Sun destination since the 60s and although its campaign was not aimed specifically at older tourists, it was 'understood' that persons without school age children such as the older adults, would be the main target market. This trend caught on and tour operators and destinations, particularly those in the Mediterranean and Caribbean Sunbelt, began to see the potential in catering to the needs of these customers. This was even more evident when the baby boomers started to take early retirement as this meant a much larger market was coming online.

As indicated in Chapter one, British adults aged over 50 consider travel as a main spending priority (Mintel, 2008). There are various reasons for this, amongst which, is that a number of these persons have access to a far greater income than their parents did. Many receive war pensions, invalidity pensions and other incomes apart from the statutory state or national insurance pension.

The UK older adult generation is also a home-owning generation, and "by the end of the twentieth century, not only were they starting to come into fully owning their own property (25 year mortgages would have been paid up or coming to an end), they also inherit the properties of their parents upon their death" (Ryan and Trauer, in Theobald, 2005, pp. 514-518). The implication of this together with access to multiple pensions or part time work during retirement creates a substantial economic propensity for travel (Ryan and Trauer, in Theobald, 2005, pp. 514-518).

These elements indicate that not only that the volume of older tourists from Britain will increase, but that their propensity to travel will increase also. Therefore understanding such a cohort of tourists is important for destinations as well as tourism operators.

Theoretical approaches to Aging

In his extensive research on old age, Hazan (1994, 2009), moved away from the stereotypical images of old age which, in the main, is presented to us by the media and to a lesser extent is proscribed by social attitudes and taboo. These images, especially in the past, tended to bunch together old, infirm, handicapped and other persons into one informal category of society which 'normal' persons did not wish to think about, possibly because it reminds them that one day, they too will be in the

same predicament of helplessness. Hazan argues that the construction of this world by outsiders is affected by deeply ingrained social attitudes whereby the old are separated from society and associated with the fear of death (1994). Dekkers (2013, p. 42) argues that we do need a philosophical anthropology of aging for three main reasons. Firstly, because of the ideal of making implicit anthropologies explicit; secondly, because of the new developments in biogerontology and their consequences; and thirdly, because of the defects within the posthumanist idea of prolongevity and the expansion of the human lifespan. According to Hazan (1996, p. 3) only a smattering of research is dedicated to deciphering the world of old people as subjects, and even less of this work attempts to understand the ways in which knowledge about ageing is produced and reproduced.

It is highly likely that Hazan was influenced by postmodernist theory. According to Hazan (1996) it was Irving Rosow's seminal work of 1974 that alerted social gerontologists to the complex theoretical issues underlying Socialization to Old Age (Berkeley, University of California Press). Pastorello (1997) suggests that contrary to the approach taken by Hazan (1996) social gerontologists "should and can act upon and within our meanings, rather than question in a non-productive infinite loop the meaning of meaning" (Pastorello, 1997). My research does not "question in a non-productive infinite loop the meaning of meaning" but ensures that the meanings that are gleaned from the study, can be used to support research and strategies in the field of applied anthropology and other disciplines and fields. It is evident that my research can contribute to knowledge which can be utilised by anthropologists as well as by marketing and development studies.

Age, Life Experiences and Values

Age is considered as a sequential gauge for computing time accrual: in human beings it generally refers to physical and mental progress. It is socially significant because the changes in age are also reflected in the social status of persons within its society or community. Age, together with Gender is a universal marker of identification (Barfield, 1997, p. 7) and the basis of social roles (Rosman, Rubel and Weisgrau, 2009, p. 141). De Beauvoir (1996, p. 9) claims that women, "in their old age, as at every period of their lives, their status is imposed upon them by the society in which they belong". She contends that old age is time and culture

dependent and that the understanding of old age is time and culture dependant and that its lived meaning is specific to our historical and cultural mileau.

The lived meaning of my informants may have been shaped by specific historical events which might not have had a direct impact on their lives but have been instrumental in creating a value system around them, which in turn affects, and is affected by the national culture. Demographers note that "cohort analysis can be used to look at what happens to a generation (or cohort) of people over their lifetime. By relating events to a group of people born at a specified time (for example, all women born in 1920) it reflects the actual experience of a generation over a specific period of time" (Chamberlain and Gill, 2005, p. 73).

The main historical event which affected my informants' lives was the Second World War. The seniors were the most affected as they lived through it and it was a major event in their lives, however to a lesser extent, its affect also spilled over into the subsequent generation. The affect was implicit as it was on a social structural level, rather than subjectively. For example, some boomers were born during times of austerity which ensued immediately after the war, or where born during times of social affluences, however the values which their parents would have tried to impart on them, would have to some extent left a mark on their value system. To a great extent, boomers were brought up on stories associated with the war period, and exposed to events which commemorated war. "I wasn't born during the war but I feel that I know so much about it as everybody would speak about it whilst I was growing up. When we was kids my nan would tell us stories of how they used to go and pick up pieces of coal from between the railway tracks that would have fallen off the wagons" (Gerald, 2013)

During my ethnographic research I began to notice a distinct difference between the groups I call boomers and seniors. These differences were evident and varied from the way people purchased their holidays, to the memories they perceived to be significant, to their behaviour as well as what they felt was of value or not. As I tried to discover if there was some correlation with these cohorts, I found that UK birthrates had spiked in two places. One spike occurs in the mid-40s and another one occurs in the mid-60s. (Chamberlain and Gill, 2005). Around both spikes, Britain was experiencing a surge in what might be perceived as an improvement in the

standard of living or well-being, and these are reflected in different ways in my two main cohorts.

Total fertility rate, 1938 to 2004

England and Wales

Children per women

Source: Office for National Statistics, General Register Office Scotland, Northern Ireland Statistics and Research Agency
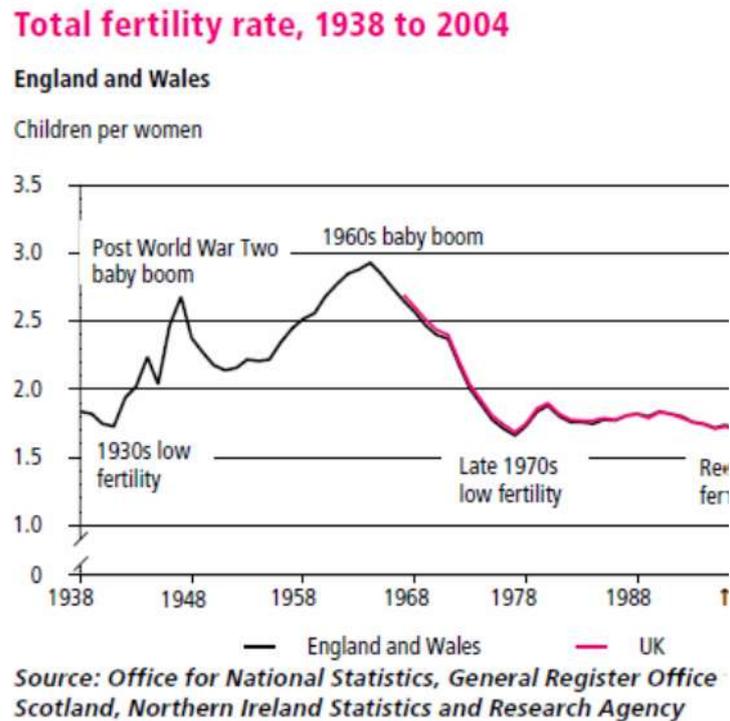
Figure 15. Fertility Rates in England and Wales

Source: Office for National Statistics (Chamberlain and Gill, 2005, p. 76)

The younger cohort exhibit greater tendencies toward what might be considered to be a more risk-taking, hedonistic behaviour during the holiday sojourn. The older group are more risk averse and conservative. They tended to 'obey' their leaders: here I am referring to hotel representatives, guides or any other person in authority. For example, according to Julia, a Maltese guide, "if they are told that they have to be at a certain place at a certain time, some just do not turn up".

The younger persons tended to challenge authority and found it easier to complain, ask for refunds as well as ask for help and assistance if needed. Their personal interest in visiting heritage sites was also different. In the case of the older group, they were primarily interested in visiting places they once knew as they wanted to re-create the 'good vibes' that these places had given them in the past. In the case of the younger groups, they would visit certain places out of respect to family and friends who had passed through or had some connection to the same place in the past. In the case of a few boomers, some visits were a search for some kind of

closure to unfinished or incomplete business. Such as in the case of a woman, whose parents lived in Malta in the 50s as the father was in the Navy. She went on a Grand Harbour tour so as to throw her mother's wedding ring into the sea, as she explained, her mother had liked Malta so much that she wanted to leave a part of her in Malta (Patiniott, 2012, p. 109). She had said to Patiniott (who had carried out research on visitors' perspective on Malta's cruise tourism), that she wanted to return her parents' spirit to the island which had been the place where they lived the happiest part of their lives (Patiniott, 2012, personal communication).

Ageing and Women

In the case of women, de Beauvoir, in her famous treatise, the *Second Sex*, argues that women are not born but created, and the freedom limiting situation females find themselves in, provokes an aura of natural inferiority. In the case of our cohort group, they were brought up during the period spanning from the late twenties to the seventies. It was a period when women had started to work for a wage outside the home, when women went abroad as single girls (WWII), women had the opportunity of taking the pill, wearing the miniskirt and so on – all of these were ground breaking events for many of the women in the study.

According to Baggini and Stangroom (2004)

"*de Beauvoir uses the Hegelian terms 'transcendence' and 'immanence' to discuss the situation of women where transcendence describes the ability of the individual to freely pursue a project, thereby acting on the world in an important way and Immanence is the condition of endless repetition of mundane tasks that do not impact history*".

The women that were interviewed about their stay in Malta during their teens and twenties felt that that part of their life history was very important. The war or any other significant event such as the Suez Crisis, or the build-up during the Cold War, gave them the 'transcendence' they desired - the work they were performing would 'impact history'! They did not necessarily have to have been front liners, even if they were service wives or mothers, they still felt that they were giving a significant contribution to their country. So while each person, including the men as well as the children of these particular interviewees that had been based in Malta during the period from the late 30s to the early 60s, participated in both immanent and transcendent activities, lack of freedom or opportunity, may have kept some from exercising their transcendence.

Visiting Malta in later life may have allowed them to recreate the good feelings that they had felt in their younger years. For the ones whom 'transcendence' had been denied in the past: returning to Malta allowed them to claim it. One female informant, Amy, described how she felt that she needed to stay out of her husband's limelight. He was an important dignitary but she, as the dutiful daughter of a misogynist father and a wife of a domineering and jealous husband, never spoke about her work. When her husband was posted to Malta during the cold war, British Intelligence recruited her. She was required to sign the Official Secrets Act and so was not allowed to speak about her work, which suited her husband, as he felt embarrassed by the fact that he had a 'working wife'. After Malta, they were posted to Germany and other places and so never returned. He never wanted to return to Malta even though she had wanted to and so, a year after he passed away, she returned to Malta. I watched Amy tell the other British tourists about her 'working' life in Malta, the fun she had with her work friends and the trips to the beach and walks on the Sliema Promenade she enjoyed with her family when they visited her in Malta.

Scholz's (2004, p. 40) interpretation of de Beauvoir's writing suggests that "the key to understanding woman's oppression is that her situation relegates her to a sphere of activity that cuts off transcendence". De Beauvoir (in Scholz, 2004, p. 40) expounds the theory that "in order for women to create themselves anew in liberty, they must throw off the mystification that makes their situation appear natural and choose projects that open the future of possibilities".

The women I interviewed who come to Malta in their roles as wives[32] 'chose projects that open the future of possibilities' by befriending other Maltese woman so as to have a support network, and in places where they could achieve recognition for what they were doing as in the case of voluntary or charity work. They could network with other British or NATO wives in order to build a network through which they could grow intellectually or spiritually. In one example, the wife found work as a nurse and in that way she could further her career. In another instance, the wife started up a philanthropic club. Some painted or wrote books and poetry, liberating themselves through their art expression. The women that came to Malta as single

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[32] Women who were married to men serving in the Services, or men employed overseas with British companies such as SHELL and ESSO, or in the Diplomatic service, would in most cases accompany their spouse. In the course of my research I have not come across any instance where it was the husband who accompanied his wife as the main breadwinner.

women, felt liberated in the sense that the norms (and taboos) which were applicable back in UK, did not necessarily apply in Malta as there were no family or neighbours to judge.

Gossip as a form of social control, was not encouraged as everyone else was behaving in a similar way - this was the 'holiday mode', which I also observe taking place in tourism. This may be explained, in part, by referring to tourism theory linking liminality with play and leisure. The liminal situation for a tourist arises during the transition from when the tourist withdraws from the normal modes of social action. (Turner, 1969). This elimination of social boundaries enables the tourists to interact with other tourists on a literal 'level playing field', "occupying a threshold state between place, times and resolution" (Burns, 1999; Ryan and Hall, 2001).

This same 'holiday mentality' encouraged them to return to Malta even when they aged, as, my informants told me, in Malta, they felt they could 'drop some of the shackles that they felt bound by back home' in UK. This was confirmed by Lara and by Gladys, both ex-WRENS who were stationed in Malta in their younger years. Every time they visit Malta, they 'bump into' Derek and Simon, who also were in Malta in the early 60s. All four are either single, widowed or divorced and feel that they can now enjoy a 'second round' of what they themselves call 'the Good Life'. They spend their time sightseeing or just lazing about in the warm sun. They pop over to Valletta or St Julian's Bay and spend a couple of hours watching the world go by from a pavement coffee shop, or a seafront promenade bench. At four, one can usually find them outside the hotel coffee shop waiting for tea to be served. They then return to the same place a couple of hours later for their pre-dinner G&T (Gin and Tonic) or a small glass of sherry. Two of these persons told me that they prefer to socialise in Malta as back in UK, friends and family do not like it when they meet someone that they would like to start a relationship with. In fact this was Lara's fifth trip to Malta, in which she spent time with 'her men friends'. She does not want anything permanent, but just wants to enjoy their time together without any ties or restrictions being placed upon them by society and family back in UK. 'This is exactly why I enjoyed my life with the WRENS in Malta: no one to judge or condemn you, just because you want to have your own bit of fun, feel liberated'.

She also explains that working as a WREN gave her a sense of belonging, even though she was far away from home. After work, 'the girls' would get together and

either stay in and enjoy catching up with everyday chores such as cooking or else they went out together shopping, dancing or to the pictures.

So one may ask: did working for the Services provide conditions for creating solidarity amongst these people, men and women, away from home? To some extent, according to my informants - yes - they felt the need for solidarity as they were fighting a common enemy or they had similar goals and objectives. This type of solidarity is sometimes visible even today when all female or all male groups visit Malta to commemorate some event or other. It is the nostalgia for this solidarity, this communitas which inspires these British persons to come to Malta in their twilight years. Lara and Amy explained that they remained friends with a few of the girls even after they finished working with the Services, and their friendship is based on the emotional support they gave each other when they were in Malta.

It is also this sense of 'belonging and solidarity' which also inspires persons who were not in Malta during the thirties to sixties period, but they had heard about it so much from family and close friends, that they come in search of it. 'My father-in-law spoke to me about it all the time. He was wheel chair bound for the last 10 years of his life and I looked after him. I bathed him, took him out and was a constant companion. He was at his happiest when he spoke about Malta. Now that he is gone this is the place where I can feel close to him as if he was alive' (Jack, 75 year-old gentleman, 2012).

In the case of Julia, who was a Navy Officer's wife in the 50s and 60s in Malta, she returns to Malta every two or three years and goes to search for her Maltese girlfriends. Her story is not unique: she came to Malta as a young bride. She spent a lot of time alone as her husband would be away at sea, or docked just outside Malta. In Malta she rented a house in what she considered to be a small village and realised that the best way to overcome the loneliness was to make friends with the local women. These women lived in the same street and she would see them when the local street vendors[33] came with their goods, or in the evening when the local women would gather to sit together, chatting and praying, on doorsteps.

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[33] In Malta it is customary for street vendors to take their produce through the local streets. In the past they would use horses or donkeys. Today these have been replaced by vans and trucks. They do not go into the main commercial roads, but to the residential areas. Fresh local vegetables, fruit and eggs are hawked on Monday and Thursday afternoons, paraffin and cleaning materials, gas bottles, and so on are sold in different localities according to a weekly schedule, whilst products such as fresh bread are sold on a daily basis.

As soon as the vegetable horse and cart arrived, Julia and her female neighbours would flock around the produce, poking and prodding to ensure they bought the best item. Julia soon realised that she had to do the same to get the produce she liked, however there were times when there were items, with which she was unfamiliar. She would ask her neighbours, who would explain in sign language and broken English how to cook the vegetable. Over time, she too was invited to sit on the neighbour's doorstep to have a chat with the result that a friendship of sorts ensued. This culminated when she became pregnant, when her friends took her under their wing, especially when she was quite ill with morning sickness. By the time she had the baby, she had formed part of the neighbourhood wives 'clique' who supported her, and when the need arose, she supported them also.

I was invited to join her when her Maltese ex-neighbours came to visit her at the hotel. Photos from the past and photos from the present were exchanged and passed around. Ohhs and Ahhs over new additions to the families, or sorrow expressed over the news that friends were seriously ill or had passed away. Julia tells them about the recipes she learnt from her Maltese girlfriends and which she still uses back in UK. She explains how her family love the '*qarabagħli mimli*' (stuffed marrows) and the '*mqarrun il-forn*' (baked macaroni with a red meat sauce and cheesy topping).

Self-empowerment as Cultural capital

This empowerment which is extended by transcendence is also evident in many of the women I engaged with as they explain that after going through a period of life when they were 'restricted' or 'compelled' to take on mundane roles within the family household. The fact that they grew older or 'realised it was now or never' forced them to look inside themselves to search for the type of landscape which offered them a 'better life' or 'feeling an inner happiness'. For some this could be achieved by taking up hobbies or interests, which they had when they were younger (and in most cases, single and childless). Others spoke about lost opportunities such as that of not completing their education, or of not achieving the education level which they now aspire too.

A few of the women I spoke to and who were in their 60s and early 70s were either following courses, or had taken up academic studies or within the last five years had

completed an academic degree. The holiday in Malta was, in some cases, an outcome of these studies. Moira (personal communication, 2014) read for a degree in her late sixties. She had given up her studies as a young teenager, to follow her fiancé as he pursued a career in the diplomatic service. When they returned to UK to settle down with young children she did not work outside the home. When the children left home she worked in social services. Upon retirement, she pursued academia and her last dissertation focused on the child migrants who were sent to Australia from foster homes in Britain. She said that she noticed that there were no studies about similar child migration from Malta. This led Moira to decide to come to Malta to see if she could unearth some relevant documents whilst concurrently enjoying a holiday.

Men, who decided to take up some form of learning in later life, in most cases took it up with the aim that in the future, if needs be, it could become a source of income or provided the 'excuse' to socialise with others, both during the learning stages as well as afterwards. As an age group, the men who did decide to take up some form of education (both formal and informal) were mostly in the boomer cohort and came from different backgrounds. About 12 of my older seniors were also involved in some learning experience ranging from computer skills, to video filming and editing. The background of these older adults was quite similar. In their working life, they had reached senior positions, and would have had, at least the equivalent to today's secondary level of education. Some were also graduates or senior professionals. They were also in a comfortable financial position, which allowed them not just the luxury of involving themselves in their new interest, but could also invest in equipment and classes. From my analysis of their conversations with me, the main reason for this educational or learning experience was to build cultural and social capital, through joining clubs, voluntary work or teaching others, sometimes for financial gain and sometimes for prestige.

Cultural capital represents the collection of non-economic forces and includes family background, varying investments and commitments to education, social class, and other material culture (Bourdieu, 1986). The objectified form of cultural capital includes material objects such as photos, medals or parts of uniforms which belonged to family members. The sources and techniques used in the recovery or creation of cultural resources could include areas such as the private/family sphere which can be mined for memories of traditional knowledge and anecdotal history as

well as for artefacts and the general working of the "reflexive modernity", especially through Lash and Urry's concept of economies of signs and space (in Ray, 1999).

Putnam, (1995, 2000) in his seminal study on the decline of social capital in American society noted various factors for this development, and which are similar to those found in Britain. Fost (1996) carried out research on the reason for this decline, among men and notes that "The movement of women into the labour force hurt groups like parent-teacher associations (PTAs) and the League of Women Voters most, but it also added to men's responsibilities around the house, allowing them less time for club activities" (Fost, 1996). He also noted that baby boomers are not interested in belonging to organisations that accept only male members. He also found that they also seek connections with their communities in new ways other than belonging to all male clubs which their forefathers were members of. Fost (1996) puts this down to the generational difference which Putnam (1995, 2005) advocates. Putnam refers to the stark "generational difference between people who grew up before 1945, who were and continue to be unusually civic, and those who grew up after that, who have always been much less civic" (Putnam, 1995, 1996, 2000)."The pre-1945 generation peaked as a fraction of the adult population in 1965 and is now rapidly passing from the scene" (Putnam, 1995, 1996, 2000). Another possibility for this change, is what Putnam (1995) calls the 're-potting hypothesis' which essentially means that since modern day generations are more mobile, with less residential stability they are less likely to form deep attachments to their residential community. A good number of my informants had similar stories to tell especially if they or their parents were in the Services or changed residence locality on a frequent basis, as a as result did not feel any deep place attachment to their present residential locality. On the other hand, women tended to put down roots, even though they would not have lived in some places for a long time and tended to think of multiple sites as 'home'. From the narratives it is very obvious, that once the women were 'uprooted' from their childhood home after marriage, they felt duty bound to build a 'home' for their new family unit. To do this they resorted to building a support network with other wives in the same predicament, or with local women and their families. It is interesting to note that ten years after the Putnam study, another study confirmed that there was a clear decline in association activity in the United States, especially after 1975, but there was relative stability in the United Kingdom, Netherlands and

Canada (Anderson, Curtis and Grabb, 2006). Anderson, Curtis and Grabb (2006) noted that the US decline pertained mainly to women and their analysis casts serious doubt on the theory that declining civic association activity in the United States reflects generational differences.

What is happening now, amongst my male informants, is that as some of them ease out of fulltime employment, friends pass away or become less mobile, the people that they once used to socialise with are no longer available. Some turn to making themselves useful and needed like the gentleman who looked after his wheelchair bound father-in-law, or a few other gentlemen who work on a voluntary basis. This voluntary work includes elements such as learning new skills, or passing on their skills to others as well as a socialising elements.

The WWII and the post-war period, and my tourists' perception of it seems to be gendered and according to Goldstein, gender roles in war are very consistent across all known societies (2003, p. 3). He goes on to give many different hypotheses for this consistency, which are beyond the scope of this thesis, however he does note the near-total exclusion of women from combat forces, through history and across cultures. This is of interest to my study as I have noted that many women have been vocal about either their own or their male relatives' and friends' involvement in this period, which in my case, have some form of attachment to Malta.

Vocal, here is used in the sense, of these women, wanting to tell their 'male war hero' story to anyone who will listen. The man here is placed in the gendered role of 'male warrior' and the female has the supporting role. The supporting role is on a continuum and ranges from the war or conflict period (such as during the Suez crisis I referred to in an earlier chapter) as the waiting wife and sweatheart (Goldstein 2003) to keeping the 'Home fires burning', to the present day, as wife in her role of carer, bearer of children who go on to defend Britain. I have met women, as wives, who would seek me out to tell me about their husband's or father's role in Malta. In one case the husband and wife were accompanied by the son and his family as well as a family friend. The husband's sight had deteriorated and when we met for our appointment to have a formal interview, the whole group turned up. Most of the questions I asked him were answered by his wife, although he was quite capable of answering them himself, as I found out when I met him on subsequent occasions. Her role of gatekeeper of the family history, was jealously protected and this was something which I observed on other occasions during this fieldwork and my

previous fieldwork among family entrepreneurs. Women emerge as being well-positioned to offer unique and irreplicable resources as developers of social and cultural capital. In the case of my female informants, they see themselves, just like the female business entrepreneurs, as protectors of the family heritage. They are the ones who collect the stories about family members and friends, and pass these on from one generation to the other. It seems to be more prevalent as women age: a few have said that they need to write all these things down, because they are afraid that they will forget all they know about the family. They want the younger family members to know all that they know, they want it to be passed on after they go. They collect items, which they consider to be mementoes of family history as well as listen to stories which are told, usually by other female family members. I consider the knowledge which is gathered, as cultural capital.

In the case of my male informants, they too collect photos and other memorabilia, but their main interest seems to be concentrated on using these materials as cultural capital. This cultural capital can then go on to be converted it into other forms of capital, such as social and symbolic capital. Social capital in a community is defined as collective norms of reciprocity and mutual trust. Putnam (1993, p. 167) defines social capital as "features of social organisations, such as networks, norms, and trust, that facilitate co-ordination and co-operation for mutual benefit. Social capital enhances the benefits of investment in physical and human capital." Coleman (1993, p. 9) says that such informal norms "depend on a dense and relatively closed social structure that has continuity over time". In one case, two gentlemen, Mike and Jack used the material which they 'collected' on holiday to give presentations about Malta, back in UK. Both belong to historical societies and when they returned to UK, they gave talks to the other members of their historical society. Mike gave a talk about the places he visited in Malta which he felt had a personal connection with him. He referred to places such as the Grand Harbour, which was where his father had been injured 'when all hell broke loose during the bombing of the Illustrious'. He also spoke about the War Memorial which lists the names of people who lost their lives during World War Two and the façade of the house which the Queen had stayed in when she was in Malta. Jack gave talks about the contrasts and similarities between UK and Malta linked to esoterica such as witchcraft and the goddess 'cult'.

As the presentations are given to other society members, social capital is built, however the symbolic capital, a form of cultural capital, is also significant. For

example, during the presentation, photographs which were taken by the presenters are used and Mike and Jack's own stories were told. By virtue of this, they are recognised as experts or 'owners', as according to Bourdieu, symbolic capital is 'any capital when it is perceived by an agent as self-recognized power to name, to make distinctions' (Jenkins, 1992, p. 238).

The roles which are undertaken by the tourists, both at the destination as well as afterwards back in UK are linked to the role that capital plays in asserting their identity. Social, symbolic and cultural capital are also pivotal in enhancing the good life which, as discussed earlier is one of the pivotal motivators for travel in later life.

One Marketing Profile does not fit all

As this dissertation aims to show, understanding the mature tourist is vital to the success of any marketing strategy. The problem of conflation, which we identified earlier, is prevalent among marketers who operate in the mass market sector, but who do not see it as conflation but as a 'profile' which can be 'targeted' in marketing jargon which actually means a very large group of persons with similar traits who could be influenced in a similar way to purchase similar products. This approach has started to change mainly because, in tourism we are seeing a shift away from the traditional mass market towards a fragmented market known by different names such as alternative, niche or specialist tourism, which would target or cater for smaller groups of persons. An example of this transition from mass to niche tourism can be seen by analysing the tourism policy documents for Malta over the last fifty years.

Research undertaken in 2007 by Susan Dann (2007, p. 429) drew attention to the fact that the "baby boomers, although now in their 40s and 60s, are perceived by marketers as a generational brand which is different from the objectively defined seniors market which, based on seniors membership organisations, starts at age 50". She too asserts that a "better understanding of the influence of generational cohorts as opposed to age as a segmentation and positioning variable will result in more effective targeting of this cohort". However even within the generational banding, there are a number of differences between the older tourists. Some informants observed that they were not 'taken in' by the articles which appeared in

travel magazines where they 'felt treated like imbeciles' or that 'they think we are all senile'. A few complained that the guides, hotel staff and travel reps tended to talk down to them, as 'if we are all old dears'. On the other hand, some of the informants specifically booked holidays with specific tour operators as they were guaranteed that there would not be any children or young people at the resort or hotel. In this case, the fact that the marketers carried out research to find out what was important to clients and then delivered on this by offering 'adult only' hotels, indicates that a distinction is being made even within the older adult target group.

Over 25 years ago, Wilhite, Hamilton and Reilly, (1988) were already advocating a service provision which would be based on meeting individual needs and interests, as well as avoiding emphasis on the 'differentness' of being older than the rest of the tourist population as much as possible. The modern trend towards an active lifestyle coupled with an increased travel propensity creates fertile ground for an active participation in tourism in later life.

My fieldwork in Malta, with British tourists, and which has taken place over the last few years, confirms that the 50+ age group does tend to have the weather and price as its initial motivation for travelling to Malta, however other factors do come into play. A good majority of my informants have confirmed that they come to Malta because it is warm: that is, they like the warm weather in the low and shoulder season and make it a point that they would not consider visiting Malta in the summer as it is 'too hot for me'. Price also features highly: but not price as in Malta being a cheap destination, but as in 'it being worth it for this type of holiday'. Some say that they 'could have gone to other cheaper destinations, especially outside the Eurozone, but a holiday in Malta is far better'. The information I have amassed during my PhD fieldwork has allowed me to propose a typology for the motivational aspects that spur senior tourists to visit Malta and which may be used as a model for other destinations. I will return to this presently.

Motives and Typologies

Although the warm winter climate and the competitive prices which are available during the low season are prime pull factors that attract the older Winter Sun tourists, these needs could be met by most countries in the Mediterranean area. My qualitative research has, however, indicated other determinants of demand which

encourage persons to opt for Malta. Firstly I will outline other models of motivation and determinants presented by both the social sciences as well as marketing literature

Tourism experts have devised a number of typologies of tourists based on demand determinants. The earliest known typologies are those associated with Eric Cohen, based on the degree to which they seek familiarity and novelty: the drifter, the explorer, the individual mass tourist, and the organized mass tourist (1972), and Stanley Plog's allocentric to psychographic continuum (1974). Cohen's typology is based on the theory that engaging in tourism combines two key attributes – the curiosity to seek out new experiences and the need for the security of the familiar. Cohen proposes a continuum based on various combinations of novelty and security and, on this basis, arrives at a fourfold classification of tourists. He classified the tourist by motivation, the degree of independence, and experience sought at the destination.

According to Cohen, (1972), tourists, as transient visitors, take with them a protective 'environmental bubble' of expectations, preferences and prejudices. The greater the range and depth of these, the greater the 'bubble', reducing the desire or willingness to explore, to come into contact with the host population, to experience local culture, or to stay in unfamiliar / or 'uncomfortable' surroundings. In my Malta research I noted that SAGA, the leading British tour operator for seniors, and also one of the leading UK organizations which takes tourists to Malta, seeks to protect their clients as much as possible and in a good number of destinations, offers either a SAGA administered/run hotel accommodation or else in cases where it cannot do so, promotes the fully inclusive package, which most times also includes alcoholic beverages for its guests. They offer the added bonus of having full time live-in British representatives on site as well as additional management visits from the Folkestone head office. So in this case one can note that it is not just the tourist, (Cohen 1972) but even the tour operator which creates the 'environmental bubble' for the clients at the destination.

Figure 16 Older British tourist transported back to their hotel within the safety of their 'environmental bubble'.

Cohen's classification fails to incorporate all combinations of experience, and packaging of some elements of independent tours. It also fails to allow for diverse holiday needs of an individual. Sharpley (1994) also criticises Cohen's typology which pigeon-holes the organised mass tourist and the individual mass tourists into a segment he calls institutionalised tourists and the Explorer and Drifter as a non-institutionalised segment. Sharpley does not agree that there is a sharp distinction between the two segments and gives examples such as when 'explorers' utilise specialist guidebooks for choosing accommodation and transport. I agree with Sharpley and support the argument with the following example.

In the case of a typical Saga guest one could say that they fit in with the 'Institutionalized' Cohen typology, however from my research in Malta, I have met

British tourists who at times have taken a Saga tour and at other times have gone for either they own self organized travel arrangements or for dynamic packaging[34]. The main reasons they have given for this is that if they are above a certain age or have particular health issues and they do not travel with a company such as SAGA, they will find it difficult at times, impossible, to find a travel insurance company that will provide cover. When they do manage to find insurance, the fee is prohibitive. According to my informants, SAGA also offers a special insurance, which covers their clients' homes when they are away. This came in quite useful for a number of informants as when they were in Malta, their houses were either broken into, or had burst pipes during a particularly cold winter in UK. This also indicates that the 'safety bubble' is not just for the holiday but extends outside it. What we have here are tourists, who want at times to travel with a tour operator that will offer them peace of mind and security not just at the holiday destination but also before and after their holiday. They also want the option to take 'a risk' by travelling to places, which are not part of the tour operator's package offer. If they have the money and the desire, they can and want to do, both.

The tourists, who came to Malta either as individuals or those who made up their own packages, did so because of various reasons. Some did not like the location of tour operator hotels and wanted to stay in Valletta or a village. Some prefer self-catering and had made friends in Malta who could indicate good deals for them. Some do not want a 'regimental' type of holiday, in the sense of having a timetable for various activities throughout the day. This was a frequent response in cases where the informants come to look for cemeteries, old homes and other haunts from previous visits to Malta and wanted to organize their own time. The tourists who were against the regimentation felt that it reminded them of being in some 'old folks home', or in 'God's waiting room'. On the other hand some love the fact that the 'timetable' organized their time and they did not have to think about what and how they were going to fill their holiday time. Overall the main deciding factors were the price, the weather and the mental assurance that 'everything would be taken care of' either by the tour operator, or by local friends, or by relatives or friends that would have put them in touch with a local person or organization.

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[34] Dynamic packaging is a method used by tour operators which allows online purchasers to build their own package using different elements such as flights, accommodation, excursions and so on.

Motivators and Determinants

My analysis of motivation and determinants classification of tourist typologies indicates that few of these studies have specifically targeted the older adult tourists, apart from those that have used age as the basis of segmentation. My research addresses this dearth and identifies six attributes or values, which contributed positively to the older adult tourists' Malta holiday experience. Using a cluster analysis I identify two main clusters: the external landscape and the internal landscape.

The first three positive attributes form part of the external landscape and these are the agreeable climate, the competitive price and the safety or low risk perception. The second cluster, deal with the internal landscape. These are the social interation, the holiday experience and the historical and cultural affinity. The attribute which was given the highest significance was that of the social interaction, usually with co-nationals and in the case of returnees – with local people. The second element was the great value given to the holiday experience which was described by one person as "a journey of self discovery". This was achieved through expressions such as painting, returning or discovering sites of significance such as the War Museum, art, spirtuality (local churches and going to mass everyday, temples, wicca, and so on). Self-discovery also was experienced through learning something new: be it history or geography, ballroom dancing or by getting to do what they could not do when they were younger. The third value was attributed to the historical and cultural links between Britain and Malta, some of which tie in with the ex-colonial relationship. These internal landscape attributes tend to take tourists into the community where they also accumulate and exchange social and cultural capital.

