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Gibraltarian-ness and Brexit

The influence of the pending Brexit on the Gibraltarian identity

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Preface

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Mostly I would like to thank my father for his unwavering belief in me when I didn't believe in myself and all the hours he put in reading every unfinished version of this study. I want to thank both him and my mother for pushing me to carry on and finish my thesis at moments when I didn't believe it would ever be finished, without them it probably never would have been.

During the three months in which I was stationed in Gibraltar I have felt very welcome there, and have grown to really like this wonderful and interesting place. Even though quite some time has passes since I was in Gibraltar, the uncertainty surrounding Brexit has not been cleared up in the slightest. I hope there will soon be some kind of agreement concerning Brexit and that in this agreement Gibraltar will not be forgotten.

Isa Kleij
June 2019

Abstract

In June 2016 with an overwhelming majority of 96 per cent, the Gibraltarian public voted against leaving the European Union (EU) in the Brexit vote. Despite this they are set to leave the EU together with the United Kingdom (UK). This study focuses on the underlying reasons for this pro-European attitude of the Gibraltarian public, and its influence on the already hybrid Gibraltarian identity, and on the way in which the pending Brexit might influence this pro-European attitude, as well as Gibraltar's relationship with Spain and the UK. Research shows that national identity in enclaves, which Gibraltar is, is often influenced by its relationship with the mainland (UK) and the surrounding state (Spain). Conflict is also said to have an important influence on national identity. This study therefore researches how the Brexit changes the nature of the relationship with its mainland and surrounding, and how worsening relations with both Spain and the EU might influence the Gibraltarian identity. The respondents interviewed in this study expressed a disenchantment with the EU since the Brexit vote, as well as a growing distrust towards Spain and a general worsening of the relatively stable relationship with Spain. Even though the way in which the UK is handling the Brexit is not seen as positive, the relationship between the UK and Gibraltar isn't called into question. There is no consensus about whether or not there was ever a European component to the Gibraltarian identity, and it is therefore unclear whether the Brexit directly impacts the Gibraltarian identity. This research does however suggest that the worsening relationship with Spain and the general uncertainty influence and strengthen the specific Gibraltarian identity.

Abbreviations

EEC	European Economic Community
EU	European Union
UK	United Kingdom
UN	United Nations

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1. Introduction

Just before midnight in the night of the 23rd to the 24th of June 2016 the first area of the United Kingdom declared its Brexit referendum results (Independent, 2016). Gibraltar, a tiny British exclave attached to mainland Spain had voted remain, with an overwhelming majority of 95.9 per cent of the voting population (Benwell & Pinkerton, 2016). In Gibraltar only 823 people voted leave, against 19,322 people voting remain (Clegg, 2016), with a turnout of 84 per cent (Garcia, 2016). While the referendum led to division in other parts of the United Kingdom, in Gibraltar it led to *"unprecedented unity"* (Benwell & Pinkerton, 2016, p. 10), as political leaders from the government as well as from the opposition all campaigned for a Remain vote (Benwell & Pinkerton, 2016). Later that night it became clear that the overall vote had tipped in favour of leaving the European Union, with 52 per cent voting leave (Clegg, 2016). According to Gibraltar's Chief Minister, Fabian Picardo, the Gibraltarian votes *"did not even move the needle"* (The Economist, 2016). The present study focuses on the Gibraltarian identity and attitude towards the European Union and the influence of an impending Brexit on this identity and attitude.

The seemingly pro-European attitude sets Gibraltar apart from other parts of the UK where support for the European Union is mixed at best (European Parliament, 2018). An important reason for this pro-European attitude is the dispute with Spain. Ever since Gibraltar was ceded to the United Kingdom in 1713, both Spain and the United Kingdom (UK) have claimed sovereignty over the region (Browning & Joenniemi, 2007). The European Union (EU) has been an important aid to Gibraltar in this conflict. The EU's predecessor, the European Economic Community (EEC) has been fundamental in opening the border between Gibraltar and Spain after it had been completely closed during the Franco Regime in 1969, and stayed closed until 1985 (O'Reilly, 1999). The role of the EU with regards to the dispute with Spain is both to protect Gibraltar's position as part of the UK (Benwell & Pinkerton, 2016), and to monitor the border to ensure that Spain complies with the EU laws of freedom of movement (Clegg, 2016; Garcia, 2016).

This role of the EU and its perceived importance has been strengthened by controversial claims made by Spanish politicians. According to the Deputy Chief Minister of Gibraltar, Dr. Joseph Garcia: *"The Spanish foreign minister did the 'Remain' camp a huge service"* (Garcia, 2016, p. 585). The (by now former) Spanish foreign minister, José García-Margallo, stated that in the case of a Brexit the only way in which Gibraltar could stay part of the European Union and have its treaties applied to the area, would be by shared sovereignty between the United Kingdom and Spain (Garcia, 2016; Garciano, 2016). The people of Gibraltar almost unanimously reject co-sovereignty of the area between Spain and the United Kingdom (Garcia, 2016). García-Margallo also mentioned the possibility of closing the border between Gibraltar and Spain once again after Brexit (Garcia, 2016), effectively isolating Gibraltar.

The pro-European attitude of the Gibraltarians also highlights the specific Gibraltarian identity and how it differs from mainland Britain. Gibraltar's position as a colony, an enclave and a border region as well as its difficult history with Spain have in many ways shaped the Gibraltarian identity. Baud (2000) argues that that national and other social identities are in large part formed from the outside and by the contact with other cultures and identities. The common national identity of the *'in-group'* is then formed and strengthened by the greater perceived difference from the people outside the nation than from the people within (Constantine, 2009, p. 406). Research suggests that National identity and a sense of self and others becomes especially apparent in conflict situations (Alameda Hernández, 2008) and in the face of an external threat (Muller, 2004). For this reason the hostile relationship with Spain has caused the Gibraltarian Identity to be shaped around anti-Spanish themes while the British identity has been used to create an identity contrasting the Spanish (Muller, 2004; Browning & Joenniemi, 2007). Being British is therefore important to the Gibraltarian people, but so is having a specific Gibraltarian identity.

In his research on the Gibraltarian identity Peter Gold (2010) found that, when asked about which nationality they felt they belong to, 45% of people surveyed in Gibraltar argued to be of both British and Gibraltarian nationality, even though they were not supposed to fill in multiple nationalities (Gold, 2010, p. 378). This indicates that the people of Gibraltar have a hybrid identity being both British and Gibraltarian (Gold, 2010). The Gibraltarian identity for instance manifests itself in the Yanito language, which is a language of code-switching between English and Spanish as well as including words from other Mediterranean languages (Lambert, 2005). The celebration of National Day on the tenth of September, marking the anniversary of the 1967 self-determination referendum, is also a clear manifestation of the Gibraltarian identity. On this occasion the people of Gibraltar collectively dress in their national colours red and white (Constantine, 2009, p. 416). Because of the aforementioned assistance of the European Union in the dispute with Spain, the Gibraltarian identity is also thought to have a European component. In contrary to the British mainland where being British is seen as being superior to being European, in Gibraltar being European is seen as an added value (Muller, 2004). In short the Gibraltarian is a hybrid British, Gibraltarian and potentially European one, partially formed by the on-going conflict with and proximity to Spain.

While the European Union has helped stabilise the conflict between Gibraltar and the United Kingdom and Spain, the pending Brexit is not only undoing the stable relations between Gibraltar and Spain, but also adding to the conflict as Spain sees the Brexit as a new chance to change the status of Gibraltar and turn it Spanish once again (Garciano, 2016, p. 126). On top of that, the exit from the EU is happening against the will of almost 96 per cent of the Gibraltarian

people (Benwell & Pinkerton, 2016). The pro-European area of Gibraltar has to go through a Brexit they did not want in the first place.

1.1 Research Question

This goal of the present study was to investigate the specific contemporary Gibraltarian national identity, focussing on the importance of the region's history of conflict and the relationships with and resulting influences from both the United Kingdom and Spain. Furthermore the present study investigated the reasons for Gibraltar's seemingly pro-European attitude and whether or how this is part of the Gibraltarian identity. Lastly, the study is focussed on the impact exiting the European Union might have on the Gibraltarian identity, both as a potential loss of the European part of the identity as well as a possible renewal of conflict or uncertainty in the region and a resulting change in relationship with the UK and Spain. This has led to the following main question:

What is the impact of being part of the European Union on the Gibraltarian identity, and how might this change when the United Kingdom leaves the EU?

This main question has been answered by a set of sub-questions. First of all it is important to know what the Gibraltarian identity means to the people of Gibraltar. Research speaks of a hybrid identity which is both British and specifically Gibraltarian and has Mediterranean influences. While some research highlights the EU or European importance (Muller, 2004) Others to not mention this relationship (Gold, 2010). To research the importance of these relationships to the Gibraltarian identity, the following sub-question was formulated:

What does being a Gibraltarian mean to the people of Gibraltar?

In order to know what influence leaving the EU might have, it is important to know the influence of being part of the European Union on Gibraltar. This entails both the ways in which Gibraltar benefits from membership to the EU in economic and security terms, as well as the possible identity influence of being part of a larger European framework. This led to the following sub-question:

What is the impact of being an EU member on Gibraltar?

Since Gibraltar and the UK are preparing for their exit from the EU, it is important to research the potential consequences of the Brexit as found in research as well as imagined by

the Gibraltarian public. Since the Brexit has not yet happened and the impact of the Brexit is still unclear, this research will focus on possible scenarios imagined by literature and respondents. This led to the following sub-question:

How will the Brexit potentially impact Gibraltar?

As mentioned before, relationships with the EU, Spain and the UK are seen as important influences of the Gibraltarian identity. In research on enclaves the relationship with the mainland (UK) and surrounding country (Spain) are said to influence the enclave specific identity. Due to the Brexit these relationships are changing. Changes in these relationship might potentially also shape the Gibraltarian identity, a worsening relationship with the surrounding country might for instance strengthen the enclave-specific identity. Therefore the following sub-question was formulated:

How is the Brexit vote changing the relationships of Gibraltar with the EU, the UK and Spain?

Together these sub-questions will answer the main question of this research.

1.2 Scientific and Societal Relevance

The Brexit in general is a scientifically relevant subject to study, since it is related to contemporary politics and the act of leaving the EU is novel and has no predecessor. As Garcia (2016) notes, Britain is the first country to leave the EU, leaving Gibraltar, and Britain in general, in uncharted waters. The most evident scientifically relevant reason is therefore a gap in the literature. Simply put, the Brexit has never been studied before because it has never happened before.

The case of Gibraltar is especially relevant for a number of reasons. As mentioned before 96 per cent of the Gibraltarians voted against the Brexit. It is therefore interesting to research how an area copes with leaving the European Union against their will. Identity is relevant to research in Gibraltar because of its hybrid identity which has been researched before for example by Gold (2010). This research therefore strives to add to existing research on identity in border regions and conflict situations and research on identity in Gibraltar. Some studies (Gold, 2010) focus on the hybrid British-Gibraltarian identity of the Gibraltarians. However, other sources also highlight the importance of being European in Gibraltar (Canessa & Ballantine Perera, 2017; Muller, 2004). The Brexit might change this identity in a number of ways. first of all, the Brexit itself and the resulting loss of European identity might change the identity of the people of Gibraltar, if being European was part of this identity in the first place. Secondly, it has

been argued that the Gibraltarian identity was strengthened or even brought into existence due to hostile relationship with Spain. The renewed hostility within the relationship with Spain due to the Brexit vote might therefore influence the Gibraltarian identity once again. This research will therefore add to existing information on hybrid identities in Gibraltar including the European identity in the specific context of the Brexit vote. This research further aspires to add to existing literature on identity and conflict. Literature on identity and conflict often discusses violent conflict and how identity and a sense of belonging to one group and being different from another group can turn a conflict violent (Sen, 2006; Fearon & Laitin, 1997). This research will however be focussing on the importance of identity in a non-violent conflict situation. The contested status of Gibraltar as part of the United Kingdom is also interesting in relation to the Brexit since it changes the relationship between Spain and Gibraltar from both being part of the EU, essentially bringing the conflict to a standstill, to renewed interest from Spain to get Gibraltar back. According to Diez et. al. (2006), the EU has helped keep the Gibraltar conflict in the issue conflict stage. This research will therefore aim to explore if exit from the EU might move the conflict into the next conflict stage.

