"The Clock Cannot be Put Back": The Importance of Traditional Forms of Economy in Maltese Tourism

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Abstract

The Second World War took its toll on Europe, restructuring national boundaries, decimating cities, and changed many countries politically and economically. In the years after the war, the Maltese government not only had to rebuild the country, but the economy had to be restructured over the next 20 years as Britain removed its naval bases and granted independence. Today, the tourism industry has become the primary means of employment for many in the country. Specifically, the cultural and heritage sectors are important with traditional craft skills such as lace-making and filigree becoming a key part of the sector. This paper will delve into the creation of the traditional economy into a viable source of income. Through interviews, oral histories, and ethnographic and historical research primarily done on the island of Gozo, the traditional craft shops will be studied to see their importance for societal identity in a time of uncertainty and upheaval.

Keywords: Malta, Gozo, Tourism, Culture, Crafts

Introduction

As the bombs dropped and enemy planes flew throughout the skies, the Maltese and Gozitan residents were waiting and hiding below. At four years old, one man remembers hiding in bomb shelters while his father watched aerial fights through his binoculars. Meanwhile, his mother would yell at his dad to come back inside (Anonymous, Interview, August 4, 2015). At seven, another resident recalls a German plane crashing into a cliff outside the village of Nadur, Gozo, where he could collect pieces of the plane and sell them off as souvenirs (Anonymous, Interview, August 4, 2015).

The memories of war have lived on in Malta, remembered through stories and the physical structures left behind. The aftermath of war is never an easy path and rebuilding physically, socially, and economically can be a hard and long task; one that cannot be taken lightly and where, often, people are continually affected by circumstances outside of their control for many years after. On the small island nation of Malta, the Second World War created economic confusion that would last well into the 1970s, but not because of the physical damage left behind. The nation's status as a member of the British Empire meant that they were directly affected by the economic troubles that Britain was experiencing after the war which when combined with the physical destruction of the war, created much uncertainty. Over the years, Britain would abandon many of their naval bases and international political debacles, such as the

Suez Canal crisis, affected many of Britain's colonies, such as Malta. As Britain pulled out of the country and much of the work disappeared with the British navy, a restructuring of the economic framework was necessary, and for many, the solution was the lure of the sand, sun, and sea. With the changes taking place after 1945, Malta's future was dependent upon creating new with the old. Taking the steps toward independence meant that in many ways, Malta would be unable to return to what it had been prior to the war. Essentially the clock could not be turned back and Malta would have to face a new future. Because of this opportunity, however, there was a rise in traditional forms of economy as the opportunity arose. The lace-making, knitting, and filigree shops became abundant and can be found in every town and village all over the Maltese islands today. The rise in these shops goes hand in hand with the rise in tourism, but it does beg the question of the importance of traditional cultural means of sustainability within the framework of tourism and whether the industry helped to preserve these traditions. This article will look in-depth as to why traditional shops were created and how they were important for the Maltese identity and economy in the post-war period.

This paper has been broken down into four different sections. First, I will give a historical background to the war and the affects it had in both Malta and Britain and how they built up the economic sector from the 1950s to the 1970s. Then, I will give a detailed explanation of what cultural tourism. Important here is the discussion on 'authentic' tradition, especially in terms of a created tourism industry based on the Maltese culture. The authentic is then applied to Gozo to discuss the industry there specifically and how it manifested itself on the island. This will then be concluded with the current views the Maltese government has on the industry and the possibilities for cultural tourism in the future. By doing so, I aim to capture the essence of why and how Malta and Gozo came to rely on tourism and how it affected their cultural identity.

Methodology and Literature

The methodology taken for this project relies on historical research, oral histories, and ethnographic studies and interviews done in the traditional shops on the smaller Maltese island of Gozo in the summers of 2015 and 2016. The interviews came from multiple sources usually in a casual setting. Many of the stories I gathered were by chance meetings I had on the streets of Nadur, Victoria, and Gharb on Gozo, or in the shops scattered around the island. I used these stories in conjunction with archival research to not only give a sense of humanity to the industry, but to also reinforce them with government documents that matched up in the timeline. These primary sources were also the basis of much of my secondary research on the creation of the industry. What became increasingly important throughout my secondary literature was the effects that tourism had on countries, especially when considering what 'traditional' even is, along with the distinction between 'cultural' and 'heritage' tourism. Many of the articles and books did see a difference between the two, and scholars such as Hobsbawn (1983) and others (Jamal and Hill 2004; Timothy and Boyd 2006) noted the discrepancies between real and created traditions in the tourism industry.