Many tourists choose to travel based on their life experiences and this form of travel frequently becomes a "kind of pilgrimage" (Knudsen, 1998, p. 94). The desire or even the 'need' to 'retrace familiar or unknown territory' can satisfy either one or more of the attributes mentioned above. According to Knudsen's research about pilgrimage in late adulthood among Australians, she found that people in late adulthood, frequently travel as part of their 'life review' process. The places that are chosen are usually selected because they are 'sacred'. This may be becasue they are universally accepted as 'sacred sites' or may be exclusively 'sacred' from a personal perspective. The pilgrimage can take place either as an external journey,

that is to a physical space, or it may be internal, such as when one produces a creative output such as a painting or book. Older travellers can call upon their life's experiences and knowledge to experience their journey at a deeper or heightened level. Knudsen (1998) notes that the experiential learning that takes place relates much more to earlier learning which is both structural and incidental. The travellers such as in the case of the groups which visited Malta for the George Cross Commemoration, or the Seige Memorial Bell Commemoration, felt a strong sense of communitas as they spent a week in Malta with other veterans and their families. These events allowed them renew past friendships and to create new ties based on old shared events. This communitas was also felt by Archaeology, Jazz and Dance groups, who too share rituals and bonding events. According to members and the managers of the Special Interest groups, the group will also prepare or plan for the next tour during the actual trip. These special trips which I am calling a pilgrimage, therefore serves as a motivational force for the group members to repeat similar journeys, especially when their 'life review' has not been completed or wish to enjoy the experience of their journey, once more.

In presenting these clusters with their respective six attributes or values, I do not assume that these motivators are replicable in other destinations. The external cluster is highly likely to be similar in other destinations as the values are universal, however in the case of the internal cluster, its respective attributes will be highly dependant on both the visitor as well as the visited. I recommend that further research will need to be undertaken to ascertain elements of replicability and validity for other destinations.

I will now shift attention to a specific group of persons. There is an awareness that as one gets older one may need different forms of assistance and help when travelling. This will form the next topic which ties in with older persons: Social Tourism.

Senior Social Tourism[35]

Not everyone can participate in leisure and tourism. "Tourism is an activity that is highly concentrated among affluent, industrialised nations" (Boniface and Cooper,

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[35] This section was based on research carried out for the Socialising Tourism Project, Leonardo DOI SoTo - "**Socializing Tourism, integrated training course for social tourism**" N. of project: 527466 – LLP – 1 – 2012 – 4172/001 – 001, the findings of which have been presented in the document '*State of the Art Research Report*' by Avellino at the University of Malta.

2009, p. 22). Boniface and Cooper (2009) further explain that for many disadvantaged groups in industrialised counties, "participation in tourism remains an unobtainable luxury." This is confirmed by the latest Eurostat statistical data, which indicates that the rate of poverty in 27 European Union states stood at 23.3 per cent in 2011 and unemployment, has grown from 7.1 per cent in 2008 to 10.5 per cent in 2012. In 2011, 24.2 per cent of the EU27 population were at risk of poverty or social exclusion. In the United Kingdom 14.4% of the 50 to 64 year olds and 21.4% of the over 65s are poor, compared to the EU averages of 13.5% and 15.9% respectively (Eurostat, 2010).

Data from Eurostat (2010) indicates that, after appropriate adjustments of tourism infrastructures, 70 per cent of disabled people could travel under favourable conditions and this is quite relevant in a progressively aging European society. Other sources such as One-Stop-Shop for Accessible Tourism in Europe (OSSATE) and International Social Tourism Organization (ISTO) suggest that the potential catchment area for people with a physical and mental disability and the elderly could comprise 134 million people. These indicators send a strong message to the travel industry and destinations that holidays may become a luxury for an ever increasing proportion of the EU population.

Therefore we must conclude that although the seniors market is definitely set to grow, a percentage of this market will not be able to fully participate in tourism unless governments and the tourism industry plan ahead. One such strategy is that of investing in 'social tourism'. The European Union is at the forefront of this both as a political strategy and is also a priority. For example, the European Economic and Social Committee voiced its opinion on "Socially sustainable tourism for everyone" in 2003, and in 2006 on "Social tourism in Europe" (2006/C 318/2). The European Commission has taken different steps in this direction, one of the most important being the creation of the Calypso project[36], linking social tourism to the sustainability agenda and the general competitiveness of European tourism, underlining also the potential economic contribution of this kind of activity through job creation and enhanced visitors' spending multipliers. Calypso aims to combat fluctuating seasonal touristic patterns, through the function of social policy of tourism, development of economic activity and growth. Furthermore it hopes to increase the sense of

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[36] (http://www.bits-int.org/en/index.php?menu=75&submenu=151)

European citizenship, as well as giving importance to the demand-side and the social perspective of tourism.

Historically, social tourism tended to be associated with sub-standard hostels, holiday camps for disadvantaged persons, or visits to pilgrimage sites for the elderly or infirm persons. Over sixty years ago, Hunzicker (1951, p. 1) had defined social tourism as "the relationships and phenomena in the field of tourism resulting from participation in travel by economically weak or otherwise disadvantaged elements in society". This attached a form of stigma with it, as recipients of a social tourism holiday or break, would not want others to know about it.

 Today, the perception has changed. It is ''Tourism with an added moral value, which aims to benefit either the host or the visitor in the tourism exchange" (Minnaert, Maitland & Miller, 2007). Fieldwork research which I carried out for the Socialising Tourism programme (Avellino, 2013), indicated that Governments and agencies which promote social tourism are trying to reach out to those pockets in society that feel socially excluded. "Social exclusion refers, in particular, to inability to enjoy social rights without help, suffering from low self-esteem, inadequacy in their capacity to meet their obligations, the risk of long-term relegation to the rank of those on social benefits, and stigmatization" *(*Rodgers, Gore, and Figueiredo, 1995, p. 45). This means that it now takes into consideration both the tourists as well as the host community. By offering reduced prices and holiday vouchers, host localities and destinations in decline, can be given a new boost as these would be supported economically in the low and the shoulder seasons, which would mean that seasonality is avoided or smoothened out. Social well-being can be generated through the economic activity at the destination especially during the low season, which could encourage local population to remain in their home region as they would not need to leave to seek employment elsewhere. It also gives the locals a sense of pride as well as a market for their locally produced goods and services to different social groups or through the provision of hospitality to those less likely to otherwise travel.

Social tourism is not just about creating an opportunity for persons to access destinations that they would not normally be able to visit. The visitor can be exposed to the host – together they come to a shared understanding, a shared responsibility, a respect that gives valorisation to the touristic elements as well as the everyday life of a place. It is the driver for the exchange of ideas, creator and medium of exchange

for social and cultural capital, through learning about 'the other's' customs, political views, and a plethora of other areas of interest, which could be explored by persons, who, without social tourism initiatives, would have never been able to take place (Avellino, 2013).

"Social tourism is an established part of the tourism sector in many European countries" (McCabe, Minnaert and Diekmann, 2011, p. 1), however great variations exist across Europe in the scale, emphasis and direction of social tourism practice. There is general confusion as to what constitutes social tourism as there are multiple definitions of it. In Malta, social tourism (both international as well as domestic) is still not on the agenda although there are a number of initiatives which are being undertaken at the moment. Through my discussions with my informants about travel from Great Britain to Malta, I discovered that social tourism for older persons, is available to members of war veteran or Masonic organisations, trade unions or other welfare institutions. Other charitable institutions also offer social tourism travel to Malta to other disadvantaged persons such as the long-term unemployed with young children and grandparents living in the same household. The parents and young children of long term unemployed are on welfare, even if the grandparents are not, however the organization that financed these trips for the three generations did so because they felt that it was important for all the members of the household to go on holiday together.

The grandparents that I interviewed described how they helped the family through emotional, moral and financial support. At times they went through many hardships such as giving up good quality of food or clothes so that they could use the money for the children's needs. When asked by the social organization on the location that they would like to go to, the children asked to go to Orlando, however this was not possible due to financial reasons. They suggested that the Mediterranean would be a good option and so the grandparents suggested Malta because the grandfather had been stationed there and had "always wanted to return one day because the people were ever so friendly".

During the fieldwork I met a group of 30 senior tourists who were all staying together in a good hotel in Sliema. Their week-long trip was organized and financed by a Masonic Lodge based in the Midlands. The group leader explained how similar trips are organized on an annual basis, and 'deserving members' and other 'deserving persons' were given a holiday once every two years. 'Deserving persons' could

include spouses or widows of members, or other persons who have fallen on hard times usually through ill health or abandonment.

The destinations chosen would always have some link with the Masons and Malta was considered one of the best places because of this link, combined with the weather and good competitive prices. The group would be taken to various places some with obvious links to the craft such as St John's co-cathedral in Valletta and other places which I was instructed not to reveal.

A great number of social tourists whom I interviewed did not feel, whilst they were on holiday, disadvantaged in any way. One woman explained that during her holiday she felt a 'complete person' as she could enjoy herself just like everybody else on the trip, but back home she always felt that she was 'inferior' to the others around her especially during social occasions such as when dining out. In fact she rarely ate out with friends as she could not afford it when she had to pay for it herself.

The informants identified another benefit of social tourism: sharing the holiday experience with persons that are in a similar position. This benefit extended past the holiday experience as in some cases the friendship that was created during the holiday, carries on back home as the new friends keep in touch. Vera (approximately 80 year old) explained how her friend Susan (approximately 75 year old) whom she met on a social tourism holiday in Malta at first contacted each other by phone. They have now moved on to acquiring lap tops, learning how to use Skype and email. They meet up every two months or so and when I met them, it was their first independent holiday together. They both 'discovered' that Malta 'could be done on their own steam' through social networking sites which are specifically for older persons. They told me that other Facebookers described how safe and welcomed they felt in Malta and that many places were easily accessible on the bus. Vera was able to get financial assistance to partially fund her holiday through a charitable institution. Had she not been able to do so, she would not have afforded to travel abroad.

Today, social tourism is trying to reach out to those pockets in society that feel socially excluded. "Social exclusion refers, in particular, to inability to enjoy social rights without help, suffering from low self-esteem, inadequacy in their capacity to meet their obligations, the risk of long-term relegation to the rank of those on social benefits, and stigmatization' (Rodgers et al., 1995). Social exclusion can include a number of single or multiple deprivations such as income, employment, health

deprivation and disability, education and training, housing, geographical access to services (UK Index of Multiple Deprivation). Older persons could fit into any of these categories at one time or another of their lives and research on older persons should be cognizant of this as these may influence the behaviour and actions of the persons being studied.

The next section will introduce a selection of the informants who participated in the study. Some could easily qualify as social tourists, and would be shocked to hear this as this type of tourism is considered by many to be derogatory. However a good number of interviewees expressed concern that, one day in the future, they or their travelling companion, might not be in a position to travel to Malta. For a few it was an imminent event. The facility of having access to some form of social or assisted tourism would certainly be welcomed by most, even if it were not availed of.

Vignettes

"There is no more apparent than within the aging population that it is just as heterogeneous as other age groups, not only with regard to education, professional status, and income, but also with reference to their differing prior travel and leisure experiences" (Ryan and Trauer, 2005, p. 511 in Theobald, 2005). In Appendix B, I present four vignettes taken from the OBTs. Not all were included due to ethical reasons so as to retain anonymity. From my analysis of the ethnographies of the twelve informants (and their families, when accompanying them) I note that they are certainly not heterogeneous although there are also the recurrent elements which I described in the earlier section on motivators and determinants and which I have summarized here for easier readability.

External Landscape	**Internal Landscape**
agreeable climate	social interaction
competitive price	self discovery
safety or low risk perception	historical and cultural links

Many persons were interviewed: some for an hour or so, others I worked with for longer as I joined them on excursions, walks and other activities. A few others have established a relationship with me over the years. Some have welcomed me into

their homes in UK, others have been welcomed into my home in Malta. Others keep in touch at Christmas by sending cards and photos. Others are no longer with us, they have gone onto another journey, to another destination, another landscape.

It has not been an easy task to decide which vignettes to choose, and when I chose, above all I wanted to do justice to their story. The eight persons featured below are Emmanuel, Joyce and David, Paul, Mary and Peter, Duncan and Betty.

The main reason why Emmanuel travelled to Malta was to visit his birthplace for the first time. He began to feel this need as he reached retirement. When he was younger he did think about it, but it was something unachievable as he did not have the time and money to travel abroad. This was primarily a journey of self-discovery, a closing of the circle.

Joyce and David are frequent returnees. Their visits seem to coincide with important events such as special anniversaries and birthdays. It is also a time for them to build on their social and cultural capital. They visit old friends in Malta and make new friends within the hotel grounds or other places they visit. They like to share the knowledge they have about Malta with other hotel guests and take on the role of 'experts'. In this way they also build a wider circle of British friends whom they catch up once they return back home to England.

Paul's pilgrimage to Malta and his recurring secular pilgrimages to Egypt are preceded by intense preparations. In the case of Malta, together with other members from his voluntary association, he raised funds and designed a plaque to be placed in Malta in remembrance of the crew who were killed on take-off. Paul also wrote about the event in the SVA magazine. In this case study one can note that the three elements of social interaction (through the SVA and the Maltese he encountered on his journey): self-discovery or self-actualisation (through Paul achieving a goal he set out for himself), the historical, and the cultural links (between Malta, Britain and the Suez crisis of the 50s), are all part of the what determined and motivated Paul in his 'mission'.

Figure 17 Visting Graves of Air Crew killed in the 50s.

"While journeying, the 'pilgrim' may obtain some special benefit from her/his travels. The 'ritual' of travel unites generation after generation, and the concept of the 'quest' has given rise to a significant collection of written material that is part of what has been referred to by Carl Jung (1983) as 'the collective unconscious'" (Knudsen 1998, p. 96). Mary and Peter's journey to Malta united their three generations (their own, their daughter and granddaughter) to their mother's ancestors through the war exhibit and the participation at the local village feast. The link through the cousin's artefact was not part of the "quest" but a serendipitous moment that every tourist

hopes to find in his/her travels. However, in the family's future visits it will form part of the ritual too.

Figure 18 Enjoying the Traditional Band March during the Village Feast

Source: Avellino 2015

The Betty and Duncan case study includes pilgrimage, self-actualisation and socialising as key reasons for their visit to Malta. It was also a journey which allowed Duncan to meet up with cousins and an extended family whom he had heard a lot about but had never met. After this meeting he kept in touch with the family in Malta, although he does not think he will return to Malta again as he does not intend travelling abroad in the future.

The rituals associated with the pilgrimage journey may also consist of "the 'send-off and return' being marked by 'a great deal of fervour and or emotion, presentations of gifts and flowers; the close physical contact of participants and prayers and tears which provide a catharsis for the participants" (Knudsen (1997). In this study, I too have noted similar elements even when the ritual did not take place in a group

scenario. For example in the case of Paul's visit to the cemetery, I and later the warden, were the only people present. As soon as I parked and we got out of the car, Paul turned to me and said that he needed to prepare himself. I moved away and he took out the plaque from his bag. He then took out his beret and medals and put them on. He indicated with his head that we should enter the cemetery and I followed him as he sort of 'marched slowly' into the walled courtyard.

We started to walk among the tombstones, trying to find the grave, but after a while realised that a warden was present at the guardroom, so I went to ask him for directions. He took us to the grave and here we proceeded to have our own little ceremony. Paul had composed an obituary. I read it out aloud as we (Paul, the warden and I) stood to attention at the side. He then laid the plaque on the grave and saluted. We then walked away in a sombre way. It was quite moving and afterward we went to the warden's room where he showed us records of visits paid by other persons to the same grave site. This sense of communitas was created, as we (Paul and I) as pilgrims "distanced ourselves from mundane structures and own social identities, leading to a homogenization of status" (Thomassen, 2009, p. 15). The communitas was also extended to after the journey in Malta and took place when Paul met up with the SVA back in UK, where he was able to explain to all the other members what happened on his trip to Malta, and share the information he had gathered about the event as well as photos.

I do not think that any of the informants recognised that their journey to Malta was in fact a pilgrimage, threshold or liminal episode in their lives. What this means to them may not be evident to the casual observer, but may be revealed when the ethnographer has a rapport with the informant, possibly stretching beyond the holiday period. This is one of the limitations of this study, although I have tried to overcome it in a few instances as I have remained in contact with my informants after their journey in Malta has ended.

The other others

The vignette selection shows that every person has a unique story to tell and it is tied in to their experience of the Malta landscape. It is the landscape which beckons them to visit the island, although some may challenge the concept that it is not the destination which attracts tourists.

According to Relph, **"where someone goes is less important than the act and style of going"** contending that a modern traveller is less concerned with the actual place but feeds on the fascination with the paraphernalia associated with it (1976, p. 87). He posits that "Roads, railways, airports, cutting across or imposed on the landscape rather than developing with it, are not only features of placelessness in their own right, but, by making possible the mass movement of people with all their fashions and habits, have encouraged the spread of placelessness well beyond their immediate impacts". (Relph, 1976, p. 90). This sense of placelessness which is supported by others such as Auge's (2000) radical notion of non-place, and Thrift's (1996) fleeting places of hypermodernity, cannot be denied their 'place' in modern 'de-territorialised identity' (Gupta and Ferguson 1992; Appadurai, 1996). In this study, the place as a landscape of social, cultural, geographic, and national identity is negotiated on the actual physical landscape itself. Non-places become places as their story is told. Identity of self is framed by the bounded landscape and its "persisting continuities of long traditions, sustained habitations, national languages, and cultural geographies," (Said, 1993, p. 408). Said continues: "but there seems no reason except fear and prejudice to keep insisting on their separation and distinctiveness" . . . as he refers to labels which we give to things, and people as he believes that "no-one today is purely one thing" (Said, 1993, p. 408).

Said says that labels such as Indian or woman, and so on, are no more than starting points, which if followed into actual experience for only a moment are quickly left behind (Said, 1993, p. 407) as he refers to the "the transgressive and mobile forces of migrants (refugees, exiles, guest workers etc.)". We tend to think of these people in relation to persons coming from lesser-developed countries to more developed countries, however one does not tend to think of the reverse, that is of people going from more developed countries to lesser-developed countries such as the persons who were employed by the metropolis but sent to live in peripheral countries. These too must be included in our studies as we accept the "necessity to re-evaluate the notions of identity and culture as rooted in place" (Said, 1993, p. 407). It is not correct to just restrict ourselves in "re-evaluating the notions of identity of native Africans or native sub-continent Indians" in relation to their being colonised, without accepting that the British or other colonials who spent a part of their lives, living in a former colony, would also need to re-evaluate their own notions of identity. If this is not addressed, then we are in denial as to the effects of these sojourns.

In the modern day tourism context the same questions apply – do the tourists from a dominant country become or indeed want to become acculturated or even 'hybridised' by the hosts? Colonial hegemonies, in order to maintain order and structure sought to unify nations by promoting the abstract community and by enforcing 'elements of cultural homogeneity', symbols, values, traditions and principles (Giddens 1985, Palmer, 2005, p. 10). Does Malta as a destination use the same mechanism used by its ex-colonisers, to direct the British tourists to bond with a pseudo 'Britain in Aspic' (Avellino, 2013) which is based on the premise of a shared heritage and culture. The circulating imaginaries (Salazar, 2012) may certainly contribute to this perception. To this one must add different elements such as language, culture, architecture, education, governance, business, and to a lesser extent kinship, which contribute to a Maltese form of Britishness, and which are recognisable even more by the older British generation.
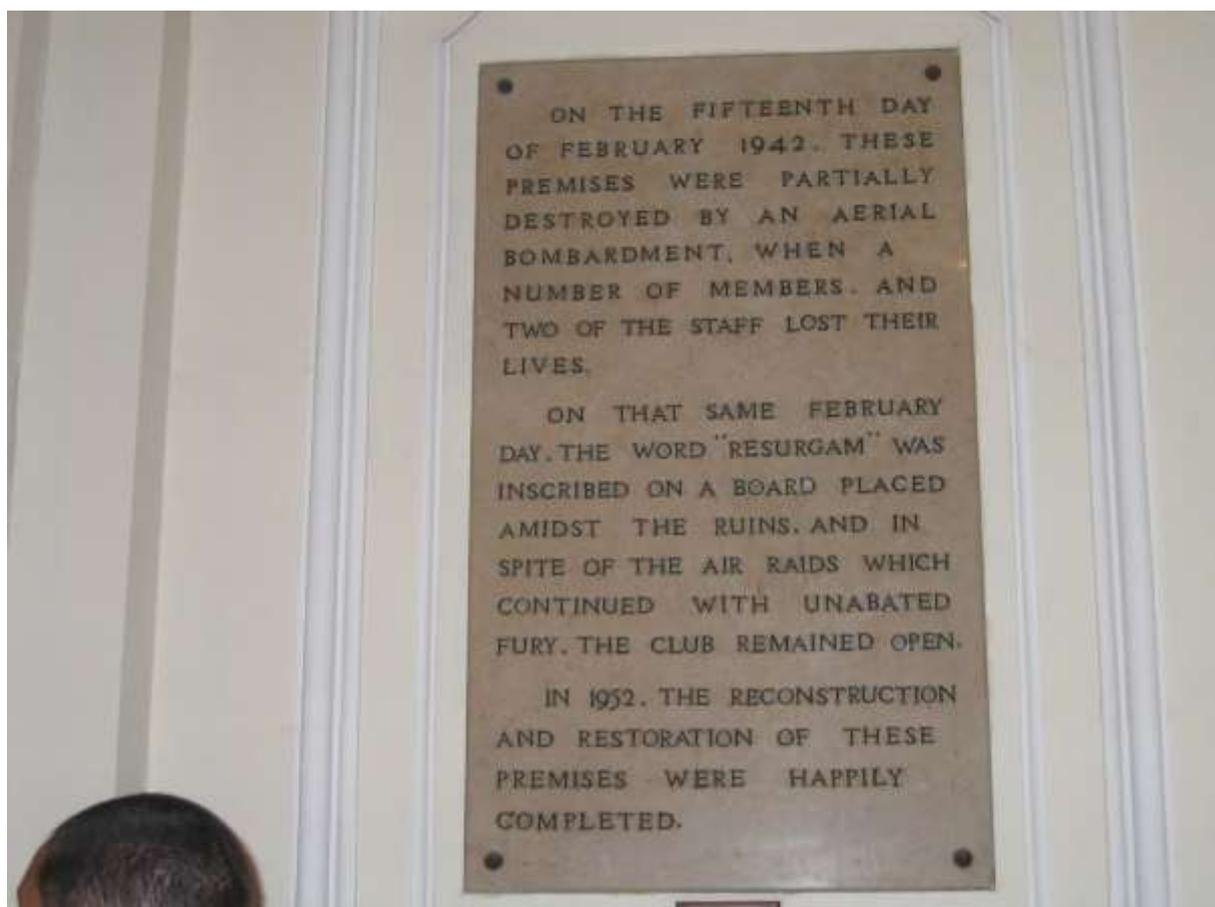
Figure 19 Shared heritage Interpretation Panel

Source: Avellino, 2015

These elements all form part of Maltese inherent heritage which is composed of multiple imaginaries of 'imagined communities' (Anderson, 1991), but which over time have come to convey a common and shared heritage (Palmer, 2005).

The next section explores the elements of heritage and how it is interpreted by the 'experts' as well as by the tourists as consumers. It will seek to examine how the interplay between what is considered as a shared-unshared history and a shared-unshared identity is memorialised on the Maltese landscape.

CHAPTER FIVE – CONTESTATIONS OF HERITAGE AND IDENTITY
Introduction

This chapter will start by discussing history and its use by cultural intermediaries, (Bourdieu, 1984), commodifiers, cultural brokers[37], or what I call 'bodies of expertise'. History is used by these mediators, as a product to attract tourists to particular sites and destinations, by packaging and marketing it to be consumed as heritage. This heritage is also manipulated through interpretation to deliver 'messages' to both visitors and local people. It is also 'a key mechanism in defining community, ethnic or national identity and re-inscribing the post-colonial landscape' (Marschall in Hall and Tucker, 2014, p. 95). In this chapter, we will also examine the shared, unshared, and contested history of the informants. The following chapter will go on to discuss how this relates to identity and memory (first and second main themes) and its links to tourists' extrinsic and intrinsic understanding of the Maltese holiday experience (the third theme). This will be done through the development of a 'mosaic picture' of what is being negotiated between the British tourists and the Maltese, at different spaces on the Maltese landscape. This extends from the textual to the symbolic as well as to the emotive. The reason for this multifaceted perspective will enable one to understand and interpret the rich ethnographic data that was collected during the fieldwork.

This section explores the different ways that tourists experience identity through their visits to significant sites as well as through the interaction with the locals, artifacts and events. It examines the mechanisms with which both tourists and locals come to terms with their roots, national identity and possibly even their future. Through media intrinsic to the tourism landscape such as museums, artifacts, buildings,

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[37] Culture brokers in this context are considered as people who professionally provide a protective barrier between the tourist and the local community. Based on my research for this study, I suggest that Culture brokers can also become 'middle men or women' because very frequently, they are located at the interface of the tourist/host encounter. Because of this process of satisfying their tourist customers' needs, many of these so-called marginal men and women come to adopt the tourists' world view and lifestyles. As a result of this, they may also become separated,or distanced from their own culture and in some extreme cases they can become detached from the cultural reality because their priority is profit.
When in this distanced or detached state, they can be subjected to two types of diametrically opposed impacts. One impact is that of acculturation to the point of absorbing completely the culture of the tourist that they deal with on a regular basis. Another impact which I have observed is that since the front-liners are continuously promoting Malta and the local community, they are fiercely proud of all that is Maltese and take it to heart if anyone criticizes anything Maltese. They are continuously on the defensive, so much so that anything which is really negative will be considered as a taboo subject and will not discuss it objectively with foreigners. I refer to this 'touchiness' in Chapter Two

performances, food and so on, the tourists communicate through symbols, signs, as well as through their senses and their bodies, with the locals and other tourists.

In this section I look more closely at how the British tourists' experience of Malta's heritage is framed. I do so by examining topoi which have become part of the narrative which is circulating through tourists' cultural texts at the level of both their production for, as well as their consumption by, tourists in general and more specifically the British senior tourists. Using this approach allows me to analyse heritage through the perspective that combines both the landscape as well as the culture, the tangible as well as the intangible, the past and its link to the present (Davis 1999; Waterton 2005; Smith 2006) In my case I examine this in the light of what all of this means to both the local Maltese as well as the British senior tourists in Malta.

Narratives, Themes and Sense of Place

The popular 'topoi' of the British senior tourist in Malta has its genesis not in the present day touristic exploits, nor in the tour operators' 'Malta' brochure page, but in a series of historical events that have been discursively assimilated into a history of winners and losers, of conquests and submissions, resulting in both a shared as well as a contested history and collective memory. The Maltese Islands' historical narratives, yield, just like in the case of Cyprus, (Scott, 1995, p. 60) "a range of often contradictory, possible narrative themes".

One such narrative theme is that of Malta as the island fortress, defending the faith for Europe against the infidel during the 1565 Great Siege. It also defended the Empire against the Axis onslaught during WWII for which it received the George Cross. Images of strength, courage and gallantry are evoked.

> *"Malta was endowed with superb harbours and dockyard facilities, an unsinkable fortress strategically situated in the central Mediterranean, a vital link with the two nearest bases a thousand miles away at Gibraltar and Alexandria. Malta's proximity to Sicily made it extremely susceptible to direct air attack and to naval blockade…"* (Cassar, 2000, p. 215)

Another narrative has, as its central theme, the 'mother' image. This first appears in the Neolithic period where the limestone Megalithic temples "echo the rounded

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contours of the Neolithic Goddess statues" (Rountree, 2006, p. 106). The temples are considered to be constructed in a way that replicate the female body (Gimbutas, 1987, Rountree, 2006). The majority of the Malta temples are aligned to East (Sunrise at the Equinox). During the sunrise of the Winter Solistice, the sun's rays, symbolising Man, impregnates the female body (for example at the Mnajdra temple) symbolically re-enacting a fertility rite, the union of heaven and earth (Albrecht, 2005). The Calypso Greek legend is also a figurative narrative for the ritual described above because it is the female nymph which captures the male half-god inside her cave and keeps him captive for seven long years. The myth that Malta was a prime pilgrimage site for mother-goddess or earth-mother worship is reinforced today by the number of groups who come to Malta and Gozo on what are known as goddess tours.

The mother, caring image is also expressed through the narratives which tell of the islands being important as a haven for ships crossing the Mediterranean, be they Phoenicians, Greeks, Romans, Knights of St John, French or British. The biblical story of St Paul which is related to all school children in Malta as well as tourists which visit Malta, tells of how he was shipwrecked and welcomed by the Maltese. They 'looked after the survivors and offered them hospitality'. The same people are also told how during the Knights period (1530-1798), Malta had the largest hospital in the Mediterranean and during the British period

> "*Malta has assumed the role of nurse, and her breakwaters seem like arms stretched out to receive her burden of suffering. Once the hospital ship has passed within their shelter the rolling ceases, and the wounded feel that they have reached a haven of rest*" (MacKinnon A, G, 1916)[38].

The visual presentation of the Maltese woman in modern promotional literature portrays the female mother, either looking after English Language students, or being hospitable and welcoming strangers to her home or welcoming tourists to their 'home' in Malta: a Madonna-like icon.

The third narrative is that linked to Malta as a place which has attracted many different people to its shores. These visitors would reside on the island for different periods but ultimately they would move on. Maltese history school books and a number of tourist guide books are subdivided according to the different colonisers:

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[38] In 1915 Malta was turned into a giant hospital to receive the wounded of the Gallipoli campaign. According to Pisani (2012) 80,000 soldiers were treated in Malta and this was not the first time that 'Malta took the role of a Nurse in Wartime'.

Phoenicians, Romans and so on. Tourists are taken to sites which have become significant because of their association with previous visitors or *barranin* (non-Maltese or outsiders).

One of the earliest romantic narratives is that according to tradition, the Greek mythological nymph, Calypso captured Odysseus and kept him in her cave and under her spell for 7 years. Calypso's cave is one of the main highlights for visitors going to Gozo, and many restaurants, hotels and shops in the area sport names associated with this tale – Ogygia, Homer, Calypso, Titan, Atlas and Odysseus. St Paul, another *barrani*, is said to have been shipwrecked in Malta, and during his 3 month sojourn, besides performing many miracles, stories are told of how he converted the pagan population to Christianity. A visit to St Paul's Grotto (supposedly where St Paul was kept as prisoner), St Paul's Church which is built directly above the grotto and St Paul's Catacombs (not remotely connected to St Paul other than being close to St Paul's Grotto and church are 'a must see' on tourists itinerary to Rabat and Mdina, the old capital city.

A more recent case in point is 'Olly's last pub' which refers to the English style Pub where Oliver Reed[39] had his last drink and passed away there. To keep with the drinking theme, Strait Street also known as 'The Gut' was the equivalent of the red-light district for the Royal Navy on shore leave between the 30s and 70s. Both 'Olly's last pub and Strait Street are located in Valletta and are on the 'must see' itinerary for the capital city.

This strong sense of place that is evoked through the meshing of the landscape both geographically as in being an island or group of islands, the sea, the harbours and the physical location, coupled with the unique human activity as referred to in the MacKinnon (1916) text quoted earlier, gives the Maltese Islands a strong identity and character which is felt by both the locals as well as the tourists. This becomes even more significant when it is also part of what the visitors feel is their own identity, which is reinforced through their engagement with the space. Identity is a complex idea, constructed on the basis of language, religion, civic values, history, myths, memories and place (Smith 1991; Beetham and Lord 1998; Graham 1998, Dijkink 1999, Paasi 2001, Huff 2012). British tourists identify largely with the sense of 'islandness' and with the 'sea' as physical dimensions which are common to both the

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[39] Oliver Reed (1938 -1999), British actor died in Malta

Maltese and British Isles. In a sense, this engagement between the physical or geographical space, its history, together with the actions performed there, produces a cultural landscape that is unique, but which is also a 'visible barometer of change' (Weaver, 2006, p. 133). The 'genius loci' of a place: that intangible spirit which is created from the zero sum of the features of the space mentioned above (Brandenburg and Carroll 1995, p. 384; Stedman, 2003) gives it its 'sui generis', making it one of a kind.

The Underlying Discourse of the Narrative Themes

The narrative themes discussed above, which may seem to be contradictory, have three underlying discourses. One such discourse, is similar to that of Cyprus, another Mediterranean island, (Scott, 1995, p. 60): it is that of continuity. In the case of Malta, the European uninterrupted millennial connection dating from the defeat of the Arabs with the invasion by Count Roger the Norman in 1090 to the present day, renders the Maltese Islands European. The two thousand year link to Christianity was heralded by the shipwreck of St Paul in 60 A.D. and his consequent evangelisation of the native Maltese. (The fact that Malta fell under Greek Byzantine influence and later Arab domination is frequently left out of the narrative told to tourists). If the Arab and the consequent Islamisation of the island is queried, tourists are told, that during the Arab rule, the Maltese still remained devoutly Christian as they practised their religion in secret. As children in Malta, during religious instruction lessons we were told stories about how during the Arab occupation, the Maltese went down in to the Catacombs in secret, to hear Mass and to pray.

Today, tourist guides tell the same stories which I mentioned earlier with added vigour. One guide told a coach load of senior British tourists that were on an archaeology package tour that Malta was probably the only place in the world were Christians and Jews, and Christians and Moslems, can exist together in peace. In the first case she referred to the stone carvings found in the Catacombs with Christian and Jewish symbols such as the crucifix and the menorah. According to the guide, these indicated that during the Arab occupation, both Christians and Jews used the catacombs for what she called 'secret religious worship'. In the second case, she referred to the adjacent Catholic, Jewish and Turkish (Moslem) cemeteries, which the tourists could see from their coach. Apart from the joke she made about them being at peace, as they were dead, she also referred to the idea

that Malta has always been occupied by people from different nationalities and beliefs. They (the Maltese) always managed to some extent, to co-exist peacefully even though they might not have always had the same beliefs, culture or even objectives.

The second theme is that of the sacred feminine and the veneration of the Christian holy Mother, the Madonna, which is 'enshrined' in the Maltese religious cosmology. The Maltese (and tourists) do not question the fact that the Neolithic temple were meant for worship – the guides tell them that the altars and other objects are proof enough. Rountree finds it difficult to generalise about the Maltese people's relationship to the Neolithic past and the temples but perceives the Maltese, apart from the middle-class and educated people to be somewhat ambivalent, partly due to the absence of a direct connection to the temple culture (2010, p. 187). That the Earth Mother or Goddess worship was the basis of Maltese culture, although expounded and challenged by many academics such as Evans, Gimbutas, Hayden and Rountree is not significant here. What is significant is the fact that the Maltese identify with the narrative and are very proud of their temples and its culture. At the other end of the spectrum, Malta is predominantly Roman Catholic, with many Maltese joking that the Maltese are more Catholic than the Pope is. However, Catholicism in Malta has developed in its own particular way. The Madonna or Our Lady, who in the Catholic Tradition conceived Jesus without sin and who did not die as any other mortal, but was taken to heaven by angels, is venerated throughout the island. Approximately half the churches are dedicated to her and many children are named after her. An analysis of websites promoting Goddess Tours and interviews with guides and participants indicates that there is no distinction made between the older earth mother and the more modern Madonna worship. Tourists are told how

> "*A journey to Malta provides an opportunity to get in touch with both the sacred places without and the sacred spaces within. Peaceful, personal time at the temple sites helps to forge the link between past and present, connecting us to the joy of celebrating life, so abundant in the art and architecture of the 3rd and 4th Millennium BCE*"(Goddess Tours, n.d.).

One guide explains, in reference to the Winter Solstice experience, which occurs just a few days before Christmas, that just as Jesus as the son of God brings about the light of Salvation, so too did the Sun during the Temple culture period. It brought about the re-awakening of the cosmos, the new light of re-birth and the beginning of a new year. Just as in the temples, with their impressive altars, people would have

gathered to celebrate the new light, so too, modern day churches are places where people gather to celebrate the birth of Jesus as he brings new light to Earth. Another guide used this analogy "*Just as a woman's virtue is to be defended, so too Malta's coasts. This is why we have such a vast series of fortification walls and lookout towers all-round the Maltese islands*".