In the Brexit debate there is a lot of discussion about the border between Northern Ireland and Ireland and the possible renewal of conflict in that region. After the initial interest in Gibraltar because of its overwhelming remain stance wore off, the Gibraltar issue has not been at the forefront of the debate in both the media and UK politics. This research intends to give a voice to the small but significant population of Gibraltar concerning their fears, and the potential consequences they face due to the Brexit. This research attempts to show how the pending Brexit is influencing the national identity in the small area of Gibraltar. While the Gibraltarian government are already very focussed on the potential consequences of the Brexit on the Gibraltarian public, this thesis might be provide a different point of view. This research might be relevant for the UK government or the EU as well to help them better understand Gibraltar's stance on Brexit. The Brexit vote showed that the people of Gibraltar did not want the Brexit to happen, now that it is, it is important to know what they want now and to take this into consideration in policy decisions on the Brexit. The connection between these uncertainties and a possible change in identity is also relevant for the Government to take into consideration.

2. Theoretical Framework

In order to research the identity of the Gibraltarian people it is important to understand how identity is constructed in general terms and in the specific case of Gibraltar. In Gibraltar the construction of identity is influenced by the fact that it is an enclave and therefore a borderland as well as the fact that Gibraltar can still be seen as a colony, the last remaining one in Europe. All of these influences have helped construct the Gibraltarian identity. Connected to the enclave and borderland specific issues is the conflict with Spain which has also influenced the Gibraltarian identity.

2.1 Enclaves and exclaves

Gibraltar is a British enclave in Spain. In order to understand the specific issues of enclaves, it is first important to define an enclave. An enclave, in the broadest sense of the word, can be described as "*the existence of a fragment enclosed in something of an alien nature*" (Vinocoruv, 2007). Enclaves can be of an ethnic or religious nature, such as Chinatowns or Jewish Ghetto's within cities (Vinocoruv, 2007); Gibraltar on the other hand is a territorial enclave. Vinocoruv (2005) defines a territorial enclave as follows: *"Enclave is a part of the territory of a state that is enclosed within the territory of another state."* (Vinocoruv, 2005, p. 56). True enclaves are landlocked areas completely immersed in the territory of another state (Vinocoruv, 2007). Gibraltar can be described as a *'semi-enclave'* or *'coastal-enclave'* since besides bordering one other country, the enclave also has a sea border (Vinocoruv, 2005). Gibraltar is not only an enclave, but also an exclave, while the term enclave defines an area as surrounded by another country; the term exclave defines the area in its isolation from the mainland. It is necessary to define Gibraltar as both an enclave and an exclave since there are also territories which are mere exclaves, isolated from their mainland but surrounded by more than one country, and territories which are enclaves but not exclaves. Enclave-states such as Vatican City and San Marino are surrounded by one other country but are sovereign states (Vinocoruv, 2007). Vinocoruv (2007, p. 26) therefore describes the type of enclave to which Gibraltar belongs as a '*Nonsovereign semi-enclave-exclave'*. Due to their location outside the mainland and inside a surrounding country, territorial enclaves are always borderlands and therefore usually have a peripheral status (Berger, 2010) Gibraltar is however an exception to this rule as it is not viewed as peripheral due to its thriving economy (Browning & Joenniemi, 2008).

Due to their location outside of the mainland and inside another country, enclaves are surrounded by a complicated network of relations influencing life in the enclave. Vinocoruv (2005) explains these relations by means of a mainland-enclave-surrounding state triangle (Figure 3.1). The four axes of the triangle refer to the four types of relations surrounding an

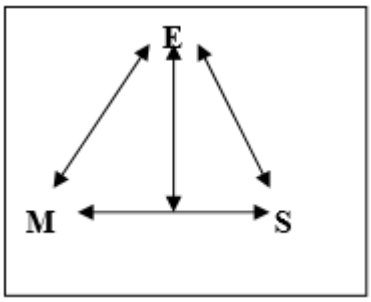

Figure 2.1: Mainland-enclave-surrounding state triangle. Source: Vinocoruv, 2005

enclave. There are the mainland-enclave relations, arguably the most important. The mainland generally provides the enclave with its legal and political system and has an important influence on the enclave. Enclaves often have relatively more political importance for the mainland than other areas of the country, which can lead to economic privileges but also to restrictions on local politics and democracy due to concerns over the sovereignty of the area (Vinocoruv, 2005). The mainland generally tries to make the politics and public administration of the enclave as similar as possible to the mainland administration (Robinson, 1959). In Gibraltar this is especially visible in the political system and education which are made after the British systems (Constantine, 2009). The surrounding state also has a large influence on the enclave. How the enclave is treated by the surrounding state is of influence (Vinocoruv, 2005), the Gibraltar case has shown that even though Spain does not have any legal rights over Gibraltar, it has other means to make life on the Rock harder. Even if the surrounding state treats the enclave in a more neutral ways, simply by being near the enclave the surrounding state influences the enclave economically and difference in regime between the areas might cause problems (Vinocoruv, 2005). Relations between the mainland of the enclave and the surrounding state might influence the enclave. Good relations between the mainland and the surrounding state might make the existence of the enclave less problematic, while bad relations between the mainland and the surrounding state might increase the enclave's problems (Vinocoruv, 2005). Vinocoruv (2005) also separately acknowledges relations between the mainland and the surrounding state concerning the enclave. When there is disagreement about the enclave this might influence international relations between the countries on other subjects as well.

Throughout history territorial enclaves have often lead to violent conflict because of the contested nature of the area. An important reason for this might be that enclaves go against the desire of having a homogenous territory (Berger, 2010). This can also be seen in Spain's call for territorial integrity when discussing Gibraltar (Yildiz & Camyamac, 2017). When the territorial status of an enclave is disputed, which is the case with Gibraltar; this can significantly worsen the relationship between the enclave's mainland and the country surrounding the enclave, possibly even going as far as a military conflict (Vinokurov, 2005). Territorial enclaves have however been posing fewer problems since European integration started. The EU improved the relationships between the enclave's mainland and the surrounding area and the denationalisation brought along by the EU caused enclaves to become less problematic (Berger, 2010). The EU membership of both Britain and Spain has also prevented the intervention of outside powers in the issue. International powers prefer to leave the issue to the bilateral

relations between Spain and Britain than to choose one of their members over another (Vinokurov, 2005). Enclaves at the borders of the EU on the other hand have a much greater potential for conflict, as examples of Kaliningrad and Kosovo show (Berger, 2010). In Gibraltar this shift from being an enclave within the European Union towards being an enclave on the border of the European Union is already visible in the Brexit negotiations since membership to the EU of both Britain and Spain is no longer protecting their status. The EU now clearly sides with Spain on the issue of Gibraltar by giving Spain veto right on future relations between Gibraltar and the European Union (Yıldız & Çamyamaç, 2017).

Enclaves often have strong local identities to distance themselves from both the mainland as well as the surrounding country (Berger, 2010). This enclave specific identity is often in part shaped by connectivity problems such as blockades (Berger, 2010). In the Gibraltar case the closure of the border with Spain has therefore been important in identity formation.

2.2 Borders and borderlands

Within the fields of human geography and international relations, globalisation has been connected to the notion that the world is becoming increasingly borderless (Newman, 2006). Borders are however still important to divide the world into compartments and give the world order (Newman, 2006). Since Gibraltar is an enclave, it is a borderland in its entirety as well. Within border studies the connection between borders and identity has in recent years been studied numerous times (Newman, 2006). Borders are important for identity formation because of the contact (or lack of contact) with other cultures they provide. Populations on each side of a border usually differ from one another, since belonging to different countries has resulted in a separate development of culture, politics and economics (Gelbman & Timothy, 2011). The presence of the border itself can also enlarge or construct perceived differences between the two sides (Minghi, 1991), since border regions are often in part defined through the element of division that the border is (Minghi, 1991).

On the other hand borderlands are also an area of interaction between these populations and of hybrid populations (Gelbman & Timothy, 2011). However, even though borders are now more permeable than they were in history, the opening of borders does not necessarily lead to a hybridisation of identities from either side (Newman, 2006). Groups on either side of the border are often categorised based on ethnicity, culture, religion and/or economy. Just because the border is opened and individuals easily cross it, does not mean that these affiliations become meaningless (Newman, 2006) individuals are still included in or excluded from groups based on these attachments (Newman, 2006). It is not only the physical lines that are the borders which influence identity on either side, but also the process of bordering (van Houtum & van Naerssen, 2002). Prokkola (2009) argues that people in border regions can either be '*border crossers*' or

'*border reinforcers'*, the former of which are individuals who have a hybrid and multicultural identity and often cross the border, and the latter being individuals who reinforce the differences between both sides. Within one border region border crossers and border reinforcers can both exist.

The degree of cross-border movement can be divided into four categories; alienated borderlands are areas with very little cross-border interaction due to a closed border, coexistent borderlands are areas where limited interaction across the border is possible, interdependent borderlands where economic and social interaction across the border is promoted and integrated borderlands where people and goods can move freely and without restrictions and situation is stable and permanent (Gelbman & Timothy, 2011). Gibraltar fits into the third category of interdependent borderlands. Gibraltar needs the Spanish workers while Spain needs the jobs offered in Gibraltar. There is political cooperation as well between the government of Gibraltar and the local governments of La Linea and the Campo, social interaction between the Spanish and Gibraltarians however seems to be more limited and might, depending on who you ask, better fit into the coexistent borderlands category. The Gibraltar-Spanish border does not qualify as an integrated borderland. Border crossing can be restricted based on the political climate leading to long delays and Spain's response to the Brexit vote has shown that the situation around the Gibraltar-Spanish border is not stable and might not be permanent (as further explained in Chapter 4.).

2.3 Colonialism and post-colonialism

Gibraltar is one of 16 territories still on the United Nation's list of non-self-governing territories still awaiting decolonisation. The colonial relationship between Britain and Gibraltar has however changed and both Britain and Gibraltar argue that their relationship is now constitutional and this should result in the removal of Gibraltar from the list (Gold, 2009). According to Spain on the other hand decolonisation of Gibraltar can only mean reunification with Spain. This shows that the issue of decolonisation is different for enclaves than for other colonies. In the case of an enclave decolonisation generally means that sovereignty is transferred from the country of which the enclave is a colony to the country surrounding the enclave, as opposed to independence or being absorbed into colonial power as a province (Lancaster & Taulbee, 1985). According to Article X of the Treaty of Utrecht, sovereignty over Gibraltar will need to be transferred to Spain if it ever becomes *'independent'* from Britain, therefore decolonisation by means of independence is impossible for Gibraltar to achieve.

There has generally been a trend in mainly small recent and current colonies to not call for independence. Baldacchino (2010) uses the term *'upside down decolonization'* for regions where it is the colonial power which pushes for independence instead of the colony. Many

colonies such as Bonaire, Saba and Curacao have rejected independence in recent years. Why in this later wave of decolonisation many colonies reject independence can in part be explained by the small size of these colonies and the fact that most of them are islands (Baldacchino, 2010).