So, what exactly is the difference between heritage and cultural tourism and where does tradition fall into this? Although they can be used interchangeably, depending upon the context, for the purposes of this article, heritage refers to the monuments and physical remains left from historical events. Examples such as the walled city of Mdina and the prehistoric temple of Ggantija would fall into this category. Cultural tourism, however, and specifically the traditional items, would refer to the more intangible work that speaks more to the beliefs, traditions, and society of Malta and Gozo. These would be the artistic and craft items, or the religious icons that can be found in many store windows or Church gift shops along with folklore and myth. As Timothy and Boyd (2006) stated, heritage tourism did fall under the bigger umbrella of cultural tourism and that people for centuries had "travelled to experience historic places of cultural importance" (1). This differentiation is important because the historical or the heritage sites are the physical manifestation of places that are culturally relevant and the items or stories of traditional importance work alongside these sites, to help tell the story.

World War Two and the Making of the Tourist Industry

The historical details of the project are necessary for understanding just how much Malta was affected by the war and how much rebuilding had to take place. Although the Maltese theatre of war is often enveloped in the study of the British Navy, it was an incredibly important British port and base throughout history and during the war, was integral to many of the battles that took place in Italy and Northern Africa. When King George VI gave the George Cross to Malta, he stated that it was to "bear witness to a heroism and a devotion that will long be famous in history" (BBC). Malta's importance during the war was astounding in so many of the campaigns that took place in the region, especially in the invasion of Sicily in 1943, or *Operation Husky*. However, Malta's power and the main reason it was a target, was because of its significance in naval operations. The Mediterranean fleet, which was the second strongest fleet during the war, was based in both Alexandria and Malta (Jackson 2006: 113). This fleet made Malta, and Gozo at the same time, an important target for axis planes. More significant than the size and strength of the Maltese fleet was just how powerful it was. In little over a year, submarines that were based in Malta sank 400,000 tons of shipping, while Maltese planes took down around 500,000 over the course of the entire war (Jackson 2006: 126).

The position that Malta held resulted in countless attacks over the course of the war. For 154 days and nights, over 6000 bombs would drop continuously, making it the record for the heaviest sustained bombing attack in World War Two (Visit Malta). The island of Gozo itself was not a main target of the war until the creation of the airfield in 1943. Prior to that moment, the war in Gozo consisted of German planes that would fly in low and casually shoot at random targets, as they had no consequences for doing so (Bezzina 2012: 11). On the 24th of December, 1941 the enemy air raids finally found a target, killing a young woman in her home (Bezzina 2012: 12). An informant I spoke with, whose grandmother had been alive during the attacks, recalled stories of the Italian planes dropping bombs on Gozo in order to lighten their load and get out as fast as possible before the allied planes could be alerted (Anonymous, Interview,

August 1, 2015). The resiliency of the Gozitan people is apparent in many of the stories I had heard over the course of my time on the island and many of these stories have been passed down through the generations with a sense of pride and accomplishment. They had managed to survive, but the effects would have a lasting toll.

After a bombing campaign so heavy and with food being in short supply, the rebuilding of the nation took many years and a lot of effort. For the next thirty years, the Maltese and British governments would struggle with how to put the country back together, and more importantly, how Malta would eventually take over the reins entirely. The aftermath of the war was met with resounding struggle all around the world, but in some areas, it was combined with the eventual fall of the British Empire and the crises and fears of the Cold War. Malta, much like many other colonies at the time was dependent upon Britain for many things, especially in terms of employment and income. The young boy, mentioned above, who had sold pieces of the enemy plane could recall what it was like after the war ended as well. While interviewing him, he simply stated that there was no food. Poverty was rampant and it was not until the 1950s that he remembers being able to live comfortably once again. For that young boy, who would grow to be a man in the time that Malta took to rebuild itself, his memory recalled the political turmoil that was taking place. The independence of 1964 and the work done by Governor Mintoff, was for him, some of the greatest achievements for Malta (Anonymous, Interview, August 4, 2015).