This brings us to a third discourse which is that of cosmopolitanism: Malta as a melting pot of different people, experiences, and so on. The underlying discourse is that of Malta as a place of transit for different people, which gives the archipelago its air of cosmopolitanism: successive colonisers stayed for a while and then left. St Paul, St Luke and St Agatha, famous persons such as Caravaggio (painter), British Royal family members such as Queen Elizabeth II, and ordinary people such as the servicemen and women, the ex-patriates who purchased a retirement home or second home in Malta. All these found a temporary home in Malta. Some also stayed for very short periods such as Lord Byron, Sir Winston Churchill, General Dwight Eisenhower, Lord Louis Mountbatten, Roger Moore, Billy Connolly and Oliver Reed and the more recent Angelina Jolie and Brad Pitt, but somehow still left their mark on the islands. Films and books that have Malta in their background story or Malta as the filming location, all contribute in one way or another to the sense of place as a melting pot for diversity. British, American, Italian, French, German and even Bollywood have used Malta as a filming location for all genres ranging from drama to history, from children's cartoon stories to pornographic, from popular to cult. A film buff described Malta to me as 'a location that definitely qualifies as being a case of liquorice allsorts and dolly mixtures: that is what makes it attractive'. It is also this paradox of continuity and change which is essentialised and fused into Maltese identity and which will be discussed in more depth in the next section.

Fusion and Confusion

Malta's language is a document of its history. It is Semitic but is interspersed with Anglo-Saxon, and Euro-Latin words. Just like the different sorts of food which have been absorbed in Maltese everyday cooking, so has language. Both food and language give the islands a sense of uniqueness especially when combined with such mythical descriptions such as Byron's Valletta of 'Yells, bells and smells' and Churchill's Malta as the 'unsunken ship'.

This accumulated cosmopolitan knowledge is strategically exploited (Salazar, 2013, p. 89) by the Maltese cultural agents through the narratives, which they create for touristic as well as local consumption. Having a 'foreign' stamp of approval, just like in product endorsement (a marketing term used to describe a product that has been supported by a testimony given by a celebrity) gives Malta prestige. One of the main problems which could be associated with this type of marketing, is that 'It implies a narrative of change in which local differences become weaker and eventually succumb to the all-pervasive power of global cultural production (Desai, 2001). Which leads one to ask if this is the situation in Malta or whether it has had an opposite effect.

Let me take the Maltese '*tas-sejjieħ*' (rubble screen) limestone wall as one example which in most people's mind is far removed from having any significant link to tourism, let alone be used as a product to market the Maltese islands. The rubble dry stone walls which mark field boundaries in Malta, are constructed out of stones which would be found by the farmer as he is ploughing or tilling. He throws the stones to one side and later they are used to build or repair "*il-hajt tas-sejjieħ*" (the rubble wall). This is the lower end of the scale in respect of stone buildings.

At the other end of the scale, of exposed stonework, we have "*Fuq il-Fil'* which refers to the pointed stonework, the finest type one can have. The ultimate would be the whitest stone one can possibly find, and the workmanship would depend on the thinness and precision of the lines of white plastering (*il-fil*) between the stones. These two types of stone work are opposed in the sense that the '*fuq il-fil'* is associated with an upper class or an elite who can afford this expensive stonework, whilst '*tas-sejjieh'* is the poor man's 'free' stones. However this discourse has changed within the last twenty or thirty years or so. What was considered to be of no value has now become something of a prestige symbol. A first indication of this came about, when gentrification of the inner village core by foreigners (foreigners in the real sense, and foreign as in from 'outside the village') began to take place. Up to then, house conversion meant putting in aluminium apertures, stone or wooden balustrading or a type of stonework called '*gidri*'. (Pox as in chicken pox pitting). This was a type of chiselling of the stone face, that resembled a form of weathering, and that would actually protect the stone against weathering because it increased the surface area of the stone.

However this style started to be replaced by the '*sejjieħ*' (or *sejjieh dekorattiv* meaning it is used for decoration and embellishment) especially when places such as the Ta' Cenc Hotel, a high end hotel in Gozo and similar establishments started to use it. I do not think that it is a coincidence that this trend started in Malta at the same time, when the Maltese were seeking identity affirmation during the late 70s and early 80s. Rubble walls started to be dismantled, leading to serious problems such as soil loss, loss of homes for the fauna and small animals who sheltered in these walls, and so on. Some enterprising people started to buy up old stone from construction sites. They would slice off the weathered faces of the stones and sell them by the sackful. These would them be used as a second skin over a normal wall. Then this idea extended to *fuq il-fil*. White perfect stones were bought from quarries and sliced into slices, about 1 centimetre thick, which would then be used to cover existing walls. Even poor quality walls such as those built by '*soll*' stone, an inferior type of stone that is normally used in foundations as it crumbles easily and becomes pink or red when exposed to air, could be covered up by '*fuq il-fil*' stonefacings. Everybody could now buy or choose which type of façade they wanted and the class differentiation seemed to disappear, as both types of stone became very similar in price. Homes built or converted for sale to foreign, mainly British buyers would also have their fair share of *fuq-il-fil* or *sejjieħ* as this gave the home a 'typical' and 'authentic' Maltese or Gozitan homely feel.

These different types of stones can not only serve as social identity markers, but also have cultural meanings associated with them. Grima and Zammit's discussion is relevant here:

> *"rubble screen emerges at the point of intersection of many different worlds and processes. At the junction between traditional values and consumeristic ethos, poised on the fleeting moment of nostalgia marking the final demise of the countryside and charges with the energy generated by an island's love-hate relationship with the outside world, sejjieh dekorattiv appears to us as the material embodiment of a particular historical moment"* Grima and Zammit (1995/1996, p. 51)

For the British senior tourist, the cultural meanings attached to the local stone constructions also constitute a 'fleeting moment of nostalgia' and the 'material embodiment of a particular historical moment'. However the context is different. For a good number of ex-war veterans, '*fuq il-fil*' or other stone structures bring to mind the hastily constructed, but robust Nissen huts and makeshift aircraft pens. A

glimpse of limestone camouflage vehicles during Wartime re-enactments also brought a tear to the eyes of a few seniors.

Figure 20 Abandoned Nissen Huts at Ta Qali

Source: Avellino 2013

Holidaying in farmhouses, tourist villages and hotels constructed out of 'Maltese stone' make some tourists feel that they are living in a 'posh' place, reminiscent of grand buildings such as palaces which they do not normally live in but which they can visit for a few hours either on holiday or back home. On a number of occasions tourist informants that stayed in farmhouses or villas proudly told me that they were constructed out of solid stone. This gives them a sense of prestige and in some cases a sense of nostalgia as they tell others about how their ancestors had once lived in or owned similar stone buildings.

Figure 21 Restored Nissen Huts Ta' Qali

Note that the Nissen hut was used as a Chapel, and then later as a shop at the Ta' Qali Craft Village, selling stone products.

Source: Avellino 2013

Limestone in the Maltese cultural mileau is very significant: it is the only mineral resource available on the islands, and used in abundance by the construction industry. It was also used to construct the megalithic temples, churches, cathedrals, hotels, port structures and so on; it is also used artistically because it lends itself beautifully to ornate carvings and other embellishments. Limestone saved Malta, during the sieges as the fortifications were built out of it, during WW2 when people, ammunition, food and other important goods were hidden in underground caverns and tunnels carved in the limestone. Limestone gives life to the Maltese, as it is used to store the much-needed water supply in wells and caverns. For the British tourists, it gives a sense of robustness, a sense of protection. Many want to know all about the Maltese geology and topography, so that they can compare it with their hometown or with other places in UK which also have limestone. Some visit the temples or palaces like the wartime underground shelters to get a taste of this stone, which they take back home with them either in the form of a stone sculpture from a Maltese souvenier shop, or as a pebble or two which they collect from the beach.

One British woman explained how she has her 'Malta room' in UK – a large conservatory with the lower part covered with limestone 'fuq il-fil' facings. The upper part is painted in a 'trompe l-oeil' of Maltese scenery. A souvenier collection dating from the 60s, including a five foot high Knight of Malta, completes the room. She carries photos of this room, with her and shows them off to other tourists as well as to Maltese people when she is in Malta. "This is 'my Malta room' and my daughters are already fighting over who gets it when I'm gone", she explains with pride referring to what she and her family consider to be part of their family heritage. Collectors and art historians would also consider some of her 'souveniers' to be part of the Maltese national heritage as they have now become unique pieces.

Who owns 'our' Heritage?

History is incomplete as it is selective. The selective process renders it value laden, and as power and hegemonic structures within a society shift, so too do the meanings and values which were attributed to events in history. The modern day use of elements of the past, of history, is considered heritage (Timothy and Boyd 2003, p. 4) and as discussed earlier, the tourism industry offers this up as a product for tourist consumption. Firstly, such an offer is dynamic as it can also be a reflection of the values, which are imposed on it by society, or by virtue of its ownership. Secondly, over time, certain resilient heritage features come to symbolise a society's shared recollection (Lowenthal, 1975, p. 12). Its subjective and individual nature is embedded in social structure, power, and group identity.

With the passage of time, what is insignificant and therefore not part of a group's heritage, may be discarded, whilst on the other hand, may become recognised or identified as significant for a particular nation or grouping in society and will therefore become worthy of preservation, conservation and stewardship. What was once of value, may also diminish in value as other aspects of history are considered to be more important or significant. There may be many reasons for the change in value, one of which, may be accredited to historical events or heritage. One major driver of change in value, is ownership.

In the case of Malta, ownership of heritage, especially which is of a tangible nature such as property, is generally claimed on the basis of a legal title. It may also be based on other criteria such as belonging to a group, or a sense of responsibility or stewardship such as living in a particular place or having an interest such as a

hobby. Legal ownership may change such as when property is sold or transferred. If the new owners have a different agenda or personality to the former owners, then the value given to that heritage may change also. Ownership is also derived from sentiments of stewardship and custodianship.

A highly debated issue is the right of inhabitants to claim custodianship over their town against the state. I will refer to the old capital city of Malta as a case in point, mainly because the majority of British tourists that I spoke to, consider this place as a 'must see' even on repeat visits. It is also the place where Maltese hosts will take their British friends and relatives for a visit. Mdina, is the old capital city of Malta and within its walls one finds Malta's major baroque Cathedral, the Archbishop's residence, monasteries, palaces, and large townhouses, a number of museums as well as an increasing number of commercial outlets. It has a population of just under 300 persons, and "receives over a million local and foreign visitors annually" (Sant Cassia, 1999, p. 248).

A number of anthropologists have carried out fieldwork in Mdina and amongst these, we find Paul Sant Cassia (ibid.) and Jeremy Boissevain (Boissevain, in Briguglio et al 1996, p. 220-240). Both were very interested to look at tensions that were being created as a result of tourism in Mdina. According to Sant Cassia, in Mdina there is an 'elite', which considers it a right and a duty to say what it feels about the flux of tourists (Sant Cassia, 1999).

The concept of domains of ownership is an interesting one. Various individuals and groups have competing claims to the town and its buildings. Objects, properties, including the town itself are subject to overlapping and competing claims. According to Sant Cassia (1999) "Domains of ownership are domains of discourse of 'possession' through 'experience', 'knowledge' and recollection. Stories give objects their pasts, presents and futures. They can also bestow merit on possessions, which in turn is bestowed on their owners through their possession. Through the act of narrating a story about an object when 'salvaging' it, it constitutes the manufacture and claiming of merit. Restoration of properties allows each generation to present itself as a conservator of the past, whilst possibly avoiding at the same time being criticised by the next generation for neglecting it.

This may lead to intergenerational hostility due to different experiences and expectations. According to Sant Cassia (1999, p. 255), "for the older generation, conservation of the patrimony was achieved through parsimonious husbandry".

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However, for the younger generation, conservation can only be pursued through participation in the modern economy, through large mortgages and even involvement in tourism" (ibid.). Political relations within and between generations are evident in discussion about patrimonial property, its care and ownership, its retention and refusal to sell, its transmission as gift to children, refurbishing as major expense, its discovery by heirs as the transformation of old house to family home and the acquisition of merit. Sant Cassia asserts that these properties are also monuments, parts of national history, photo opportunities for tourists which are presented to them as the homes of the elite and also ideal places many Maltese aspire to live in" (ibid.). The state conveys its power over the built environment as it sustains the economy through public projects. This enables it to legitimise itself as a worthy successor to colonial regimes and reinforces popular conceptions of power. However this can lead to tension. In the early 1980's the Labour government arbitrarily imposed a traffic ban in Mdina, which was later relaxed. However, there was quite a conflict with the authorities as they (persons with political clout) were given the privilege to enter the 'Silent city' with their car whilst locals had to walk. One Mdina resident commented that "even the archbishop had to walk, whilst visiting dignitaries and Ministers were whisked in government limousines" (Sant Cassia, 1999, p. 256). Residents viewed this as the state's claim of the custodianship of the city.

From a historic point of view, the link with the past of the town and to have it preserved is a heavy statement of ownership. Since many of the elite cannot claim continuous generational residence they claim continuous ownership of the buildings and therefore the town, presenting themselves as the product of the past and of these buildings. Property ownership entitles individuals to claim membership and continuity of the town.

Sant Cassia (1999, p. 257) describes three sources for claiming custodial authority of the past as national-patrimony in Malta. The first source stems from one's genealogy: through descent or possession of objects as metaphors of descent. The second through Expertise such as through planning officials, art historians, architects and historians who interpret the past as national history. The third source is based on Merit. This is claimed by those who assert that they have protected national heritage. This is quite evident amongst politicians and is visible such as in the local Mayor and other 'experts' involvement in attracting EU funds for protecting and preserving the bastion walls and other historically significant built patrimony.

Each source has its associated means of acquiring knowledge and legitimacy through different types of memory. This is discussed in more detail later, however the tendency by the state and experts too view the city as a place of memory and claim custodianship has generated local tensions and national contradictions. The previous custodial elite as expressed through enhancement and rebuilding in an earlier style for patrimonial elite, the state together with the international tourist industry views the local site as national site and therefore an ideal place for stages performances of imagined histories of the nation.

An example of this would be the Mdina festival and folkloric sketches designed for the mass media. Its identification as national site makes it harder for residents' changing needs to be addressed. One informant complained that groups of tourists are taken through the streets of Mdina after sunset so that they experience the 'Silent City', which is rendered noisy but the same visiting tourists. This type of tour was also referred to by a couple of tourist guides who worked for a tour operator who specialises in the British Seniors Market. Every week, these same tourists are offered a 'Mystery Tour by Night' as a filler for the evening programme. They are taken up to Rabat and Mdina. On the way there, they can admire the fortified city whose fortifications are all lit up. They are then taken for a guided walk around 'The Silent City', walking all the way through the town, and then taken to the Bastion Wall where there is a Belvedere were one can take in a 300 degree view of the Island of Malta. Right across the Valley, they are shown Mtarfa, the town which was once a British Army Barracks base, complete with Cinema, Hospital, School, NAAFI and BFPO, BFBS Radio Station. Immediately below Mdina is Ta' Qali (or as known by the British ex-pats and ex-service personnel, Ta Kali). From this spot tourists are told how this was the first airfield to be used during the War, and are also told about how the island was saved from Saracen invasion of 1551, through the intercession of St Agatha whose statue was placed on this particular spot to ward off the enemy. In honour of this, her effigy together with that of St Publius and St Paul grace the impressive entrance Gate into the city.

Figure 22 Rear of Mdina Gate

Source: Avellino: 2009

The high demands of the tourism industry have slowly turned the city into a theatre of the nation's folklore, tradition, and history. Efforts to restrict the issuing of commercial activity permits by those in tourism are perceived as attempts to retain their monopoly. Local council moves to impose a tourist entrance fee where vigorously resisted by a powerful alliance of tour operators, Air Malta and politicians alike as well as the local mercantile elite. Other Maltese people viewed this as an attempt by residents to assert control over a site belonging to the nation. Lack of access to opportunities offered by tourism and a lack of any government policy encouraging small-scale family business obliges the lower classes to depend on employment by the elite, encourages resentment when it comes to permit distribution and contributes to a progressive sale of properties by the locals to upper class Maltese who want to move into the town. Mdina long-time residents criticise some of the members of this class who through their social capital, are able to obtain commercial activity permits to transform poor housing stock into lucrative tourist enterprises. Custodianship can be seen as representation of the past and of identity. Those who are knowledgeable about the city and its welfare can control its access in a physical manner as well as through identity and political power. Although the elite may have lost control over traditional means of production, together with the inhabitants they are still the owners of the representation that the state and society

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have deemed important symbols of the past; the houses they live in. This sets Mdina townspeople on a collision course with the state and its experts. The tension increases by the presentation of the city as a major tourist attraction and a strong symbol of national identity. National imaginings, project it as unchanging, cultural, national topos of the glories of a European past that defeated a Muslim or non-Christian '*barrani*' (foreigner or outsider).

Texts developed for tourist consumption depict the buildings and houses as impersonal monuments devoid of inhabitants other than the descendants of prototypical aristocrats. They rarely refer to the fact that many of the occupied houses are also the homes of living inhabitants, most of whom are elderly.

There are three aspects of identity associated with Mdina (Sant Cassia, 1999). The first is of Mdina as a symbolic site, centre of national geography in space and time, continuous inhabitancy since Roman times. Guides referring to the national narrative, tell visitors that the arrival of St Paul in 60 AD during the Roman rule, marks the date, Maltese people are said to have become a 'distinct people', selected by Divine Providence to become Christians before the rest of Europe. Mdina, as the site where St Paul resided, therefore 'bestows' on the Maltese a European identity because they became and still are predominantly, Roman Catholic.

The second stems from the architectural-photographic representation which indicates that Mdina is a baroque city. This is significant, as it confirms the island's European identity and also attracts tourists, this is in spite of the fact that it was the Arabs who reduced the Mdina footprint to what it is today, encircled by the fortifications, and which gave it its name. Mdina is a corruption of Medina, meaning a walled city in Arabic.

The third aspect of identity is associated with Mdina as a cultural landscape, an interpretive template of what it means to be Maltese. The Maltese can experience their past by walking through a series of intimate spaces (Sant Cassia, 1999). Situated at the highest point of the island, one can take in the most of the island, whilst also serving as a venue for performances of high culture such as opera and concerts (Sant Cassia 1999, p. 248; Boissevain, 1996). This expression is shared with tourists as Maltese authentic experience. It is interesting to note that it was Sir Harry Luke, the Lieutenant Governor, who in the 1930s identified Mdina as an important cultural site and "encouraged an evaluation of the city as an enclave of privilege and historical pedigree" (Sant Cassia 1999, p.248).

Figure 23 OBTs enjoying a Classical Concert

Source: Avellino 2009

Maltese Britishness – shared identity?

Just as Sant Cassia presented aspects of Mdina, which project the identity of the Maltese as Europeans, so too, I will now present aspects of Malta, which my British informants feel, that Malta projects elements of British identity and Britishness. The first element is that of Malta as a symbol of 'past' British Imperial power. This perspective has various implications: one perspective is that of Imperial Power and how they (the British Informants) were a great empire with dominant power and once they are in Malta they feel that they are still able to exercise their dominant 'rights' on an inferior country.

The second aspect is the symbolic perspective linked to British identity through Malta having been part of the British Empire. Through this past association, Malta can claim British heritage, through its colonial association with Britain manifested through the English language, which is also one of the two national languages of Malta. It is also manifested in the street names, the educational system, parliament and the electoral system, food and a number of other cultural and social markers.

The third aspect of identity is similar to that of Mdina which is described above: that of Malta as a landscape, a place to experience a shared past with the Maltese. Elements of British architecture, the George Cross on the National Flag, the Grand Harbour and the Siege Memorial Bell as sites of memory allow British tourists, especially the older ones to recapture a collective memory of acts of chivalry in defence of Great Britain and Empire.

Figure 24 Artefacts brought to Malta by ex-British service member

Source, Avellino 2012

The majority of the informants felt that there were moments in their past which they wanted to re-visit in the present and which may also be re-visited by others in the future. One British tourist expressed this need after returning to Malta, which is where she had resided as a child during the war years. She returned a second time to Malta and brought with her a typewritten account of 'her Malta' recollections. She gave it to me as she felt that her story would be useful for my research as she wanted her story to be told. She returned a third and fourth time, to search for a person that had been a significant part of her childhood in Malta. Regretfully this person has not been traced.

The narratives of the senior informants tended towards expressions of memory and nostalgia of a time when the person was young and carefree, whilst Malta was

protected by the British Crown: a topos of history and heritage. During the fieldwork with the British tourists there was a repetitive reference to a shared past, however not always to a shared culture. On the other hand, the Maltese interviewees referred to a shared past as well as a shared culture in reference to linguistic traditions, similar social and legislative structures as well as a common present and future encapsulated by membership of the European union and to a lesser extent, trade relations. Identity is to some extent "based on the formation of sameness and difference" (Wodak et al., 1999, p. 30), and this tension was noted throughout the fieldwork, dominated by a discourse of sameness as a strategy of belonging and a discourse of difference as a strategy of establishing uniqueness.

Referring back to Sant Cassia's (1999, p. 257) three sources for claiming custodial authority of the past as national patrimony in Malta: Genealogy, Expertise and Merit, it becomes clear through my fieldwork that many of the British Seniors feel that they can actually make this claim even though they are not Maltese nationals. In the case of Geneology, many feel that since Malta was part of the British Empire, then the elderly Maltese were also British and that there is this direct link. The fact that a good number also lived in Malta or have close blood or affine ties with Maltese families also gives them this right. In the case of Expertise, a good number of visitors are either experts in their own right such as historians and architects. However there are also a good number of self-styled experts by way of having visited various other places around the world, or have read about them, or an even larger group, who are fervent devourers of BBC and National Geographic programmes on history and culture. Some are also active members of organisations such as English Heritage or volunteers with museums such as the Imperial War Museum in London. One couple explain how they love to visits Malta since back in UK they are members of English Heritage Homes and when in Malta, love to visit similar properties such as Casa Rocca Piccola and Palazzo Parisio. This couple could also claim custodial authority through the Merit source as they assert that through their visits they are contributing towards the protection of national heritage. War and Cold War veterans and their families, with ties to Malta also claim that they protected Malta's national heritage with their lives! Many feel that they can exercise this 'right' by writing in the local press or speaking to local people to express their approval or disapproval of what is happening in the island. They do this not just when they are on holiday in Malta, but also through various media when they return back home in UK.

The national and collective memories attached to the cultural and historical landscape is coloured by the different lenses that are worn by all those that purvey and experience them. The guides and other cultural brokers might be presenting, what they think is a national narrative or a shared perception, however sitting at a dining table with a group of fellow tour participants, after an excursion to a cultural location or event, reveals that every member of the group has their own version, their own unique perception of what they have been told and what they have experienced. The next part will discuss how culture and heritage is interpreted and contested through a case study taken at Mtarfa, which is located on a hill facing the old capital city of Malta, Mdina.

Negotiating the Landscape of Heritage and Identity

Mtarfa (meaning: at the edge) is a small town close to Rabat and Mdina (the Silent City, the Old Capital City) in the north of Malta, with a population of just under 2,500. Prehistoric remains are still evident. Silos, cart ruts, Roman inscriptions attributed to the Temple of Prosperine and rock-hewn tombs are found scattered over a wide range of non-urban Mtarfa. According to Azzopardi (n.d.) pilgrimages to Chapel of St Lucy were taking place before 1774, although these increased with the opening of the hospital in the early 1900s. Several watermills would have adorned the panoramic setting of the hamlet, populated were mainly farmers and some animal breeders who sold their livestock at the Rabat markets (Azzopardi, n.d.)

This rural area, which housed a few families, underwent regeneration with the construction of the Military barracks in 1890 and the Clock Tower in 1895. A naval hospital for injured personnel from the Dardanelles war was built and a railway line (the only one on the island) was constructed from Valletta to Mdina, and later to Mtarfa, to provide transport for workers engaged in the building of the new infrastructure such as the underground reservoirs and water tank (Azzopardi, J, n.d.). Some of these are still in use today. St Oswald Church was built within the grounds of the Military Hospital for the spiritual needs of the patients and staff, however the St Lucy Chapel and the devotion towards St Lucy increased with the opening of the hospital.

Figure 25 Mtarfa

Source: Avellino, 2009

An examination of a few websites which feature Mtarfa show that these are hosted both by locals, such as the local council and local historians, as well as by visitors or persons who may have had familial connections with Mtarfa and its surrounding area. The common denominator for the non-local residents websites are those that are hosted by families or relatives of military persons who either had served at Mtarfa or who may have been patients at the hospital. Cultural capital is accumulated through memorabilia and is transformed into social capital through the website as visitors with similar backgrounds, link up with the website. Sometimes information and photos are exchanged (cultural capital) and in some cases these may be transformed into economic capital if adverts are placed on the website or if products are being sold from the website.

During the First World War, and more specifically, the Crimean War period, Malta served as a "Nurse of the Mediterranean". From the Gallipoli campaigns 2500

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officers and 55400 troops were treated in the Maltese hospitals, while from the 1917 Salonika campaigns 2600 officers and 64500 troops were treated (Savona Ventura, n.d) .

The internet is a repository for memories and narratives associated with this period. For example we find an eyewitness account written by Reverend Albert G. Mackinnon's, who also published a book entitled '*Malta: The Nurse of the Mediterranean*' (1916)*.* One website shows a photo of a Sapper Jackson when he was in Mtarfa hospital in January 1918 and then it goes on to document by means of 26 photographs, two visits that were made by a George Jackson in April 2005.

The local council also had a website about the history of Mtarfa. It showed the importance that the hospital is given, however the information was not entirely correct. The webpage is no longer available. This has been replaced by a very basic website and a Facebook Community page.

The buildings which dominate Mtarfa are the Military hospital and the Military barracks. The barracks together with its ancillary buildings such as the NAAFI, cinema, school, library and sport grounds, were either demolished or had a change of use. For example, the soldiers' barracks as well as the officers' villas, were utilised as social housing when the military agreement with Britain ended. The main Hospital now houses a school, a respite centre and other premises for social activities. The first stone of the hospital was laid on the 6th January 1915 by Governor Rundle and construction ended two years later. According to the 2009 Mtarfa local website:

> *"The army didn't enter it before June 1920 because of the battle. The quarters, which are near it were built in 1893. The army filled emptied this hospital and instead they used the 'Bighi Hospital'.*
> *In 1883, under General Sir Arthur Borton, the MALTA RAILWAY was built. It started from Valletta, passed through Hamrun, Birkirkara, Attard and stopped at Rabat. After, the building of this hospital it was extended to Imtarfa.*
> *This hospital was rebuilt by Lady Dawson on the 2nd October 1970.*
> *If you keep on walking there, you can notice the 'boila'. Here as they say, the English people used to burn parts of the bodies like arms or legs. This used to happen after the operation. Then there is the 'isolation'. This is the room where people who had serious illnesses had to stay." (quoted verbatim from website)*

Prominence is given to the Hospital as well as to the Clock Tower as photos of them were posted on the local council's website. On the new website accessed in 2015, the places of interest listed are Mtarfa Clock Tower, St. Nicholas Statue, Ex Sir David Bruce Hospital and the Water Tank. No photos or further information is given

about these places. One can also note that the language used in paragraph 4 of the old website, is the colloquial form of English which would have been used by the Maltese who used to work at, or live close to the hospital[40].

Huff contends that home, nation and region are subjective ideas existing in social discourse and place, and where these are located, are unique and distinctive because of their subjective and social construction. It is this synthesis of landscape, identity and place which helps to create an identity for society (Huff, 2008, p. 20). Specific studies carried out at particular places of interest help us to focus on "*the ways in which individuals experience identity through encountering sites of national significance: landscapes, artefacts, buildings, and monuments that promote a sense of collective belonging*" (Palmer, 2005, p. 7). This section focuses on ethnographic work carried out in Mtarfa in connection with the Military Day event, from 2009 to 2013, which will expound the ways through which, both the locals and the older British tourists experience multiple identities.

On the 17th of May, 2009 the first Military Day[41] was held at Mtarfa. The local people were informed about it by means of a posting on the local council website, of the 25th February, whereby the Parliamentary Secretary asked for anyone wishing to exhibit memorabilia connected to Mtarfa's military past for a Military Aspects Exhibition, which was going to be held on the 17th May.

Informants, who live in the locality, suggest that this date was chosen so as to coincide with the local council election campaign which would be in its final stages in the same period. In fact the local council elections and the MEP elections were held on the 6th June (http://www.maltadata.com/el-dates.htm) with the strategy in mind (personal communication from a local party activist) that the same political party that organized the Military Day would be returned to 'power'. Between the 17th May and the 6th June, Anna, an informant was discussing plans for the next Military Day, with the proviso that she would participate only if the party was returned to power. If not,

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[40] The text cited above has now been removed from the website.
[41] This event is organised by the local council of Mtarfa and many volunteers who either live in Mtarfa or who have connections to the locality. What started as a one day event with military exhibits and re-enactments has now expanded to include the opening for public viewing of the ex-military hospital and grounds, live bands playing military and pre-war songs and other displays. One of the spin offs of this event is a facebook page entitled Military Mtarfa.

then Anna and others would not volunteer their services in organizing and carrying
out research for the Military Day for the following year.

Figure 26 Mtarfa Military Day Poster

During the Military Day a leaflet was distributed highlighting the events that were
going to take place. An exhibition of Classic (non-Military), Military vehicles including
motorcycles was set up in the square near the clock tower. Proud owners stood by
as enthusiasts thronged to take photos of the vehicles, some were lucky enough to
take a ride around the hamlet. The Armed Forces of Malta, with an exhibition of
rifles, guns and other small arms, put up a stand close by. One teenage boy
commented that these were mostly Soviet, from the Cold War period and later. Only
a few specimens were from the WW2 period. There was also a Bofors anti-aircraft
gun, which children and adults alike were clambering over.

Figure 27 Absailing down the Mtarfa Clock Tower

Source Avellino, 2009

At the Clock Tower, the Malta Amateur Radio League set up an exhibition and the Malta Red Cross provided first aid cover, with the Saint John Ambulance in attendance. Visitors were allowed to climb up the clock tower and members of the Red Cross provided an abseiling display down the sides of the clock tower. This was

done to show how lives could be saved by these volunteers. However, while watching the abseilers, a child asked its mother 'why did the soldiers climb down the clock tower during the War?' The mother answered, 'they used it to practice on'. This is how the child will interpret the clock tower from now on. Without being aware of it, this act can be interpreted as a re-invention or a re-writing of history. A front stage inauthentic exhibition, an invented/distorted past becomes a real past for the young residents or for visitors who cannot distinguish between the staged or real event. On the other hand visitors may be offended when offered 'contrived events' as we will see from the following vignette.

The hospital building, which is a focal point for Mtarfa, has had its name changed at least four times from *Royal Navy Hospital Mtarfa* to *Mtarfa 90th General Hospital* to *David Bruce Military Hospital* and now to *Sir Temi Zammit Secondary School*. The Hospital was officially inaugurated in June 1920 and during the Second World War was staffed by the 90th British General Hospital and was the main military hospital throughout the conflict. It also had subterranean quarters (parts of which have been converted into a mushrooms farm and an emergency morgue) and air-raid shelters. After the war, it became known as the David Bruce Military Hospital in honour of an Australian-born surgeon of Scottish parentage. In those days thousands of Maltese and British Troops stationed in Malta were the victims of a disease which sapped their vitality and killed hundreds of them every year. It was called Malta Fever later renamed Undulant Fever. When the blood of sick patients was analysed, the *micrococcus melitensis* was always found. This kind of micro-organism was discovered by, and named after Sir David Bruce in 1887. But no one knew the source of, and how humans were becoming infected by the microbe.

It was Sir Themistocles Zammit who discovered the source eighteen years after Bruce's discovery. Sir Temi (as he was known) was born in Valletta in 1864, graduated in medicine at the University of Malta in 1882. He later specialized in bacteriology first in London and then in Paris. In 1890 he was appointed Government analyst and in 1897 a University examiner in Physics. In 1905 he found that milk contaminated with *Brucellosis melitensis* (which was present in goats' blood) was present in goats milk and that it would be destroyed if the milk was heated up to a certain temperature. His 1905 discovery of unpasteurized milk as the major source of the pathogen, contributed to the elimination from the islands of undulant fever, and earned him the knighthood bestowed by the British monarchy.

Figure 28 Ex- Military Hospital during reenactment, Mtarfa Military Day

Source; Avellino, 2009

The last name change of the hospital is important as it establishes the importance of a Nationalistic figure-head, for locals to identify with. The hospital closed in 1978, just before the last British troops left the island and was abandoned until the mid 80s. In the mid 80s the Barracks and other types of accommodation were allocated as social housing, and the hospital was converted into a Secondary School. This name change shows that the Maltese Nationalistic Identity was being confirmed, and for a short time, even the place name of Mtarfa was changed to Belt il-Ġmiel (the beautiful town) so as to severe any links with its colonial past.

Some may also argue that these place names were changed because at that point, the Maltese government was doing its utmost to rid Malta of any association with its past colonial rulers. During that period many street names were also being changed such as the main street leading into the Capital city of Valletta which was changed from Strada Reale (Italian for Royal or King's Street) to Kingsway (under British rule)

to Triq ir-Repubblika (Republic Street) as part of the establishment of Malta's constitutional shift to a Republic. Other de-anglified place names included Prince of Wales Road, which was renamed as Triq Manwel Dimech, and Victoria Avenue becoming Triq Dr George Borg Olivier. These changes are still going on today as can be seen from the Department of Information press release which was commenting on the re-opening of the previously named Main Guard, to Palace Square to the newly named St George's Square (named after Malta's first and newly appointed Saint in 2009). The article described how both the "Prime Minister Lawrence Gonzi and Resources Minister George Pullicino, in their address for the occasion, stressed the importance of the square, which for many years had been degraded as a car park" and its significance to Malta's history.

> *"Its current name is too much of a link to the colonial days, and giving it a new name on the day when it was reopened to the public would have been the right occasion to give the square a fresh start, not only from the point of view of its physical appearance. Hopefully, we are still in time to make the change*".
> (http://www.doi.gov.mt/en/commentaries/2009/12/ind09.asp)

Figure 29 Formal Ceremony of Welcome

Formal Ceremony of Welcome at St George's Square, Valletta during the State Visit of Her Majesty Queen Elizabeth II in November 2005

Source: Department of Information – Malta, 2005

However this colonial past is important for people who need to re-establish links to a forgotten or an imagined past as highlighted in the two vignettes presented in chapter four. One is of the British tourist who found out that part of the Military Hospital underground rooms where he had been born were being used as a mushroom farm! Amazingly, he was overjoyed – it was as if he had been told that he

had been born in a palace, because it would not have made any difference. The important thing was that he now knew and could actually visit the place himself. The couple came back to thank the researcher after going to visit Mtarfa and his wife said that this had been her husband's lifetime wish and he had never imagined he would be able to find the place. This confirms that identity, memory and place attachment are very strong and important. The second vignette is about social and cultural capital being linked to place attachment and Identity. Paul had come to Malta for the explicit reason of bringing a plaque and a framed message, in honour of an aircraft crew and its passengers which had crashed upon take from Malta, in 1956. He didn't know any of the people, but they had served in Suez as he had, and he felt it was his duty to leave a memento from him and a few other ex-servicemen who had also served in Suez also albeit at a different time.