2.4 National identity formation

In order to understand the Gibraltarian national identity it is important to define a '*nation*'. Constantine (2009) defines a nation as: *"an 'imagined community' within a geographical space."* (Constantine, 2009, p. 412). The community is imagined because generally nations are too large to know everyone personally, yet they do feel connected to each other. In Gibraltar however the community is less imagined than is generally the case. Due to its small population but large population density, community is easily achieved in Gibraltar (Constantine, 2009). Triandafyllidou (1998) uses a different, more specific definition of a nation, combining definitions of other scholars she lists a number a requirements which need to be met in order to be considered a nation, namely: *"a named human population sharing an historic territory, common myths and historical memories, a mass, public culture, a common economy and common legal rights and duties for all members"* (Triandayllidou, 1998, p. 595), as well as *"a sense of belonging"* (Triandayllidou, 1998, p. 595). This sense of belonging coincides with the definition of a nation as an imagined community. According to this more elaborate definition of a nation, Gibraltar still qualifies as such. What diverges nations and national identity from other social groups and group identities in these definitions, is the geographical location. In order to define group identities, Tajifel and Turner (1979) define a group as follows*:*

"a collection of individuals who perceive themselves to be members of the same social category, share some emotional involvement in this common definition of themselves, and achieve some degree of social consensus about the evaluation of their group and their membership of it." (Tajifel & Turner, 1979, p. 40)

In this definition a sense of belonging can once again be seen as an important requirement to be considered part of a group. Unlike the definitions of a nation, belonging to a group is not necessarily based on living in or being attached to a certain territorial space.

National identity can be defined and reinforced or re-defined by a number of elements both from within and from without (Triandafyllidou, 1998). This research will therefore look into elements influencing the national identity both from the inside as well as from the outside. From within several elements influence the development of a national identity. In theories of nationalism, national identities are often thought to be shaped along religious or ethnic lines (Chapman & Roeder, 2007; Constantine, 2009). Triandafyllidou (1998) even mentions a

definition which defines a nation as consisting of an ethnically related people, or a group which believes to be ethnically related. Like Triandafyllidou herself, I disagree with this definition because it ignores the existence of nations based on territory but not on ethnicity. A common culture, consisting of common traditions, ideas and symbols can also be of importance in the formation of a national identity as well as a shared religion or language (Triandafyllidou, 1998). The presence of a specific territory which the individuals belonging to the nation call their home can also be of importance in the formation of a national identity. Generally a combination of some or all of these elements forms the basis of a national identity. The relative importance of all these different elements differs from nation to nation (Triandafyllidou, 1998). All these elements are not only important in the reinforcement of national identity but also for the division between us and them or the in-group and the out-group. Collective identity can also be influenced by cultural trauma. Cultural trauma can occur when a terrible event leaves its mark on a group of people (Alexander, 2004). In a wider sense a shared history is also recognised as an important in the construction of a number of national identities, as well as the use of this history by political elites around which to shape a feeling of nationalism (Grocott, 2012).

The Gibraltarian identity is not based on ethnicity or religion; in this the Gibraltarian national identity differs in the way it came about from many other national identities. Since most of the inhabitants of Gibraltar left after the Rock was conquered by the United Kingdom in 1703, a combination of migrants from across the Mediterranean, Britain and Spain made up the population afterwards (Garcia, 1994). Therefore this classification of nationality along ethnic lines is not applicable in Gibraltar since all inhabitants descended from migrants (Constantine, 2009). Due to being a community of migrants many different religions are present in Gibraltar as well. The largest religious group within Gibraltar is Roman Catholic; this is an interesting contrast to Gibraltar's Britishness, since the majority of the population share their religion with Spain instead of with the United Kingdom. Language on the other hand can be seen as an important maker for identity in Gibraltar. The 'Yanito' language which entails a type of code switching between Spanish and English and includes words from other Mediterranean languages has been the subject of several studies on the Gibraltarian identity (Kellermann, 2001).

National identity is also in large part formed from the outside and from the contact with other cultures (Baud, 2000), therefore it is interesting to research identity in a border region where contact with another culture is the most frequent (Baud, 2000). The sense of belonging to a certain group and being recognised as such is seen as fundamental in the formation of boundaries between groups (Bell, 2003). Triandafyllidou (1998) even argues that only through the contrast with others does national identity become meaningful. Within a community various social identities exist for instance based on race, class or gender. The common national identity

is then formed and strengthened by the greater perceived difference from the people outside the nation than from the people inside (Constantine, 2009, p. 406). Constantine (2009) defines the formation of identity as follows: *"It is the shock (or pleasure) of detecting difference which sharpens the sense of self."* (Constantine, 2009, p. 406). Triandafyllidou (1998) also argues that which of the elements from the inside are the most important in the formation of a national identity depends of which of these elements sets the nation apart from individuals outside the nation (Triandafyllidou, 1998). If a nation for instance shares their language with people who they deem outsiders, but not their religion, religion will become a more important marker for their identity.

Triandafyllidou (1998) calls others who influence the national identity *'significant others'*. Others are only significant when they are a perceived threat to the nation. Significant others are different for nations with and nations without a state. Gibraltar can be defined as a nation without a state since it is part of a larger political entity, namely the United Kingdom. External significant others for nations without states can be divided into three groups. The dominant nation, in the case of Gibraltar this would be Britain, the UK or possibly even England if you consider Scotland, Wales and Northern Ireland separate nationalities as well, can be seen as a significant other. This dominant nation can be seen as threatening because the in-group seeks to distinguish themselves from this larger nation and seek liberation or self-determination (Triandafyllidou, 1998). Triandafyllidou (1998) argues that this *'other'* is especially threatening in the beginning of an independence process from the dominant nation. Even though this is not currently the case in Gibraltar, Gibraltar's is still very much in the process of finding their place within the UK due to the contested nature of the area, which would still make the UK a relevant or significant other. Another external significant other can be a neighbouring nation or nation-state. In the case of Gibraltar this would be Spain. These neighbouring nations can be threatening in two ways. On the one hand this can be done by contesting the homeland of the in-group and challenging the nation in their independence. A significant other can however also call into question the legitimacy of the national identity of the in-group, by a high degree of similarity between the in-group and the out-group and by claiming a shared history or culture, therefore diminishing the nation's uniqueness. This issue can be solved by the search for difference between the in-group and the others (Triandafyllidou, 1998). Spain can be said to threaten Gibraltar in both these ways on the one hand Spain can be said, and has argued to be culturally similar to and have a shared history with Gibraltar. On the other hand Spain also threatens Gibraltar's independence by disputing the legitimacy of Gibraltar.

This sense of self and the others becomes especially apparent in conflict situations (Alameda Hernández, 2008). According to Triandafyllidou significant others only become significant in the face of crisis. For instance when the boundaries between the out and the in-

group are unclear, or when the national identity is being questioned in times of social unrest. Tajifel & Turner (1979) argue that conflicts of interest between groups not only worsen relations between the groups but also strengthen identification with and attachment to the in-group. Within '*realistic group conflict theory*' identification with the in-group is even seen as a by-product of conflict with another group (Tajifel & Turner, 1979).

Intergroup conflict is also thought to change social behaviour of individuals. The worse the conflict between groups is the more communication between individuals from opposing groups will be determined by their membership of these social groups (Tajifel & Turner, 1979). Tajifel and Turner (1979) however also argue that conflicting interests are not necessary for competition between groups. Simply the acknowledgement of belonging to one group and the presence of another group can be enough basis for discrimination and hostilities between groups.

2.5 Identity and Conflict

As mentioned before, in theories of identity, conflict is thought to have a big influence on national and collective identity formation. In order to understand the importance of the conflict between the United Kingdom and Gibraltar and Spain on the Gibraltarian identity, we first need to define and understand conflict. Diez et. al. (2006) define a conflict as follows: *"we observe the existence of a conflict when an actor constructs his or her identity or interests in such a way that these cannot be made compatible with the identity or interests of another actor."* (Diez et. al., 2006, p. 565). A border conflict can be defined as a conflict in which a territorial border is disputed (Diez et. al., 2006). In the case of Gibraltar, the border between Spain and Gibraltar is disputed. The Spanish government argues that there shouldn't be a border in the first place since Gibraltar should be an integrated part of Spain. Not only whether or not there should be a border but also the location of the border is disputed since Spain and the UK disagree on the matter of the isthmus and to whom it belongs as well.

Heinz Messmer (2003) argues that there are four stages of conflict: *"conflict episodes, issue conflicts, identity conflicts and subordination conflicts"* (Diez et. al, 2008, p. 17). Moving on from each stage to the next, the other party is more and more seen as threatening until this ultimately legitimizes physical violence (Diez et. al., 2008). Diez et. al (2008) put the conflict between Gibraltar and Spain into two potential conflict stages. According to them the issue conflicts stage is reached when *"both parties attempt to convince the other of the truth of their respective position."* (Diez et. al., 2008, p. 18). The conflict is in this case limited to the issue at hand, in the case of Gibraltar the question whether Gibraltar should belong to Spain or to the United Kingdom, and each party's argumentation of their stands. Both the government of Spain and the government of the United Kingdom try to convince the other that according to the

Treaty of Utrecht they have the right to the area of Gibraltar (Diez et. al, 2008). It can however also be argued that the Gibraltar conflict has left the issue conflict stage and is an identity conflict. Identity conflicts are described as more personalised, where the other party's actions are being seen as based on hostile motives and both parties blame the other (Diez et. al., 2008). In the media in both Spain and Britain and among the Gibraltarian population the conflict can be seen as an identity conflict, even if this is not the case in the communication between the governments (Diez et. al., 2008). Due to its place in the issue or potentially identity conflict phase, the Gibraltar conflict is not a violent one. In this it differs from other conflicts. Groom (1997) describes the conflict as: "*a quarrel among friends, or even a co-operative conflict,*" (Groom, 1997, p. 20). He however also argues that this is no reason to treat the conflict lightly. It is believed that integration into the EU of Gibraltar and Spain has helped stabilize the conflict to the issue stage, at least as far as the governments of both countries are concerned (Diez et. al., 2008). Diez et. al. (2006) argue that the impact of the EU in a border conflict is strongest when the entire border, and therefore both countries on the border are part of the EU. The EU is according to Diez et. al. (2006), expected to have a negative impact if the border in question is on the outer border of the EU. When the United Kingdom leaves the EU the positive impact the EU has had on the conflict can be expected to be reduced. This means that the exit of the United Kingdom from the European Union might move the conflict along to the identity stage.

3. Methodology

3.1 Design

In this paper the Gibraltarian identity and the influence of the Brexit on this identity have been researched in a qualitative manner. This research method is chosen because it suits the research question best since the subject of this research is the Gibraltarian identity which is a social structure and this is a type of question best answered by qualitative research. Winchester and Rofe (2010) describe the difference between qualitative and quantitative research in Geography as follows: *"quantitative research methods according to Ron Johnston answer questions about either the relationships or the difference between phenomena and places."* Winchester and Rofe (2010) then argue that qualitative research in human geography answers questions about either social structures or individual experiences. The Gibraltarian national identity is a good example of a social structure; however individual experiences are also important in the way in which individuals experience the Gibraltarian identity differently. Every Gibraltarian is experiencing the Brexit and as Gibraltarians most of them will share fears, emotions and a sense of community with other Gibraltarians because of it. On the other hand everyone will experience the Brexit differently based on the individual consequences it might have as well as on everyone's individual identity. Winchester and Rofe (2010) also emphasise that: *"individuals experience the same events and places differently."* (Winchester and Rofe, 2010, p. 7). The goal of this research is therefore to exhibit multiple viewpoints of individuals and their experience of the Brexit. Hopefully this will show not only individual encounters of the Brexit, but also overlap on subjects on which most or all of the interviewees agree.