It is important to keep in mind though that the plight that Malta was experiencing, both during and after the war, was due in part to how Britain fared. The end of the Second World War was the catalyst that brought about the fall of the British Empire and a period of decolonisation, started mostly by the financial struggles that Britain was experiencing at the time. Over the course of the war, Britain had accumulated large amounts of debt due to the high costs of war that the nation was unable to provide for. Assets costing roughly £1,100 million were sold at below market costs and this combined with the Lend Lease Agreement of 1941, meant that Britain was taking in supplies from the United States with the promise of payments later (Donnelly 1999: 58). With this combination, the end of the war meant a large debt had to be repaid to the United States as well as the rebuilding of Britain and her colonies that needed help after the war as well. After 1945, decolonisation became a priority for the country, although many nations such as Malta wanted independence and welcomed the change. This did not come by easy though as both Malta and Britain had to rebuild and the first concern that had to be addressed was just exactly how Malta would become independent and what the economy would look like.

Both Maltese and British government officials would come together over the years to try and find a solution to the economic struggles that Malta and Gozo were dealing with. In 1950, a report from Sir George E. Schuster was published after his visit to Malta to determine what the problems were with the Maltese economy and possible solutions to these problems. He overwhelmingly found that Malta was “dangerously dependent” upon Britain and he felt that the only real solution could be found in the form of tourism and/or developing new sources of

production (National Archives of Malta, Valletta [GMR], 1640, 1950: Interim Report on the Financial and Economic Structure of the Maltese Islands, Sir George E. Schuster). He recommended a committee to be put together for the sole purpose of studying and starting to fund a program for tourism in the country (GMR 1640, 1950). These sentiments can be found multiple times in later government documents. In 1959, a five-year development plan was created for Malta to find economic alternatives to the vast British naval fleet that had been using the island as its permanent residence. The authors stated that "the clock cannot be put back," (National Archives of Malta, Valletta [GMR], 2187, 1964: Development Plan for the Maltese Islands) and that Malta would have to find new means of employment as Britain was removing their naval fleets around the world. The document very bluntly stated that "Malta must get out into the world and earn its own living," but because they have no natural resources, the people must rely on its harbour and geographic position, its climate, and the "skill, industry, and thriftiness" that the population possessed (GMR 2187: 1964). A succession of economic hits put many people out of work. It began in the 1950s as layoffs took place at the Admiral Dockyard, followed by the Suez Canal Crisis in 1956 that led to the removal of many British naval operations around the world by 1968, and the cancellation of a missile project in 1960 (Brincat 2009: 36). As the years went on and more sources of income disappeared, tourism became increasingly more useful and took over as one of the primary means of employment.

To create the tourism sector though, was not a simple task and would take a significant amount of years. A few of my informants pointed out that tourism was not a major part of the Maltese economy prior to the 1950s and 60s, it was essentially created from scratch as the result of a "brute force of political-economic facts" (Brincat 2009: 36). Under the Aides to Industry Act (1959-1964), money was fuelled into improving beaches and infrastructure, advertising, and grants and loans for businesses (Lockhart 1997: 146). This helped immensely for the tourism sector as Malta saw a 300% rise in tourists over those years (Lockhart 1997: 146). The tourism industry is not useful though if tourists are only arriving during the summer to take advantage of the warm weather and the sea. The number of tourists arriving in only a few months of the year put a strain on infrastructure, such as water supply and sewage, but also meant that the fluctuation between the on and off seasons were becoming a worry (Lockhart 1997: 147). A solution to evening out the differences in seasons, and the over-burden on the infrastructure, was cultural and heritage tourism. Specifically, the 'Master Tourism Plan' that was drawn up in the 1980s focused on diversifying the Maltese market as the infrastructure was not only thing failing. The British market had crashed as well, effectively stopping Malta's tourist industry that was dependent upon the British holiday makers (Lockhart 1997: 147). The rise in the cultural tourism sector meant the diversification of the tourists from all European backgrounds as well as North Americans, and by the end of the 1980s the industry in Malta was once again going strong and less dependent upon the sand and the sea.