I accompanied him to the Mtarfa Military Cemetery where most of fatalities were buried and which is located on the outskirts of Mtarfa and Ta Qali, it occupies part of a complex that belonged to the British Military until the late 1970's. It is now looked after by the War Graves commission and it contains 15 Commonwealth burials of the First World War and 238 from the Second World War. The Commission also cares for 1,203 non war graves within the cemetery, and one Dutch war grave. After his trip to Malta, Paul felt that he has established an attachment to this place, especially to the Mtarfa Cemetery where his co-nationals are buried. He spent hours talking to the Cemetery warden and from time to time sends me material, some of which is meant for the cemetery warden, who will then show it to other cemetery visitors.

Ex-colonial ties do not seem to be bound by time and space, and are not bounded by nation or state. These ties are negotiated through exchanges of capital. The time and space (field) are specific to each different person and their memories, but the habitus is not. In the case of the visit to the Cemetery, Paul donned his regimental cap as a sign of respect and minutes of silence were taken at the graveside. Even when other ex-pats and British tourists visited Mtarfa, there is a sense of awe and respect, which come through in conversations, in blogs and on websites. It is a kind of reverence which one observes inside a holy place and is also a form of pilgrimage too.

Through pilgrimages, events and other manifestations, communities negotiate ties across spatial and temporal boundaries. One can conclude that knowingly or not, they bridge the gaps between these boundaries to increase their social, economic

and/or cultural capital. However one needs to establish whether they negotiate across boundaries as a means of re-defining or extending their boundary or do they accumulate culture or social capital to re-affirm or to help them to find their identity or do they seek to construct narratives of their lives through travel? It seems that it is never one particular reason but a combination of many, some having a priority over others.

'Shared meanings' through negotiation and communication with the locals, are also important as tourists do not just travel for 'themselves', they do not find or fabricate an identity for themselves, but for others, whether they are family members, work colleagues and even their hosts. How the 'other' sees them is reflected back at themselves, like a mirror of sorts, to form their Identity. The process of 'consumers searching for authenticity…….and looking for it within themselves' is linked to the concept of 'existential authenticity' (Yoeman, Brass, and McMahon-Beattie 2006, in Sims, 2008, p. 325) and this is a process that has been evident among some of the cases discussed in this study.

Observations and interviews in the context of the Mtarfa Military Day event, confirm that the ownership of the cultural heritage and therefore of its interpretation, is appropriated by both the organisers, the residents, the re-enactors, participants and persons who in the past had some form of affinity with the location's colonial past. Huff suggests that the relationship between identity and territory is tenuous in the modern age as places are commodified and sold in a time-space compressed world (Huff, 2008, p. 21). Mtarfa is a 'new entrant' to the commodification world and was chosen as it can give us a fresh perspective on how commodification and touristification of a landscape affects residents and visitors. My fieldwork indicates that when this process started, there did not seem to be a coherent interpretation being given and the information that it imparted to both the Maltese and the foreign visitor was inaccurate at times, and also highly subjective. I will illustrate this argument with the following incident which took place in May 2009.

A British person (who had been working at the Hospital between 1956 and 1958) visiting the Military Day, came across a group of Maltese re-enactors from OKW Malta [42] commented "What are these doing here? They're German soldiers – no way

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[42] OKW, Oberkommando der Wehrmacht , meaning: "High Command of the Armed Forces". OKW Malta is a German Re-Enactment Group composed mainly of Maltese persons.

would they have been walking around here like this. Rat a tat-tat "– and he pretended to machinegun them down. The actors seemed to have been taken aback and although they said nothing made a face as if to say 'what is he on about?'.

Figure 30 Front stage inauthenticities – Invented/distorted pasts

Source: Avellino, 2009

This clearly has implications primarily amongst which, is the historical inaccuracies in the sense that no German soldiers would have been driving about in Malta in a jeep, let alone participate in a battle on the hospital grounds. The second is that the British person felt a sense of shock at this portrayal of what he considers to be his history and as he told me 'did not allow him to come to terms with the nostalgia of visiting the Military hospital'. Thirdly the persons who went to see the re-enactment were entertained, however the educational aspect of interpretation was lost as people might believe that this re-enactment was authentic or based on a form of truth. The past becomes distorted or re-invented which has implications on the present.

This scenario shows that the Mtarfa local council is organizing events linked to the locality's past and as a couple of volunteers told me, 'trying to be as authentic as possible by carrying out research, putting on military exhibitions and re-enactments'. Authenticity to the untrained volunteers, means putting up events which they feel have some historical connection to Mtarfa and its' military history. For example, in

order to make the re-enactments as real as possible, they recreated a land battle scene within the hospital grounds. Soldiers are drilled by their 'sergeants' and then they take their place to man the guns. After a lot of gunfire and smoke, the battle is won by the Allies to cheers of the crowds who have come to watch!!

As this and similar re-enactments are repeated every year a new myth enters the collective memory and the repercussions of this will be discussed in chapter seven.

Circulation, Gifts and Exchanges

This research aims to understand the nature of the relationship between the older British tourists and the Maltese hosts through the exchange lens. Every time humans engage in an act of exchange, be it acts of generalized reciprocity, barter, or commerce, they are participating in a "communicative act" (Agbe-Davies and Bauer 2010, p. 13 in Swanepoel, 2015. 43). In the case of gift giving, this act is dependent on the recognition that a gift has been given and received as according to Milbank (2015) 'without recognition of the gift there is no gift'. It is also, to some extent dependant , according to Swanepoel, "on shared understandings of what is being exchanged, what the exchange signifies, and what constitutes a reasonable demand" (2015). Even in the case of commerce, there must also be a shared understanding, which is dependent on the commercial or exchange value given to the object, which is exchanged for currency. This study noted that the shared understanding is primarily be based on a value or system of values which has as its basis, a shared history, which contributed to a shared culture.

Laidlaw argues that gift and commodity are continuously reconfigured within an intricate relationship and that "the pure gift is characterized by the fact that it does not create personal connections and obligations between the parties" (2000, p.617). However in the case of gift exchange we can refer to Sahlins (1972) assertion that this practice ensures the endurance of social relationships as 'If friends make gifts, gifts make friends' (1972, p. 186). In the case of Malta and the older British tourists, the concept of friendship is mentioned during a good number of interviews. Sally talks about the friends she made over the years and whom she visits when she holidays in Malta, Jill returns to visit her old neighbours and Wilkinson (2006) and her mention of her 'Mellieha' friends. Some OBTs such as Mary and Peter, and Duncan and Betty visit Malta not just to visit friends but also distant family members. The

Maltese hosts do not just describe their English guests as friends but go a step further and call it 'love'. Guzu, Wenzu and Nina took me to see their garage in Valletta which walls are covered in photographs and memorabilia mostly from the war period and of the British Monarchy. They used the same expression used by Lilac, '*Ahna Inglizi*' (We are English/British) denoting the extent to which they feel an affinity with Britain and all that is British. Two Maltese 70 year olds talk about London as 'home' and explain to me that they consider it as home especially after spending a number of years in the 60s working in London.

I now examine the nature of the gift. In the case of the OBTs or even better, returning friends, they consider that the fact they have chosen to spend time in Malta as being a gift. They speak about the love and affection they have for the islands and the islanders. To show this, a number of people donate medals, and other artefacts to museums, charities in Malta. These items could easily be sold on the second hand market which renders it a commodity, however 'the degree to which the gift needs to be personally possessed reflects the amount of work it has to do which is directly correlated to the extent of the relationship that it emerges from (Benson and Carter, 2008, p. 4). The medals and artefacts (such as Paul's plaque) given to museums are given as a 'donation' with the understanding that they are placed on display. The obligation of reciprocity is not for another gift to be returned to the donor, but would consist of displaying the honour bestowed upon the donor's family and which will be manifested to all for perpetuity, or at least for far longer than if the medal was put away in a drawer.

Figure 31 War Medals brought to Malta for donation to War Museum

Source: Avellino, 2012

The holiday is all about sociability. Just as in Miller's garden, It is a space of circulation: money, services, people, advice, knowledge (competencies and experiences), culture, value, souveniers and gifts (1998, p. 58).

> "My Maltese friends all give me cuttings and seeds from their gardens. I plant them in my 'Malta' patch and they are doing quite well. You see, we live in the south and in the sheltered part of my garden I have managed to grow lemons, Maltese blood oranges, and all sorts of vegetables and flowers. Its my own little Malta haven and when I come back here I often bring packets of seeds to my friends how have grown them successfully too. Usually if they don't succeed its due to either the excessive heat in summer or the limey soil." (Ann, 2012).

The exchanges, which take place within this circulation space, are both part of the market economy as well as the gift economy and are in no way opposed to each other but are in fact complimentary. Two commons thread weave in and out of this circuit: memory and identity. Most of the goods carry their own story with them and is recounted and given nuanced interpretations: this is how people remember and try to

make sense of it all. The second thread is that of identity: the source of the object both expresses and resolves aspects of identity. In the medal donation, British identity is forged with Maltese identity, the identity of the soldier is placed on the box so that he is recorded with the National Maltese memory and is also exemplified as a beacon for freedom and democracy.

The next chapters will discuss the intertwined strands of memory and identity in further depth.

Conclusion

This chapter seeks to examine the extent to which the ex-colonial ties are binding, through the identification of social, cultural and symbolic capital which is exchanged and/or negotiated between host and guests. It aims to show that the British Mature Tourist negotiates images of self, cultural and national identity by visiting places and spaces in Malta, which *prima facie* are just another attraction to visit, but which one then discovers that these places also hold hidden or special meanings for the visitor. These spaces are culturally and socially reconstructed through the tourist gaze, affecting the guest as well as the host, as a bi-national re-invention takes place. In the case of Mtarfa, this part of Malta, is a spatialised functional and marginalized space. It became a functional space during the colonial period, because of, and in spite of, its marginalized aspect. Only recently was it allowed to have its own local administration in the form of a democratically elected local council. These different spaces give the location different meanings which are interpreted differently by the different people who enter into this space and who may also view it from near or far. Urry (1990) suggests that the tourists' attitude and approach to a space and its people are and continue to be socially construed. The tourist, the resident, and even the professional experts contribute to this social and cultural construction and re-construction. For Urry (1990), it is through photography, brochures and other tourism media and discourse, that the tourist-as-consumer to direct his gaze on an object or activity, so that through a series of signs and signifiers he is able to construct meaning about the 'other'. I propose that the gaze, through memory and nostalgia, can have the 'Janus effect': it can also allow the consumer (visitor, broker and host) to construct meaning about 'self', that is to look at a different time, in the same space and see where one was at particular period in time. It is this look at the past, which

for some, is important, so as to allow them to move forward with their lives. It is these meanings which are derived from this spatial and temporal space, that are appropriated as social and cultural capital, or which are transmitted as gifts, which in turn give meaning and also impact on individuals, entities and even nations.

The theme of Place and Identity will be discussed in the next chapter. Identity building is one way in which cultural brokers engender feelings of nationalistic pride and fervour with locals through heritage interpretation. However this same interpretation will also have an effect on the visiting tourist that is searching for the authentic as well as for the lived experience which he/she can relate too not just at the holiday destination, but also back home. How are we as researchers going to make sense of it all?

"*But I don't want to go among mad people*," Alice remarked.

"*Oh, you can't help that*," said the Cat: "*we're all mad here. I'm mad. You're mad*."

"*How do you know I'm mad?*" said Alice.

"*You must be*," said the Cat, "*or you wouldn't have come here*."

— **Lewis Carroll, Alice in Wonderland**

SECTION 3

This final section of this thesis shifts the focus to the hosts and their representatives as it brings the circuit of culture full circle, by examining how the 'encoding and decoding strategies respectively employed by tourism marketing texts and tourists are elaborated' (Norton 1996). It explores the OBTs encounter at the interface with the MH, on the different moments on the circuit (i.e. representation, identity, production, consumption and regulation). This elucidates an understanding of how the landscape is mediated for consumption by my tourists.

It takes us on a quest, a journey of self-discovery, not just for the tourists but also for the islanders as they struggle to come to terms with a post-colonial reality and yet still feel enchained to a type of all–invasive tourism. It addresses the question of how this form of tourism offering may be considered as the panacea to the islands' financial independence and yet may also be considered as neo-colonialism. It identifies the tensions that exist in the tourists' imaginary between dichotomies of inner and outer landscapes, post colonialism and neo-colonialism, self and other. This section also explores the cross cutting themes of retribution and closure as well as 'hot themes' such as the George Cross and Marshall Aid.

I conclude that the journey is not just a quest to see the other, but is more about seeking the self and self-fulfilment, which becomes a higher priority as one ages.

CHAPTER 6 - INTERPRETING THE LANDSCAPE, PLACE AND IDENTITY

Introduction

The previous chapter discussed how history, shared, unshared, and contested, is packaged, marketed, and consumed as heritage. This chapter discusses how this packaged heritage and its variants are interpreted and how this relates to self-Identity, memory, and nostalgia. It also investigates the production and consumption of specific heritage products such as food and its links to tourists' performance, food and home. I explore the type of capital that is being exchanged or accumulated, so as to help us understand the relationship and how it is being constructed and the value being given to it. I also outline the relationship between heritage and identity and how visitors (both Maltese and non-Maltese) relate to the sites. In doing so, it will also address interpretation techniques that are used in Malta to reach out to the various visitors that visit the site. The methodology is based on ethnographic research on selected sites, together with interviews and participant observation of visitors, guides, custodians and curators.

To contextualise, I will start by examining the landscape as place and how the older tourists socially construct and negotiate an identity through their interaction with the spaces and the people who or had inhabited them. Spatial entities, such as visitor attraction sites, are generally described in geographical terms. These geographical elements such as the physical attributes of climate, topography and latitude give the place a type or types of characteristics. However there are other forms of 'place' or landscapes such as the cultural landscapes which give locations a 'sense of place' or '*sui gens'*. These are public and private spaces upon which the tourism industry is often dependent, and over which it has little or no control. Then there are other spaces which are 'off limits' or 'restricted' such as, for example in the case of the isolated communities who either totally ban tourists or who may decide to let tourists visit for the economic benefits they leave behind. People's private homes are usually considered to be exclusively private. These types of 'private spaces' are rarely to be found in Malta, where tourism pervades every corner of the island including religion, language, culture, home life and politics.

Another type of landscape is one's internal landscape which is located within one's psyche, which is elusive as to its definition but for which we use descriptive terminology which is also used to describe the physical landscape. Terms such as 'it

gives me a warm feeling' or the use of outward expressions through various art forms such as music, paintings, pottery and so on, are used to express the inner landscape.

To understand our sense of place, one must first try and define the concept of space. The geographic concept of space is that location which can be expressed in binary form such as lines of latitude or longitude or expressed through its relation to the other space that binds (boundary) it. For example when one purchases property in Malta, besides showing the site on a map, it is described through terms such as the area bounded to the North by property X, owned by Mr. Y and so on. A place is usually a bounded location where biological activity takes place. In fact in areas where we do not perceive that any biological activity is or could take place, we assume that the space is a vacuum, although in itself a vacuum can be expressed as a particular space. Tuan, (1980) proposes that "a place comes into existence when humans give meaning to a part of the larger, undifferentiated space. Any time a location is identified or given a name, it is separated from the undefined space that surrounds it". This means that it is the name or the identity of the space which makes it a place. This definition also implies that a space can also be called a place' even if it does not exist in a physical sense but can also be attributed to another dimension such as a 'social' space such as when we refer to one's place or position in a hierarchy or social position, as well as to an internal space, a place inside one's mind or heart, an internal landscape. It is interesting to note that the word 'boundary' conjures up a delineated space, with the boundary separating each space, however one can also use the word bind (the verb of boundary) which means 'joined together' and therefore it is that which separates (the boundary) which actual joins together (bind).

In Lefebvre's famous, *The Production of Space*[43], we find the following excerpt

> "*An existing space may outlive its original purpose and the raison d'etre which determines its forms, functions, and structures; it may thus in a sense become vacant, and susceptible of being diverted, reappropriated and put to a use quite different from its initial one*".

 A recent and well-known case of this was the reappropriation of the Halles Centrales, Paris's former wholesale produce market, in 1969-71. For a brief period, the urban centre, designed to facilitate the distribution of food, was transformed into

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[43] *The Production of Space* was originally published in French in 1974, and translated into English by the ex-situationist Donald Nicholson-Smith in 1991)

a gathering-place and a scene of permanent festival -- in short, into a centre of play rather than of work -- for the youth of Paris" (2009, p.167). In this book, Lefebvre seeks to reconcile mental space (the space of the philosophers, the symbols, and so on) and real space (the physical and social spheres in which we live).

One could read this argument from a situationist perspective, with its political connotations. The physical space is designed or built in a traditional way, for a particular purpose such as a home or school, which when combined with its function, enhances the activities which take place in it. In this way the geographical space is designed to articulate space itself. However if the purpose of the buildings change as in the case of homes becoming offices or hotels becoming residential homes, so what has changed? It is the activity which is performed in the space which has transformed the space into a 'type' of place. It is the activity and the product of the activity which gives meaning to the 'place'. It is the meanings and emotions which one attaches to the place which gives it meaning, it's '*sui generis*' (sense of place). Some spaces hold or convey stronger emotions and associations, they hold special meanings for particular groups or persons or individuals, and are therefore imbued with a strong 'sense of place'. This sense of place creates a strong sense of identity and characterizes a location to the extent that it can be felt by both residents and visitors. A Maltese composer, Denis Calleja described to me, how, as he was travelling between one town and another in Malta, he began to feel such as strong sense of place, something which he called 'our ancestors energy' and this inspired him to compose a music album entitled 'Resting Fields'. J. B. Jackson wrote in *Discovering the Vernacular Landscape*, "[I]it is place, permanent position in both the social and topographical sense that gives us our identity". I was reminded of this in my conversation with Calleja when he described how important it is for Maltese to become aware of all the different people who lived on the island, and who emit an energy from the landscape, which should give them a sense of identity. Four of my British tourist informants also spoke at length, about the energy which they feel in certain places. For them, these landscapes offered other facets of identity. Two of these persons were into dowsing and we spent quite a few hours going round different sites and dowsing. For Andrew, some places gave him a sense of being one with his Neolithic ancestors. In the case of Adam, he reconfirmed his identity as a radiesthesist which he uses for his research on trees and shrubs. During his multiple stays in Malta he was able to have interesting conversations with some

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people from the Maltese Botanical Gardens with whom he established a rapport due to shared interests.

Identity building is one way in which cultural brokers engender feelings of nationalistic pride and fervour with locals through heritage interpretation. However this same interpretation will also have an effect on the visiting tourist that is searching for the authentic as well as for the lived experience which he/she can relate to, not just at the holiday destination, but also back home. How are we as researchers going to make sense of it all?

As a researcher, I started off by exploring the literature on space: one of the most influential theoretical frameworks is that of Lefebvre (1991) who formulated the tripartite formulation of the production of space. He introduced the idea that space is socially reproduced through three modes that exist in dialectical tension. These modes are firstly the spatial practice which describes places of social activity and cohesiveness, secondly the representations of space which is a system of signs and codes that are utilised to organise one's life and relations. The third is composed of representational spaces. This triad of social relations was also examined by Selwyn (1996) and its relation to tourism and its symbolic significance of landscape, and by Bourdieu (1973) as he interpreted the meaning behind the layout of the Kabyle house. Andrews (2009, 2011) and Scott (1995) also explored the social relations in their respective studies and how these are 'tied to the relations of production and to the "order" which those relations impose and hence to the knowledge, to signs, to codes and to "frontal" relations' (Lefebvre, 1991, p. 33 and Andrews (2011, p. 39). In Andrews' study in Magaluf, the names of facilities "gave insight into the dominant ideological discourses… and … the constant reference to the UK and Britishness and the connotations of specific signs, shape the understanding of what it means to be British" (2011, p. 39). In the case of Malta, the names of places also help one to understand what it means to be Maltese and how this is interpreted for and by the British Senior Tourists. This was referred to in the earlier section dedicated to the Mtarfa case study and in my reference to other places such as Wembley stores.

Melita and Britannia: Embodied Identity?

Allegorical figures are embodiments which contribute to identity and a sense of place through literature, art and other 'classical media'. They also form part of my

informants' narratives, and are channels through which socio-political and marketing discourse are articulated. This section will introduce the two female allegorical figures, Melita and Britannia, which represent Malta and Britain respectively.

One of the earliest mentions of the name Melita or Melite,[44] dates back to Diodorus, the Sicilian Greek historian, writing a century and a half from the start of the Roman occupation of the Maltese Islands in 218 BC. He refers to the largest island as Melite, and describes the Islands as Phoenician colonies (Blouet, 1992, p. 32, Frendo, 1994, p. 93). The main town was also called Melite. According to local tradition, the name is in reference to honey as this was produced locally or alternatively in reference to the honey coloured limestone. Another possibility is that the Roman name of Melite is a corruption of the Phoenician Malat meaning 'place of refuge' probably in reference to the safe harbours found around the island.

Melita is the well-known allegorical figure for Malta (Debono, 2012, p. 67) and is the embodiment of the Mediterranean nation of Malta (Kinnane-Roelofsma, 1996, p. 130). Kinnane-Roelofsma writes, that Melita first appeared in 1481, as an allegorical figure of a woman holding a sceptre in one hand, and supporting a Maltese shield of arms with the other (1996, p. 132).

Since then, there have been many portrayals of Melita: in modern times (including the British Colonial period), this is extended to revenue and postage stamps as well as banknotes. In other artistic portrayals, she is depicted wearing a helmet and a breastplate with the Maltese Eight-pointed cross.

According to Kinnane-Roelofsma, Britannia and Melita are pseudomorphic sisters, in the sense that they look the same, but are "made up of rather different iconic ingredients", the "latter having an even more complex history than the former" (1996, p. 130). This similarity is limited to the female form but not substance in the sense that the iconic ingredients are different (ibid.). Both Britannia and Melita are inspired by the iconography of Minerva, the Roman Goddess of War, and the complementary Christian allegory of Fortitude (Kinnane-Roelofsma, 1996, p. 130). I propose that these iconic ingredients are still present in the modern Maltese narrative and because of a shared history and culture with Britain, are readily digested and consumed by the British tourists, even more so by the older cohorts.

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[44] According to Bonanno (2005, p. 36), Greek sources continued to use Melite until late antiquity when the last letter eventually changed to an 'a' and later still took on the modern form (Malta) through syncopation.

This iconography of Fortitude, is replicated in the text of the illuminated scroll, which was presented to the people of Malta on the 8 December 1943 by US President Franklin D. Roosevelt, where he extolls the endurance, courage and fortitude shown by the Maltese during WWII. A copy of the text is etched on a marble plaque and is placed on the wall of the Palace in Valletta, next to its British equivalent (the George Cross inscription). It reads

> "*In the name of the USA I salute the Island of Malta, its people and its defenders, who, in the cause of freedom and justice and decency throughout the world, have rendered valorous service far above and beyond the call of duty. Under repeated fire from the skies Malta stood alone and unafraid in the centre of the sea, one tiny, bright flame in the darkness - a beacon of hope in the clearer days when which have come. Malta's bright story of human fortitude and courage will be read by posterity with wonder and gratitude through all the ages. What was done in this island maintains all the highest traditions of gallant men and women who from the beginning of time have lived and died to preserve the civilisation for all mankind.*" (signed) Franklin D. Roosevelt, 7 December 1943

On February 19, 1941, The Glasgow Herald reported that in the House of Commons, on the previous day a one million pound grant-in-aid had been approved to 'enable the Government and people of Malta to organise measures for the protection of the civil population which had suffered over 300 air raids'. The Glasgow Herald then went on to quote from the speech made by the under-secretary of State, Mr George Hall:

> "*However, the fortitude, endurance and determination of the Maltese people in face of these attacks have matched the qualities of our own people in this country and are in accordance with their own splendid traditions. Confident in the British Navy, Air Force and the military garrison in which the youth of Malta themselves are playing their full part, their people stand firmly behind the Government. Under the experienced and splendid leader, General Dobbie, they have endured hardships and are fully united in their determination to wage war with us until victory is assured. I am glad to have this opportunity of expressing today our admiration for the magnificent spirit with which the Maltese are facing their task and our complete confidence in their ability to meet every emergency they will be called upon to meet.*"

That same morning Malta was mentioned once again by Mr Butler as they were discussing the British councils work in the Colonies. He said

> "*It is rather remarkable that in one morning, on different Votes, the spirit of Malta should be twice referred to. Perhaps the success of the British Council is most dramatically seen in those countries, which are putting up the best resistance, in those areas most remarkable for their resolution. In Valetta, British culture has been kept alive in this impregnable fortress*".

Fortitude had been used in an earlier speech by Viscount Caldecote in the House of Lords on the 17th September 1940.

> *The Colony of Malta, for the fortitude of whose people no praise can be too high, has received fresh supplies, enemy aerodromes in Sardinia and Rhodes have been bombed by aircraft of the Fleet Air Arm with excellent results, and enemy aerodromes and bases in the Dodecanese have been bombed by units of the Fleet.*

Malta was awarded with the George Cross and although on the cross itself there is the inscription 'for gallantry', on the front pages of the British and Allied newspapers, the headlines announced that 'King Honours Fortitude of Malta' as the letter dated 15 April 1942 which accompanied the George Cross read

> *"To honour her brave people I award the George Cross to the Island Fortress of Malta to bear witness to a heroism and devotion that will long be famous in history.", (sgd) George R.I."*

This inscription on marble is located on the Palace walls, in Valletta, just outside the entrance to building which houses Parliament and the Armoury. It also faces the square known today as Pjazza San Gorg (St Goerge's Square) which is colloquially known as Main Guard. The Main Guard is the name given to the square during the colonial period and which is the place where the George Cross award ceremony was held in 1942.[45]

The arms on The Knights of St John's cross is associated with the four cardinal virtues, Prudence, Temperance, Justice and Fortitude, whilst the eight point represent the eight beatitudes. The secular significance for Fortitude for the St Johns Ambulance (Malta) is

> *"The Spirit which resists, endures, and triumphs over the trial and temptations of life. On this will hinge moral courage, industry and self-discipline"*.
> http://www.stjohnambulancemalta.com/id30.html

At the Great Siege Square, a monument looms large right across from the Law Courts. It is the Great Siege Monument and is the work of the sculptor Antonio Sciortino. Inaugurated in 1927 it was primarily meant to represent the Maltese Fallen in the defence of Malta, its people and their faith during the Great Siege. It also came to signify the beginning of a new era in Malta's history: the granting of the Malta's first Constitution by its colonial masters, in 1921. The three allegorical figures are Faith, Hope and Fortitude. Faith and Hope are represented by two female figures. Fortitude is represented by a larger dominant male figure with a bare torso and his

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[45] A re-enactment takes place here every year on the 21st April. However the original ceremony took place in September, after the hostilities had ceased.

lower parts are clad in armour, as a god of war. In this case, the war was waged against the infidel and Fortitude here, evokes the ideal of the Christian warrior. However using a Male figure is not the norm for Malta. As early as the last quarter of the 9th century, it is a female figure that is portrayed as Fortitude: she is armed as in the 9th century German San Callisto Bible. (Katzenellenbogen 1964:31).

Figure 32 Giovanni Stradano, Malta Presenting King Philip H of Spain with a Corona obsidionalis. Paris, Louvre, inv. 20512

In fact the painting by Giovanni Stradano made for the reception of Joanna of Austria arriving for her marriage to Francesco, the Medici heir, the personified Malta is presenting a 'Corona obsidionalis' to King Philip II of Spain in gratitude from having been liberated from the Turks.

One of the first links between Melita and Brittannia is celebrated artistically in the 1800 by the artist Gaetano Calleja (1760). This work, entitled *Britannia Introduces Melita to the Safe Protection of King George III*, is at the Palace in Valletta and it depicts Britannia presenting Melita to King George. Both Melita and Britannia are wearing helms. This large painting is undated however Kinnane-Roelfsma (1996, p. 142) suggests that it was painted between the "years 1801, when the British and Maltese agreed that Britain should take the island under its protection, and 1814,

when the Treaty of Paris awarded Malta to Britain as a colony".

Figure 33 Britannia Presenting Melita to the Safe Protection of George III, c. 1815. Valletta, The Palace

Source: Calleja, G.

Although as discussed earlier, Melita and Britannia are considered to be Pseudomorphic sisters by Kinnane-Roelfsma, Debono (2013, p. 67) insists that Melita 'highlights the military and later also the maritime strategic potential of the island and its staunchly Catholic tradition that define the identity of the land and its inhabitants'. He proposes another allegory which he calls '*Għonnella: A British-styled allegory for twentieth-century Malta*' (2013, p. 67). *Għonnella* (pronounced *onnella*) which is sometimes referred to by British writers as '*faldetta*', refers to women's head covering and dress which Debono considers to be unique to the Maltese islands and which John Percy Badger, an eminent British travel writer of the 1800s considered it to be 'a primitive dress turned into a costume for the civilised'. Debono asserts through his arguments that "The *għonnella* remains a steadfast symbol of the past; defined by the British as a traditional garb and classified as part of Malta's ethnic heritage. It was rightly labelled as Malta's national costume, and adopted for tourism marketing strategies during the inter-war period" (2013, p. 73-74).

Nowadays, Melita and *Ghonnella* are no longer considered to be valid representations of Maltese identity, by the general public, probably because they are not representative of the modern Malta. However from time to time, we still see them in an abstracted form through the identity values they used to evoke: they are images that still qualify "for a narrative proper much like the other images from the same set to which it belongs which, yet again, respond to the consumer needs of the typical British visitor to the islands" (Debono, 2013, p. 69).

Even so, the senior British tourists which return to the islands after some time, still seem to associate them with modern Malta, as those which in the past had some sort of connection with Malta go in search of the ladies with the 'faldetta' and are disappointed to find that locals do not wear this clothing item any more. The 'faldetta' wearers are associated with rural villages and poverty. A few described to me how they would visit villages in Malta and Gozo and see the older women in public areas, covered from head to toe in black garments covered by the strange head dress, and the younger girls would be walking or running about barefoot. At the other end of the spectrum, the older tourists who are inclined towards history show great interest in the artistic expressions of Melita and often liken her to Queen Victoria: from both a physiognomy as well as a symbolic perspective. One eighty seven year old gentleman had complained to me that it was not right that the Maltese 'look after' their own and yet had abandoned Queen Victoria. He had noticed that on five of his consecutive visits, the hand of the statue of Queen Victoria, placed in Pjazza Regina in Valletta had broken off and had not been repaired. "Had that happened to your Melita it would have been repaired straight away and yet both of them are equal: they both showed strong fortitude when the going got rough".

As this research seeks to contribute to the understanding of the individual tourist in Malta and the dynamics of his encounters on the island, both the material (as in phenomenological) as well as the metaphorical (as in symbolical as well as emotional) actions and behaviour must be studied in tandem and in this case proposes the study of the 'agentive, embodied role of the tourist' (Crouch, Aronsson and Wahlstrom (2001) which I discuss in the next section.

The essence of embodiment

Just as allegories such as Britannia and Melita embody identity, so too one can express identity through one's body: how it is adorned, how it behaves, how it

projects itself to show that it is different to that of others, or that it belongs to a group: be it nation, tribe, family or class. All these are attributed to the body on a physical level, however within the Anglophone Western science there has been a construction of people as 'split' between their mental life and their physical bodies (Maclachlan, 2004, p. 2) and this has contribute to the trend of research, focusing either on one domain or the other. The 'blame' for this is usually attributed to Plato and Descartes (Maclachlan, 2004, 2). Merleau-Ponty criticizes this stance and according to Maclachlan 'ties mind and body inexorably' and posits that 'to be a body is to be tied to a certain {sort of} world (Maclachlan, 2004, p. 4). My tourists, through the clothing that they wear and artifacts which they use to adorn their body, project what the Maltese consider to be a 'British middle class' image: wearing Marks and Spencer type holiday clothes, eating staple British food such as Sunday Roasts with Yorkshire puddings. Another group which Maltese people in the tourism industry feel are distinguished by their behaviour and dress are called 'the Colonials' or 'G and T Brits'. These people give the impression that they are upper class, speak using the Queen's English, wear good quality 'English brand' clothing such as Burberry, and usually stay in upmarket accommodation such as the 5 star and boutique hotels.

Figure 34 Traditional Maltese and British Sunday Lunch Menu

Source: Avellino, 2015

According to an airline purser, Steph and Dom from the BBC programme Gogglebox, are the embodiment of the G and T Brits. The third predominant group is called the 'bucket and spade brigade'. These usually travel as part of an extended family group, stay in 3 star or rental apartments in Bugibba and Qawra and frequent Karaoke bars, chippies and spend their time either at the beach, or in bars along the seafront promenade. These categorizations have emanated from discussions I held with airline, hotel and tour operator staff who described older tourists in very similar terms, based on how they behaved, dressed and spoke[46].

A key theme which resonated throughout the fieldwork was that of identity and the research indicates how the embodied world of tourists is projected (or understood?) onto their unpacking of the notions of identity which can be classified into personal or individual identity (self, gender,) and collective identity (family, social, national). National identity can be subdivided into a combination of ethnic, educational, cultural, historical references and components (Abela, 2005) The main aspect of identity which featured in the fieldwork is National Identity. Gorp and Renes (2007) note that when a historical period of time between two countries is intersected and therefore shared, a link is formed. That is to say that from 1800 up to 1979 when both Malta and Britain shared a common history, a link was created. Alternatively this may be expressed in reverse: when the two nations had a link, a common history was created. Since history is the narrative, it would seem to be logically *post hoc.* How this link is negotiated and embodied will be elaborated in the ensuing part of this chapter.

Self and National Identity

Defining a national identity is elusive, and may not even be desirable in an era when there seems to be an obsession with being seen to be non-discriminatory, (although paradoxically there seems to be an obsession with Branding). Defining or circumscribing a national identity does discriminate, it allows only a prescribed group of persons who exhibit certain traits or act in a certain way, into the 'national' box. A national identity, the embodiment of a nation, what makes you what you are, is a slow political process. Symbols, rituals, language, music and so on are created and

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[46] At this point, I must stress that I have not tried to categorize according to class, but just categorized based on the perceptions of the Maltese hosts, which might not fit in with a 'British' frame of reference.

embodied and aim to manifest to the group members and non-group members, that the group members are similar to each other and these things make them a distinct group such as a political party, an academic instituition and even a Nation, because these things or actions which they perform set them apart from others. It is a political process in that it is the hegemonic group, the stronger group, or the group with the strongest political will that ascertains which of these 'identifiers or signifiers' are appropriated by them for whatever reason.