3.2 Participants

For this research a wide variety of Gibraltarians has been approached to not only find the shared views about the Gibraltarian identity but also the differences among them. Examples of people who have been approached for this research are: political actors from the government, as well as individuals who are politically engaged and were active during the remain campaign and, Gibraltarians who live elsewhere in the United Kingdom have also been approached, Gibraltarians who lived in England to study and Gibraltarians who lived in Gibraltar their entire life, as well as people who are not native Gibraltarians but moved here later in life are all part of this study. Participants have been recruited in a number of ways. Some participants, namely the political actors have been personally approached. Other participants have been approached in a number of ways, for instance by messages on politics related Gibraltarian Facebook pages and by approaching people at lectures at the University as well as events hosted by the library. After this 'snowballing' (Longhurst, 2016) has been used to find other respondents. These methods have led to a total of 11 conducted interviews with 13 respondents. Of these interviews 9 were

used in the final research, one interview was not applicable for use because the respondent was of Spanish nationality living in La Linea, this interview was conducted in order to give an opposing view, but was later decided not to be relevant for this research. The other unused interview was not recorded and could therefore not be used. Among the resulting respondents are the Deputy Chief Minister of Gibraltar who is in charge of Gibraltar exiting the European Union, a Gibraltarian writer who uses themes of the Gibraltarian Identity in his books, two small business owners, two students studying in the UK, a Gibraltarian living in the UK and three representatives of an organisation concerning multiculturality in Gibraltar.

3.3 Instruments

This research has been conducted by means of semi-structured interviews. This method has been chosen because identity is a very personal matter and therefore semi-structured interviews are better suited to research this than standardised questionnaires or structured interviews. Semi-structured interviews are flexible (Longhurst, 2016) and allow for the interviewer to respond to the answers the interviewees give and go into further depth based on the given answers. Dunn (2010) mentions four reasons for interviews to be used: to fill a gap in knowledge, to investigate complex behaviours, to collect a diversity of meaning, opinion and experience and when a method is needed which shows respect (Dunn, 2010, p. 102). In this research collecting a diversity of meaning opinion and experiences is the main reason for using interviews. This research tries to collect individual accounts of the aftermath of the Brexit vote and its relation to the Gibraltarian identity. This research is not meant to give a representative account of the Gibraltarian identity. Longhurst (2016) stresses that qualitative research methods and interviews in particular are not meant to be representative. Instead she argues that qualitative research is meant to: *"understand how individual people experience and make sense of their own lives."* (Longhurst, 2016, p. 148). This research will therefore try to understand how individual Gibraltarians view the Brexit and what effects this has on their lives. For the interviews a list of questions was drawn up. The questions asked in the interview were sorted based on the main and sub-questions of this research, with the first part of the interview focussing on the Gibraltarian identity and the second part on the Brexit and its consequences. A copy of the list of interview questions used can be found in the appendix of this research.

3.4 Procedure

For this research respondents were approached in a number of ways. Some were approached through my personal network in Gibraltar and at events at the Garrison Library. In these cases appointments were made in person occasionally followed by a reminder email. The appointment with the Deputy Chief Minister was made through my internship supervisor, while

I personally made all other appointments. The interviews for this research were conducted in a similar matter. All interviews except two were conducted in an empty room in the Gibraltar Garisson Library where my internship was located. The interview with the Deputy Chief Minister was per his request conducted in his office (DCM). One interview was conducted over the phone because the respondent and I weren't in Gibraltar at the same time due to his residence in the UK (JT). All interviews except one were conducted individually, one interview was conducted with 3 people from the same organisation (UG1, UG2, UG3). Each interview used the same list of questions as a base, though due to the semi-structured nature of the interviews, the actual questions asked and the order in which the questions were asked slightly differed per interview based on the answers given by the respondents. Respondents participated in this research on a voluntary basis, there was no reward for participating. Every participant gave their consent either orally or through a signed consent form.

3.5 Data Analysis

After the interviews were conducted they were manually transcribed by the researcher in order to minimalize mistakes or misinterpretations of the information. Subsequently the interviews were individually coded. Coding was based on the sub-questions of this research and questions asked during the interviews, as well as based on patterns found in the given answers which were not expected based on the sub-questions and preliminary research. The interviews were coded manually in Word, without the use of a coding application. After the interviews were coded individually, coded responses were combined into one document. Copies of the coded interviews, the list of codes and the resulting document of combined codes can be found in the appendix of this research.

4. Context of the Gibraltar Conflict

In order to understand the status of Gibraltar within the United Kingdom and the difficulties brought along by the Brexit vote for the area, it is important to understand the history of the peninsula and the conflict with Spain. The history of the conflict is also important for understanding the formation of the specific Gibraltarian identity. This chapter will therefore give a brief outline of the history of Gibraltar since it became British, focussing on the conflict with Spain and the significance of the European Union in this conflict.

4.1 British Gibraltar and the Treaty of Utrecht

In August 1704 a combined Anglo-Dutch fleet laid siege to the Spanish garrison located on Gibraltar as part of the war for the Spanish succession (Constantine, 2009). After the town surrendered most of the population left. It is disputed both in literature and between Gibraltar and Spain whether they left by choice. While some literature argues that the villagers were given the choice to stay or to leave with whatever they could carry with them (Plank, 2013, p. 346), others suggest that they were forced to flee (Lambert, 2005, p. 211), with San Roque, a nearby town in Spain still claiming to be the home to the real Gibraltarians (Figure 2.1). Either way, this resulted in a remaining civilian population of only 200 of the original 6,000 residents when the English and Dutch marines took over the town (Plank, 2013, p. 346). The population of Gibraltar grew over the years by an influx of immigrants from both inside and outside of Europe, many of whom were of Maltese and Genoese descent. Intermarriages between these groups and of Gibraltarian men with Spanish women (Jordine, 2009, p. 11, 21), lead to the multicultural and multi-ethnic community Gibraltar is today (Modebadze, 2013, p. 43). The area of Gibraltar was formally ceded to the United Kingdom in 1713 through Article X of the Treaty of Utrecht. The Spanish Kings and people never accepted the loss of Gibraltar (Constantine, 2009); therefore both Spain and the United Kingdom have claimed territorial rights over the area ever since (Browning & Joenniemi, 2007).

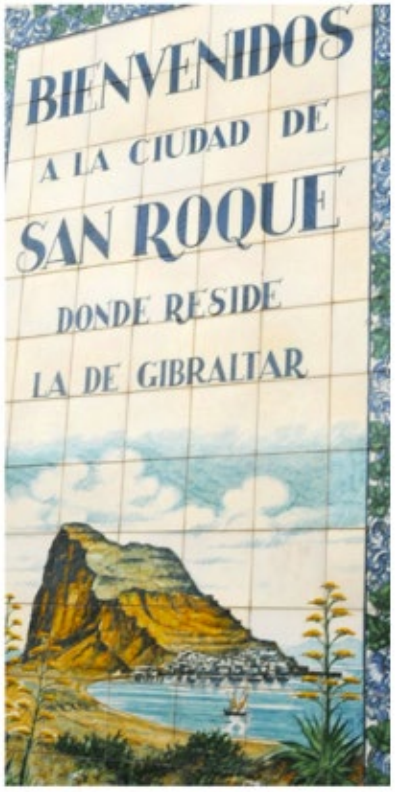

Figure 4.1: Sign at the entrance of the town of San Roque. Source: Chaplow, 2019

The content and wording of the treaty of Utrecht are problematic for a number of reasons. According to the treaty of Utrecht, Gibraltar has been ceded to Britain indefinitely. The treaty however also states that Spain has the right of first refusal over Gibraltar. This means that

if the United Kingdom ever renounces its rights to Gibraltar, the region will be offered back to Spain (Groom, 1997), an offer which Spain would gladly accept. Complete autonomy is therefore impossible to achieve for Gibraltar (Cimadomo, 2015). The Treaty of Utrecht is problematic in other ways as well. Article X ceded *"propriety over the town and castle of Gibraltar"* (Lincoln, 1994, p. 292) to Britain. Spain and Britain however have different opinions about the meaning of the word *'propriety'*. While Britain believes that propriety equals full sovereignty over Gibraltar, Spain argues that according to their laws propriety does not grant sovereign rights, but instead gives a right of possession to the receiver (Lincoln, 1994, p. 292). Furthermore there is disagreement about the phrase *"without any territorial jurisdiction"* (Yıldız & Çamyamaç, 2017, p. 24) and whether this regards the area of Gibraltar itself or the surrounding area (Yıldız & Çamyamaç, 2017). The frontier itself was not defined in the Treaty of Utrecht in order to prevent smuggling (Yıldız & Çamyamaç, 2017); therefore a borderline was designed in 1731, with a neutral zone between Spain and Gibraltar. Over the years the location of this neutral zone has shifted and due to lack of space Gibraltar has increasingly cultivated the isthmus with military barracks, gardens and more recently the airport. Whether the cultivated area is part of the neutral zone is debated. The maps in Figure 2.2 and Figure 2.3 show the different interpretations of where the neutral zone is located. Figure 2.3 shows the current location of the neutral zone, while Figure 2.2 shows the changes in this location over time. This use of the possible neutral zone by Gibraltar has been an important reason for the conflict to flare up once again after decades of stability (Cimadomo, 2015, p. 388).

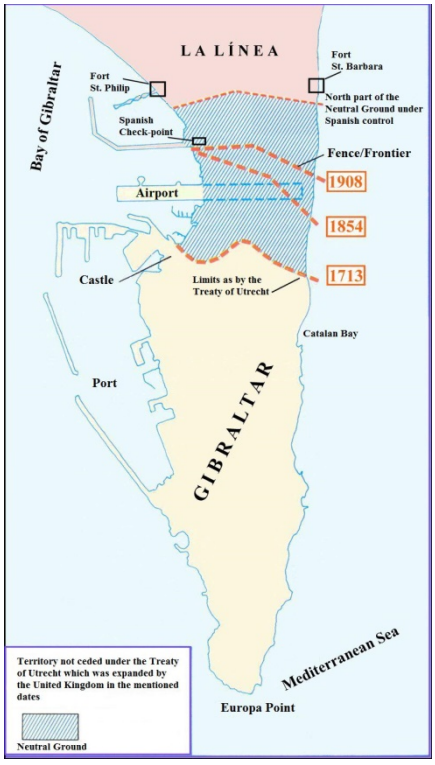

Figure 4.2: Map of Gibraltar with possible neutral zone demarcations
Source: Wikepedia, 2019

Figure 4.3: Map of Gibraltar with most common neutral zone demarcation
Source: CIA World Factbook, 2019

Throughout the three centuries that Gibraltar has been British, Spain has often shown its disagreement with this by military as well as diplomatic means (Yıldız & Çamyamaç, 2017). The most notable attempt at recapturing Gibraltar by military means was in 1779 when Spain laid siege on the city until 1783 in the *'Great Siege'* (Constantine, 2009, p. 6). The congress of Vienna in 1815 temporarily somewhat normalised the relation between Spain and the United Kingdom on the subject of Gibraltar (Yıldız & Çamyamaç, 2017).