The easiest way to see how people were affected by the rise of the industry is by speaking with the people who put their time into creating items for the tourists who are there specifically

to see the culture of the island. These craft specialists, oftentimes women, lived their whole lives working for or in these shops, and are the heart and soul of the traditional industry in lace and wool. I spoke with women in five different tourist shops: two lace shops, one filigree shop, and two that were a mix of lace, wool, and typical tourism souvenirs. Besides the woman in the lace shop who was in her thirties, the other four had been alive either during the war or had been born immediately afterwards and could recall the hardships of the following thirty years as Malta attempted to develop the tourism sector. One woman stated that she had been born in the shop, lived in the shop, and would die in there as well. It had been her life as well as her parents (Anonymous, Interview, July 13, 2016). Her shop consisted of mostly hand-knit wool sweaters, an array of lace, and the typical souvenirs of postcards and bracelets. This was her livelihood and always had been. This was not a unique case though, many of the vendors I spoke with had taken over the shops from their parents as well.

There are many instances of shops that had been in the family for many generations. This was more common with the filigree shops, which were mostly run by the men and passed down through the generations to the sons. On Gozo there is one village, in particular, that has been shaped by the crafting industry. Just outside of the village of Gharb is the Ta'Dbiegi Craft Village. Although the website boasts that it is the oldest village in Gozo, the actual craft village itself was created after the war. One of the small lace shops in the village is run by a woman whose family had been in the business for many generations. Prior to the village being there, the area had been home to the army and the shops are in old barracks (Anonymous, Interview, July 11, 2016). Inside the Citadella in the city of Victoria there is a small lace shop run by an older woman. After speaking with her, she explained that many people had received grants from the government in the 1970s to be able to open tourist or craft shops. This coincides with the government documents that were attempting to push tourism as the new pillar of the economy, such as the 1959 Aids to Industry Act. She was frank when I was speaking with her and stated that opening these shops had not been a priority before the war. But, afterwards, it became one way for people to easily make money, especially since the British soldiers were still in the country long after the war had ended (Anonymous, Interview, July 7, 2016).

Authentic Cultural Tourism

There are multiple types of cultural tourism that can be found in Malta and Gozo. Whether it is archaeological sites from pre-historic or Roman eras, WWII sites, the ancient capital city of Mdina, or local artwork and crafts, they all play an important part in the tourism sector and say much about not only the Maltese people, but the tourists as well. UNESCO stated, in 1982 at a conference, that

> "Cultural tourism can be defined in broad or narrow terms. In the narrow sense, it includes movements of people for essentially cultural motivations such as study tours, performing arts and cultural tours, travel to festivals, and other cultural events, visits to sites and monuments, travel to study nature, folklore or art, and pilgrimage.

> In the broader sense, all movements of persons might be included in the definition because they satisfy the human need for diversity, tending to raise the cultural level of the individual and giving rise to new knowledge, experience and encounters. This is based on the hypothesis that all movements of persons enrich the individual personality by new information, thoughts and feelings: in other words, 'travel broadens the mind'" (As quoted in Markwick 1999: 228).

What is important to consider is not only how the Maltese people are affected by such tourism, but also what the visitors want to see. The Product Evaluation Survey from 1991 found that 19% of tourists in Malta were there to see it because of its cultural and heritage value, this number rose to 30% in 1993 and 32% by 1996 (Markwick 1999: 234). The latest numbers from the Malta Tourist Authority shows that behind the 'sun', most tourists arriving to Malta are there for a combination of culture and the sun (Malta Tourism Authority). A government report in 1962 had already foreseen this and stated that "it is the traditional attractions of Europe which appeals most to the Americans" (National Archives of Malta, Valletta [GMR] 2484, 1962: Second Five-Year Development Plan). The tourism industry can only survive based on what the tourists would like to see and more importantly what they are willing to pay for. This became increasingly apparent over the course of researching this topic, especially concerning items that were considered to be 'traditional' and 'cultural.'