As a collection of common attributes and values of a nation, national identity is a reasonable proxy for nationalism (Dougherty, 2003). According to Amavilah (2009, p. 2) in the past racial homogeneity and ethnic purity were key characteristics that identified nations; however these days nations are becoming more heterogeneous so national identity can best be represented by national symbols and institutional properties. This accelerated change has come about because of globalisation. People moving from country to country, from continent to continent, mostly from the Southern to the Northern Hemisphere, or from lesser developed to more developed areas, contribute to globalisation. There are many diverse definitions of globalisation, however here globalisation refers to the effect that comes about as a result of the increased movement of humans, capital and knowledge which is propelled by advances in technology, and through education and the media and by greater economic integration. Globalisation has been accused of creating homogeneity but may in fact be a catalyst for local diversity, as people seek to belong to a group which will give them identity. Therefore the concept of identity as in ethnic or national, may become even more important as it could be the necessary leverage which individuals could use to tap into national resources.

Edensor (2002) attempts to show that national identity is not only located and experienced at renowned symbolic sites, but equally is domesticated and asserted at local and domestic levels (2002, p. 186). I propose that national identity is not only located at the above locations, but at sites outside the national boundary. In fact Andrews (in Scott, 2010, p. 27) attests that the "sense of national identity becomes even more pronounced and effervescent" and this notion is exploited by Magaluf and Palmanova as they "set out to enchant their visitors with ideas of Britishness" (Andrews in Scott, 2010, p. 29). In the case of Malta, national identity for British tourists is represented through visits and participation at rituals of significance such as Remembrance Day. Malta reminds these tourists that 'they' (Britannia) ruled the

world'. Edensor (2002, p.188) describes how the British Monarchy conjures up a dense network of associations across popular culture and everyday life (ibid.) and gives a pageful of examples. He also includes royal visits to localities within Britain and royal tours abroad. The tour organisers in Malta know that sites associated with the Royal Family are British crowd pullers and so, organise visits to the Siege Memorial Bell in Valletta, This is significant in its own right, but is doubly so for British as this bell was inaugurated by HM Queen Elizabeth, commemorating the award of the George Cross to Malta by her father, King George VI, in April 1942.

Malta is the only country where Her Majesty Queen Elizabeth II and His Royal Highness have lived, other than the United Kingdom. Prince Philip served in Malta with the Royal Navy between 1949 and 1951, during which time the Queen (she was then Princess Elizabeth) visited several times, the longest visit being from November 1950 to February 1951. The Royal Couple returned to the island in 1954, 1967, 1992, 2005 and 2007 (celebrating their 60-year wedding anniversary). The Duke of Edinburgh visited Malta in 2001. Besides going to the public sites, many hotel guests enquire about or go off on their own to look for sites associated with the Queen, most notably being *Villa Guardamangia* where she had stayed between 1946 and 1953, on different occasions.

National identity is not formed overnight. In nation states that have been established for a long time, such as Britain, an identity has been established, albeit it is constantly being challenged through inward migration, intermarriages, by fashions and trends – such as the rising visibility of certain groups. Examples of these are depicted in the northern working class in films and novels in the 1960s; the foreign travels of football hooligans from the 1970s onward, and by increasing attention being afforded in the media to subaltern histories, where "new ethnicities mingle with the old" (Storry and Childs, 2005, p. xvii). Britain, through decolonisation has also shed parts of what made it a great empire, and this too has challenged its identity. Has New Britannia replaced Rule Britannia?

In the case of Malta, a newly established nation state, which historically, has identified itself through its 'rulers', it is even more challenging today, as no sooner had it started to toddle on its own two feet, that it was absorbed by the greater EU. My British tourists that have been visiting Malta over many decades sense this change in Maltese Identity. Most accept this change and move along with the tide; however, those that have closer connections with the island are very much aware of

the change. They even have specific names for it, such as the 'Mintoff' period which refers to the period when Malta had a socialist prime minister who as soon as Labour began to govern in 1971 it declared the Defence and Financial Agreement with Britain as null and void and sought to renegotiate a new agreement.

One of the Maltese narratives to describe Mintoff during the 70s went like this:

> *"I cannot deny that I liked the manner in which he stood up to the British, his long weekend at Chequers discussing a possible defence agreement with Conservative Prime Minister Ted Heath is still a vivid memory….*
> *When he insisted that Britain triple the £5 million rent it paid each year for military facilities on Malta, it led to Britain accepting to leave the island. Relations between Mintoff and NATO were no better, and reached boiling point when Mintoff told the alliance's Secretary-General, Joseph Luns, to 'shut up'"*. (Balzan, 2012)

Malta would appear on a regular basis in the British press, especially when Dom Mintoff and Edward Heath were negotiating the Financial Assistance Agreement. The BST that had been regular visitors to Malta, or had close friends and relatives, who did so, would follow the negotiations as they were reported by the British Press. Many stopped coming as they felt that the Maltese hated them. What they did not know was that Mintoff only represented just over half of the voting population and the majority of the other half did not agree with his tactics or with the fact that the British were asked to leave (as reported in the Maltese press). One British informant said

> "*My time in Malta was the happiest time of my life and all my family had decided that when dad finished his tour of duty, we would buy a home in Malta. I came with my mother and we found a lovely house in Sliema, not too far from the sea and were going to buy it – but your Mr Mintoff wasn't having any of that – he wanted us out. We waited to see if things would change but they became worse – all the Maltese wanted to kill us, they hated us so much!! And so we decided to settle in UK. It broke my mother's heart and I only started coming back to Malta when my company became involved in a project in Malta. Now we come here every year or two.*" (Brown, Engineer, 2011).

The Nation and Imagination

The notion of the nation and the traditions, ceremonies and rituals associated with nation- building are themes that have been dealt with extensively by social scientists such as Anderson (1983) and Eric Hobsbawm (1992). According to Hobsbawm in his book, the *Invention of Tradition* (1992), many of the customs, which one assumes to have been in existence since time immemorial, are in fact a 'recent' tradition and are a product of a conscious design. He gives examples of British traditions such as the

Yule Logs, Christmas cards, the Tree and Santa Claus are attributed to two significant personalities, Charles Dickens and Prince Albert. The media-conscious age of Victoria, regaled the British public with ceremonial state openings, the lying in state funerals and other public 'showbiz' spectacles. Most of this was meant to encourage the public to admire or 'love' the royals. The Scottish Kilt and clan tartans are also of comparatively recent origin, although they relate to 'forms of identification that are much older' (Stern, 1995, p. 93). Although these traditions are associated with Britain, they also formed part of Maltese culture as many families, especially those that worked for the Crown or were related to British persons by blood or affinity, adopted these customs as part of their everyday way of life. Apart from these, they would also speak English to communicate with other British persons and even amongst themselves. My personal recollection from the 60s and 70s is that school text books were English[47] and even the National television were anglicised to the extent that the early news was read in Maltese and the late news read in English. Most of the TV films were English and American, and televiewers were regaled to weekly episodes of The Saint, Man from Uncle, Doctor Who, the Avengers and other similar series. Some of these were filmed in Malta[48].

Identity and Home

My research indicates that a good number of tourists, visit Malta not just for novelty seeking, but also, to look for what they feel is a piece of Home, which is no longer found 'at Home'. Andrews notes that (in Scott et al, 2010, P. 27) "… upon removal to a different physical space (e.g. Mallorca) that sense of national identity becomes more pronounced and effervescent". According to Andrews, this is due to what Lunn (1996) argues to be the effect of globalisation such as the integration with the EU and migrant workers, which "undermine a sense of collective British identity in the home world" (Lunn, 1996 in Scott et al., 2010). Stern, in his book, the Structure of International Society (1995, p. 291), asserts that "Anyone aged 50 and over will have been born before the age of nuclear fusion, of jet engines and space rockets, of solar

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[47] Identical to those used in UK and other colonies
[48] In the fifties the Rank Organisation shot the film Malta Story on location. They were so taken with the island, that they decided to return. They did and 'Treasure in Malta' was one of the first to be filmed in Malta and in Technicolour. In fact the filming industry was launched on a professional level in Malta when British special – effects guru Benjamin 'Jim' Hole and Paul Avellino set up Malta Film Facilities in 1964. Their unique service was a Horizontal Surface Tank which meant that sea scenes could be filmed in a safe environment whilst incorporating a 'real' sea horizon.The result was a plethora of British and International film companies using Malta as a filming location.

power, fibre optics and lasers…. and of course supersmart computers". He goes on to say that "trying to make sense of such tumultuous developments and understand their implications will be a priority for the politicians, economists, financiers, ecologists, creative artists and other agenda-setters for the 21st century" (Stern 1995). One may also argue that most persons in the same age group are trying to make sense of such tumultuous changes as one realises that "at the beginning of the century informed discussion in the world's capitals centred around imperialism, monarchy and protectionism" (Stern, 1995). This discussion was also going on when these persons were reaching their puberty, or fighting on the war front or bringing up their young families.

The 50+ British tourists have witnessed various processes and changes, which have taken place during the postmodern era such as the shedding of the empire through the process of de-colonisation, the inward flow of immigrants, and the changes, which have ensued as a result of acculturation and multiculturalism in Britain today. Many have been through wars and conflict such as WWII, Suez, Falklands, and Bosnia and so on. Others spoke of having been part of the Defence forces and travelling to various parts of the globe. Nearly all have gone through or are going through processes associated with post-modernism. The interviewees seem to be re-looking at the world not from a rational perspective but from perspectives of mysticism and nostalgia and reintegrating differences.

Modern day consumers are witness to the collapse of the division between high /elitist culture and low/popular culture, all forms of anti-elitist, anti-hierarchical processes. I also claim that the processes we are also seeing the production and consumption of different forms and levels of cultural expressions, which together become a single entity or product. An example of this can be seen in museums where technology and traditional forms of art expression such as sculptures are fused to give a single art form, which is sometimes called an installation. The recycling of past cultural events or icons or the combination of social (functional) and aesthetic aspects of culture are both processes meant to produce a 'new culture' or a modern, more attractive product, for consumption by the stakeholders and attraction providers who strive to produce innovative products. We see this mostly in pageants and ceremonies such as the changing of the Guard (England) or the Good Friday Procession (Malta) where national symbols (Monarchy, Religion) are glamorised for public consumption of both locals and non-locals. These are also a

means of asserting a national identity, and at the same time, indirectly one is being asked to become one with the event as a consumer of the event. As a result of this we see a Globalisation of local identity (through a destruction of the local identity {McLeod, 2004, in Reisinger, 2009, p. 21) and a Localisation of global identity through the enhancement of the local identity (Pacione, 2009, pp. 8-9) which means that one has to negotiate between globalising and localising processes.

Figure 35 Good Friday procession in Gozo

Source: Avellino, 2015

The current trends in tourism have shown that there is a demand for 'new forms of tourism', which in fact contribute to the accumulation of symbolic (or cultural) capital. The changing nature of tourist attractions has come about as tourists seek new attractions and experiences. In the case of the older British tourists, this enhancement of the experience is important as many of them have been travelling for a very long time, and are more discerning and demanding. The attraction providers try to cater for this demand by deepening and widening the product offer

(Timothy and Boyd, 2003, p. 21). To widen the product, sites, which were not seen as significant, can be designated as such and the widening of the product offer can achieved by adding on buildings or relics. (Johnson and Thomas, 1995; in Timothy and Boyd, 2003, p. 21).

In the case of Malta, many popular sites have embarked on this exercise. One such example is the creation of a 'new' Military museum which will be housed in Fort St Elmo in Valletta. The National War Museum will be re-located inside the Fort and will form part of the Military Museum, however it will still retain its present title as it is deemed to be one of the most visited sites on the island. This enhancement can also be achieved through add on performances, participatory activities and the creation of heritage trails, with ancillary service providers such as souvenir shops and 'authentic local restaurants' along the route. This tends to result in a product offer, which is at times deemed contrived or not authentic, in most cases aiming for a 'themed experience'. The themed experience provided by the tourist experience provider is based on the successful concept developed by the 'imagineers' of Disney Corporation and which have been replicated by visitor attractions. This is achieved, in the case of a museum by placing a collection of museum artefacts with the context of a specific theme or image in a particular setting or environment (Cooper et al, 2005, p. 357-8).

An Authentic Pilgrimage?

Modern tourists or 'travellers', as my eclectic tourists like to call themselves, go in search of 'the real thing', the authentic experiences and places (MacCannell 1973, 1976; Moulin, 1991, in Timothy and Boyd, 2003, p. 239). "Tourism is about the invention and re-invention of tradition. It is about the production and consumption of myths and staged inauthenticities" (Selwyn, 1996, p. 28). Authenticity is made up of two main components: the historical, economic and political frameworks and the myths and fantasies of tourists (After Baudrillard 1988, Gellner 1974, Selwyn 1996). Jackson (1999, in Sims, 2008) proposes 'authentification', which is the process whereby people make claims for authenticity and the interests that those claims serve.

Figure 36 Glory of England Bar

Source: Avellino, 2013

People also seek to establish links to places through attachment, familiarity and identity. Place attachment is conceived as an affective bond or link between people and specific places (Hidalgo and Hernandez, 2001). According to Cheng et al (2013, p. 1168) "Place attachment is a multidimensional concept of an individual's psychological process and locality (Scannell & Gifford, 2010), and a person's positive emotional ties to a specific location (Cuba & Hummon, 1993; Fullilove, 1996; Giuliani, 2003; Hidalgo & Hern´andez, 2001; Manzo, 2003, 2005; Mesch & Manor, 1998; Riley, 1992; Williams & Vaske, 2003)". In the case of Malta, the interviewers recount how they return to Malta because they feel an attachment to it. This is revealed by such terms as '*it's a home away from home*', '*it's our second home*', '*I was stationed here during the war or the Suez crisis*' , '*I love to revisit all the places I*

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visited as a child' or '*Malta is Britain in the sun*' and so on. This association with all things British are easy for the BST to enjoy as they are ubiquitous throughout the island, ranging from bar, restaurant and hotel names, to band clubs, from street names to house names: they are everywhere.

Figure 37 British Nurse ex-Voto at Ta' Pinu Sanctuary

Source: Avellino, 2013

Just as they are in Andrew's Magaluf, Malta is inscribed "with signs of Britishness and through engagement and enactment with these signs, the world of tourists is made" (2011, p. 39).

Figure 38 ER (Elizabeth Regina) and VR (Victoria Regina) markers in the countryside

Source: Avellino, 2013

The rhetoric of the Royal family is repeated throughout the Maltese Islands, however over the last few decades, these have been replaced as the Maltese try to assert their National Identity. This surge in changing names of streets, places, and public buildings, commenced during the period which led up to Malta becoming a republic and a second spate of changes took place when the property which had been leased out to NATO and Britain reverted back to the Maltese government. This was referred to in the Mtarfa Case Study. Some names have remained decidedly British and do not need any interpretation, such as the modern day '*The Duke*' which replaced '*The Duke of Edinburgh'* the main hotel in the capital city of Gozo, Victoria (which is also now officially called Rabat). The naming of places in a British fashion is reminiscent of colonialism and empire in which British names laid claim to territory (Andrews, 2011 p. 46), however this practice is being used by marketers and interpreters, to their commercial advantage. Owners of new properties, have the choice of any name they want for their establishments. Older and more established places could choose to change their name if they felt that it was not appropriate, however they choose to keep the British link because the British brand inspires confidence and reliability in their product with both with the locals (and here I am including the native Maltese as well as the extensive ex-pat community), as well as with tourists.

Figure 39 The Duke Shopping Mall which replaced The Duke of Edinburgh Hotel in Victoria, Gozo

Source: Avellino, 2005

A case in point is Wembley Store, a shop located on the main thoroughfare in Valletta, Republic Street, formerly known as Kinsgway. The store was opened in 1924, to service up market clientele and was a 'favoured meeting place for Maltese and British', with the name inspired by the British Empire Exhibition which was also being held in the same year.

Figure 40 South Street Valletta - War Damage

Source: http://www.thewembleystore.com

Caption accompanying the figure above, is taken from the Wembley Stores website: "*The beautiful wooden facade destroyed. Extensive damage can be seen along South Street. British officers and sailors queue up alongside locals wearing traditional costumes and brave faces*".

Figure 41 Caption taken from the Wembley Stores website

"*Debris from the Royal Opera House lies along Republic Street. Despite the damage sustained the store continues to serve it's customers*".

Source: http://www.thewembleystore.com

This was meant to represents British stoicism in face of adversity, something which the Maltese people (probably of the middle to upper class) could relate to. The purchasing and consumption of British goods, which are clearly featured in other photos shown on the website, become an embodiment of the ideas and the qualities they represent: Kellogg's Cornflakes, Hovis bread, and Whitworths. The façade with the crown-like decoration above the main entrance, symbolises British Monarchy. As opposed to what goes on in Magaluf (Andrews, 2011, p. 40) where

> "*reps supply reminders of the spatial differences between reworts and the home world, e.g. temperature and time differences, the dangers of drinking local water and the presence of the foreign other*"

in Malta, the interpreters, whether formal as in the case of guides or informal as in the case of the owners of Wembley Stores, supply reminders of similarities or a sort of 'more of the same' as the home world of the tourist.

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An active member of the Malta Mini Owners Club (MMOC) told me that British tourists, tended to get in touch with them because of the Malta link to the Mini designer. The Mini was designed by Sir Alec Issigonis and Mini affacionados visit Malta to look for his father's grave. Sir Alec wrote about it in his autobiography which I did not have to hand at that time, however I decided to explore this link through online research (simoncars) and discovered that Alexander's grandfather, although of Greek origin, acquired British nationality, and therefore when his father, Constantine Issigonis was born in Smyma he had British nationality. In September 1922 Constantine, his wife Hulda, and together with the 15 year old Alexander, were evacuated together with the rest of the British community in Turkey, by the British Royal Marines. They stayed in Malta for a while and here, Constantine passed away.

For most British Mini fans the search ends here and they travel to Malta or else contact the MMOC in the hope that they will find the grave. This particular shrine is found at the Ta' Braxia cemetery, in Malta. Constantine Demosthemes Issignosis was buried there on the 2nd of July 1923 He was 51 years old at the time. To the car fans (both British and Maltese), the Mini embodies a British Liberal lifestyle as it became a British icon for the swinging 60s (Schmitt, 2010, p. 187). According to the MMOC members, the typical British tourists which contact the club are aged around 50, and are in a couple. They rarely get anyone aged over 60. The club members also tend to be male: a case for gendered identity.

For the Mini club members in Malta, the Mini embodies a machismo which is based on their mechanical and technical prowess of being able to restore the car which to them embodies the best of British engineering. Their narrative about their favourite car would include reference to other British machines such as the Navy and Merchant Navy ships which had Maltese connections, or Military and civilian aircraft and the stories associated with them. The fascination with the Mini is not limited to it and the Mini Cooper and other cars from the same stable, but extends to other cars too. This is highlighted by the following vignette. In June of 2011, Lourdes and Tony, both Maltese, were going to get married. They had told me all about their plans and also about a problem they were facing. Tony wanted a 'British' car for his wedding and because they had set a late wedding date (in Malta wedding dates are set about two years beforehand), they could not find one. I knew a couple of car companies that had Jaguars, Bentleys and Rolls Royces and I contacted them. I was told that

the British cars were the first to be booked up and that they did not have any available. A year later, on their wedding anniversary, Tony confessed that his biggest regret in life was that he did not have an 'English' car on his wedding day! The love of all things British is not limited to the Mini or its club members, but extends far and wide in the Maltese islands. This is linked to what some Maltese people feel is missing in their National Identity. This is highlighted by a new Facebook site which has been set up and is called 'The British in Malta History Group' (https://www.facebook.com/groups/173790315984149/). Their logo is made up of a Union Jack with the top left quadrant showing part of the Maltese Flag with the George Cross
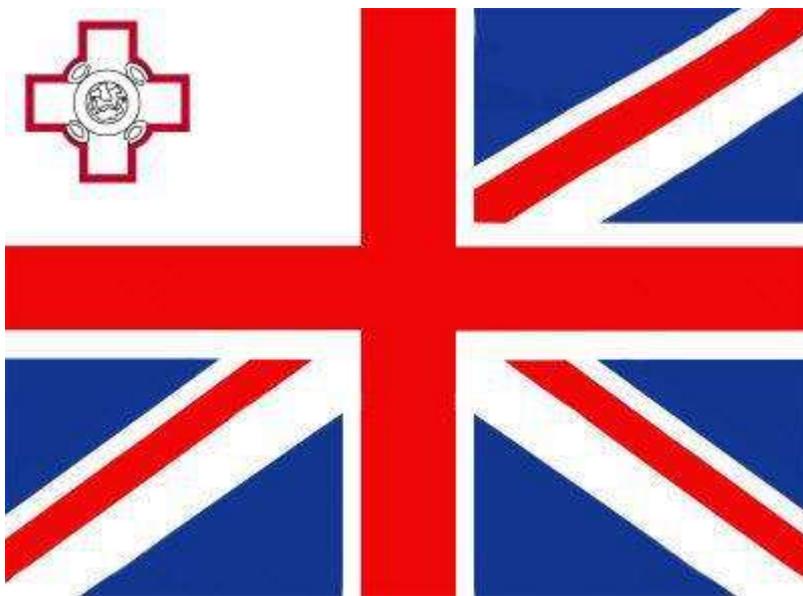
Figure 42 Hybrid Flag

Source: The British in Malta History Group Facebook, 2012

One fanatical display of identity is embodied in Football. It was probabaly introduced into Malta by the Navy as the first teams were formed around the harbour area. Persons from Cospicua tell the story of the time when in the 1880s, the 'English soldiers' gave a new fooootball ground to the young teenage boys after they had seen them playing football around the Verdala Barracks. In fact the first teams from Cospicua were called St Andrew's, St George's (probably after the patron Saints of England and Scotland) and Santa Margerita. In 1890 they merged into one club called St George's, a name they still hold onto. More clubs formed taking on names such as Hibernians, Wanderers and these local clubs would play against the Services teams which were based on Malta. In the 1930s when what is known as the

language question reared its head, the socio-political debate was on whether Italian or English should be adopted as the official langauge, with the result that as regards football, two factions emerged , the pro-Italian and the pro-British. Supporters, a rivalry which continues up to the present. "It's our colonial past," says John Buttigieg, chairman of the 1,000-strong Maltese Manchester United Supporters Club (Green, 2000) Green, a BBC Correspondent described his night in Malta when England secured their passage to the 1998 World Cup finals thanks to a dogged 0-0 draw in Italy.

"The streets of Sliema, Malta's second largest town, were gridlocked as cars crawled through the streets, their drivers waving flags, hooting their horns, playing Baddiel and Skinner's Three Lions at full blast on their stereos" (Green, 2000)

One must also point out that the pro-Italian are vehemently opposed to the British teams and vice-versa. So much so that in the last EUFA 2012 cup, the pro-British supported Spain since they were playing Italy.

Figure 43 Two family members support opposing teams – Quarter final game England vs Italy EUFA 2012.

Source Avellino, 2012

As regards other sports: horse racing on a race course took place in 1868 with the first meeting held with imported 'English' horses (www.maltaracingclub.com) [49]. The Royal Malta Golf Club is a long established private golf club founded in 1888 primarily as a facility for British servicemen stationed in Malta (http://www.royalmaltagolfclub.com) [50]. The United Services Sports Club, as it was then known, was inaugurated on 15th August 1901 to provide a permanent home for the Polo and Golf clubs and to serve as a recreational centre for the British Forces then stationed on the island.

The Holiday as a symbol of British Identity: a search for home from home?

'The Holiday' is in fact institutionalised by the British and therefore is a source of national identity. According to Chaney (1993, p. 165) 'the practice of holidaying has become a display of citizenship and the tourist is expected to conform to a script of orderly consumption'. Just like tea drinking which is quintessentially English (Barnes 1998, in Storry and Childs, 2002, p. 23, Delaney and Kaspin, 2011, p. 349), there is a whole ritual associated with the Holiday. Probably the main topic of conversation after the weather, is in fact the Holiday and this has been observed during fieldwork when tourists meet up to exchange tips and talk about all the places they have visited, in a way that is reminiscent of exhibiting trophies on a shelf. The places one visits are markers of social status in British culture. Fox claims that 'the English on holiday do not suddenly or entirely stop being English" (Fox, 2008, p. 391).

A cursory review of British Market as a Tourism Generating Region readily reveals the current popular spots for taking a holiday. Short breaks across the channel, one or two week holidays in Europe, longer stays in locations further away in exotic climates, cultures and landscapes. Britain's contemporary domestic travel and tourism industries also offer a much broader landscape, as British domestic travel together with tourism to ex-colonial countries provides a window on the cognitive landscape of what seems to be a tension in a particular section of the British Market. This tension is a negotiated dissonance between the search for innovative and

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[49] Horseracing was already a predominant sport in Malta during th time of the Knights of St John, however this took place on specific roads.

[50] The Royal Malta Golf Club was founded in October 1888 by Lieutenant – General Sir Henry D'Oyley Torrens KCB KCMG having a year or two earlier launched the game in South Africa at the Cape Golf Club the forerunner of Royal Cape. At that time, the then Duke of Edinburgh, Prince Alfred Ernest Albert, third son of Queen Victoria , was based in Malta as Commander of the Mediterranean Fleet and became one of the founder members of the club. Hence the royal patronage from where the club gets its name. The circle of golf clubs in the Commonwealth with Royal status is an exclusive one, with just 62 members.

'modern' experiences on one hand and a return to a 'past' fuelled by nostalgia and a search for what has been 'lost', on the other. This search for old landscapes to explore is depicted in TV re-runs such as Dad's Army and BBC's Last of the Summer Wine that do not specifically focus on travel but depict a rural way of life where older persons take an active part in decision making at local levels, where good triumphs over evil and where they all live happily ever after.

Films which portray Malta include Golden Oldies such as the *Malta Story*[51], however a recent film with a story based in Malta was shot in 2006, is entitled *What We Did on our Holiday*) (Webb, Jeremy, 2006). It tells the story of 36 year old Nick, who together with his wife and parents, goes on holiday to Malta. The father, now suffering from Parkinson's is brought out to Malta as he had once served there during the war. This is based on a fictional novel, it is a reflection of reality as many tourists return to Malta as they or their family and friends had served in Malta up to 1979, when the military agreement with Britain ended. In the fictional film, *A Previous Engagement* (2008, Joan Carr-Wigin), Julia Reynolds talks her husband into a family vacation in Malta. She has a secret agenda: a date made twenty-five years earlier with her first love. Malta provides a back drop to a story of a woman who looks back on her life, and asks if this is it, now that her children have grown up and left the nest. One 65 year old interviewee felt that this film which was screened in Britain, inspired her to return to Malta as this was a question that most people her age would ask themselves, and which she too was asking herself. The interviewees tend to refer to the Malta Story as a non-fiction story and is perceived to be on a similar basis as a documentary. Some also refer to the wartime and post-war Newsreel or propaganda films which used to be shown in cinemas across Britain and overseas bases just before the feature film. They describe how they used to hear about Malta, and had always hoped to visit the 'brave' George Cross Island, and yet had never imagined how badly it had been affected by the war, until they visited it. These film examples demonstrate how cultural texts mirror the touristic experience.

The travel brochures and websites which I used for this research, use the 'past' as a background to Maltese promotional marketing as it feeds the imagery of a British way of life, at times a pseudo way of life which the tourists imagine will impart to

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[51] Malta Story, 1953, Directed by Brian Desmond Hurst, is based on the siege of Malta of 1942 with a romantic love story as a backdrop. The film has an authentic feel as it was filmed when Malta the ravages of the Luftwaffe air raids were still visible everywhere. Parts were also filmed inside war time shelters with real Maltese persons re-enacting scenes from what would have been their real life 10 years earlier on.

them a sense of identity (self or otherwise) as they re-live the past. Just as in Palmer's Bahamian case study, 'the images may have little to do with today's reality, nonetheless, they still provide the basis for the touristic encounter' (1994, p. 794). Websites, brochures and other promotional material which I reviewed, show pictures of Malta with the Red Letter Boxes and Telephone and Post boxes still sporting a British Crown, or old vehicles such as Bedford vans, Minis, Triumphs, Morris Minors or Austins which take people back thirty to fifty years ago in Britain in the flick of a page.

Figure 44 Post and Telephone Boxes in Malta and Gozo

Source: Avellino, 2015

The OBT is searching for an illusory and construed past which, from the interviews I have conducted, is called 'home' or 'a home away from home'. This consuming desire to find 'home' on the island of Malta is challenging as this return is not a

conscious search. It is described in various ways such as *'coming here to see where my Dad was stationed', 'we come to Malta as we have made friends as they make us feel at home here',* or *'I come here as I can go to church every day here, something I can no longer do back in England, or we feel safe here, just like our village used to be about 25 years ago'*. It is also challenging as the search for the 'at home' feeling is not just a physical re-location but a temporal one. This search for 'old England' was described in this way to me by an 80 year old couple "*Oh we love it, we come back every year and take the bus to Marsaxlokk.* (This is a fishing village which is not usually visited by tourists apart from when they are taken on a guided tour to visit the Sunday open air market). *We walk along the promenade to see the fishermen. It reminds us of when we used to go to ……. as children and we used to stick out our bucket and the fisherman would put a tiddler or two in it for us. Then we get the bus back into Valletta and we walk down Republic Street to visit the horses; they moved them haven't they?   And their smell!* [At this point I imagine that she is going to complain as most people do, about the heavy smell of urine that is present at the Horse Shelter]. *I love it – we always make sure that we visit the horses as their smell reminds me of when I was a child and the cart would come round to our street to deliver bread. Oh how your horses' smell remind me of my childhood – I picture myself waiting for the bread to arrive by cart, and we would smell the horses coming and would rush out to get the lovely fresh bread. It tasted lovely*!" This engagement with the senses goes beyond the visual.

The concept of the tourist experiencing home whilst away from home is discussed in Bruner as he examines his participation in an Intrav tour to South Africa (2005, p. 17). He posits that were are two ethnographies of travel: the first one is that of performances in the destination culture and the second is the ethnography of the travelling unit, which is a performance in itself as the unit is in itself its own site of cultural production. In the latter type of performance, the 'home' is created by the tourists through their narratives and conversations with other 'similar' persons and in the first type of performance, the 'home' is created by the industry which provides the creature comforts, the hospitality, and the more familiar environment such as language, food and so on. The multi-sensory nature of the experience: olfactory, tastes, touch, sight are what contribute to a heightened touristic experience. It is arguably one of the most powerful forms of authenticity as the experience is embodied through the senses and in the mind through memories and emotions

evoked by the senses. This 'reality and knowledge' is based on the theory developed by Berger and Luckmann (1996).

In the case of Malta, the home is created by the tourism industry as Bruner attests, however with reference to the British tourist; it is also inherent in the local landscape itself. The red letter boxes and red telephone boxes which are found throughout the Island are not placed on site as a prop on a stage. The Maltese do not publish a local English paper, or display the Union Jack on vehicles, for the British tourists. They do so for many different reasons. One main reason is that many Maltese feel English or British, or may have even been British up to the 70s. Many were obliged to renounce their British citizenship if they wanted to remain living in Malta. Whole families either had to give up their British citizenship upon being granted a Maltese one or had to leave the island. Some are also related to British persons by blood or affinity. These people do not behave in a certain way so as to 'perform' for the tourists. This is what may happen in some other destinations such as the one described by Bruner (2005, p. 17-18), where locals 'perform for' and meet tourists. This contact takes place in what he calls the 'touristic borderzone' and which he likens to McCannell's (1992, p. 2) 'empty meeting ground' and to other nuanced contact spaces such as Pratt's 'space of colonial encounters' and Homi Bhabha's 'third space (in Bruner, 2005, p. 118). He asks "where then, for these foreign tourists is the away part?" (Bruner, 2005, p. 17). We ask the same thing about Malta and for the elderly British tourist, the answer may lie in the people or in the history, besides the weather or the physical landscape.

Milton (2002, p. 4) suggests that "emotions operate primarily (though not exclusively) in ecological relations rather than social relations" as we saw in the previous vignette, where we have one smell, evoking memories and a nostalgia for a time when life was carefree and full of wondrous things such as fresh bread. No one in Malta would imagine that the horses would serve to enchant tourists in this way! Malta also enchants these tourists at night too. One of the Tour representatives who had worked in many different resorts all over the world said to the researcher:

> "*I've never seen the type of action they get up to here in Malta. That little blue pill certainly has much to account for as all they do is run after each other from room to room, from corridor to corridor. Then during the day, they just flake out on the sofa with a book*".

One regular tourist (70+) who had been interviewed, felt that she needed to explain to me that she was single and that is why she was seen with different men every

time she came to Malta, "*so it's OK for me to have boyfriends, just like when I was back in Malta as a WREN*". One might argue that this does not seem to be a search for home, however in the case of the WREN informant; it is a way of seeking a time when one was young and could enjoy playing in a safe environment. Dann remarks that 'one is not surprised to encounter the phenomenon of regression' and notes the 'child-like behaviour including game-playing, and the emphasis on fun in a tourism context (in Andrews, 2011, p.15). Child-like behaviour is associated with carefree and (un)responsible behaviour as there is someone else who is going to shoulder the responsibility. When one is young the onus is usually on the parents; when on holiday the 'tour operators and their reps also fulfil a parenting role' (Andrews, 2011, p.116). In Malta this is emphasised even further as "Imagery and use of colour and symbols in the marketing media, also portray Malta as an Earth Mother, a place that is warm, inviting, protective and safe" (Avellino, 2009, p. 15).

According to Andrews (2010, p. 27) "… upon removal to a different physical space (e.g. Mallorca) that sense of national identity becomes more pronounced and effervescent". This is due to what Lunn (1996) argues to be the effect of globalisation such as the integration with the EU and migrant workers which "undermine a sense of collective British identity in the home world" (Lunn, 1996, in Andrews, 2010). It is being suggested that they may also be seeking another time, a different temporal place when they were happy and carefree, and where, maybe they did not need to conform to what was expected of them 'back home' in UK.

Earlier, reference was made to Selwyn's phrase: "Tourism is about the invention and re-invention of tradition. It is about the production and consumption of myths and staged inauthenticities" (Selwyn 1996, p. 28). Tourism can also be about the production and the consumption of culture which comes about through the invention and re-invention of tradition. Objects that exist in the physical environment that humans inhabit, whether human-made or 'natural', are entities unto themselves. The imaginary inscribing and/or ascribing of psychological or metaphysical properties to them is a purely cultural invention. The spaces which are considered to be 'home' are culturally and socially reconstructed through the tourist gaze, thus impacting both on the guest as well as the host, as a bi-national re-invention of their culture and identity takes place. Tourism can also be about the search for authentic experiences. Goulding (2000, p. 836) confirms that "*the desire for authentic experience is the 'modern embodiment of the religious pilgrim, but since postmodern society is*

essentially inauthentic, those who seek it must look elsewhere'. A form of achieving this is the experience of the past". It can also be a search for the exotic. In the case of the elderly tourists in Malta it is not. The fieldwork indicates that they are looking for the familiar, for the security and the warmth of Maltese hospitality which reminds them of home, in many cases a 'home' which they might have had in their youth.

Tea, Home and Identity - A Ritual or affirmation of Britishness

Drinking tea in the afternoon was considered an important part of the day in English life and tea is considered to be a national drink (Fromer, 2008). Not so much these days as in Modern Britain it is more about the type of tea which is drunk and not so much about the time." *It would be difficult to over-estimate the importance of such behaviour in English Culture. In its frequency, regularity, universality and uniformity tea is an established cultural pattern deeply entrenched in the daily life of English people*" (Hazan, 1980, p. 498). Tea seems to be a solution for life's everyday problems and a great social event. By extension, afternoon tea drinking is an affirmation of one's national identity (Fromer, 2008), especially when one participates in the ritual away from home, especially when away on holiday.