4.2 Referendum and border closure

In the 1960's the Gibraltar dispute once again came to the forefront of British and Spanish politics. In 1960, under Article 1 of the United Nations (UN), self-determination and decolonisation of peoples was put on the international agenda (Lincoln, 1994). Britain initiated Gibraltar into the process of decolonisation but Spain claimed that decolonisation of Gibraltar would go against their right to territorial integrity, as well as against the Treaty of Utrecht. The UN supported Spain's claim over Gibraltar on the basis of its territorial integrity and the argument that the Gibraltarians do not qualify as a people. In this case therefore the right to territorial integrity of Spain outweighed the right to self-determination of Gibraltar (Yıldız & Çamyamaç, 2017). Britain responded to this UN decision by holding a referendum in Gibraltar on self-determination in 1967 (Cimadomo,2015; Lincoln, 1994), in which 12,130 people voted in favour of staying a part of Britain against only 44 votes in favour of Spanish sovereignty over the region (Lambert, 2005). As a result of the outcome of the referendum the Gibraltarian Constitution was drawn up in 1969. The new constitution gave Gibraltar a greater autonomy by the installation of a democratic government in which the Gibraltarians could elect their own representatives in the *'House of Assembly'*. This new government gave Gibraltar the right to be in charge of their own internal affairs, except on the issues of defence, internal security and foreign affairs (Alvarez, 2001). Additionally the new constitution gave Gibraltar the right to veto any decision ever made on its sovereignty (Lincoln, 1994). The constitution states that:

"Her Majesty's Government will never enter into arrangements under which the people of Gibraltar would pass under the sovereignty of another state against their freely and democratically expressed wishes." (Gibraltar Constitution Order, 1969, p. 2)

Spain believes that Gibraltar's call for self-determination and the resulting constitution made possible by Britain goes against Spain's right to first refusal under Article X of the Treaty of Utrecht (Cimadomo, 2015). Since according to Spain decolonisation of Gibraltar should mean reunification or at least shared sovereignty with Spain (Garciano, 2016). In order to pressure Britain into ceding Gibraltar back to Spain, the Franco regime started imposing border

restrictions in 1964. In response to Gibraltar's new constitution, the border was closed entirely in 1969 (Lancaster and Taulbee, 1985, p. 253).

The border closure was meant to weaken the Gibraltarian economy until the people of Gibraltar would succumb and agree to be Spanish once again. Unfortunately for Spain it had an adverse effect. The border closure did cause hardship for the population of Gibraltar, but this resulted in an even more hostile view towards reunification with Spain (Cimadomo, 2015, p. 389). Not only did the border closure not result in Britain ceding Gibraltar back to Spain, it also led to problems in the *Campo de Gibraltar,* the neighbouring region in Spain. The Spanish government did not realise the importance of Gibraltar for the neighbouring town of La Linea and the wider surrounding area. Before the border closure 5,000 people had crossed the border every day to work in Gibraltar. The border closure therefore led to a population decline and an unemployment rate of 35 per cent in La Linea (Lancaster and Taulbee, 1985, p. 254). Gibraltar on the other hand was able to fill the gap in their work force with workers from Morocco (Lancaster and Taulbee, p. 254).

4.3 Gibraltar and the European Union

Gibraltar joined the European Union (then the EEC) together with the United Kingdom in 1973 (Muller, 2004, p. 44). The Rock has a special status within the EU determined in Article 227(4) of the Treaty of Rome (O'Reilly, 1999), which states: *"The provisions of this Treaty shall apply to the European territories for whose external relations a Member State is responsible."* (Muller, 2004, p. 44), as a result most EU treaties apply to Gibraltar. Exceptions to this are Common Agricultural Policy, the Value Added Tax Area, the EU common customs territory and the EU's Common Commercial Policy (Clegg, 2016). For EU purposes the Gibraltarian people are seen as British citizens, meaning that they have the right of free movement between EU countries like other British citizens (O'Reilly, 1999). For a long time Gibraltar did not have a vote in the European parliament, something which they have protested against on numerous occasions (O'Reilly, 1999). In 1999 Gibraltar won its case before the European Court of Human rights. As a result Gibraltar was able to vote in the European Parliament election in 2004 as part of the region of South West England. Gibraltar's commitment to the European Union can be seen from the turnout to the Parliamentary elections, in the 2009 European Parliament elections Gibraltar had the second highest local turnout of all European regions, of 52.6 per cent (Mellows-Facer et. al., 2009, p. 4).

Unlike in other parts of the United Kingdom, the people of Gibraltar have always been very pro-European (Garcia, 2016). An important reason for this is that the European Union has historically been important in protecting Gibraltar. The EU's predecessor, the European Economic Community (EEC) has been fundamental in re-opening the border between Gibraltar

and Spain in 1985 (O'Reilly, 1999). In preparation of Spain's accession into the EEC in 1986, Spain and Britain both signed the Lisbon Agreement in 1980 and the Brussels Communiqué in 1984 on Gibraltar. As part of the agreement the border between Gibraltar and Spain was opened, and formal dialogue between Spain and Britain on Gibraltar was initiated on issues such as the freedom of movement and the rights of Gibraltarians in Spain and Spaniards in Gibraltar. The issue of the Gibraltarian sovereignty was also meant to be discussed in this dialogue, but in reality this initially did not take place (O'Reilly, 1999).

The EU is still thought to be of importance in the border dispute with Spain. In July 2001 the foreign ministers of Great Britain and Spain discussed the future of Gibraltar and the possibility of co-sovereignty in bilateral talks, despite Britain's commitment to Gibraltar to not enter into such arrangements against the wishes of Gibraltar. This process was kept secret and excluded the government of Gibraltar. Gibraltar was later offered a place in the talks, but not as a party equal to Spain and Britain (Browning & Joenniemi, 2007). Gibraltar refused this place in the talks and in 2002 held a referendum, similar to the one in 1969, on co-sovereignty instead (Gold, 2010), although this time against the wishes of Britain. In this referendum, Gibraltar rejected co-sovereignty with Spain with 98.5 per cent of the votes (Yıldız & Çamyamaç, 2017). These talks on co-sovereignty between Britain and Spain created the sense that: *"the commitment of the Gibraltarians to Britain was greater than that of Britain to the Gibraltarians"* (Gold, 2010, p. 372) and that support for the territory from Britain has not always been guaranteed (Benkwell & Pinkerton, 2016). The government of Gibraltar is therefore not very eager to be at the mercy of the successive governments of the UK for legitimacy and security, which according to the Chief Minister of Gibraltar, Fabian Pikardo would be the case after the Brexit. He argued that in the case of a vote in favour of the Brexit: *"we will rely on each successive UK government not sacrificing us to the expediency of its own political, economic and commercial interests and needs."* (Benkwell & Pinkerton, 2016, p. 10). Being part of the European Union gives Gibraltar an additional level of security to protect the region from possible changes in the UK policy towards Gibraltar (Benwell & Pinkerton, 2016, p. 10).

The EU is still seen by Gibraltar as protecting them from hostilities by Spain as well (Garcia, 2016). Since the border opened with Spain's accession to the EU, Spain has intentionally been delaying border crossings (Muller, 2004), making the Spain-Gibraltar border one of the hardest border crossings within the European Union (Browning & Joenniemi, 2007). The EU has therefore been monitoring the border to ensure that Spain complies with the EU laws for freedom of movement (Clegg, 2016; Garcia, 2016). Even though the conflict between Spain and Gibraltar has been subdued since both the UK and Spain have been EU member states, flare ups of the conflict still happen occasionally. An example of this in recent years can be seen in the fishing disputes in 2013. Gibraltar together with the UK created an artificial reef in what

they deemed to be their territorial waters in order to prevent Spanish fishers from fishing there. The Spanish on the other hand argue that although Gibraltar is controlled by Britain, this does not make them entitled to the waters around the peninsula (Nyman, 2013).

4.4 Gibraltar and the Brexit

On the 24th of June 2016, Gibraltar woke up to the realisation that, even though they voted to stay part of the EU with an overwhelming majority of 96 per cent, they would be leaving the European Union together with Britain. During the run-up to the Brexit, all of Gibraltar's political parties had campaigned in favour of remaining a part of the European Union. The reasons for this are practical, Gibraltar needs the open border and free movement of goods and people for their economy (Benwell & Pinkerton, 2016), but literature argues that the overwhelming remain vote is also caused by the pro-European attitude of the Gibraltarians (Muller, 2004).

After the Brexit vote it was expected by Gibraltar that there would be support for Gibraltar's case from Brussels due to their pro-European attitude (The Guardian, 2016a). A representative from Gibraltar's chamber of commerce, Edward Macquisten argued that: "*Gibraltar is almost a model of what the EU set out to achieve: cross-border cooperation, jobs for EU citizens, economic growth, full compliance … Surely the EU won't want that to end, Gibraltar to be punished? Especially when we showed our commitment to the EU ideal so overwhelmingly last June?"* (The Guardian, 2016a). However, mere months later the European Union added a clause, clause 24, to a draft document on the United Kingdom's exit from the EU stating that Gibraltar will not be included in deals between the UK and the EU unless Spain and the UK are in agreement about this, essentially giving Spain a veto position on Gibraltar's fate in EU agreements (The Guardian, 2017). In defence of this clause an EU official argues that: *"The union will stick up for its members and that means Spain now,"* (The Guardian, 2017). An important reason for the EU to side with Spain on this matter, even though international law acknowledges that Britain has full sovereignty over Gibraltar, seems to be to try and limit Euro-scepticism across the remaining member states (Yıldız & Çamyamaç, 2017). These two newspaper articles just months apart show the changed relationship between the European Union and Gibraltar. Where the EU used to be seen as a protector (Benkwell & Pinkerton, 2016), it now becomes clear that it is only willing to protect its members. This clause is very problematic for Gibraltar since the (by now former) Spanish minister of foreign affairs has clearly stated that the only way in which Gibraltar can keep its access to the EU is by means of co-sovereignty. He was quoted saying: *"they will have to choose between British outside the Union or Hispano-British inside the EU"* (Garciano, 2016, p. 130).

Some researchers however argue that Spain might welcome a deal on freedom of movement with Gibraltar since the Spanish Campo de Gibraltar gains a lot from its relationship with Gibraltar, as it creates jobs for Spanish workers (Clegg, 2016). In total some 13,000 frontier workers are crossing the border daily to work in Gibraltar. Out of these workers, 7.8 thousand are Spanish natives. Besides Spanish workers between 150 and 160 of the frontier workers are Gibraltarians who moved across the border and 2500 are other British natives who live in Spain and cross the border to work in Gibraltar (Gibraltar Government, 2017). Possible border closure or restriction of freedom of movement will therefore be a problem for Spanish workers as well as for Brits and Gibraltarians living on the other side of the border. Since the Brexit vote a new foreign minister has been appointed in Spain. This has resulted in a milder view towards Gibraltar. Where the previous foreign minister threatened Gibraltar with border closure, the new foreign minister, Alfonso Dastis, stated that he understands Gibraltar's objection to Spanish sovereignty seeing that the area thrives while the Campo de Gibraltar, the bordering region in Spain, faces many problems (Gibraltar Chronicle, 2017a). While Dastis did state that Spain would never accept the current status of Gibraltar or give up their claim, he was also quoted saying Spain would not *"go to war [over the Rock] or close the border"* (Gibraltar Chronicle, 2017a).

5. Gibraltarian identity

The Gibraltarian identity is very complex and influenced by several sides. Vinokurov (2005) describes the Gibraltarian identity as follows: "*the way of life of the majority is essentially British but with a Mediterranean flavour"* (Vinokurov, 2005, p. 101). Gibraltarian politicians have over the years emphasised both the British and the specific Gibraltarian identity, with its Mediterranean influence. The Spanish influence has generally been downplayed, while Gibraltarian academics have also stressed the important Andalucían influence on the Gibraltarian Culture (Vinokurov, 2005, p. 101). Peter Gold (2010) found in his research that the People of Gibraltar have a hybrid British-Gibraltarian identity. When asked about which nationality the people of Gibraltar felt they belong to, 45 per cent of the research population filled in both British and Gibraltarian, even though they were not supposed to fill in multiple nationalities. In total this added up to 73.7 per cent claiming to be of the Gibraltarian nationality, against 69.6 per cent claiming to be British (Gold, 2010, p. 378). After the Brexit vote, Gibraltar was briefly in the news in the Netherlands and the rest of Europe. In an article on the Spanish veto on Gibraltar in the Brexit negotiations, an NOS article described Gibraltar and the Gibraltarians as being *"Britser dan Brits*" (NOS, 2017). which translates to more British than British. The British identity of the people of Gibraltar is more based on history and culture than on ethnicity; since only a quarter of the population is of British descend, while almost another quarter of the population is ethnically Spanish. However, most people can trace their lineage back to Gibraltar for several generations (Gold, 2010). According to Muller (2004), cultural identity in Gibraltar is made up of three levels, British, Gibraltarian and European (Muller, 2004).