Cultural tourism can, and often does, promote ideas that are not necessarily part of the everyday culture of the population, but that does represent them in some capacity, usually through the monuments, folklore, or art that is present. An example in Gozo would be the prevalence of glass-making and blowing. As I was researching the topic, talking with the locals, and visiting 'traditional shops', glass-making could be found everywhere, especially in the craft villages. Ta' Dbiegi, the craft village outside of Gharb did have a pottery and glass-making shop that also hosted information and crafting sessions where people could try it out. However, what I found out at a much later date, and only through secondary research, was that glass-making was only introduced after the 1960s, once tourism started to pick-up and many people were interested in seeing the cultural side of the island (Markwick 2001: 33). This is not to say however, that the cultural aspect of tourism on Malta and Gozo was created entirely to dupe the buyer and create a false reality. The creation of new forms of local art may not be indicative of how the people used to live, but it does say a lot for how they live now and what they deem to be important. Lace-making and filigree, which had seen a significant decline prior to the war, was given a boost from tourism and became fully revived once again, something that was regarded as impossible before the tourists arrived (Markwick 2001: 35). It is important to keep in mind what people may regard as 'traditional' when they are in a different culture, whether that be an ancient art form still carried over, or a new one that reflects the current and past traditions already present.

The traditional, and more importantly, the 'authentic' traditional is a flexible value that is put onto various items or sites. Teresa Breathnach (2006) stated that the "processes of modernity have resulted in increased fragmentation and a sense of dislocation, people experience a deep sense of loss of authenticity, or wholeness in everyday life. Therefore, the tourist seeks authentic experiences elsewhere" (104). What a tourist may deem to be authentic though is based on what they feel is missing in their own home culture (Breathnach 2006: 105). On Gozo, there are women in the streets creating lace items, shops with hand-knit sweaters, and men creating silver filigree jewellery. Is this what we deem, as tourists, to be traditionally authentic, or is it the Maltese who have shown us their culture? This does create difficulties as both tourist and researcher. What I may have viewed as traditional at first, such as the blown-glass, I later learned to be the opposite. But, we then also must take into consideration how cultures and people change. The war did alter the very fabric of how many Maltese and Gozitans lived, and therefore their art and craft items would also change to reflect what happened within their society. As Eric Hobsbawm (1983: 2) had stated, inventing new traditions that reflect life the way it used to be is a way for people to hold onto a bit of their past even if changes are occurring. It is "an attempt to structure at least some parts of social life…as unchanging and invariant" (Hobsbawm and Ranger 1983: 2). Craft specialization has a long history on Malta and Gozo, and regardless of how old glass-blowing may be, it is a craft that fits in well with the other traditional forms of economy on the island.

Authentic Cultural Tourism on Gozo

There is no doubt that the cultural tourism sector has added a lot of economic value for Malta and Gozo. However, the question remains whether it allowed for the Maltese and Gozitan people to hold onto their cultural heritage throughout the changes that occurred in the country after the war. Economically, the return of some items such as lace and filigree is small, they take many hours to complete, but can be bought for less than €20. In some respects, tourism allowed for the culture of the Maltese people to be preserved, rather than the Maltese people using their culture to lure in tourists, but neither of these can happen without the other. The issue that did become apparent though as I spoke to some of the women who were selling lace and hand-knit sweaters, was just how much of it they physically produced themselves. A tourist shop in Ta' Dbiegi sold many of the usual tourist items, but the woman who ran the shop decided to show me around and told me how I could identify lace produced in Gozo that was hand-made, and which ones were brought in from China. When I had asked her why this was, she stated that there were too many tourists and one person could not possibly make enough to sell in their lifetime (Anonymous, Personal Interview, July 11, 2016). I brought this secret around with me as I looked around in other shops and spoke to the women who were selling more lace and wool sweaters. Here however, in a store in Victoria, Gozo, the woman explained that she stayed in the shop, but she had a group of women who would knit with her in order to have

the needed amount of stock (Anonymous, Personal Interview, July 13). This had been a problem that the government tried to avoid. In the Third Five Year Development Plan, they found that too much money was being spent on bringing goods in from Asia and other parts of Europe. To avoid this, grants and funding were made available as well as a Government Training School where people could be trained; they must not have foreseen how big this sector would really get (National Archives of Malta, Valetta [GMR] 3011, 1968: Third Five-Year Development Plan).