British tour operators know how important this time of the day is so much so that it is written in the contract[52] between some hotels and the British tour operator, and this type of 'meal' is requested only by British Tour operators. No other nationality asks for this service to be provided for by the hotel. In most hotels in Malta, afternoon tea is served between 3.00 and 4.30 p.m. although I have noted that British tour operators request it in other Meditierranean beach resorts such as Greece and Tunisia. Guests have been observed queuing up outside the restaurant or terrace where tea is taken, in anticipation. Most of the discussion that takes place during tea-time centres around the type of tea which is offered, gossip about other guests and holidays. More often than not, guests will complain that the tea is not nice at all, or that it was not served well, the teapot was not heated beforehand, or the tea was allowed to stew before it was served. The cakes, biscuits and sandwiches, when included at tea time are usually of a satisfactory nature (usually similar to those found in UK[53]). This attitude to the afternoon tea drinking is anachronistic however

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[52] I have encountered this phenomena in other parts of the Mediterranean such as Italy, Spain, Greece, and Tunisia. Some tour operators also request the tea dance at least once a week.

[53] When I worked as a representative for a British Tour Operator in the 70S, many older persons would bring packets of biscuits to Malta for consumption during their afternoon tea session as these were not available on the island to trade import restrictions..

Haim Hazan (1980) in his observations at a senior citizen day-care centre in Hackney, London, noted that the tea drinking ritual was an 'added dimension of the change-proof universe in the day-centre' (Hazan, in Douglas, 2002, p. 209). Tea drinking especially amongst the older generations reinforces and maintains boundaries. In the case of the Day Centre (Hazan, 1980), this was in opposition to its external boundaries. In the case of tourists in Malta, the afternoon tea ritual, together with other rituals such as the Gin and Tonic before dinner, and English breakfast, is an assertion of 'Imperial Identity' in opposition to the 'other'. However this practice is not one-sided: it is in collaboration with the locals and the intermediaries.

Heritage Sites and Identity

Maltese heritage sites are an intrinsic part of Malta's tourism product. Malta is renowned for its heritage dating back to prehistoric times. Its past is replete with events, accounts and sites that reflect the various phases of Maltese history, yet not all heritage is perceived equally important when linked to issues of 'identity'. Some attractions, such as the prehistoric temples, which have World Heritage status, have featured in travellers' accounts of the past two centuries. More recent attractions, such as the War Museum are also associated with Malta's national identity, yet others such as the Muslim remains and up to a couple of years ago, industrial heritage, are not as much. Through landscapes, buildings, artefacts and both material and immaterial cultural expressions, which are linked to one's sense of heritage, a collective belonging reinforces, or is inwardly as well as externally felt, as attributing a sense of national identity.

In the book *National Identity*, A. Smith refers to the shared values, symbols and traditions as: *"intimate functions [*which are*] pivotal to the psychological cohesiveness of a nation's existence"*(1991).

The aim of this section is to explore how heritage sites and their interpretation embody identity. One part of the research is based on Catherine Palmer's work on "the ways in which individuals experience identity through encountering sites of national significance: landscapes, artifacts, buildings, and monuments that promote a sense of collective belonging" (Palmer, 2005). In her study, she explores the vision of nationhood that is created by sites, comes from within the specific discourse of heritage tourism, and links it to Hall's statement:

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> *". . .because identities are constructed within, not outside discourse, we need to understand them as produced in specific historical and institutional sites within specific discursive formations and practices, by specific enunciative strategies"* (Hall 1996, p. 4 in Palmer, 2005).

The focus of Palmer's study was to study both the components of Englishness and the social process by which identity and belonging were communicated and maintained at three heritage tourist sites (Palmer, 2001, p. 302).

I chose to use a similar methodology, with ethnographic fieldwork centred on various tourist sites and locations of national significance. I adopted this model and chose tourist sites of national significance in Malta and Gozo. The specific aim of this particular part of my research, was to examine the perceptions and embodiment of identity of both the Maltese as well as the British tourists. I wanted to see if there is a 'de facto' relationship or link between the sites and the inhabitants of the place and the sense of identity which may be communicated at the sites.

The second reason why I chose to focus on specific sites is based on Anderson's definition of the 'imaginary community'. It postulates that firstly, nationals think of themselves as belonging to the same group, being symbolical brothers even if one does not know every member of the group. Secondly for a nation to exist this must be justified by the sharing of a collective heritage (Anderson, 1991). This institutionalised or commoditised collective heritage is embodied in heritage sites, monuments, and other locations which are a major motivator for tourism.

Palmer (2005) describes a set of mechanisms with which people come to terms, and form attachment through, to their cultural roots. Giddens refers to these mechanisms as "psychological dynamics of nationalism". He argues that countries remain unified through the "internal activities" of locals which are in line with the nation's institutions values and beliefs. These activities also serve to unite the nation and a social bond is created. According to Conner (in Palmer, 2005), people get attached to certain aspects of their culture which go beyond the tangible characteristics like language and religion. For Connor these "subconscious, psycho-emotional aspects" make people relate to a nation based on their emotion and not on reason. In this way people feel instinctively related to a particular nation where it is envisioned as kinship.

Before tourists visit a certain country they will already have a certain image of the destination. A tourists' view of a nation can be affected drastically from diverse

activities ranging from reading a newspaper to visiting a heritage site. What happens in the ordinary level may trigger a huge sense of emotion and attachment. In line with this, Billing (in Palmer, 2005) argues that what happens in the everyday life has a deep psychological affect which reminds people of their identity. He refers to this process as "banal nationalism". Habits which might be taken for-granted by locals may be crucial to the construction of the identity of a nation.

Palmer (2005) deals with the scientific description of individual cultures by reflecting on the processes associated with the ethnographic tradition concerned with the understanding of social meanings and behaviours in certain situations. She argues that the aim of sites is to emphasize the sense of tradition so that when tourists visit it, they are driven to the core characteristics of their national identity. Palmer points out what type of symbolism there can be in a museum, and the extent to which it forces visitors to think of their roots. It is difficult to judge this as not all people get the same experience of the same particular museum. One visitor may find one museum experience to be fruitful while the other may find the same experience to be less significant.

Furthermore, the author tries to examine the mechanisms enabling people to experience Englishness by giving carrying out ethnographic research at three heritage sites. These sites symbolise fundamental aspects of Englishness and portray the nation as a family through their history, values and beliefs. Such kinship ties attach individuals to the wider nation. The link between culture and heritage is shown clearly by Tahana and Oppermann (1998, p. 23) when they describe cultural attractions as ranging "from historical monuments to handicrafts or artefacts, from festivals to music and dance presentations, and from the bustling street life of a different culture to the distinct lifestyle of indigenous people".

Valletta was one of the main sites which were used for this study, and within it specific sites were identified for this study. One of these is The National War Museum (NWM) which is located in Valletta and which is housed inside part of the Knights of St John's Fort St Elmo. The fort is situated at the entrance to the Grand Harbour and in its environs tourists can visit the Upper and Lower Barraccas (two small commemorative gardens which have extensive verandahs which overlook the Grand Harbour), the Siege Memorial Bell and other places of interest linked to the Knights period and the British Colonial period. This place of national significance is "supported by the historic events associated" with the site (Palmer, 2005, p. 9).

Among the meanings carried by cultural heritage is the fact that it "strengthens the identities" by making "some people feel better, more rooted and more secure" (Howard, 2003, p. 147). Making reference to how identities are shaping nowadays in the processes of globalization, Stuart Hall cites Gilroy (1994) who speaks about "not the so-called return to roots but a coming-to-terms-with our routes" (Hall, 1996, p. 4). Palmer mentions Hall's comment "about the need to understand (identities) in specific historical and institutional sites within specific discursive formations and practices" (Palmer, 2005, p. 8). The fact that the turnout for Maltese visitors is low at the NWM leads one to consider that the Maltese seem to still need time to "come-to terms- with their routes" (Hall, 1996, p. 4). The staff at the museum describe it as "incorporating everything: both, the military and the civilian aspect and the sacrifices, everything in one museum" (Staff member, 2010). One of the reasons why people, especially Maltese people do not visit the museum seems to be that they tend "to see that the museum is more like portraying the sacrifices, death, destruction you know…". Another possible reason which was given is that "they have other likes and it's a waste of time to come to this museum" (Staff member, 2010).

Overall, most of the visitors' comments were positive regarding the museum, such that the museum covers everything, and that it provides good information about the Maltese history. Most of the visitors said that they feel that they have a connection or link with Malta. For most of the British visitors interviewed, as well as those who left their written impressions in the visitor log books, the National War Museum represents an important site. Many of the British visitors mention a relative who was involved in the war, hence the desire to visit the museum. One visitor, who had visited Malta after a thirty-year absence, posted photos and comments on her Facebook about her visit there. She was proud to tell all her Facebook friends that she found the photo of her mother's cousin's photo and his medals on display at the museum. The majority of the British interviewees expressed their love for Malta as a country. To them, Malta has managed to keep its charm throughout all these years. The Grand Harbour especially reminds them of their link to Malta, being the place where so many World War 2 memorials can be found. Nearly all agreed on the same point: "Malta shows its history proudly and tourists are exposed to this history almost everywhere on the island, however England has 'moved on' and the younger British generation have little or no appreciation of what their ancestors have gone through".

One particular interviewee said that back home in UK, the British community is ungrateful and unappreciative of the wealth they have, and loves coming to Malta because the Maltese people exude friendliness and are very proud of their history. One couple have a father who had fought in Malta during World War Two and a grandson who is in the Royal Navy. They came to Malta specifically to see and learn about the places where their father had fought and their grandson had visited.

All the Maltese interviewed in Valletta, expressed their belief, that the British era contributed to an essential part of Maltese culture. Most of the older participants had some close relative that took part or died in the war. The younger ones had relatives or friends who had some sort of connection with Malta during and after the war. Mrs. B an 82 year-old, Valletta resident described how the Valletta area of her youth was always full of British troops. She thinks of the British as being very helpful, and recalls an incident in which her neighbour's roof collapsed and the first people that came to her rescue were the British soldiers who were across the street. During the War, she proudly told us that she used to wash the soldiers' clothes in exchange for biscuits. She does not feel any shame about it, or that she was 'used' in any way, in fact it is an honour for her to have done so.

Mr T, an 88 year-old describes his life as a Maltese soldier during the war. He was a gunner taking orders from an English officer. He describes the British as being very considerate towards the Maltese soldiers, helpful and generous. That being said, very few, if any, Maltese were employed as fighter pilots, generally 'did the dirty work'. He describes an instance in which a bomb exploded mere metres away from his squadron. One of the Maltese soldiers got hit by a piece of shrapnel in his calf, which tore the muscle but did not touch the bone. The British soldiers took him immediately to the infirmary and took very good care of him. He also describes the amount of food they used to give them (the Maltese soldiers) to take home to their families (cheese, sweets etc.) He says that even though he was Maltese, his British officer used to like him and he got several promotions throughout his army career.

For a 78 year old British gentleman and his wife the visit to this part of Valletta, was quite a moving experience. 'I could not come to Malta before as I was bound not to return to Malta until xx years had elapsed from when my service had ended with MI5'. His wife had been with MI6 but on a lower rank and even though they had made friends with Maltese people when the husband worked for NATO, they could not return. They had a very nostalgic visit and after some time they decided to tell

me their story. The couple had actually met in Malta – he was stationed in Malta during the Suez Crisis and she was the daughter of a English military man and a Maltese mother. They 'courted' for a couple of months and as the prospect of being shipped out to Egypt loomed, they decided to get married. As the Suez crisis fizzled out, his tour of duty ended, they got married and then left Malta. In later years, they were posted to Malta and one child was born in Malta, another in UK and a third in a different country. From time to time they return to Malta, sometimes alone and at other times with the child who had been born in Malta. Although they are in their late 70s, they are active Facebookers and keep in touch with other Maltese persons both in Malta and in UK, with other retired ex-Military families. They are also staunch Monarchists and Anglophiles. When their children and grandchildren are planning on visiting Malta, they always say 'we are going home for our holiday this year' even though there is no family home to go to.

Figure 45 Anglo-Maltese League Premises in Valletta

Source: Avellino, 2015

The Sea

Due to Malta's geographical position, the sea has played an important role in its history and therefore in the shaping of its identity. This was even more so during the British period as Malta was the largest British naval base and few other places on earth, proportionately to its size, have been so greatly impacted by military geographies for so long as Malta has (Tunbridge, 2008, p. 450). One of the most important iconic sites of this period is the Maritime Museum (MM), which is housed inside the ex-naval bakery in Vittoriosa (or Birgu), a 'visual centrepiece of Dockyard Creek' (Tunbridge , 2008, p. 459). Older British visitors love to visit this museum and the area around it.

Figure 46 Naval Stores - HM Dockyard 1

Source: Avellino 2013

During the fieldwork at the Maritime Museum, the majority of tourists which were interviewed, were repeat visitors to the island. This confirms that some form of relationship does exist, even today, between the two countries, a sentiment that was echoed by the respondents. These links were expressed as personal ties which were formed through blood or affinity when they either worked with the British forces or when they had been deployed to Malta. *'Yes, yes, I was on a ship and we stopped in Malta. Malta was a base for the navy, so yes it was a stopover for us. I did this several times you know*". This was one of the comments made by a man in his 60s, whilst another said, *"... my son-in-law was born here and his father was in the navy*

when he was born here". These two statements show that there does not have to be a direct link to Malta but even the fact that one used Malta as a stopover and in the other case, it was the son-in-law who was born in Malta, and by extension even the in-laws now feel a link to the island and enough reasons to bring Malta into their life.
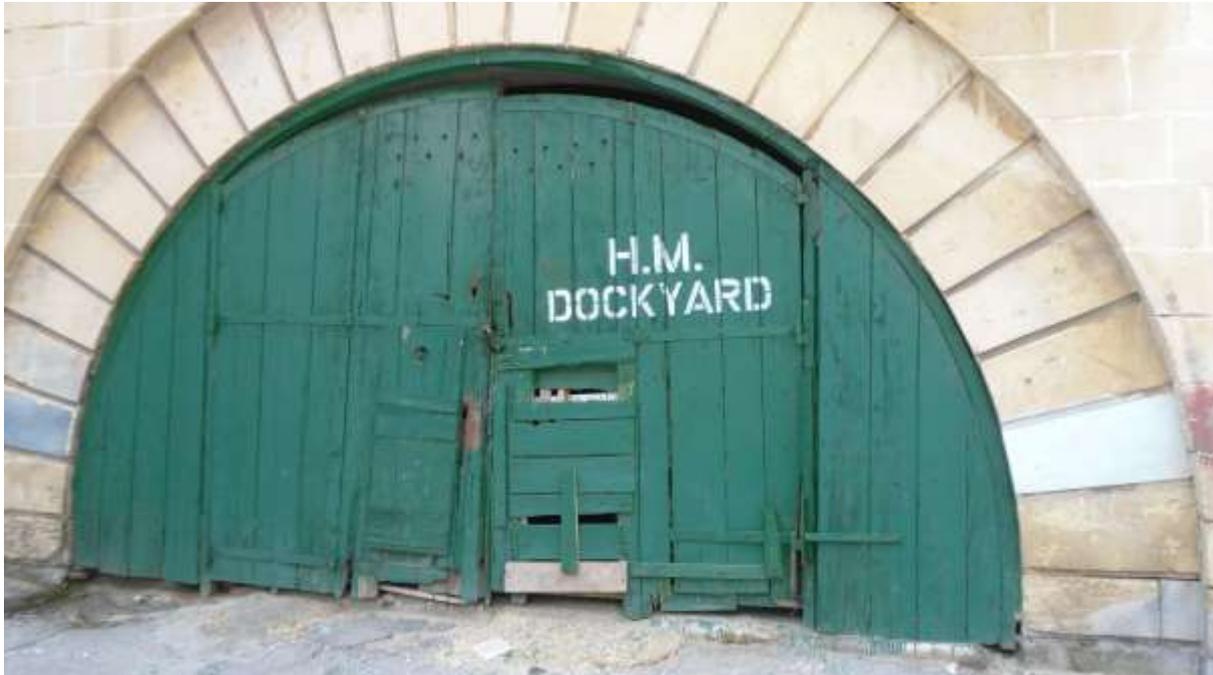
Figure 47 Naval Stores - HM Dockyard 2

Source: Avellino, 2013

Of course, the common thread is the shared history, and the association which the tourist makes. One tourist at the Maritime Museum made a specific reference to HMS Hood, which was sunk by the Bismark whilst serving with the Home Fleet. The tourist expressed himself in an emotional way about this link with Malta "*My link is mainly through the navy, my great uncles were in the navy and one of them was on the Hood, and the Hood is gone, gone down, seen the models the Hood blown up, ... and... one of my relatives went down on that...*"

Another strong link to the Navy was described in this way: "*My father was in the Royal Navy and he was killed, see. In my study, I have two photographs. One is of his ship, coming into the Grand Harbour, and the other one is my ship coming into the Grand Harbour. So it is a huge link for me. I tried looking if there were some photos of the ships here*".

Figure 48 Stores: Naval Provost

Source: Avellino, 2013

This ties in with Dekkers et al (2013) said when they proposed four determinants which establish the development of national attitude. These are: previously experienced national emotions, salient national beliefs, previously performed national behaviours and specific attitudes. In this case I refers to the determinant which they call 'previously experienced national emotions' (2013, p. 349). "In general national emotions, coupled with rudimentary beliefs, are often developed early in life" (Davies, 1968; Jahoda, 1962a, 1962b; Lawson, 1963; Piaget & Weil, 1951 in Dekkers, 2013), where 'a national is a strong feeling relating to one's country and people, and is accompanied by physical reactions and a change in readiness for action (Frijda, 1986; Ledoux, 1996 in Dekker et al, 2003). This interviewee had described how his father was portrayed as a National war hero as he had given his life for his country and the photographs have become what Rothstein (1994 in Dekker et al 2013) calls "self-objects", because he "intensly experienced a national ritual" when his father was killed. According to (Bem, 1970, in Dekkers et al, 2013, p. 350) the emotion can be manifested when one reads about, or sees the particular object. In the case of this interviewee, he actually went in search of similar "self-objects" so that he could once again feel the 'national emotion' which links him to

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Malta, or even more so to the Grand Harbour which was referred to earlier on in this chapter. In a sense Malta still forms part of his British Identity or Nationhood. Dekker et al's second determinant, salient national beliefs, is a characteristic that an individual links to a country (cliché) and/or people (stereotype) (2003, p. 350), and has been manifested by the tourists when they recount how their national beliefs have been absorbed by osmosis through the British Press, through organisations that they belong to or had belonged to such as the Services (Army, Navy, AirForce, MI 5 and 6) Heritage, Religious and Social Organisations (e.g. English Heritage, Freemasons, Church of England) and Family and friends. "Salient National Beliefs can also be acquired through direct observations and experiences" (ibid) such as participating in a National effort such as War, Education or political activities. The tourists who were interviewed would always try and find a link to Britain when visiting particular Maltese sites. This makes them feel even more British.

The third determinant of previously performed national behaviours is manifested by many of the visitors who had served in the forces as these influence one's attitude directly. They can also influence indirectly the same ex- veterans and their families and friends as such type of action will certainly influence national emotions and beliefs (2013, p. 350).

The fourth determinant is manifested through specific attitudes such as those toward foreign countries and their people, which according to Dekker et al, can be either positive or negative. In my groups of English tourists, I did not see any particular attitudes which were prevalent over others. This was due to the constrained time frame I spent with these people. The four determinants suggested above, are only used as general indicators which could actually be a basis for further study.

The Relationship

In these last two chapters, I examined the theme of Identity and how it relates to an understanding of history and an interpretation of heritage. I also examined the tourists' and hosts' post- and neo- colonialist discourse vis-à-vis the production and consumption of heritage. Greenwood argues that by making ritual a part of the tourist package and therefore a paid performance, it robs people of the very meanings by which they organise their life (1989). When he discusses the perversity of it all, because the commoditisation of culture does not require the consent of the

participants (1989, p. 180), I have two concerns. The first one is that the commoditisation of one's culture or one's heritage does not always require the consent of the consumers. There are times when it is a case of the tourist not knowing that he is being 'tricked or duped' and what he is led to believe is authentic, may not be, in its entirety. The second concern is that there are cases when the participants have given their consent. They may not be wholly aware of what it is that they are consenting to, but because of the benefits that they believe will accrue from participating in some ritual or other form of event for tourist consumption, they are happy to provide the service. In fact, when culture is commoditised, its product or products, which could range from an artefact to an event, is evaluated in terms of its exchange value in the context of trade and economic practices. Museums such as the NWM and events such as the Mtarfa Military Day are evaluated in terms of economic benefit in the way of ticket, catering and other sales and volume. Students of tourism are taught that commoditisation has social consequences by way of erosion and loss of meaning that are either attached to ritual and socio-cultural events, or those which are embedded in the material or intangible culture which construes people's everyday life. Another negative aspect is that the community would need to come to terms with a possible loss of meaning and social solidarity as their culture is modified or watered down, for tourist consumption. It could also result in people becoming dependant on tourism for their living. However, the collorary to these hypotheses is that tourism can actually help people to re-establish links with their past and therefore their history, which they might have felt was lost to them by modernity. In the case of Malta, as more persons become educated and are involved in top levels of organisations and governments, we are now seeing a different sort of approach to interpretation. In 2000, when I was carrying out research amongst owners-entrepreneurs of multi-media exhibition centres, one owner, Mikiel, decided to end 'his' historical diorama of Malta at just before World War two. The reason he gave for this is that he did not want to alienate any of his customers. Mikiel felt that if his exhibition declared that Britain and the Allies had won the war, he felt that the ones who had lost would not spend money in his shop on the ground floor, below the exhibition.

> *jien fil-business u m'jien se nżomm la ma' wieħed jew l-ieħor, lanqas ma ridt li nweġġa lil xi ħadd. Il-Ġermaniżi u l-Franċiżi jieħdu gost. L-Ingliżi wkoll, ħadd ma jieħu għalieħ għax ma semmejt xejn. Insemmi biss li kienu hawn, daqshekk"*

> *'I'm in business and I do not want to be associated either with one or with another, neither do I want to hurt anybody. The German and French enjoy it. The English too, no one is offended because I do not mention anything. I only mention that they were here, that is all'.*

In contrast to this, a curator who works at a very popular Museum in Malta declared that he has decided to change the narrative that is being told at his museum. He did not see any reason why we (meaning the Maltese) should continue with the charade of claiming that the British were our saviours.

> "*It is high time that the truth is told, they are no longer our masters and everything we say in our museums has to glorify them. Do we ever tell them that they fed us Gaxin[54]? They did not do their best to save Malta for us, the Maltese – they did it for themselves*" (Personal communication, 2012).

Urry (1990) argues about the changing role of the observers of tourism who are also actors in the industry itself such as heritage managers and museum curators. According to Urry, the organization of contemporary tourism reflects a changing cultural landscape. He argues that what was once a relatively uniform, modernist and 'auracratic' historical explanation that was normally structured round some form of national history has given way to explanations and representations which are more varied, vernacular and regional and what could also be classified as post-modernist. He suggests that the narrative has moved towards a more popular nature from what once was a more overarching scientific format. This has led to a much wider variety of social groups having the possibility of presenting 'their' histories, in other words, what was once a singular national history, is being changing to a profusion of multiple histories, based on class, gender, locality and other cleavages.

This trend, according to Lash and Urry (1987) could be blamed or attributed to a declining role of the state in economic organisation, and the lessening power of classically trained elites within the educational and cultural fields of states. In the case of Malta, the first reason which is attributed to the declining role of the state in economic organization could be considered, although one must also take into consideration that Malta has accessed a good amount of funds from the EU which have been directed towards financing cultural and heritage programmes. The second reason which puts the onus on the lessening power of classical trained elites within the educational and cultural fields of states, does not hold in the Maltese scenario. In

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[54] 'Gaxin' is a Maltese corruption of the English word gushing. It refers to the scraps of food leftovers from the Royal Naval vessels in Grand Harbour. This food was thrown overboard, or came 'gushing out' from the vessels, was collected, initially, as animal feed such as pig swill, but instead was sold to the local Maltese population.

fact it is the opposite as in recent years the majority of the curators in Malta are trained at Masters and PhD levels. These too are supported with academic and professional, skilled staff. These are not recruited from the elite of society as was the case in the past when only rich families could afford to finance their children's higher education. The higher educated members are recruited from all walks of life and levels of society in Malta nowadays and this is due to free education given to all, right up to first degree level. Students in Malta are also given a stipend at post-secondary and university level, which means that most young people (and even older people) can aspire to reach higher levels of education should they want to. Students wishing to further their studies at Master's levels and higher can avail themselves of either studying in Malta and paying reasonably low fees, or else apply for a full or subsidized scholarship to study in Malta or abroad. Britain is the country of choice mainly because of the similarity of the educational structures and language.

Conclusion

Doing ethnography is like trying to read (in the sense of 'construct a reading of') a manuscript – foreign, faded, full of ellipses, incoherencies, suspicious emendations and tendentious commentaries, but written not in conventualised graphs of sound but in transient examples of shaped behaviour.

(Geertz,1993 [1973], p. 10).

Ending this chapter in this ethnographic work does not feel as if I finished reading the book that Geertz refers too. It feels as if I have just read the introduction and then skimmed over the book, by looking at the vivid and coloured pictures instead. Each picture told a story, but that is not enough. The appetite has been whetted and the book must now be read in full. I hope to do this in the next section which will go full circle to reflect on what all this means to the host community and their perceptions of this relationship and where will it take them next.

The images presented in the previous chapters were taken using a soft focus lens, which is why they are not crystal clear at times. There is a justifiable technical reason for this. Doing fieldwork on home ground on the topic of cultural tourism is

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not easy. The informants' names have been changed but the names and genre of sites could not, because the names themselves are in themselves very important. From the name, one immediately builds an imaginary of the whole scenario, of the 'experience'. Also what was in the 'location, site or museum' is highly relevant. Family or rival conflicts, skeletons in the cupboard, political and familial nepotism, such are the 'imponderabilia' of ethnographic research in Malta.

The case studies including the institutional ones, are like landscapes – they are indicators of the social, cultural, political and economic complexities of ongoing changes in Maltese society. They are also the society's reaction to the global trends. As discussed in earlier chapters, an 'experience' could be regarded as a stage in capitalist evolution. The production of the different landscapes in the experience economy shows a new degree of penetration by world capitalism into Maltese society.

In recent years we have seen a number of changes, one of which has been the emergence of cultural institutions, both for profit and 'non-profit' (tourism authority, the education system, and so on). These are articulators of cultural heritage. We have also seen the creation of economic and political values by means of accumulating cultural symbols. According to Zukin (1996) in her book *The Cultures of Cities*, these changes, together with others such as the attempts to expand social controls over public space, are cultural strategies for dealing with crisis. It is possible that this crisis is the identity crisis that Mitchell (1996, p. 19) in his Malta based research, refers to and it could be that they (the articulators of culture) in dealing with crisis of identity, take the strategy of making that identity financially viable. According to Mitchell (1996, p. 19) 'The separation of present from past has significance for the study of identity, as it marks the end of an unselfconscious living of tradition, and the recognition that tradition, continuity and identity are projects to be achieved and developed.' He also makes the point that 'in Malta of the early 1990's, a veritable identity industry emerged, to debate the essence of Malteseness' (ibid: p. 20). Is it such a coincidence that most of the multi-media cultural heritage sites sprang up around this time? Could it be that these image-industries served the purpose of giving a (national) identity? Fsadni (in The Times, 23 June 2000, p. 9) writes "An identity that springs from everyday dialogue and action needs a self-portrait – certain institutions and images – if people are to recognise their identity as

one they share: not to say one they have an investment in." That is what these case studies including the Institutional forces, have provided – 'a self-portrait'.

This raises the argument about how 'authentic' or real this self-portrait is. Authenticity has been manipulated to produce an 'experience'. Selective memory played a part in the reconstruction of their own notion of a 'past' which is reaffirmed by the way it is treated in the present. A travel agent's handout for a multimedia exhibition, draws authenticity from the building itself as 'physical evidence'. (undated leaflet, p.2)

> "*The audience of the multivision show can see some physical evidence of these different stages in Mdina's history, not just during the viewing……after it is over, they can see an architectural and historical documentary as they sit among the ancient stone walls that have been restored and their significance rediscovered*"

Here 'authenticity' is wrapped up in the holistic 'experience' which comes not just from watching the show composed of different images some of them taken during recent re-enactments in Mdina, but also from wandering around the 'authentic' restored house. In Valletta, the De Piros' created an authentic experience through the use of their '16th century home of a Maltese nobleman', which includes a resident titled family and which is resplendent with family heirlooms, archives and other genuine adornments. Other venues also offers a 'genuine' product. In one case, the tableaux are images of the owners' type of social class: workers, skilled craftsmen: 'genuine' Maltese figures are set against what the owners consider to be authentic backgrounds, as they had scoured Malta looking for attractive sites which they could recreate in their exhibition. They used 'real' tools and artifacts in their exhibition, which is the setting for a holistic 'experience' because it is combined with Maltese music, food and wine.

Other sites are interpreted through the use of 'authentic' Maltese history to structure their story, which are housed in 'real' Palazzos or Houses of Character. However authenticity can also mean that something is 'real', in the sense that what is offered is what one considers to be 'genuine' and 'pure': not tainted with politics. It is a 'genuine' expression of Maltese identity (and a visitor can read into this in any way he thinks fit), which is presented to the public.

The Malta Tourism Authority (MTA) also offers up the Maltese Islands as a site of authentic heritage, genuine hospitality, the 'real' thing. In Eco's *Faith in Fakes* (1986) the reader is taken on a journey throughout America to try and find a 'secret

America' which has created 'somehow a network of references and influences that finally spread also to the products of high culture and the entertainment industry'.(ibid. p. 7). He identifies this, through two typical slogans that pervade American advertising.

> *'The first, widely used by Coca-Cola, but also frequent as a hyperbolic formula in everyday speech, is "the real thing", the second,…is "more" – in the sense of extra…more than you might want, leaving a surplus to throw away – that's prosperity'* (Eco, 1986, pp. 7-8)

These two terms 'the real thing' and 'more' are exactly what features highly in the marketing literature: for example, 'more' than just a holiday experience. The 'real thing' is another way of saying authentic or genuine however MTA, Heritage Malta (HM), the Maltese Tourism Authority, and other National Bodies which administer and manage the majority of the national heritage sites and events, can exert some form of authority over cultural representations which are mobilised to attract foreign tourism. This form of social power over the cultural representations could be conceived as one sided because the symbols are crafted for making money only, and are not 'collective representations' in a Durkheimian sense, where the collective representation is the essence of a society, which both expresses and activates the cultural identity through symbols and artefacts. Although they are presented as 'authentic' they are not authentic in a Durkheimian sense (because they are structured by those who rule) and therefore if these symbols are absorbed by the Maltese, it can lead to a degradation of the 'Maltese' culture. The Maltese nation, one day might not be able to distinguish between the 'real' dynamic culture and the 'imposed' fabricated one.

This is therefore, what becomes the crux of the matter. On one hand we recognise that with tourism, Malta, has an impetus for protecting and preserving cultural heritage, whilst on the other hand, there is a clear indication that 'cultural symbols' are being managed and manipulated to attract tourism with the consequence that this could lead to an unnoticed cultural degeneration. The first victims would be the producers of the images themselves, because when they wholeheartedly believe in the product they are marketing, it becomes part of them, they embody it with the consequence that they would produce cultural images in a degenerated form without being aware of it. One is already witnesses to the first symptoms, and taking into

consideration the effects of globalisation, places such as Malta must be on guard against a full scale epidemic.

CHAPTER 7 - INSTITUTIONALISED DISSONANT IDENTITY, DISTORTED PAST?

"*Through the past, we venerate above all ourselves*." (Nora, in Viggiani, 2014)

Venerating the Maltese Nation?

This chapter shifts its focus to the Maltese people, their institutions, and their cultural brokers who mediate and regulate. Here I examine the 'bodies of expertise' or 'cultural intermediaries' (Bourdieu, 1984) and the hosts' role in tourism and identity generation. In Malta the Institutional body, Malta Tourism Authority (MTA) now falls under the remit of the Ministry of Tourism and which was previously called the Ministry of Tourism, Environment and Culture. Culture has been transfered to the Ministry for Justice, Culture and Local Government after the change in Government in 2013 two years ago**.**

The tourism ministry branches out into 2 main entities – the Tourism Secretariat and the national destination organisation, Malta Tourism Authority (MTA). The organisation of the MTA and its predecessors is very relevant to the research topic because by tracing the changes made to the organisational set up, and by close examination of the marketing 'images' produced by the experts, one can assemble a clear picture of the historical and cultural changes that have taken place. Since the Tourism Organisation is a public entity, set up and controlled by parliament, we have a clear indication of the importance of the political economy of Tourism. The political dimensions of tourism are a social and economic phenomenon, which has substantial implications for the allocation of power and/in cultural representation which are strongly tied in to culture, national identity and ideology.

Giddens (1997, p. 583) defines ideology as "shared ideas or beliefs which serve to justify the interests of dominant groups". He believes that the concept of ideology "connects closely with that of power, since ideological systems serve to legitimise the differential power which groups hold" (Giddens, 1997, p. 583). In Malta, the sense of belonging to one ideological or political group is very intense, according to a study carried out by Abela on value transmission in Malta (in Pirotta, in Sultana and Baldacchino, 1994, p. 96). "This finding seems to emphasise the great loyalty which parties enjoy among a large strata of Maltese society – even, that is when their instructions and directives go against the citizens' personal interests and opinions, or against the customs and traditions of Maltese society" (ibid, p. 97). This was the

result of a survey published in 1991, however since then voting and loyalty patterns have shifted. During conversations with the Maltese interviewees I was told in confidence, that now, people are no longer accepting blindly any decisions or policies taken by their leaders, even if they are members of the same party. One remarked, "if this is my party", whilst outlining the profile of a glass which was on the table in front of me, "and I don't like part of what is inside it, I will just go ahead and say it. It does not mean that it is all bad. If I comment on it, and you comment on it, maybe the element we do not like could be changed, but if we do not say anything, then we are stuck with it and it's our fault. People have changed so much, they want what is best, especially the younger people who have been educated and have not been brought up as part of a colony. No more –yes sir Sergeant Major!".

Imagery and memory too are important in relation to ideology, especially with reference to national identity. Politicians as well as experts and nationalist-populist and tourist discourses evoke a certain type of memory (Sant Cassia, 1999, p. 258). The memory evoked is not personal but that of the town itself, the site of memory, and it becomes a symbol of urbanity with a 'character' and a past to be protected from the intrusions of the present. According to Sant Cassia (ibid, p. 259), Maltese society is deeply fragmented politically, and the political elites have not managed to develop symbols of pan-national importance and currency, whilst the symbols and historiography of nationhood are vigorously debated.