This chapter addresses the complexity of the Gibraltarian identity. First the specific Gibraltarian history and its importance in the coming about of the Gibraltarian identity will be discussed. Specifically Gibraltar's longstanding history of immigration and its long history of conflict will be addressed, as well as the importance of shared history in identity formation in Gibraltar. Furthermore the cultural influences making up the specific Gibraltarian identity will be discussed. The importance of being British in Gibraltar will be addressed here, as well as the Spanish and wider Mediterranean influences that are part of the Gibraltarian identity, and whether being European is of importance to the Gibraltarian national identity. An account of all these different aspects of the Gibraltarian identity will then answer the sub-question *'What does being a Gibraltarian mean to the people of Gibraltar?'.* This chapter will also dive into the importance of the EU to Gibraltar as well as the potential European influence on the Gibraltarian identity. This chapter will therefore answer the sub question *'what is the impact of being an EU member on Gibraltar'* as well.

5.1 History of Immigration

When Gibraltar was conquered by the combined British and Dutch fleet in 1704 the majority of the population of the Rock left (Plank, 2013). Both in literature as well as in the interviews taken for this research there is disagreement on whether the original population was forced to flee (UG1, p.; Lambert, 2005), or if they chose to leave on their own accord (JJ, p.; Plank, 2013). Nevertheless the majority of the original Spanish population left the peninsula in 1704, leaving room for a new, diverse population. As Chapter 3 has shown, Gibraltar being a community of migrants means that they do not share features such as ethnicity or religion which are usually important in identity formation (Constantine, 2009). However, even though migration causes Gibraltarians to differ from one another in the areas of religion and ethnicity, the respondents of this research mentioned the peninsula's history of migration itself as determining factor in their national identity (JJ; DCM; JT; UG 1; UG 2; AT; MGS).

Gibraltar's history of immigration is seen as influencing the Gibraltarian identity in a number of ways. Some respondents argue that what a Gibraltarian is, is *"open"* (MM, p. 1), *or "not really thought out"* (UG2, p. 3) because of the peninsula's history of migration. On the other hand some other respondents argue that immigration has led Gibraltar to be a multicultural and diverse society (MGS; DCM), while some even go as far as arguing that the reason why Gibraltarians are very accepting towards outsiders, as one respondent mentions: *"And in that sense the identity of Gibraltar has always been impacted by different people meeting new people and integrating them, more or less difficultly at the beginning and then eventually integrating totally, and usually after second generation everybody is a Gibraltarian, no matter where they come from."* (UG1, p. 1)

One respondent also sees migration as something that makes Gibraltar and Gibraltarian people unique. She argues: *"Now.... the people that came together after 1704 to create me would never have met, ever, in a million years in those days and age. Which mean that I as an entity, I as the person that's talking to this technology, would not exist anywhere else in the world."* (AT, p. 1) According to her immigration and intermarriage caused her and other Gibraltarians to be unique to Gibraltar because of a background which doesn't exist anywhere else.

5.2 A History of Conflict

The importance of the conflict-rich history of Gibraltar became apparent in the interviews conducted for this research. This history of conflict has influenced the Gibraltarian identity in a number of ways. ever since Gibraltar has been a part of Britain it has suffered from several conflict situations. There have been a number of sieges by Spain in its early history, as well as a border closure by Spain during the Franco era, and continuing hostilities from Spain after the border reopened again. Another historic event which had a large influence on Gibraltar

was the evacuation of the region during the second world war. During the second world-war the fortress of Gibraltar was used as an important strategic location because of its proximity to Spain and the entry and exit point to the Mediterranean Sea (Preston, 1946). During this time the women and children were evacuated from the area, mainly due to being useless mouths to feed (Preston, 1946; Lambert 2005). This evacuation is said to have brought the Gibraltarian community closer together due to the discrimination they faced on the British mainland, and led to an increase in political organisation (Lambert, 2005)

As mentioned in Chapter 2, the Franco regime completely closed the border between Spain and Gibraltar in 1969 (Lancaster and Taulbee, 1985, p. 253), the border would stay closed until 1985, when Spain was forced to open the border as a condition for Spain to enter the EEC (O'Reilly, 1991). Since the closure and reopening of the border are very recent and many Gibraltarians have lived through the border closure these events still have a large impact on the community today. The border closure is mentioned as being important to the Gibraltarian identity today for a number of reasons. The relationship with Britain as a protector was more established (JJ; JT), as well as seeing Spain even more as an aggressor (JT). The border closure also resulted in the Gibraltarian community coming together (JT; AT). One respondent mentions that there wasn't really any other choice *as "People literally came together in a space that has very few outlets"* (JT, p. 11). This coming together in the face of crisis is one of several characteristics of the Gibraltarian people which the respondents attribute to their history of conflict.

One of the interviewees coined the term 'siege mentality' when talking about the relevance of conflict in the Gibraltarian identity (AT, p. 2), saying: *"we're 30.000 siege mentality people, we've always had to be on the defence."* (AT, p. 20). The term is related to the many times Gibraltar has been besieged in its history, including the Franco era border-closure which by some is seen as the last siege of Gibraltar. The connection between this history of sieges and conflict and being on the defence is made by several of the interviewees (SM; UG 1; UG 3; AT). A Gibraltarian woman in her 60s equates this siege mentality with on occasion being closed up as a way of defending themselves (AT, p. 20). Similarly an respondent who was not born in Gibraltar recognized this same suspicion connected to its history of conflict when he just arrived in Gibraltar saying: *"the Gibraltar specific identity has also a lot of history which can be painful. And therefore, I think there's- there's a certain sense of- I find in my case and I see it around, for somebody that has just arrived in Gibraltar there's- there's a lot of suspicion I find. It's like why is he there? Is he there to take advantage?"* (UG1, p. 2).

Gibraltar's history of conflict is by many interviewees also connected to the adaptability of its community (DCM; JT; UG1; UG2). The Deputy Chief minister of Gibraltar describes this as follows: *"I think, well one thing that ehm, Gibraltar has learned from the many challenges we've*

faced throughout our long and turbulent history is that there's always- there's a silver lining to every cloud, so we know how to make the best of opportunities and how to use these opportunities," (DCM, p. 9). one respondent even traces this response back to the immigrants coming to Gibraltar generations ago, saying: *"But one thing that characterises our response to all of these crises, is that ehm we've become a community that has to- that is extremely adaptable, that has to react and find the new opportunities where they exist. And generally people are resourceful you know, that may be also (partly due to) the fact that two, three, four generations ago these- people you know, some Genoese fisherman came over, they were starving in Genoa so they came over to Gibraltar to find work, and they established families and these are- this, family memory I guess and just local culture is kind of geared around opportunities, trade and eh, you know a flexible mind-set (..) where you kind of- to face a crisis by looking for the opportunities, other than curling up in a ball and waiting for the impact, you know?"* (JT, p. 11). Another respondent argues that life in Gibraltar is geared around this constant reinvention saying: *"Gibraltar- not just identity, but Gibraltar's everything really, life, culture, economy is pretty much based on the way Gibraltar reinvents itself every time."* (UG1, p. 11).

Tijafel and Turner (1979) argue that conflicts can strengthen the identification people feel with their in-group. From the interviews it transpired that many respondents did think that the Gibraltarian community was brought closer together by crises throughout history (MGS; JJ; JT; MM; SM; UG 1). One respondent quoted the Deputy Chief Minister from a recent lecture on the referendum in 1967, stating that: *"the message that he was delivering that evening was the backbone of the Gibraltarian identity, that- that- that unity in the face of adversity, which I think is something that Britain fears, and Spain does not understand."* (SM, p. 1). The border closure (JT; JJ), the second world-war evacuations (JT), and general Spanish hostilities (MGS; UG1) are all mentioned as factors which lead the Gibraltarian population to come together as a community. Spain as a significant other is also an important factor in this conflict and the resulting strengthened sense of identity within the Gibraltarian community. One respondent specifically mentions this when saying *"having another factor to take into account is having Spain continuously at our throats, that tends to bring people closer together, because if you have an enemy, you know, that you can define yourself against, it becomes much easier, you know."* (MGS, p. 2)

5.3 The British Connection

The connection to mainland Britain can be seen as an important factor of the Gibraltarian identity the nature of the relationship with Britain is in this context relevant, since the British element of the Gibraltarian identity is expected to be more pronounced when the

relationship is good. The connection with Britain due to the historic colonial rule and the migration of Brits to Gibraltar is also expected to influence culture and daily life in Gibraltar.

5.3.1 Relationship with Britain

The relationship between Gibraltar and the United Kingdom is a complicated one. Throughout Gibraltar's history their relationship with Britain has fluctuated from being a colonial ruler, to a more indifferent stance from Britain towards Gibraltar, into a partnership. In the interviews the relationship with Britain was described according to all three of these terms. Most respondents refer to the colonial relationship with Britain as a thing of the past which helped shape the Gibraltarian identity (DCM; MM). However residue of this colonial relationship can still be seen on both the British and the Gibraltarian side. One respondent argued that those who voted in favour of Brexit in Gibraltar might have done so from a very colonial point of view, arguing: *"they probably saw Farage and thought: well he is British and he's standing up for Britain, that kind of thing, and they probably thought, yeah I should vote for that. But eh, yeah I- hmm, I have a problem with that, because I think that is maybe- that maybe comes from a very colonial place in our history which we are- so far gone, so far past, no?"* (MM, p. 7). Another respondent complained about the mentality specifically from left-wing British politicians as still being very colonial. She said: *"hate the- the left-wing mentality of we have to get rid of you because we have got angst over our colonies. Right, if you've got angst over your colonies, how can you do this to the people that you seem to want to defend?"* (AT, p. 9). Many respondents however mention that Gibraltar has come a long way from the colonial relationship it used to have with the UK (DCM; MM; AT; JJ). The Deputy Chief minister mentioned that after the second world-war Gibraltar started demanding greater rights and a greater say in their own affairs (DCM, p. 7). Other respondents also referred to this colonial relationship as something historic (JJ, p. 1) and as something that was the case decades ago (MM, p. 2). In the context of this colonial relationship the military presence seems to be of importance. Relationships with the soldiers and officers that came to Gibraltar with the navy were not always good, soldiers were said to be *"abusive"* (MGS, p. 4) and *"wouldn't behave nicely"* (MM, p. 2). The importance of the head of the British army as being more important than the local representation until 1967 is also mentioned (JJ, pp. 1-2)

Even though the colonial relationship with Britain seems to be a thing of the past, in recent years the relationship between Gibraltar and the United Kingdom hasn't always been good. As mentioned before, in 2001 the UK held talks about co-sovereignty with Spain without including Gibraltar, which lead to the 2002 referendum in which 99 per cent of Gibraltar voted against Spanish sovereignty (Lambert, 2005, p. 208). When talking about the relationship with Britain this is often mentioned by the respondents. The Deputy Chief Minister argued that the

"Robust Britishness" of Gibraltar has been undermined by a number of factors over the years (DCM, p. 7), including a conflict within the European Union over Gibraltar in which the UK did not stick by Gibraltar, as well as the withdrawal of the military and with that an important part of the community's employment from the peninsula. According to the Deputy Chief Minister: *"that phase culminates in 2002 when Tony Blair decides to share the sovereignty of Gibraltar with Spain. And we hold a second referendum in defiance, not only of Spain, but also of the United Kingdom government,"* (DCM, p. 7). Several respondents name this British indifference as a reason why they turned for Europe for protection (JJ; UG3; AT).