With the popularity of cultural tourism on the island and the sheer abundance of shops and heritage sites, the industry has become quite apparent on the island. Tourism on Gozo is not inconspicuous and hidden away. Rather, it is very striking as shops, stands, and vendors can be found in every part of the island, most obviously on the beaches of the small towns, but also in the city centres of the larger cities such as Victoria. The shops themselves are an interesting mixture of products and can often be found grouped together down a street. Although they may look very much the same, there are always enough differences to be found between the stores to make them unique enough for a tourist to stop in. Strikingly, before all else, the most noticeable element is the postcards. Stands of postcards depicting various Maltese and Gozitan landmarks are in front of every shop or store on the island. Beside them are bracelets and handmade lace, wool sweaters hang up above or are neatly folded on tables out front. Entering these shops feels like going into an alternate world. Immediately darker and so full of product that it is necessary to duck underneath sweaters or pull apart piles just to see what is there. Although not all the sweaters or lace are made by hand, a good percentage of it is made by the older women who sit out in front of the shop, or the one who is pressuring you to just try on the sweater to feel the weight and softness.

The Maltese and Gozitans who have spent their time learning how to create these traditional items, have yes, done so because it was an integral part of the economy, but there also has to be a sense of purpose beyond that as well. The islands of Malta pride themselves on their culture. Speaking to any Gozitan, it becomes obvious as they tell you that they are Gozitan, they are not Maltese, a distinction that one will never make a mistake on more than once. The restaurants, museums, craft shops, and local celebrations such as ‘Festa’ are a showcase of who these people are and what they believe in. But, it is also a mixture of what has happened to them in the past. The Maltese knights from the earliest years of history and the monuments from the war, are all tied together by a language that is a mixture of Arabic, Italian, and English. The crafts and the art that are sold to the tourists from Europe, North America, and Australia tend to have the insignia of the homeland found somewhere on it. I have personal pieces of cloth and lace that have the Maltese cross mixed into the design, or the all-protecting ‘Eye’ that can protect me from anyone who would like to harm me. It is their culture and society that can be found within these crafts, even if they are being sold for money.

Tourism in the Future

Of the many vendors that I spoke with, a common concern amongst all of them was the dying out of the traditional artwork, such as has been seen with wicker-making, spinning, and weaving (Markwick 2001: 35). Lace and filigree, among others, are regarded as too old or not important enough by younger generations and the knowledge of how to do this work is disappearing. The question had arisen as to what would happen to this form of artwork and tourism and what it would mean for the years to come. I spoke with a few members of the Malta Tourism Authority to find out their thoughts on this topic and what the government of Malta would be doing about it. I had been assured that it was of extreme importance, both economically and culturally, to preserve the knowledge on how to make these traditional items. In the Malta Budget Speech for 2016 a collaboration had been announced between Malta Enterprise and the Malta Arts Council to launch a project to share the knowledge within the art community (ECOVIS). This would hopefully allow for the younger generations to continue using traditional items within the tourism sector. I had seen in a few instances family-run shops where the children were working in the store or in the back creating items. A filigree shop in the traditional craft village on Gozo had a father-and-son team creating ornate jewellery in the corner which customers could watch. In one of the souvenir shops in Victoria, one informant's grand-daughter was helping with the customers and speaking to tourists as they passed by. However, these instances were few and far between. In general I would speak with younger people at the restaurants, or vendors on the beaches, or more common, anything that had to do with eco- or sports tourism. The instances of speaking to a younger person in traditional shops was far less than in any other tourist spot.

An informant, who was not alive during the war, but grew up hearing the stories, spoke about the George Cross and what had inevitably happened after independence. By being a Commonwealth country, the Maltese people could leave easily and live in other countries under the Commonwealth banner. He had pointed out that many people between the ages of 20 and 50 leave Malta to work in these other countries. After they have worked for many years and have a sufficient amount to retire on, they return to Malta to live out their retirements (Anonymous, Interview, August 4, 2015). There are very large Maltese communities around the world, such as in Toronto, Canada, England, and Australia. What this means for the future of the Maltese tourism industry is uncertain. Whether this population of working-age immigrants has affected the tourism industry is unknown. On one had they do not live in the country for their working life and this most likely has some affect on the Maltese economy. However, on the other hand these Maltese immigrants do come home to visit and in a way, they would also become part of the tourism sector by spending money on goods and services while they visit. The traditional forms of tourism would have both a nostalgic and sentimental value to them. Items such as the lace and silver can be brought back home and are reminders of a country that they may eventually come back to.