In recent years there has been a trend towards cultural awareness, or revival of traditions, accompanied by the opening of heritage sites, re-enactments and a greater appreciation of all that is 'Maltese'. There is a sharp divide between policies and what actually takes place: between the will to protect and conserve and the will power or the enforcement capacity to carry out the policies. From my research in the local Maltese media, that a lot of attention is drawn in the local media, to heritage sites and tourist attractions, which fall under the jurisdiction of the government, which up to a decade or so ago, were neglected through ineffective provision of upkeep, restoration and preservation. The overall efforts had been patchy, however more recent and newer initiatives such as the Birgu Fest and the Cultural Week in Valletta were an astounding success, whilst there still are a number of archaeological sites that are abandoned and open to vandalism and other hazards. The reason for this could be that certain activities attract sponsorships and EU funding, whilst others do not.

Another interesting point emerged during discussions with my associates from the heritage attractions sector. Although their economic activities are geared for consumption by tourists, the tourism authorities have no jurisdiction over the content or the interpretation of private attractions. This could be regarded as a positive aspect on one hand as owner managers are not constrained to deliver a national narrative, a blanket, one size fits all, site interpretation. On the other hand, not having some form of national interpretation policy could also have serious repercussions as sites could be used for propaganda, or having of form of extreme interpretation which could be used to incite racial hatred or pressure visitors to 'donate' heavily for what may be a privately owned enterprise.

As tourism develops world-wide, its impact will occupy all the possible spaces, even those which may be considered as private or sacred. Many of these spaces could have their histories and social activities materially and symbolically re-constructed to make them worthy of the tourist gaze. In Malta, we have now found a few managers and curators (who are academically qualified for such roles), who are unwilling to take part in this national re-invention just for the sake of the political economy. Others, especially those who do not have the educational background, or who do not want or do not have, the financial support to finance professional expertise, will go for a 'dilettantesque' approach. As we see from the Mtarfa case study, it is quite clear that not only the stakeholders should be involved in decisions, but they should also involve professionals as the decisions taken by the 'select few' or hegemonic groups, even if they are well meant, may or may be used to communicate distorted and dissonant narratives to legitimise their positions and ideologies.

Authenticity or Myth

A term which is used throughout this study and in many travel brochures, adverts and so on, is 'authenticity' and this creates many problems as every writer seems to have their own idea of what this may mean. There are basically two different interpretations which can be given to the term. In the first, authentic can be taken to refer to the knowledge which is sought both by tourists and presented to tourists by Cohen's 'intellectuals' or Bourdieu's 'cultural intermediaries'. Some might get this sense of authenticity through 'staged authenticity', others through 'back stage' authenticity.   An example of this would be where tourist 'happen' to come upon a woman on a street corner in Gozo, making Gozo Lace, or where authentic

statements are made by tour guides. If the cultural intermediary such as a guide, heritage manager, or dialogue during an 'experience' makes a statement, than that could count as being authentic.

The second interpretation can refer to those feelings or projections of those feelings, which are sought out by tourist as sentiments of social solidarity. This search for a sense of the authentic is undertaken (in a Durkheimian way) by alienated tourists which according to Cohen (1988), are undertaken to reclaim that which has been lost by an essentially isolating and fracturing post-modern life. He asserts that because 'educated drifters' and intellectuals share senses of alienation they are drawn to the authentic and, 'the greater the alienation of the tourist, the greater the search for authenticity'.

Inauthenticity, "describes changes that alter the character of place and landscape, commonly occurring at mass tourist destinations or through the prolonged presence of outside infuences at a locality (MacCannell 1973, 1992; Salamone 1997; Teo and Yeoh 1997; Wang 1999; Taylor 2001)". In spite of Malta being globalized, nearly all the product and service providers tried to stress on the authenticity or 'realness' (*ta' veru*) of their product. Some base this authenticity on physical features such as the building itself or the architectural style, others use tools, furniture or other physical objects as evidence of authenticity. Authenticity is also claimed on the basis that the people or workers who worked on the projects were Maltese, and so by extension the final product was Maltese and therefore authentic. The important thread, which linked all these product offers, was the fact that none of these *experiences* were felt to be gimmicks by the tourists: they were all perceived to be authentic. The curators or managers of heritage attractions felt that such was their authenticity that they were worthwhile objects for study by school children or for the public in general to be 'educated'. Some providers do not use the term 'educated' or 'taught' but used the word 'appreciated', in a sense that when one reaches a certain level, (academic, cultural or social) one does not need to learn about the subject, but can appreciate it, thus placing a higher value on the product itself, by, as described by a few providers 'raising the level of the visitor'.

Selwyn (in Dann and Selwyn, 1996, p. 28) contends that "*Tourism is about the invention and re-invention of tradition. It is about the production and consumption of myths and staged inauthenticities".* He also concludes that tourism has far-reaching economic political and social consequences at levels ranging from the household to

the nation. In his book, The Tourist Image, it is argued that tourist myths have one type of authenticity. The other type of authenticity is serious as it belongs to the Historical, economic and political constructions. These two types have to be kept separate especially in analysis and quotes a relevant passage from another context, whilst considering everything from a perspective of the traditions and myths of the tourist industry.

> *When it (tradition) is theatrically revived, in a kind of social inverted commas, it is revived, precisely, by disconnecting it from what is taken seriously as knowledge and is kept alive only by this artificial insulation, by inventing special criteria and functions for it, which are carefully made distinct from serious cognition. But when serious issues are at stake, when the fate of individuals and communities is at risk, one will not fail to make use of the best available knowledge (*Gellner, 1979, p. 147*)*

Baudrillard goes on to warn, that unless there is the ability to distinguish between the myths and fantasies of tourists on one hand and the politico-economic and socio-cultural processes on the other, there may be in the end, no way out of an eventual wholesale Disneyfication of one part of the world built on the wasteland of the other. (Baudrillard, 1988 in Selwyn, 1996, p. 30).

Mythopoeia and Place

Mythopoeia is the creation of artificial mythologies. J.R.R. Tolkein, C.S. Lewis and other authors of the Mythopoeiac genre integrated traditional mythological themes into their work, thus creating a fictional mythology. This 'modern' creation developed in other literal and cultural products such as in Comic books. Roberts (2001) asks, "Why do human beings want myths and how do they make them?" He quotes Jeff Rovin, author of The *Encyclopaedia of Superheroes*, who declares "in the earliest days, we called them 'gods'". In computer games around the world, gamers interact with fictional heroes, in a fictional landscape or alternative universe. Usually based on mythological narratives these include figures from Greek and Roman mythology as well as non-Western cult figures. Although not many older persons are out there playing computer games, many have enjoyed comics or cinema superheroes.
The tourism industry together with the entertainment industry have also appropriated mythological figures and legends or have created artificial mythologies so as to offer a unique experience to the visitor attractions such as Asterix in France, and Popeye in Malta. The island of Gozo is transformed into the mythical island of Ogygia of

Homeric fame. The goddess queen Calypso, daughter of the war god, Jupiter, beckoned the Greek Warrior, Ulysses into her cave, where he fell under her spell for seven years. Tourists are taken to Calypso's cave within the cliffs of Xaghra, and told of the story how Jupiter, homesick for his wife and home, was finally released by his captor, Calypso, who not only provided a ship laden with gifts but a Westerly wind to enable Ulysses to arrive home safely. Tourists are told that even today if one stands silently still in the cave, one can still hear Calypso's bitter sweet love song of unrequited love.

One of Malta's major attractions is Popeye Village. From a film set built between 1979 and 1980, Sweethaven Village and its residents, Popeye the Sailor Man, Olive Oyl, and Bluto welcome 'all the young at heart' (www.popeyemalta.com). Visitors are told of how Popeye comes to Sweethaven in Malta to look for his father, falls in love with Olive who was officially engaged to Captain Bluto at the time. A tale involving buried treasure, an abandoned baby and a number of escapades ends with love conquering all and Popeye's motto 'I Yam what I Yam'. A modern 'heritage site' that is based on a 1929 comic strip by E.C. Segar.: this provided the basis for a live-action musical feature film which starred Robin Williams. Visitors can enjoy puppet shows, interactive entertainment, a 20 minute boat ride around Anchor Bay and a cinema. Although this is a popular attraction, not just with tourists but also with locals, it certainly does not form part of the compendium of mythologies associated with Malta. The Maltese informants did not feel any particular link with the place. A few praised the workmanship which went into its construction, however even the materials which were used for the 'village' were imported. In October 2012, an interesting connection was made between the film set and Malta's colonial past. Peter Sant screened a conceptual short film entitled "I Yam what I Yam... L'invenzione". "I was amazed by how Popeye Village remains as a site that is at once uprooted from both time and place and fossilised as a kind of relic." Sant (in Reljic 2012) expresses his idea that Malta's frequent role as a film servicing location parallels with the colonial project in general. Through his film he wanted to explore how "mainstream cinema projects itself onto localised ideologies through narratives that are manufactured globally through offshore methods of production" (in Reljic 2012). By the same reasoning one can extend this to myths: tourism exploits localised myths through narratives that are manufactured globally through offshore as well as local methods of production.

Myth creation and myth consumption take place at the interface between place and culture. It is appropriated both by the locals and commoditised by the tourism industry just as if it were any other form of heritage. The construction of place and the meanings attributed to culture are negotiated through encoding and decoding practices to produce "racial-ethnic mythologies" (Rowe, 1993, in Norton, 1996, p. 356) environmental mythologies (Urry, 1992, in Norton, 1996, p. 356) metaphysical mythologies (Rowe, 1993, p. 261) and other mythologies (Uzzell, 1984, p. 80, Selwyn, 1989 and 1996, Barthes 1993). The mythologies are appropriated by marketing gurus to generate a narrative which aims to seduce holiday makers to want to sample specific places and spaces.

Urry (1990) proposes four dimensions to the consumption/place relationship. The first dimension is about places being centres for consumption, the second is about places themselves being consumed, the third is about places literally being consumed and the fourth is about place being the consumer of both visitors and/or locals. His philosophy of place is based on his idea that externalities such as culture, politics, economy, intellectual shifts over time have all contributed, to the re/structuring and experience of place. According to Urry (1990, pp. 193-210) the place-myth creation is not a new invention. He gives the example of the Lake District which came into being only "because of visitors and writers and of the incorporation of Romanticism into what has come to be known, taught and revered as English literature". Visitors including writers and artists travelled to it from the metropolitan centres and turned the 'Lake District' into part of England particularly through the development of a particular kind of place-myth (p. 194). What myths have evolved as a result of British visitors gaze over the Maltese Islands?

Traditionally it was that of an island-fortress, an unsinkable ship, a home away from home. Younger British tourists consider Malta to be a place where their parents went for lovely holidays, and is now a place suitable for the older crowd, especially in the shoulder and low season months. "One particular way that such myths can change is because of the flows of visitors; that too many or too few people arrive, or they are people whose social characteristics are inconsistent with or indeed directly opposed to the particular place-image" (Urry, 1990, p. 197) In the case of Malta, the place myths of fun, youthfulness, camaderie and romance associated with Malta of the WW II period, and the 60s and 70s, were undermined by political antagonism between the two nation states which went on during the late 70s.

The dark myth, which developed as a result of the Mintoff years of power and which tore down the feelings of goodwill between the two nation states, took a number of years to play down with uplifting orchestration channelled through marketing and political goodwill intervention. The older tourists who return to Malta nowadays search for the myths associated with their youth and in many cases find it. Romance is looked for and even found once again. Two informants both fell in love with their new partners when they were on holiday in Malta: they returned to marry in Malta. Others return to renew their vows, others to celebrate anniversaries.

The romantic gaze associated with Malta in a sense is different but also similar to the one presented by Urry on the Lake District (1990, p. 197). The lakes and mountains of the Lake District constitute "a positional good, a shrine to nature that individuals wish to enjoy in solitude or at least with relatively few others present. The emphasis here is upon a semi-private, quasi-spiritual relationship with the signifiers of 'nature'" (Urry, 1990 p. 197). The peacefulness, quiet, solitude are in sharp contrast to the Maltese noisy, densely populated island, however romantic walks on the sandy beaches, along the fortifications, piazzas dominated by imposing baroque churches, temples and café culture are part and parcel of the romantic gaze which is warmed by the Mediterranean sun. The Romantic writers who visited the Lake District such as Coleridge, Southey and Wordsworth: these Lake poets were also celebrities which gave the location 'major tourist attraction' status. Malta was given this status on account of the Monarchy and other 'celebrities' who were in Malta at one time or other such as Monty (Lord Mountbatten), Fighter Aces such as George Frederick "Buzz" Beurling and Steve Nichols from WWII period, Roger Moore, Billy Connelly (he owns a place in Gozo and visits frequently). However what stood out from the fieldwork was the sense of friendship that evolved during the time that the British tourists or ex-service personnel were in Malta: this feeling of nostalgia of a romantic past is 'inherited' by the close relatives and friends. With modern social networking, these feelings are transmitted via a wider circle of 'friends'.

A great number of ex-Service personnel and others who came to Malta in their younger days, fell in love either with other British persons or with Maltese and a number of them married either in Malta or in UK. The romanticism in Malta, was for many, 'the real thing' and not something that they read about in poetry and other literature. Another type of romanticism and feel good factor was linked to the times when families either went to Malta for a short holiday stay or even longer periods for

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work or business purposes: long days at the beach, exploring inlets and caves, the evening '*passiġjata*' (walk) along the promenade, picnics at Dingli Cliffs and Buskett, dancing at the Rocky Vale (a night club), all evoke a sense of carefree happiness. Back home, life is different: reality sinks in with its myriad of responsibilities. For a number of informants it also represented a time in their lives, when they returned to 'Civvy Street' and this took away the cushioning effect they would have enjoyed when they worked with the Services such as housing, schooling and so on. Many promised themselves and their family, that one day they would return to the Maltese Islands.

Tourists search for an authenticity outside of themselves as they suffer from a generalized anxiety about the anomie and fragmentation of modernity (Hom, 2010). This authenticity is validated by reference to cultural signs and markers (MacCannell 1976), and other material such as memory or tourism marketing material. This exercise may lead the tourist to re-interpret the meanings associated with the experience of the holiday trip and upon returning home will go through a period of *reflection*. This reflection will modify the understandings of the holiday experience which then become discursively circulated back into the lived culture of the home society, transmitted within "textual communities" (Stock, 1986, in Norton, 1996, p. 360).

Collaborative myth-making

When the tourist organization and their social partners decided that Malta should begin to target Cultural Tourism, they did not fully appreciate the impact this would have. These types of impacts are economic, structural, psychological, social and cultural. These impacts do not come from Culture tourism per se, but it is most certain a contributing factor as it introduces new values, new mentalities, and even new hierarchies.

Frans Camilleri, (1999, p. 14), former Air Malta company secretary, wrote that "*tourism catalyses the transition from traditional ways of life to modern Western form of society'.* He believes that the meeting, within a short period, of different cultures, triggers processes of change and he is also concerned that "*….these changes lead on the other hand to a loss of cultural identity and a collapse of traditional value systems".*

Demand sometimes creates its own supply and the challenge arises when the demand is for authentic and genuine products. And where should the line be drawn about what can or what should be for sale and what should never be? Who is responsible for that decision? Should it be a central authority such as the government, or a private institution? Or should it be the entrepreneurs who decide, after all they are the ones who are risking their capital, and they are the ones who do investing in the country.

According to Boissevain (2013) there are at least six negative structural characteristics particularly associated with cultural tourism. One of these, which is pertinent to this discussion, is the way national and regional tourist authorities and entrepreneurs commoditise and market local culture without consulting the inhabitants (Greenwood, 1989, p. 180). This could lead to 'tension between tourists and local residents whose culture, often unbeknownst to them, has been sold to strangers'. This was one of the primary causes of discontent in Mdina (cf. Crain 1992, Odermatt 1994)

Another characteristic of cultural tourism which is directly pertinent to my study, is the way excessive tourist attention destroys the very culture visitors come to examine. According to Boissevain (2013, p. 235) it does this by transforming natives into entrepreneurs, by destroying the traditional tranquillity and physical environment. One Maltese culture intermediary drew attention to the fact that to date, there are still certain parts of history which are omitted so as not to offend the British.

> *'They say that they saved the Maltese from the French, when not one, not one, English person died in defence of Malta, but the Portuguese did die. Few know that it was the Portuguese that came to aid of the Maltese and the Neopolitans came to help them, and the English, all they had to do is stay with their xwieni (*ships*) outside the port. As the English came down on land, two died, but these two were Irish that had been given a choice. These were rival Irish: 'either we kill you' which meant that they were going to be taken to the gallows, or 'you go to Malta', and these decided to come to Malta. And the two who died, died because they were running away to join the French, and it was the Maltese who shot them. This means that not one English person died to save Malta, but this is what is said'.*(Literal translation from Malglish, a mixture of Maltese and English).

In another instance I refer back to Mikiel, the heritage vistor attrction owner, whom I spoke about in Chapter 6. He had chosen to end his diorama at a sensitive point in Malta's history so as not to offend British, German and Italian tourists. To end his

narrative of Maltese history just beefore WWII is to deny it happened, for the sake of what he percieves to be a heightened spend at his outlet.

These two vignettes demonstrate a selective appropriation of a past, which they use together with ' the real thing' (stone or buildings) to re-create their own vision of a past. These manufactured pasts serve to reassert an identity, which they want to extend to their visitors. Andrew contends in her Mallorcan study that the 'use and manipulation of signs and symbols are concerned with creating a particular mythology of being British (2011, p. 26) we may well ask what mythologies are being created in Malta and more importantly for whom? And are the British tourists involved in these creations? And to what extent? Is this an institutionalized myth machine and what purpose does it serve? The next section will try to answer these questions.

Custodianship and Negotiation

Negotiation invariably does involve a certain amount of brokerage – who are the brokers and what do they do? The brokers that are usually at the forefront are the tour operators and the tour guides however, there may be others that are not so evident. A degree of brokerage does exist between the host and guest, but to what degree should this take place? Is the local community the custodian of the past, even if they are newcomers to the place? Or is it at local council member levels, as democratically elected representatives? What is obvious is that political capital (which is transformed from and into, social, cultural and economic capital), is being appropriated by various agents, politically motivated groups, heritage groups and possibly individuals too. There is no harm in this as long as the persons that they serve, the community, understand the implications and costs which are involved. All too often, they are only told about the benefits so that they would be able to give support to such projects.

In interviews carried out with the British tour operators, there tended to be two distinct regimes. The first one was where the tour operator delegated the local administrator to organise tours or to suggest itineraries as they felt that the locals would be in the best position to do so. One tour operator, who in the past, had left the excursions in the hands of Malta based tour operators, sent two members of staff from UK, who were designated as Special Programmes Managers. These persons, went around the island, on their own, speaking to attraction owners, visiting

museums, speaking to local guides and tourism professionals, myself included, and so on, so as to create a new programme for the coming season. They were surprised at the potential and the new itineraries they were able to create in this manner. To date, these programmes have not been introduced so I am unable to comment on their success or otherwise, however one of the new features would be a Military Malta programme, which would include visits to places such as Mtarfa, the cemetery and other places which to date, have been off the general excursions itinerary.

Images of Self and Tourism Marketing Images

Selwyn (explores the "relationship between tourism marketing and tourism and concludes that this relationship is underpinned by a dialogue between the image makers and tourists on the nature of the self" (2012, p. 195). He argues that "tourists use imagery from brochures, postcards, to disentangle and then relate various aspects of the self" (Selwyn, 2012, p. 212).

This aim of this section is to briefly discuss how symbols and imagery used in National Tourism Marketing media are used to communicate the message to the tourist that particular places in the Maltese Islands are worth visiting and how these influence the manner in which the tourists as consumers and purveyors of these marketing media, respond to them. It will do so in reference to two controversial issues which were highlighted as being of utmost significance to both the tourists as well as to the Maltese informants. These two contentious issues are the George Cross, and the Marshall Aid Programme. I will now give the background to the two interlinked and contentious matters.

The first, in historical order, is that of the award of the George Cross (GC). This is an event which every student Malta is taught about, and its anniversary is commemorated on a national scale which is discussed, transmitted, and discussed on local Maltese media especially during the time of its anniversary. The GC was instituted on 24 September 1940 by King George VI. Many years ago I had met a woman who told me that she was one of Churchill's secretaries and it was he who suggested the award to the King. I was not able to find historical documents to prove or disprove this, however in announcing the new award, the King said:

"In order that they should be worthily and promptly recognised, I have decided to create, at once, a new mark of honour for men and women in all walks of civilian life. I propose to give my name to this new distinction, which will consist of the George Cross, which will rank next to the Victoria Cross, and the George Medal for wider distribution."

The medal was designed by Percy Metcalfe. The Warrant for the GC (along with that of the GM), dated 24 January 1941, was published in the *London Gazette* on 31 January 1941. This award was conferred by King George VI on Malta by means of a letter dated 15 April 1942:

"*To honour her brave people I award the George Cross to the Island Fortress of Malta to bear witness to a heroism and devotion that will long be famous in history*.", *(sgd)* **George R.I.**

Lieutenant-General, the Governor of Malta, Sir William Dobbie answered:

"By God's help Malta will not weaken but will endure until victory is won"

(http://maltagc70.wordpress.com/about/)

On April 17, 1942, two days after the award of the GC, Governor Dobbie, broadcast to the nation

"*I am quite sure that everyone in Malta felt a real thrill of pleasure when he learned of the high honour His Majesty the King has been pleased to bestow on this Island Fortress. This thrill may have been all the greater since, perhaps, the honour was unexpected. For it is a new thing which His Majesty has done... I do not recall an instance when an honour of this kind has been conferred by a British Sovereign on a community....*"
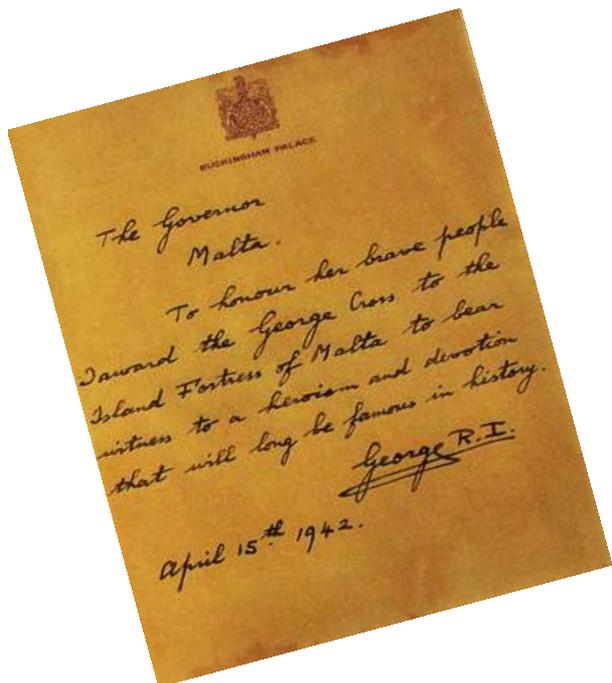
In his address to the people of Malta, Lord Gort said:

> *"On my appointment as Governor of Malta I was entrusted to carry the George Cross to this Island Fortress. By command of the King, I now present to the people of Malta and her dependencies the decoration which His Majesty has awarded them in recognition of the gallant service which they have already rendered in the fight for freedom. How you have withstood for many months the most concentrated bombing attacks in the history of the world is the admiration of all civilised peoples...."*

The award ceremony had to be postponed to September when the situation was much calmer on the island. The case containing the George Cross and the King's letter was placed on a special plinth and guarded through the day by a detachment of the 1st Battalion, the King's Own Malta Regiment. In the evening, a Police Force guard of honour marched onto the Palace Square, where the George Cross and the King's letter were handed to them for safekeeping. In February 1944, the George Cross was incorporated in the arms of Malta. After the grant of armorial bearings, incorporating the George Cross, the Maltese flag displayed in the upper mast-side corner of the white stripe a square blue canton bearing a representation of the George Cross. Since 1964, the Maltese flag has continued to display the George Cross, but with a thin red edge all around it instead of the blue canton.

The British seniors as well as the boomers all associate Malta with the George Cross. Visiting the war museum to actually see the medal is the highlight of this first

time visitors. A good number of them express their concern that it is not located in a 'high security' area. The seniors' narratives all include stories of their memories of knowing about Malta because it had taken such a beating during the war and being awarded the George Cross had made it a priority for them that one day they would visit Malta as a 'thank you'. Some describe seeing Malta film footage before the main feature at the cinema and everybody clapping when they heard how many enemy ships or planes had been downed because of the Malta based support. The younger people would have heard about these stories from relatives and friends, or even more significantly had either seen 'Malta Story' a number of times or had read books such as the 'Kappillan of Malta' which speaks about the war period and the GC. The general feel is that the Maltese must be very proud to have received such an honour: little do they know that not all the Maltese feel this way.

The George Cross controversy in Malta, is ongoing and always rears its head in blogs, newspapers and other places round about April when the award is commemorated. The Maltese argue about whether it should remain on the national flag, and whether one should write Malta GC as part of an address. The majority who seem to favour the GC remaining on the national flag say they do so because it is a symbol of Maltese valour and bravery. They believe that it is a celebration of the heroic efforts of the Maltese as a nation as we can see from the following blog entry.

> *"The George Cross, the highest military reward for civilian bravery, was rewarded to Malta and the People of Malta for bravery and 'for Gallantry'. Anyone wishing to renounce our past and remove the Cross, please do so, and I (and probably many others) would gladly renounce you as our brethren. The George Cross characterises the People of Malta for being what we are; brave and gallant in the face of ginormous odds and danger. Think 1565. Think 1800. Think 1943. King George may have given us the Cross due to the events of 1943, but in my eyes, and in the eyes of may others, it epitomises all our forebears have done with pride in the past millennium".*(Seychell, Times of Malta, 2010)

However on the opposing side many different reasons are given as to why it should not be there. One of these strong reasons is that it is a symbol of servility.

> "*Servile we were since we were thought of as second class citizens in our own country. This is now history and our country is our own. but after all this time some still feel to be servile towards the British empire (or should I say past and dead empire)....maybe they feel that they are still inferior to the Brits .....how pathetic*!!" (Ciantar, Times of Malta 2012).

And

> *"The GC not only serves as a reminder of extraordinary valor shown under fire, but it also is a sad reminder of a small but proud nation in involuntary servitude of an oppressive foreign power, whose culture and values differ from the local mindset. The answer to this problem which needlessly divides our nation, is to keep the medal for display as a historic emblem, but to revert back to Malta's red and white traditional colors. The desecration of our national flag steeped in antiquity by Governor Gort, a man known for his love of malt liquor without due process of law, is reversible. Malta stands today as a free independent nation, on equal terms with other member nations under the EU banner. This fact alone is good reason to rid Malta of its regrettable colonial legacy, as did Canada when it adopted its very own Maple leaf flag in preference over the discarded British emblem".(Vella, Times of Malta 2010)*

Some others suggest that it should be replaced by what they are calling the 'Maltese Cross' in reference to the eight-pointed cross.

> "*To be honest aesthetically i prefer the Maltese cross instead of the George Cross. I think it is more more our symbol as a country to the rest of the world. Well the Knights of Malta really put Malta on the maps. Beforehand although we have a millenial history, we were just a small island in the med, used just as a strategic stop and go for ships by major med powers*" (verbatim, Zammit, Times of Malta, 2010)

Facebook communities have been set up to support the idea that the GC should remain on the Maltese flag.(https://www.facebook.com/pages/The-George-Cross-has-to-stay-on-the-Maltese-flag/639912286040663?ref=ts&fref=ts). They posted the link with the text of the message from the Maltese Prime Minister to the Prince of Wales

> *"I should say to your Royal Highness that your own grandfather had a special place in the hearts of the Maltese. It was he who awarded the George Cross for bravery to our island in the dark hours of the Second World War. Later, your parents, the then Princess Elizabeth and the Duke of Edinburgh, were to begin their married life living in Malta".*

Figure 49 Prime Minister Joseph Muscat and Prince of Wales November 2013

Source: DOI, Malta

The discourse about the GC usually leads to the discussion about Marshall Aid, as it is called in Malta. The Marshall Plan Aid, or the European Recovery Programme was an American initiative to aid Europe in its recovery after the end of World War II. The main recipients were the United Kingdom, France, Italy and West Germany although originally it was made available to all of Europe and the Soviet Union (Annesley, 2013).

A good number of British informants who knew what Malta was like during and after the war right up to the late fifties, when returning to Malta in the nineties and noughties always comment on the changes that have taken place. Many attribute the improvements in the infrastructure and to the improved standard of living to the money which was either given by the British after the war, or to the more recent entry into the European Union. Some also comment that Malta is able to benefit from EU funds because "Brussels make us (Britain) pay so much for them to dish out to places such as Malta and Greece". This attitude does not go down well with the Maltese front liners such as hotel receptionists and guides who hear these comments on a regular basis. It seems that the older the British tourists are, the more they feel that the Maltese should be 'extremely grateful for what we have given you'. The general perception is that Britain gave a lot of funds to Malta after the war.

When these tourists enter into discussions with Maltese who do not accept this attitude, or pro-British Maltese enter into similar arguments with anti-British Maltese, the Marshall Plan is always invoked.

These arguments also feature in the Maltese social media or radio programmes and it becomes clear that few people actually know the basic historical facts but believe that Malta was not given Marshall Aid because Britain prohibited this. They are resentful to the extent that they criticise the fact that even the Axis countries benefited from these funds, and Malta which was left in ruins after the war did not. This research is not about the historical facts, so I will not comment about which is the correct version, but I am interested on the perception and interpretation of the history and heritage. In the case of funds for the reconstruction of the Maltese islands after the war, a highly contentious issue and usually ends with one final comment. Pro-British informants, say that even Britain was in economic ruin after the war and so was not in a position to help Malta. The anti-Brits say, that 'the only thing they gave us was a piece of tin (*biċċa landa*).

These two issues are only a few of the unresolved arguments which need to be addressed. This study is not going to give suggestions on how they can be resolved but has noted that tourism can manifest feelings of resentment and retribution as I will try to show from the following event. A few years ago I was invited to accompany a group of senior British tourists who were going on an evening tour to Valletta to see the re-enactment of the 70th anniversary of the award of the George Cross. It was a lovely evening in April and on the way to the event, the local guide kept the British tourists involved by explaining all about the war in Malta and what led to the award of the GC. Most of them knew all the facts as they had read up all about it. Many were dressed for the occasion and a good number of men and a couple of women wore their own war medals. After a short coach trip, we walked down Merchants Street, and then crossed over to St George's Square, formerly known as the Main Guard which is right in front of the Palace. On the way there we noticed that there were a good number of Maltese in formal dress as well as a sizeable amount of older British persons, some sporting medals and about 60 persons who seemed to be of various nationalities, were wearing military clothing and carrying the flags and regiment colours. When we reached the Palace square, there were two lots of seating. The right side had the front rows allocated to the VIPS and the back rows housed members of the public. On the left side of the square the seating was

reserved for persons, mostly British tourists that had purchased tickets from Malta Tourism Authority that were responsible for hosting the event. I was seated with them.

The event opened with a marching display in the square by the Armed Forces of Malta Band, who escorted the George Cross medal inside the President's Palace. A display by The Malta Police Band and the Malta Police Silent Drill Squad followed. A son et lumiere included readings describing the context in which the George Cross was awarded together with photos and historical video clips. This was then followed by speeches by the Prime Minister and by the President. Finally we were presented with a re-enactment of the presentation of the medal. The ceremony closed with a rendition of the National Anthem. At this point the veterans who had been seated together at the back on a raised podium, on the left side seating, made a beeline for the front of the seating area on the same side and they stood there to attention. When the national anthem ended they saluted the Maltese National flag. As the Police band marched out in parade, out of the square, the veterans headed by the flag bearers followed, marching to the band. Here I must note that this march past and the part where the veterans stood at the front to give their salute, where not part of the scripted ceremony. The audience burst into cheers and clapping as the salutes were fired. This signified the end of the re-enactment. At this point, we all walked off into Republic Street, where many uniformed and medalled veterans and their families were only too pleased to pose for photos and to talk about their role in the war.

I must admit that this event left me quite confused. I was listening to all the comments that were being brandied about, whilst at the same time was trying to come to terms with what all this had signified. On one hand we have the national authorities who organised a commemoration of a national significance. They included visiting dignitaries such as the Duke of Gloucester representing the Queen as well as the High Commissioner who represented the British government. Some persons commented on the Veterans' behaviour. Some thought that they tried to hijack the event, but the majority felt that there should have been some formal inclusion of these persons in the event. I managed to speak to a couple of them, who were ecstatic that they were alive and still able to participate in such an event. They both told me that it was a 'privilege' to be able to come to Malta to honour her gallant people. One told me that had it not been for the Maltese, Britain today would not be

what it is. He continued: "We fought for freedom and won it because you did not throw in the towel. We will always be grateful for the Maltese who withstood so much and got so little in return".

This type of behaviour and discourse is not just a 'gaze'. It is much deeper than that. It is more of a bond, a lasting bond that goes beyond commerce and economic benefits. To the British tourists it represents a re-affirmation of British identity through a historical event which took place in Malta. Such a narrative can easily be personified by the sisterhood of Britannia and Melita. The Anglo-Maltese relationship is based on a sibling or fraternal bond. There are virtues which are admirable in both and 'vices' which both sides will squabble about, but at the end of it all, will still respect and love each other. So although the Maltese may at times feel or even say that they want to be rid of all British influence, their public and private spaces are still replete with British iconography, architecture, and symbols. They are still part British after all: and this is what still attracts British tourists. It is the warm feeling that returning to Malta is like returning to a childhood home, full of treasures waiting to be rediscovered. This is the gift which the Maltese give to their older sister, Britannia and which will last for the foreseeable future through tourism.

CHAPTER 8 - CONCLUDING CHAPTER

Introduction

In the introduction to this study, it was shown that the older demographic is a strong and growing sector of the global tourism market in general, and of the Maltese islands in particular. Historically, British tourists have occupied the top place in Maltese tourism source markets; however this position is rapidly being challenged in spite of exponential growth in the older British population.

Statistics indicate that on average, over the last 15 years, more than 50% of all British tourists to Malta were repeat visitors (National Statistics Office, 2009-2014). This and the fieldwork indicate that for those OBT that visit Malta there is a particular attraction or pull that entices them to holiday on the islands. To understand what attracts these visitors to Malta, the study enquired as to how their experience and identity is negotiated within the context of their lived tourism landscape in Malta. This study also explored the role of the contested-uncontested, or shared-unshared interpretation of history within the individual and collective memory of the older British tourists. As Malta celebrates its half a century of Independence from Britain, it was also pertinent to determine if the old colonial ties are relevant to the present day host-tourist relationship.

In the following paragraphs, the answers to each of the research questions will be summarised. It will also enumerate the key findings of the study and recommendations further research will be made.

Chapter eight draws conclusions based on the findings from the research, utilising both primary and secondary sources. These are analysed and translated into specific recommendations for strategies mainly at policy levels and for further research. It also synthesise the highlights of what this study contributes to knowledge.

Research Question 1

> *To achieve an understanding of the relationship, the study firstly sought to identify how older British tourists negotiate their notions of identity and memory through the medium of the Maltese tourism landscape.*

The study set out to understand what significance and meanings are being attached to the Maltese landscape by the British older tourists. The landscape as place serves

as the context for the relationship. Place is important as a constructed network of social relationships (Massey 1994, 2005; Dikomitis, 2009, p. 239). Specifically this research is concerned with the ways in which landscape, and people's memories as well as the present day tourist experience of the Maltese islands give meaning to the relationship between ex-colonisers and post-colonised. It has explored how this touristic encounter spans across place, space and time, as well as cross cutting through different understandings of history and identity.