Lambert (2005) argued that even after the 2002 vote and the concessions done by Britain mentioned in chapter 2, many Gibraltarians weren't sure that a sovereignty deal with Spain was at this point entirely off the table. Even though the 2002 sovereignty talks are mentioned by several respondents, there doesn't seem to be on-going distrust in the British government amongst the respondents anymore. By most respondents the current Relationship with Britain is mostly described as a partnership or a protector (JJ; DCM; JT; MM; AT). Siding with Britain is seen as beneficiary against Spanish hostilities (JT, p. 1), Another respondent argued that: *"The British have always been there to preserve our way of life and that's how we think we should continue."* (JJ, p. 6), in the context of the coming Brexit. While also stating that having a country as large and important on the world stage as Britain by its side can be beneficiary for a community as small as Gibraltar (JJ). Multiple respondents argue that the relationship with Britain has improved since 2002 (JJ; DCM), with the Deputy Chief Minister arguing that the Gibraltarian identity also regained its British side, saying: *"particularly in 2002 when the UK was you know, changed. Then, after that the UK and the British aspect of our identity comes back into it and you see more red, white and blue, a message from David Cameron when he was Prime Minister on national day, a message from Theresa May. So, so the whole thing changes back again to the connection and the link with the United Kingdom as part of our identity with which we see no conflict."* (DCM, p. 8)

5.3.2 British Identity

Even though the relationship with Britain hasn't always been a stable one, being British and British influences have been important in the development of the Gibraltarian identity. Many respondents saw British as being part of their identity (MGS; JJ: DCM). Both the referendum in 1967 as well as the one in 2002 were named when explaining the Britishness of Gibraltar. The Deputy Chief minister explained the 1967 referendum as an important part of Gibraltar's British history for the following reason: *"In 1967 we have a referendum when people vote for the first time to remain British. I mean up until now we had been British by conquest or British by treaty, after that they became British by consent."* (DCM, p. 7). Similarly another

respondent explains the robust Britishness of Gibraltar by using the 2002 referendum as an example: *"in 2002 when Tony Blair tried to side-line us and be like right we're having joint sovereignty negotiations, the British- the Gibraltarian people never accepted it and even made their own referendum and the story evolves from them. But we felt betrayed by the British government and we still voted to be British, I think that says a lot."* (JJ, p. 7). Being British is by some explained as being secondary to being Gibraltarian (SM; MGS), or as having priority over being European (JJ), or as being an essential part of their identity, as one respondent puts it: *"Yes I do feel British, I am British because it's the only thing I've ever been.*" (AT, p. 10). Many respondent however also highlight that Gibraltar's Britishness is unique and different from mainland British (MGS; JJ; JT; MM; UG2; AT). One respondent puts it as: *"British with Flexibilities*" (MGS, p. 1) while another calls it *"a unique type of Britishness"* (JJ, p. 1)

The importance of being British in Gibraltar, despite culturally also having links to Spain, can in part be explained by the growth of a feeling of nationality in the face of an external threat and a conflict situation (Muller, 2004). Since Spain is seen as being more threatening than the United Kingdom, due to its strict border controls and other disruptive policies against the area, Gibraltar uses its British identity to create an identity different from the Spanish (Muller, 2004; Browning & Joenniemi, 2007). Several respondents mentioned that the Britishness of Gibraltar was also being used as an identity in opposition to Spain, and being Spanish (JJ, JT, MM, UG1, UG2) How British Gibraltarians are is highlighted to show how Spanish they aren't. As one respondent puts it: *"is very much like saying: "we are not Spanish, and therefore we are British""* (UG1, p. 4).

This emphasis on having a British identity as well as a Gibraltarian one also clearly shows that having an own national identity does not necessarily lead to a call for independence (Vinokurov, 2005). The Gibraltarians have showed in the 1967 and 2002 referendums that they want to continue to be part of the UK. Gibraltarians worry that shared sovereignty with Spain would end their distinct cultural identity (Browning & Joenniemi, 2007). In the cases of Canada, Australia and New Zeeland, having their own national identity was long compatible with also being British. Criticising the British government in certain areas can for instance go together with an unfading loyalty to the British crown (Constantine, 2009). Groom (1997, p. 20) on the other hand argues that Gibraltar would prefer independence over their colonial status within Britain, and that they only accept this status because falling under Spanish sovereignty is seen as a worse alternative.

Being British for 300 years has not only lead Gibraltarians to feel British identity wise, but has also resulted in Gibraltar being influenced by Britain culturally. Archer (2006) for instance argues that the British part of the Gibraltarian identity can in part be explained by the centuries of British transformation in the area. Symbols of the British military and empire such

as flags and buildings have been visible in Gibraltar since it was conquered by the UK (Archer, 2006). The inhabitants of Gibraltar have willingly accepted British political models as well as education, leading to a partly British identity (Archer, 2006). The Gibraltarian legal system has in a large part been influenced by Britain. Grand and petty juries were modelled after the same system in the United Kingdom, and Gibraltarian lawyers who studied in London and then brought this knowledge with them to Gibraltar (Constantine, 2009). The municipal government, governing Gibraltar from the 19th century was also modelled after the British model, and Later in the institutionalisation of a parliamentary democratic government, Gibraltar was following other (former) British colonies towards the British democratic ideal (Constantine, 2009). This was in stark contrast with the Franco dictatorship present on the other side of the border at this time (Grocott, 2012). Spain's transition to a democracy after the death of Franco and Spain's accession to the EEC reduced the contrast between Spain's and Gibraltar's political models (Constantine, 2009), however the idea that Spanish and Gibraltarian political systems are incompatible remained (Grotcott, 2012). Grocott (2012) argues that history, politics and identity in Gibraltar are interlinked. The peninsula's history is used by Gibraltarian politicians to shape the Gibraltarian identity around anti Spanish themes. These British institutions have been important for the formation of the Gibraltarian identity (Grocott, 2012). When asked what parts of Gibraltar and being Gibraltarian was specifically British, institutions were indeed mentioned the most by far (MGS, JJ, JT, SM, UG2, AT). Specifically, the way politics and the government work are mentioned as being very British (JJ, JT, SM), as well as education (JJ, JT, SM, AT) and the judiciary system (JJ, AT). As mentioned in chapter 3, the installation of mainland institutions is typical for the mainland-enclave relationship, as well as being common in a colonial relationship. Besides institutions, British food (SM, MGS) and the use of the English language (JT, SM) are also mentioned as being important British cultural influences.

5.4 The Spanish/ Mediterranean Connection

In a study of enclaves, not only the mainland, but also the surrounding country is seen as having an important influence on identity formation of the enclave. It is therefore also important to look at the relationship with and influences from Spain on Gibraltar.

5.4.1. Relationship with Spain

While relationships with Spain have not always been seen as bad (UG2, p. 10), the current relationship with Spain is in the interviews for the most part described as Spain being hostile towards Gibraltar (MGS; JJ; MM; SM; UG1; UG3; AT). Spain is being described as being "*constantly at our throats*" (MGS, p. 2) and as "*belligerent*" *(*SM, p. 9; UG1, p. 14). The fishing disputes mentioned in the context chapter and the resulting border queues are mentioned by

several respondents as a specific recent example of Spanish hostilities (JJ; UG1; UG2), which according to the respondents also lead to a decrease in visiting Spain (JJ; UG2).

How often people visit Spain and how much they interact with Spanish people differs among respondents. Some respondents argue not going to Spain often for a number of reasons, an increase in border queues and hostilities from Spain is mentioned by several respondents as a reason for not visiting Spain often (JJ; UG2; AT), while others mention not feeling the need to visit Spain often due to being used to having the border closed and not being able to visit at all (SM; AT). A lack of or decline in visiting Spain is however not shared among all respondents. Several respondents say they do visit Spain regularly (MGS; JT; MM; UG3; UG2), it is also mentioned that young people generally cross the border more easily than older people who lived through the closed border (UG2). In this research this seems to be the case as well, with three out of the four respondents of university age crossing regularly (MM; UG2; UG3).

The hostile relationship with Spain has also caused the identity of Gibraltar to be formed around anti-Spanish themes (Browning & Joenniemi, 2007). The border closure between 1969 and 1985 especially enhanced opposition by the Gibraltarians against Spain, and is still today part of the public memory and therefore continuing Gibraltar's suspicion against Spain (Lambert, 2005). This has created the image of Spain as the enemy and increased positive feelings towards Britain (Alameda Hernandez, 2006). Negative views towards Spain are mentioned by respondents in a number of ways. As mentioned before the Spanish state is by some seen as belligerent (SM; UG1). Here again a distinction between young and older people is made, a respondent mentioned that views on Spain of the older generation are shaped by the bad relationship with Spain and the closed border years, while for younger people this is harder to relate to (UG2, p 5). Another respondent also argues that the older generations are the most anti-Spanish, and puts it this way: "*let's say the more Spanish speaking populations of Gibraltar, but they are the most anti-Spanish. So, so it's like a- that kind of a- and in some way they hate Spain like, in a Spanish fashion, which is nationalist as well." (*UG1, p. 15).

According to Oliva (2004) Gibraltarians often argue that their problem is with the Spanish government, not with the Spanish people. He however argues that this is not entirely true. Spain is often referred to as if it is still a backwards Franco style dictatorship and Spanish citizens as well as the government are being targeted in for instance the fishing disputes between Spain and Gibraltar (Oliva, 2004).

5.4.2. Spanish/Mediterranean influences

Even though the relationship with Spain is not described as a positive one, due to its proximity to Gibraltar Spain is bound to influence Gibraltar culturally. When asked about Spanish or Mediterranean influences on the Gibraltarian identity, several respondents argue that

in socially and terms of character Gibraltarians are influenced by Spain and the wider Mediterranean a lot (JJ; JT; MM; SM; MGS). More specifically the family structure is often mentioned as being specifically Spanish or Mediterranean (JT; MM; SM; UG3; AT) . Furthermore the influence of food (JT; UG2) and the Spanish or Yanito language (MM; UG1) are mentioned as important cultural influences.

The combination of not having a positive relationship with Spain, while at the same time culturally being influenced by it is seen as a complicated relationship. One respondent argues that: "*there's a real hybridity there, but there's also a denial of the hybridity, in part because of the hostility that the blockade gave rise to"* (JT, p. 1). Another respondent argues that: "*There's a lot of Gibraltarian customs and cultures that are very influenced by- by Spain specifically. But if you asked people they would certainly cite Spain as an inspiration or as part of their heritage, but they would not call themselves culturally Spanish."* (UG2, p. 2).

5.5 Unique Gibraltarian Identity

Next to the British identity, Gibraltarians also have a strong specifically Gibraltarian identity. This Gibraltarian identity is clearly displayed during the yearly National Day on the 10th of September. On this public holiday, everyone dresses up in the national colours of Gibraltar, red and white. The Deputy Chief Minister explains the Gibraltarian national day as follows: *"we celebrate our own identity, our right to self-determination and to determine our own future and to decolonisation, and that is the theme of national day which we celebrate every year."* (DCM, p. 8). The yearly Miss Gibraltar competition, as well as Gibraltar's accession into FIFA in 2016 are also important in the construction of the Gibraltarian identity, as they help Gibraltar get external recognition (Constantine, 2009). This strong Gibraltarian identity is in accordance with theories on enclaves in general. Enclaves often have strong local identities to distance themselves from both the mainland as well as the surrounding country (Berger, 2010).