Having more people to stay and work though will be necessary just from seeing how many tourists arrive each year. From the latest figures, 2015 saw over 1.8 million tourists arrive

to Malta who stayed an average of 7.9 nights (Malta Tourism Authority 2016). Although many of them were there for the sand and the sun, the culture of the islands was the second and third most sought after reason for touring the island with art and crafts seeing a 27% participation rate. Suffice it to say, the numbers have been rising steadily for years. There was a remarkable growth of about 150,000 people from 2013 to 2015 alone, and there is no reason why this number should not continue to rise. Along with more tourists, there is also significantly more jobs related to the tourism industry. In 2015, about 29.1% of the jobs were either directly or indirectly related to tourism, and this number is expected to increase to 35% by 2025 (World Travel and Tourism Council 2015: 1). The expat community of Maltese people around the world is large enough that many people are now aware of the tiny island nation. If the skills of crafting items are passed down from generation to generation, the interest in these items from tourists will most likely never cease, allowing these skills to be kept within the communities for many years to come.

Conclusion

I do not believe that tourism was the sole force that allowed the Maltese and Gozitans to preserve their culture and identity. However, the creation of the industry was beneficial in so many practical ways that would allow many to keep their shops or open them. Government grants and funding meant that craft shops and heritage sites could be created, and especially for traditional shops, this funding allowed them to get the necessary supplies that would be needed for larger-scale production. Although the future is uncertain at this point, tourists are fickle and like new things, the past sixty years of the industry has been largely based off the culture of the Maltese and Gozitan people and that is something that cannot be ignored. With much of what is being called traditional or authentic is created solely for the industry, it does have its basis in historical modes of sustainability and economy.

From the moment that the ceasefire was announced, the people affected by the Second World War could breathe a sigh of relief, but for many around the world, the end of the war did not signal the return to a regular life. For countries that were physically and economically affected by the war, the clean-up and rebuilding started and lives were forever altered. Malta and Gozo were rich in history and culture, but the presence of Britain in the country for so many years meant that they were almost entirely dependent upon the Mother Country. After a series of fateful errors and international debacles, Britain would eventually start to pull out of many countries, thereby severing economic ties. Especially in Malta, this meant the complete overhaul of their economy and way of life. The prime location of the country, which had meant so much militarily, was also a catalyst for tourism. It would take a lot of work, but with the help of Britain, Malta could advertise the sand and sea to their advantage. For the citizens of Malta and Gozo, their culture and tradition allowed them to put a twist on the regular holiday tourism and showcase their craftwork which also allowed them to pass down their traditional skills to the following generations. Cultural tourism ended up being created both for and by the people. On one hand, many visitors were willing to pay to see these sites and crafts, but the tourists were that final push that reinvigorated older forms of economy such as lace and filigree, while creating

entirely new ones such as glass-blowing. The clock may never turn back to Malta prior to the war, but the people have wholly benefitted from the interest that tourists have taken in their culture, and the resiliency of the people meant the preservation of not only their traditions, but the well-being of the country as a whole.

Acknowledgements

First and foremost, I would like to thank everyone who spoke with me all over the island of Gozo. The communities of Gharb, Nadur, Victoria, and Xlendi Bay have proved to be valuable and extremely helpful. I thank them all for allowing me into their stores and not only sharing their stories with me, but also their warmth and kindness. This would not have been possible without the Off the Beaten Track field school and the valuable members of that team, both when I was a student as well as a staff member. Most notably is Sam Janssen and Marjan Moris who were of great help to me as a student. As well, at home, I would like to thank Dr. Michel Bouchard and Dr. Angele Smith for providing assistance, editing, and giving many suggestions over the course of completing this paper. Finally, I would like to thank my partner Jordon Hauck for being there for the two years of research and writing.

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