The study finds that the colonial and post-colonial encounter, with its inherent variants of understandings of identity, and power, is particularly relevant. The ex-colonial, present day landscape is a fluid and dynamic medium through which social, cultural and symbolic capital are exchanged between both the host and guests as well as with and through other third parties. Cultural brokers not only mediate but also appropriate this colonial and post- colonial heritage for commercial purposes. The study concludes that the ex-colonial ties are not bound by the field force of time and space, but are transposed and transmogrified according to the actors' exigencies.

The study also considered the role that elites and intermediaries play in brokering the negotiations for the accumulation and transferences of the different forms of capital. It concludes that there is a move towards a democratisation and vernacularisation of the narrative used to interpret the Maltese cultural and heritage product by intermediaries such as curators and heritage managers.

Research Question 2

> *To what extent, the previous colonial relationship has an impact on the present Anglo-Maltese tourist encounter?*

To answer this question one must first refer to the key finding which relates to age as a determinant for segmentation. As discussed in the earlier chapters, literature tends to place older tourists in an undifferentiated category or market. This research concludes that the older adult tourists are not homogeneous and can be differentiated not just according to age but also according to interests and demands. However if one were to limit this categorisation or classification to age, then in the case of my research two useful cohorts emerge. The younger group fit into what is generically known as Baby Boomer. These were born between 1946 and 1964. The other cohort whom I call the Senior Tourists were born between 1930 and 1945. The

two groups show distinct behaviour and motivation for visiting the islands which is mainly dependant on their previous travelling and life experiences and is manifested in the way they build relationships with their Maltese hosts.

The older adult tourists negotiate images of self, cultural and national identity through the Maltese landscape. The ex-colonial ties are very strong and this is manifested through the narratives that the visitors bring to life when they visit spaces which they perceive to be similar to their own childhood home in Britain and/or what was once their home in Malta, or other parts of the Empire. The landscape is culturally and socially reconstructed not just by these older tourists but also by the local people who are still trying to come to terms with a new reality. This new reality emerges as the Maltese complete the transition from what they perceive to be an island which was under the control of a super power to that of an island nation.

The previous colonial relationship, especially that associated with Malta serving as a military base is very significant for all OBTs but especially more so for the Seniors than for the Boomers.

Research Question 3

What is being transacted at a social, cultural and symbolic level between the OBT and the Maltese hosts?

Social, cultural and symbolic culture is transacted and negotiated between the actors. At times, cultural brokers and other intermediaries mediate this interaction. The following table includes just three examples of the many outlined in this research.

Actors	MALTA Action	Capital	Interaction	UK Action	Capital
OBT	Visiting sites and taking photos in Malta which are then used for giving presentations in UK	Cultural	Accumulation	Giving presentations increases OBT's prestige, social networks , identified as	Cultural, symbolic, and Social capital, can also be converted to economic capital

				expert on Malta or WWII	when payment is made to OBT
OBTs, mostly female	Collecting information about family members who had Malta connections	Cultural	Accumulation		
OBT Returnees	Visiting Malta to meet up with old friends and/or making new British and/or Maltese friends, being invited to Maltese family events or homes	Social	Circulation, Accumulation and Exchange	Posting photos of these events and friends on Social Media, meeting up in UK with new friends made on holiday, attending events or even going on the next holiday together	Symbolic and bonding social capital. Through social media netwroks and communities, information is accumulated and cultivated, enhancing growth in social capital.

Figure 50 Examples of Cultural, Social and Symbolic Exchanges

Social capital in a community is defined as collective norms of reciprocity and mutual trust. Putnam (1993) says social capital refers "to features of social organisations, such as networks, norms, and trust, that facilitate co-ordination and co-operation for mutual benefit. Social capital enhances the benefits of investment in physical and human capital". Coleman (1993. p. 9) says that such informal norms "depend on a dense and relatively closed social structure that has continuity over time". Thus, social capital thrives only when individuals within a social system interact with one another

in multiple roles over a period of time. Only then can trust reach sufficient levels to allow for the reduction of transaction costs. Increased social capital can reduce transaction costs of using other forms of capital — physical, human, and environmental. Alternatively, as is suggested by Bourdieu (1977, p. 487), privileged groups can maintain their privileges through intergenerational transfer of social and cultural capital to their offspring, which may reduce the efficiency of other types of capital. The key OBT informants might not have all considered themselves to be in a particular privileged position, however all wanted to ensure that there is an intergenerational transfer of capital which included the knowledge that they had accumulated about their past link with Malta and wanted to strengthen or maintain it through the cultural capital they accumulate in their present day travels to the island and the links they make with the landscape.

Back in UK, Peter, Duncan, Joyce and David, and a number of other interviewees convert their cultural and social capital to political capital by joining collective entities such as the Freemasons, British Heritage, and Suez Canal Zoners. Political capital is a dynamic concept, because the capacity that a person or a group has to influence political decisions may vary over time, and could be very different from context to context or, using Bourdieu's terminology, from field to field. It can also be activated on an individual or collective level and we find that when an individual joins a collective entity to further their personal interests, their personal political capital increases too as he now can call upon other forms of capital, which is to be found among the collective group such as history, new intermediaries and symbols. In addition to this, one normally finds that persons or entities with high political capital also have higher forms of other capital; this is due to the conversions of capital. A few OBTs use their political capital to influence decision making, not just in Britain but also in Malta by writing to the local press, or even to local government entities.

Exchanges can also incorporate gift giving, however the gift itself might not to be considered as capital, because it is not given and accepted as a resource to be utilised to gain profit or to reproduce itself in identical and expanded form. However, it can in fact be utilised as a form of debt, symbolic or otherwise and in this way poses an obligation on the receiver to repay it in some form or other. Derrida notes that a gift is antithetical to the principle of exchange: "it must not circulate, it must not be exchanged, it must not in any case be exhausted, as a gift, by the process of

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exchange, by the movement of circulation of the circle in the form of return to the point of departure." (Derrida, 1992. p. 7). Working against the logic of debt and gratitude supporting the circle of symbolic exchange, the gift disrupts traditional economy. According to Derrida (1992), to retain its status of a gift, it has to remain unspeakable, or even inconceivable, which saves it from being reduced to the familiar economy based on an exact calculation of gains and losses.

"*The highly personalised as well as politicised nature of social relations is both apparent and intelligible in such a small society and polity as Malta. The quasi-kinship and extended endurance of obligations that are features of clientelism and patronage are readily realizable in such small and potentially interconnected social systems'*" (Boswell, 1994). Although written by Boswell about Malta in the 70s and 80s, matters have not changed much apart from the fact that patronage is not so evident as it was a quarter of a century ago. It is much more refined and so difficult to quantify, but nevertheless still exists, and in some Maltese is prevalent and used by the elites to leverage, for example building permits in ecologically sensitive areas, and other 'favours'.

Patronage may not be evident in the Host-tourist relationship under discussion, however the research shows that a good number of Maltese, especially from the older generation still feel an obligation or a 'love' towards all things British. Few would vocalise it as an obligation, but those that do would vocalise it just like Gamri's (John) "Thank God for Lizzie".

Key findings

A number of key findings have emerged from this research and these were given in the responses to the research questions above. However another set of findings have been drawn from the research and which are pertinent to be included here. The first finding asserts that the Maltese have, at last come to terms that they are totally responsible for the image that is used to portray Malta and will now have to come to a decision as to how this new 'Malta' is going to be branded and sold as a destination.

The second key finding is related to production and consumption. A good number of OBTs who formed part of this study, do not behave as if they are just a passive

consumer of the tourist product, or are 'just' taking on the role of observer as they 'gaze' on the Maltese landscape. They too also want to be involved in the co-creation of the tourist experience and 'new' Maltese identity. The more they explore the island, the more they want to be involved. In the case when they visit sites which they consider to be significant on different levels, they too, want to be involved in the experience process. The tourists become 'prosumers': a consumer and a producer at the same time. Technologically perceptive tourists who use social media are also prosumers as the tourist, the end user, is also the information consumer. These same people are also publishers as they take to uploading their views and appraisals of places they have visited, hotels they have stayed in and so on. Social media has given them not only a platform for their narratives, but it also allows them to influence public opinion as they themselves can also be conditioned or influenced by the publications that they read online.

Thirdly, the Maltese landscape is undergoing a rapid touristification , with the threat that not only could this could result in a lack of authenticity, but could mean that the locals themselves will absorb 'touristified' heritage with detrimental effects on national identity.

Figure 51 Authentic British Colonial Heritage becomes a Childrens' climbing frame

Fourthly, many of the tourists are "seeking holidays that meet their desire for learning, nostalgia, authenticity, heritage, make believe, tranquillity, freedom from environmental pollution, physical action and a closer look at the 'other'" (Boissevain, 2013, p. 234). This was evident amongst my tourist informants, who besides having price, warm weather and safety or low-risk perception as extrinsic motivators to visit Malta, they also exhibit intrinsic needs. The main intrinsic motivational groups fall under three main headings: social interaction, or increase in social capital, increase in cultural capital through a learning experience and thirdly, an increase of symbolic capital through links with historical and cultural landscapes.

The final chapters of the study focused on the fifth key finding, which is taken from the Maltese perspective: perceptions and attributes of British influence on the Maltese landscape. The research indicates that although there is a strong will power for the Maltese to assert what they consider to be 'pure Maltese' identity, there is an underlying assumption that symbols of Britishness are incorporated into Malteseness as long as they are not in conflict or go against the values which are part of society. Language, education, dress code and other elements which are of British origin, are widely accepted as part of the Maltese way of life. Religion is not in some respect. However there are areas which are contested or debated hotly. Two of these which dominate the local media from time to time are the George Cross on the Maltese flag and the way the Maltese felt that they were treated after World War Two. Both these events are linked to the war period and national memory of both the Maltese and British Tourists.

The sixth finding concerns resolution and eudemonia. It proposes that the touristic encounter which takes place across the Maltese landscape contributes to the reworking and recollection of memories which are involved in re-shaping a social and national identity. There are essentially two scenarios which are being played out at either end of a continuum. The first scenario is where the actors have come to terms and have resolved feelings of inferiority, superiority, blame and glory. In this scenario, the tourists' narratives about the holiday experience in Malta, serve to create a 'good feeling' or 'good vibe'. They talk about feeling at home in Malta, about how they admire the Maltese for what they have been through and how they look upon the Maltese as a modern progressive society. At the other end, we still find

unresolved issues such as that of the Maltese feeling that they were not treated right by their ex-colonisers or British ex-pats and their relatives who still feel that they were victimised or treated unfairly by the Mintoff regime. Some, both Maltese and British are still coming to terms with certain traumatic events that occurred in the past.

Figure 52 Enjoying the Good Life with a Sing along

Source: Avellino 2009

Olick calls the literature about delayed remembering about traumatic events, 'the politics of victimisation and regret' (2007). He distinguishes between collective and collected memory and argues that states that must now transition from just focusing on their glorious pasts to confronting past actions which they prefer to have remained subsumed. My research shows that this transition seems also to be taking place at the 'individual' level. Nationals are now facing up to the wrong doings that may have been committed against other 'peoples' and nations: they are exhibiting signs of a collective search for redemption and resolution. They indicate that they

feel that what should have been done by the national leaders is being addressed by individuals, who nearing the end of a fruitful life, consider it their duty to confront their past. Travel to Malta achieves closure for the SBT. The tourist encounter serves as a bridge to harmonise and smooth out unresolved issues between both the tourists as well as hosts. It also provides all with the ultimate goal of achieving 'the good life': 'wellbeing, fulfilment, the meaningful existence which Aristotle termed eudaimonia' (Fischer, 2012, p. 1).

Among the younger tourist cohort, there is also a strong interest in exploring interests which they might have had as younger people, but as retirement looms close or they have actually taken retirement, now have more time to dedicate to their interests or hobbies. These interests range from antiques hunting and collecting, artistic expressions such as painting and photography, spiritual or esoteric expression such as healing and dowsing, and sports. In many of the cases the practice of these activities are undertaken in Malta mainly because they are inherent or suited to the landscape. So in the example of painting, informants expressed that the light and temperate climate in Malta is ideal for their hobby. In the example of the dowsing and the spiritual expression, the Maltese landscape provides the ideal geography and architecture for these activities either as temples for the goddess groups, churches and cathedrals for the Christians and so on. In the case where Malta does not offer specific activities such as jazz music or dancing throughout the year, the tour operators bring the activities to Malta and provide them for their guests, usually, within the confines of the hotel. These eudoamonic activities serve to give these tourists agency: "the good life is what gives one the power to construct a life that one values, living a life that is worth living" (Fischer, 2012). It is evident from my research that as one becomes older, the search for the 'goodlife' and happiness takes on more significant intensity.

The seventh finding links Islands to Britishness. "Islands and archipelagos hold great imaginative power, and they have long been a subject of study for cartographers and geographers, for anthropologists and historians of colonisation (Matthews and Travers, 2012, p. 1). My study shows that although Malta has its own multi-faceted identity (which is in a state of flux), one of the most significant and constant facet has been that of its 'British' identity. Even within this predominant facet, one is able to make out smaller facets or mirrors, which at times may also be paradoxical. Islands, for example, can be being both paradise as in Theroux's "magical and unsinkable

world" (in Matthews and Travers, 1992, p. 503), and prison as in Oakley's experience of the Isle of Wight as she spent nine years in a girl's boarding school (Oakley, in Matthews and Travers, 2012, p. 40-52). In the case of Malta these smaller facets of Britishness and how they are connected and perceived by the British older tourists are central to understanding the island's identity. It is also this connectedness that is central to the relationship between the Maltese and Malta's ex-colonisers who return to the island as tourists. This connectedness is tied into the self-perceptions of the Maltese. It also gives us an insight into what these tourists perceive as Britishness or facets of a now diverse British national identity in the first decades of the third millennium.

These seven findings and the findings related to the main research questions lead to the two main conclusions. The first is that the older one gets, the more there is a desire to seek out a good and harmonious life, not necessarily a life without any physical activity, but one where there is always scope for self-improvement. Holidaying is one of the most pleasurable ways of achieving this. Secondly, in the search for these pleasurable and leisurely pursuits, the OBTs do not really seek out that which is different, but that which is a reflection of themselves, or whatever the feel or think is themselves, be it facets of their own national identity, or their younger self, or a far wiser self. At the end, it is all about searching for themselves in other places: tourism is about Self, and its different variations. Could it be that this search becomes more intense as one grows older, as if any fleeting moment must be gathered and archived. This is a question that will have to be answered through future research.

Contribution to knowledge

As the title indicates, this work is all about 'the encounter'. I set out to explore what is constituted in the encounter between the older British Tourist and the Maltese. I explored the nature of the 'old' encounter, that is the relationship which was forged during the Anglo-Maltese colonial period. I then moved into the study of the present tourist encounter.

My study contribute to knowledge as it advances the views that much tourism is really about the self rather than the other - or, at least, that the other is in some

senses a mirror of the self. Secondly, it highlights the importance of grasping the extent to which wider politico-economic and historical issues (of empire and so on) come to be embedded within the actors be they hosts or guests. Thirdly and this is quite significant: the mainstream idea that older persons are set in their ways, not open to ideas, and so on, seems to be a fallacy. They are a good number of persons, who are open to ideas, to discussion and actively pursue knowledge that opens up their world view. Old age does place physical restrictions on this pursuit, but these people are resilient, they find ways to achieve what they set out to do, even though it may come at a great cost, both economically as well as physically as well as mentally. It seems that it is society itself, which may actually be hindering the 'growth' of these people. Fourthly, another interesting outcome of this research has been the discovery that although the tourist encounter takes place within a commercial context, there is a 'love', admiration and 'respect' between the two nation states as hosts and guests. This is where the idea of 'the gift' comes into the equation. The relationship extends beyond a simple economic transaction but is based on more of a social, symbolic and cultural exchange. Fifthly, another significant aspect to this thesis is that it brings into the limelight the treatment by marketers, both at commercial as well as at national levels, of the senior market segment in Malta. This type of research can have benefits not just for Malta but for other destinations which are similar to Malta. It can provide an insight into the mechanisms and games at play in the construction of a commercial national identity and a national tourist product as these produce key imagery to promote the destination whilst simultaneously shaping national identity.

Finally, it is believed that this research is the first to examine the phenomenon of non-economic capital and gift exchange and the role exchange plays in building relationships at the tourist-host interface.

The study concludes that the value, which is placed on the gifts, or capital which are generated or exchanged through the tourist encounter, encourages further visits to the island. Much of this value is based on the significance of Empire to the OBTs who re-discover lost traces of Britishness in Malta through experiencing Anglo-Maltese cultural hybridity. It highlights the importance of grasping the extent to which wider politico-economic and historical issues (of empire and so on) come to be embedded within the actors be they hosts or guests.

Recommendations

This section recommends that future academic research could undertake the following suggested course.

The first proposal is for similar research to be undertaken in other destinations where tourism takes place between an ex-colonising country and an ex-colony. Similar type of research could also take place among people who had once spent a substantial amount of time in another country, such as the British ex-Pats in the Gulf States. One could explore the links between these ex-Pats who return to their homeland to see if they have any links with a former long term residence. From a touristic perspective, it would be interesting to see if these persons present a viable source of tourism for the hosting country.

Another recommended field of study could be investigative research into the changes that take place within the collective memory of post -colonial states as well as among the persons who were born out of these encounters. To which nationality do the offspring of unions between ex-colonisers and ex-colonies feel that they pertain? The passport or identity card bestows an official nationality on the person, however the person concerned may feel quite differently about it.

I also recommend two other possibilities for future research and these are aimed at practitioners. The first recommendation is aimed at marketing persons and in the case of Malta, should focus on carrying out market research in its source markets so that the products and services are geared for the ageing demographic. It should not simply focus on the physical shortcomings that may afflict this age group but should also consider the social, psychological and cultural challenges that these experienced travellers could present for traditional hospitality and tourism service providers. The second recommendation is aimed at the cultural brokers and more significantly the persons who offer interpretation of tourist sites. Interpretation for senior audiences must be challenging as well as providing an educational as well as enjoyable environment. Providing volunteer opportunities is one way of satisfying the needs of older adults who not only want to socialise but also gain self-worth as they pass on their knowledge and memories to others.

Concluding Remarks

Many British tourists choose to visit the Islands of Malta frequently in their twilight years because of the agreeable weather, friendly people and value for money. The topos of an island appropriately conveys the complex relations between a given identity and the estrangement from this same identity (Bongie, 1998, p. 18). The examination of the Malta landscape reveals that the tourists' encounter should not just be evaluated in terms of the commercial benefits, but in terms of being a rich source for the fostering of a strong sense of national identity in this post-colonial island nation.

This study allowed me to move away from the essentialised theorisation based on Urry's 'The Tourist Gaze' (1990) to an examination of the nexus between tourism, landscape and identity through narratives and ethnography. The nature of the relationship between OBTs, MHs and the landscape is expressed through a process of a negotiated exchange of capital, power, and gifts. This can be traced through the texts and narratives, which reproduce the cultural discourses and imaginaries.

The study also allowed me to propose that the gaze can be returned with a gift: a gift by the Maltese to their British visitors. This places my study of this distinctive tourism encounter squarely within the anthropology tradition. Of course theorising tourism this way also has its own limitations and quandaries as to how one is to interpret the literature and ethnographic material to bring a cohesiveness to the study. In my Malta case study I addressed this as I used the landscape as context, and explored the cross cutting themes which bridged through the palimpsests of history, politics and identity. I also examined the personalised and individualised understandings given to the cross cutting themes and the interpretation given to the tourist encounter allowed me access and insight into the deeper and richer meanings of the unique tourist relationship between the older British tourists and Maltese islanders.

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EXIT SURVEY (MALTA INTERNATIONAL AIRPORT)

LONDON METROPOLITAN UNIVERSITY

Dear Tourist, I invite you to participate in the research about British Tourists in Malta. You may ask any questions you may have before agreeing to be in the study. This study is being conducted by Marie Avellino, Doctorial Candidate at London Metropolitan University and lecturer at the University of Malta. You may contact me on 2340 3352 or Room 312, FEMA Block B, University of Malta, Msida.

Voluntary Nature of the Study: Your participation in this study is entirely voluntary, and all data will be anonymised.

Demographic Data – Please circle the answer that best applies to your situation

Nationality   British   Other_____   **Flight No**_____

Gender   Male   Female

Age Group   18 -49   50- 59   60 – 69   70- 79   80-89
90+

Year of birth   1905-1924   1925-1944   1945-1964   1965-1984   1984-2010

Health   Well   Few problems   Sick   Handicapped /Major
Disability

Status   Single   Married   In a relationship   Widowed   Divorced

Education   Primary   Secondary   College   University
Other

Employment   Work full-time   Work part-time   Semi-retirement   Retired more than _____
year s

Position/profession last held   _____   **Postcode in UK**
_____

Visit Data

Please list the main reasons why you like to travel

Is this your first /second/_____ visit to Malta?   When did you first come to Malta? 19__ __

What   was   the   purpose   for   the   first visit?_____

What were the main reasons for visiting MALTA this time?

_____

What was the length of your stay? __ __ days.

How likely is it that you will return to Malta within the year?	Highly likely	Possibly	Highly unlikely	Definitely not
How likely is it that you will return to Malta again within the next 5 years?	Highly likely	Possibly	Highly unlikely	Definitely not
How satisfied are you with your present trip to Malta?	Very much	Quite satisfied	Not much	Not at all

Do you consider yourself to be: British English   Scottish   Irish

　　Welsh

Other _____(you may choose more than one)

What 3 words/terms would you use to define your national identity

    1._____

    2._____

    3._____

What   is   your   perception   of   the   Maltese   as   a   Nation?
_____

Do you feel that you have a particular link or a connection with Malta as a British person?
    Yes/No

Describe   it   please
_____

Do you feel that Britain has a connection with Malta
    Yes/No

What   is   the   connection   or
link?_____

Describe   the   link
_____

Is there a particular site or was there a particular instance during your holiday when you felt

- Proud to be British
      Yes/No
- Proud that Britain and Malta are associated
      Yes/No
- A recollection of something which was significant to you in the past?
      Yes/No

Please describe one of the above sites or instances and its significance to you.

You may write on the back of this sheet any other details which you feel may be pertinent to this study.

THANK YOU FOR PARTICIPATING IN THIS SURVEY

APPENDIX B - VIGNETTES

The following persons and families have been listed in no particular order. They have been chosen because they are not identifiable. In some cases I have also included sections of their conversations with me to highlight certain points.

The others were not included as any form of detailed description my make them loose their anonymity, however I do refer to snippets about them in the text.

Emmanuel - The man who came to look for the place of his birth.

A man(seventies) and his wife (late-sixties) came to ask me if I could help them as the man had come to Malta to try and find the cave where he had been born. He had been told by his mother that he had been born during an air raid and so she had been taken by the hospital staff to a cave and this is where he was born. He did not know anything else: no birth registration document or anything else which could help us.

I proceeded to ask him about his parents to try and establish some facts to go on such as to what Service his father had belonged to- army, navy, air force? His father had been in the army and this led me to deduce, that if his mother needed to go to maternity, she would have been taken to the army hospital, the 90th General, at Mtarfa. Also the couple would more than likely be based in the army married quarters at Mtarfa or in rented property in Rabat. Underneath this hospital there are rock-cut war shelters, but there are also the end tunnels of the now defunct train services which used to run all the way from Valletta to Mdina. I was not sure how he would take the news that he was probably born in what was now a mushroom factory.

Emmanuel, together with his wife became very excited and the next day went to search for the place. They were so pleased to have found it and it was amusing to see them telling the other tourists that they had found the birthplace and now he felt complete.

It is also interesting to note, that at no point had we firmly established that this was the exact location, but he was very keen to grab at any shreds and went off on the bus to look for this very important place. They told me that they had always wanted to come to Malta to seek out this birthplace but they could not make it earlier in their lives, but now, as they had taken early retirement, they could.

Figure 53 Looking for Birthplace

Source: Avellino 2013

Joyce and David Smith – In the navy…

David first came to Malta in 1954 when his ship dropped anchor in the Grand
Harbour. In 1958 he returned for a second time with a young wife and new baby in
tow. They set up home in a rented flat in Tigne, Sliema where Joyce befriended
other British wives as her husband would be on board his ship most of the time.
Over Christmas, David was sent to Cyprus and Joyce tells me that

*"One other wife stayed here and we stayed as we planned to stay for the 8 months
but the others returned to England. We shared Christmas but the Commander-in-
Chief, Sir Charles Lamb invited us to tea on* Christmas *Day at the building that has
now become the Fine Arts Museum.*

*We bought a little Christmas tree. I bought that as we had a little greenery on the
indoor patio we had and it lasted until we left really. We also bought Christmas
decorations for it. It was growing in a pot so it lasted. We had a sort of balcony: it
was open, a kind of courtyard on the 3rd floor. The newspapers we got were the Daily
Telegraph. We bought and it was very fine like tissue paper and I've still got some of
that as when we finally left in 1963 I wrapped all my Xmas decorations in it"*

During her husband's second posting to Malta, their second child was born in Malta in 1962. She has vivid memories of the 'churching service' she attended with her Maltese female friends. The second posting to Malta was at their request. Joyce came before the Navy sent her out and so as to ensure that her daughter would be born in Mtarfa. On their subsequent visits to Malta as holiday makers, they always visited their old haunts, and bought momentos of the visits which they put in their 'Malta display cabinet'. During my interview with them, they also brought films that they had made of their trips to Malta and showed them to me.

Paul – Man on a Mission

I had just finished giving a presentation on Maltese history, at a hotel when Paul came up to me, just one day after he had arrived in Malta. He said – *'Can you help me, as I am a man on a Mission*?' This was quite a bizarre statement: but Paul had come to Malta for the explicit reason of bringing a plaque and a framed message, in honour of an aircraft crew and its passengers which in 1956, had crashed upon take off from Malta. He did not know any of the people on a personal basis, but they had served in Suez as he had, and he felt it was his duty to leave a memento from him and a few other ex-servicemen who had also been stationed in Suez, albeit at a different time. I accompanied him to the Mtarfa Military Cemetery where most of fatalities were buried.

On a hill opposite Rabat and Mdina, it occupies part of a complex that belonged to the British Military until the late 1970's. It is now looked after by the War Graves Commission and it contains 15 Commonwealth burials from the First World War and 238 from the Second World War. The Commission also cares for 1,203 non war graves within the cemetery, and one Dutch war grave. Paul and I also visited the Aviation Museum and presented the plaque there, to be placed on display with other memorabilia. After his trip to Malta, Paul felt that he has established an attachment to this place, especially to the Mtarfa Cemetery where his co-nationals are buried. He spent hours talking to the cemetery warden and from time to time sends me material which he writes up for his Suez Veterans Association (SVA). I pass some of it on, to the cemetery warden, who will then show it to other cemetery visitors.

The following is part of a conversation which took place on the day we visited the cemetery.

Cemetery warden (CW): '*I have also a copy of the report of the accident – but there is no memorial of the air crash of the Avro 1956, even though many come to look for it'.*

P: '*It took them 50 years to award us a medal for being in the Middle East! In addition, at the time that it happened, when we pulled out we tried to invade, we were there for three days and the United Nations turned round and said you cannot invade and so we had to turn around and come out with our tail between our legs. In the course of all that, that is why nothing was ever done'.*

CW: '*It is people like you, Paul, that need to raise awareness - it should be up to them, the Ministry of Defence that should do something about it. You know there are no signs to the cemetery'.*

P: '*Probably the mothers and fathers of these people are dead, but those of us that died in Suez, we went into an Egyptian museum - I don't think anyone goes to see them there, but we do, our association, when we go to see our garrison, it's now in an Egyptian desert and we have to negotiate to go in, but we do, and they keep it marvellously clear and lovely, a green area in the centre of the desert , don't know how they do it, but they do. And we've adopted the school next door, everytime we go we take books, pencils, - we are very kind to them but when we leave, the children run to take the flowers we would have left'.*

THE 'SUEZ VETERANS ASSOCIATION'

My Malta Mission
by SVA Member P
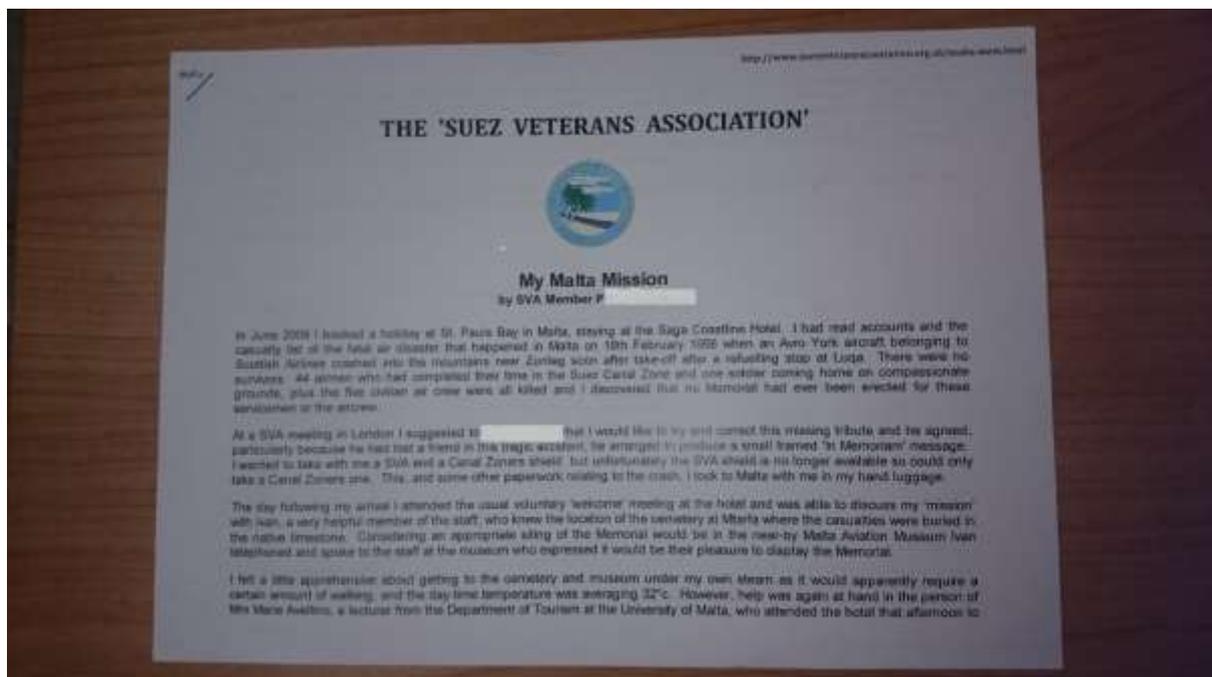
Mary and Peter – Home Sweet Home

Mary and Peter (65 year olds) are one of the couples who every few years attend the Malta Day event in London. They travel about 4 or 5 times a year and come to Malta at least once every two years. In the mid-60s Peter had been stationed in the Gulf for a number of years and then was sent out to Malta for a couple of years. Whilst stationed on Malta with the Army, he met Mary, whom he married within a year or so of their first meeting. Mary is an Anglo-Maltese, the daughter of a British Army officer who had met her Maltese mother when his ship called into Malta in the mid- 1920s. His regiment was being shipped out to Sudan and had called at Malta for supplies. After his tour of duty he returned to Malta to marry his Maltese bride and together they set up home in Malta. They had seven children and he stayed in the Army, mostly being based in Malta. So for Mary, "being an Army wife was not an alien experience". The only difference is that Peter was stationed in various other countries. They have now been living in UK for the last 30 years or so.

Peter loves Malta and enjoys coming to Malta as he finds it relaxing. Up to a few years ago he would bring his fishing rod and would go off to fish at Qawra or St Paul's Bay. That was when Mary's parents were alive and they would stay with them. However since the parents passed on 15 years ago, they usually stay in 4* hotels. If they are accompanied by their adult children or grandchildren, they will stay in Qawra so that they can enjoy the swimming and walking along the promenade. In the evening they like to visit Karaoke bars. When they are in Malta as a couple, they would either stay in Qawra or in Sliema or St Julians. During the day they will spend their 3 week holiday visiting or being visited by friends and family. They go to good restaurants, as Peter was a chef and has discerning tastes. If they visit Museums or other attractions, it will only be because they would have been taken to visit the attraction by their friends and family who live in Malta. They also organise re-unions in Malta for friends who live in other countries. When Peter and Mary decided to settle back in UK after Peter took retirement, they went to live in UK in a town which they consider to be similar to Malta as it has Roman remains.

"She just loves it – coming here. When we go out in the morning, sometimes it takes a couple of hours just to walk along the promenade. She knows everyone, she stops to talk to them about their family, their health, what they've eaten, which hairdresser are they using and most of all, how expensive Malta has become" That is what Peter had to say about Mary's last trip to Malta. They booked a three week holiday in a

good hotel in Sliema, but for 2 nights they went over to stay in a guesthouse in Rabat, Mary's home village. At the time the local village Festa was being celebrated. In fact they chose the dates so that they would be in Malta for the feast. Even the wardrobe was extensively planned, a dress for the morning of the eve of the feast, another outfit for the afternoon and another for the evening. Then another 3 brand new outfits were brought over, of an even higher standard, for the feast day itself. They met 'everyone' and were invited to lunches, dinners, drinks and visits at homes of friends and families. It was a holiday to remember! It was also a holiday to talk about when they met up with their friends and family back in UK.

I met up with them a few months later and this time they had their daughter, Charlene (just turned 50) and grand-daughter. They visited their usual haunts as well as taking the grand daughter to see all the places associated with their Malta heritage. Charlene posted on Facebook, many photos and comments about the places she visited. She commented (online) that she was so pleased to discover that her mother's maternal cousin had served in Malta during the war. She discovered this by coincidence when she saw his photo and war medal on display at the National War Museum in Valletta.

Duncan and Betty- The Craft

Duncan, 70 year old travelled to Malta with his 55 year old wife, Betty. Both are active Freemasons. Betty, runs her own industrial design company and she also takes a leading role in organising big events at their local lodge. Duncan had seen active service in various parts of the world and had also been sent to the States on consultancy work for a couple of times. Then he stopped travelling altogether. A few years ago he married Betty and they decided that when they were settled they would start to travel. Their first trip away from UK was Egypt. Malta was the second. "If we're going to go away, it's got to be because of the craft. Egypt and the Pyramids – I had to be there, to see them, they were built by Master Builders. The Masonic symbols are everywhere. But then the next best was Malta – You know Malta is one of the most important places for us." He said this as he pointed to his gold Masonic ring.

Duncan and Betty also explained how they planned their trip to Malta and how through their own lodge in UK, they contacted the Malta one. They were then invited to visit the Lodge in Valletta by a prominent Maltese politician. This was one of the

main highlights of their trip to Malta as they were able to meet other masons, some of whom live in Malta, and others live in UK. Through their visit to the Valletta lodge, they have set up future meetings for other lodges in England and are going to work on some project for fundraising.

Duncan also felt obliged to fulfil a promise he had made to his stepfather before he died. This was to pay a visit to his stepfather's brother who was buried in Malta. He also wanted to visit his step-uncle's family, some of whom lived in Malta. He bought flowers and together with Betty went to pay their respect at the grave so as to fulfil a father's dying wish.