According to Alameda Hernandez (2006) the evacuation to mainland UK during the second world war enhanced the specific Gibraltarian identity, since on mainland UK the Gibraltarians felt different from the people around them (Alameda Hernandez, 2006). This perceived difference from other Britons brought the displaced Gibraltarians closer together (Lambert, 2005). However according to Canessa and Ballantine Perera (2017), people who have been evacuated during World War II, nowadays express a more British identity than younger residents who spent their whole lives in Gibraltar and feel more Gibraltarian. According to Alvarez (2001) the Second World War evacuation enhanced both the feeling of community among Gibraltarians, as well the feeling of Britishness among evacuated Gibraltarians. It has also been argued that the Gibraltarian identity was only brought into existence after the Sanctions of Spain against Gibraltar and formed by these sanctions (Browning & Joenniemi, 2007). This

complies with the theory of identity in enclaves. Berger (2010) argues that identity in enclaves is often shaped by blockages and other connectivity problems. It therefore makes sense within this theory that the sanctions from Spain and most significantly the border closure have influenced the Gibraltarian identity.

Political change is generally an important part in the construction of identity in (former) colonies (Grocott, 2012, p. 151). This is also the case in Gibraltar, where the move to self-government has been important in identity formation (Grotcott, 2012, p. 151). The Gibraltarian identity further developed away from the British identity due to the ambiguous relationship with Britain in the past decades (Lambert, 2005), in which British support has not been guaranteed. As early as the 1950's a claim to nationhood started to arise in Gibraltar. This claim was a defensive response to Spanish threats, the UN's unhelpfulness to their situation and suspicions towards Britain (Constantine, 2009), resulting in the need to fend for themselves in Gibraltar. Gibraltarian suspicions arose when talks between the British and Spanish governments were held; Gibraltar suspected that Britain might value good relations with Spain over the interests of Gibraltar, based on Britain's refusal to integrate Gibraltar into Britain (Constantine, 2009). These suspicions later turned out to be correct, for instance when Gibraltar was excluded from talks with Spain about co-sovereignty in 2001. According to the Deputy Chief Minister this ambiguous relationship with Britain lead Gibraltarians to *"look in on themselves and their own identity."* (DCM, p. 7).

When asked about the uniquely Gibraltarian part of the Gibraltarian identity, a number of signifiers came up. The small size of Gibraltar (MGS; DCM; JT; MM; SM; UG1) and resulting close-knit community (SM; UG2; UG3; AT) was one of the things several respondents mentioned as something uniquely Gibraltarian. Some respondents argue that the sense of community is a direct result of Gibraltar's small size (DCM, p. 7; MGS, p. 2), while others point out that being united is a necessity in a small community in order to not be overrun by outside pressures (MM, p. 12), as mentioned before, an important reason for the strong sense of community is the shared hardship of for instance the border closure and second world-war evacuation. While Gibraltar is a small community it is not small enough for everyone to personally know one another , as one respondent mentions: "*I don't know everybody. When you think about it, do you know 30.000 people by name?*" (AT, p. 4), however there still is a certain sense of recognition of and sense of belonging to other Gibraltarians (AT; SM), as one respondent puts it: *"There is that very strong sense of… knowing each other extremely well, without really knowing each other."* (SM, p. 1)

Respondents also mentioned that Gibraltarians have their own unique type of Britishness, different from the British identity on the UK mainland (MGS; JJ; JT; MM; UG2; AT), as one respondent puts it: *"British with flexibilities."* (MGS, p. 1). This unique type of Britishness is

attributed to the British identity being mutated over time (JJ), and through political events (MM), leading to a different idea of what being British entails than residents of the UK mainland might adhere to.

Another reason why the Britishness of Gibraltar might be different from mainland UK Britishness, is because it is combined with other Gibraltarian and Mediterranean identity markers. This hybridity is also something which makes the Gibraltarian identity unique according to the respondents of the present research. The hybrid British and Mediterranean identity means that Gibraltarians get to choose the aspects of the British and more Mediterranean side they like and blend it into a hybrid identity (JJ; UG2) into a best of both worlds situation (UG2; SM). While some respondents mention this idea of choosing aspects of both cultures, others argue that this hybridity formed in a more natural way and the connection to the UK and proximity to Spain formed this hybrid and multiple identity.

5.6 The European Connection

The Brexit vote seemingly showed that Gibraltar with its high remain percentage is much more pro-European than other parts of Britain. This begs the question why the European Union is seen as important in Gibraltar and if being European is also seen as an actual added value or even part of the identity of Gibraltarians.

5.6.1 Use of the European Union

According to researchers the European Union is seen by Gibraltarians as a guarantor of their rights and security, due to the ambiguous relationship with the British government (Benwell & Pinkerton, 2016). Several cases show that the EU has indeed been helpful in the dispute with Spain, As has been stated before, freedom of movement is very important for Gibraltar. Spain has however made the border with Gibraltar one of the hardest border crossings within the European Union (Browning & Joenniemi, 2007). The EU has therefore been monitoring the border to ensure that Spain complies with the EU laws for freedom of movement (Clegg, 2016; Garcia, 2016). When speaking about the significant of the EU for Gibraltar, many respondents mentioned this position of the EU as a mediator or a guarantor of rights (JJ; DCM; JT; MM; UG1; AT). The EU is seen as a *"safety umbrella"* (UG1, p. 8) and as being able to provide *"a lock on Gibraltar's security"* (MM, p.). Another respondent mentioned that the more integrated the EU would be, the weaker the Spanish claim would become (JT, p. 3). Distrust and disappointment towards Britain in the role of protector was also mentioned as a reason for wanting the EU around to protect them (JJ; AT). However both respondents who mentioned this distrust towards Britain also mentioned that the EU could equally not be trusted in this capacity,

saying the EU provided a *"fake form of security"* (JJ, p. 5), and saying that: *"Perhaps we wanted Europe to help us, but in our hearts knew they wouldn't."* (AT, p. 16).

The EU has not only been important to Gibraltar as a protector, but also in an economical capacity. Support for the European Union is thought to increase when a country economically benefits from EU memberships. Areas or people who benefit directly such as farmers who receive EU subsidies or inhabitants of Border regions generally have a more pro-European attitude than people from other regions (Carey, 2002). Since Gibraltar is a border region it makes sense that support for the EU is greater in this region than in the rest of the United Kingdom. One respondent specifically stated that the loss of funding for businesses from the EU would be a loss (UG1, p. 7), and several respondents mentioned that the European Union is important to Gibraltar from an economic point of view (JJ; JT; MM; UG). While the European Union is generally seen as beneficial economically, how economically beneficial the EU actually is, is disputed among the respondents. While one respondent argues that *"our economic model at the moment is totally based on services going into the EU"* (JJ, p. 5), another respondent argues that Gibraltar doesn't benefit from the EU as much as mainland UK, since only a limited part of their trade is with other EU countries, while the majority of their trade is with the UK (MM, p. 8).

5.5.2 Being pro-European

Muller (2004) argued that being European is seen as an added value in Gibraltar in contrary to the British mainland where being British is seen as being superior to being European. The Deputy Chief Minister agrees that Gibraltarians are generally more pro-European than people in other parts of the United Kingdom, saying: *"we are and have always been very much pro-European, far more European than the average person in England or in the United Kingdom."* (DCM, p. 1). As an example of this pro-European attitude he states that European common format identity cards are valid travel documents in Gibraltar, while they do not exist in the UK (DCM, p. 1). A number of reasons were given for this pro-European attitude by respondents, Several respondents mention the importance of the cultural and historical connection to the EU for this pro-European attitude (MGS; JJ; MM; AT). Having both the Northern-European Britishness as well as the Mediterranean side of Europe as part of their identity and culture is said to make the Gibraltarians very European (MGS; JJ), as well as the historical connection of ancestors coming from different parts of Europe (MM, p. 3) and the history Gibraltar shares with the other parts of Europe such as the experience of the second world war (AT). The physical geographical connection is also mentioned as something that sets Gibraltar apart from Britain in their pro-European attitude (JJ, MM), as one of the respondents puts it: *"I mean it is in one hugely basic sense, it's connected to mainland Europe you know, and when stuff goes on in mainland Europe I guess we feel it more strongly , and maybe, you know one*

of the reasons that Britain is considered not quite of Europe, is because there's a channel of water right so they feel slightly separated from it geographically." (JT, p. 3).

EU support is also thought to be higher when the citizens' opinion of national politics is lower. This coincides with the Gibraltarian support for the EU in combination with its occasional distrust of the UK government (Carey, 2002). On the other hand Gibraltar's strong own national identity seems to conflict with support for the EU, since nations with a strong national identity generally have a lower support for the EU and other supranational institutions. Carey (2002) also suggests that support for the EU correlates with support for other cultures and minorities. People with a negative attitude towards other cultures generally also have a negative attitude towards the European Union. This could also be seen during the Brexit vote when xenophobia was an important part of the Leave campaign and an important reason for people to vote leave. Since Gibraltar is historically a mix of peoples from different cultures their attitude towards other cultures is seen as very positive, which might be an important reason for their pro-European attitude.

5.6.3 European Identity?

This section has shown that research has shown and the respondents of this research agree that there are several reasons for the pro-European and pro-EU attitude of Gibraltar. However is being European also seen as an important part of the Gibraltarian identity, or was being part of the EU simply a partnership of convenience?

On this the opinions among the respondents of this research were divided. Some respondents argue that being European is an important part of the Gibraltarian identity (DCM; UG1; AT) or of their own identity (MGS), or specifically important for the younger generation of Gibraltarians (UG2). On the other hand, other respondents argue that being European is not part of the Gibraltarian identity (JJ), or even that feeling European as your identity is not possible at all, stating: *"I don't think that given the historical background of Europe and the conflicts of states you can ever- you can ever feel European. You can feel part of a club, but not feel European."* (SM, p. 2).

5.7 Conclusion

This chapter set out to research what elements the Gibraltarian identity is made up of. Existing research on the Gibraltarian identity mentions a hybrid British-Gibraltarian identity (Gold, 2010), with Mediterranean and Spanish influences (Vinokurov, 2005) and potentially a European element (Muller, 2004). Its history of immigration means that historically Gibraltar's identity was formed around different markers than usually since ethnicity and religion aren't shared by all Gibraltarians. The respondents of this study however argued that this history of

migration is an identity marker in itself, making Gibraltar a diverse and unique society. Furthermore the history of conflict has been formative for the Gibraltarian identity, as it brought the community closer together. This coincides with research on identity and conflict which suggests that group- or national identities are partly or largely formed through conflict with other groups. Respondents also argue that the area's conflict-rich history made Gibraltarians defensive and made the community very adaptable. The relationship with Britain has not always been stable or equal, but is currently by most respondents described as a partnership. This also influences the British part of the Gibraltarian identity, which the Deputy Chief Minister mentioned became more pronounced again when this relationship improved after 2002. Being British is by most respondents seen as an essential part of their identity, as well as being used to show that Gibraltarians are not Spanish. Furthermore the British influence can be seen in Gibraltarian institutions and the food eaten and language spoken. In contrary to the relationship with the UK, the relationship with Spain isn't a positive one, with Spain being mainly described as hostile, which is reflected in an emphasis on the 'British and therefore not Spanish' identity. There is a clear generational difference between people who lived through the border closure and those born after the border opened, who are not as anti-Spanish. Due to the proximity there is a Spanish influence in Gibraltar especially visibly in the family relations, the food eaten and the language Spoken, though respondents do notice a denial of this Spanish influence on the Gibraltarian identity. These British and Spanish or Mediterranean influences are of influence on the unique Gibraltarian identity as well. According to the respondents of this study, the hybrid nature of the identity is one of the things which makes the Gibraltarian identity unique and gives it a unique type of Britishness. This coincides with literature on the subject of collective identity in enclaves, which according to Berger (2010) arises due to the different actors such as the mainland and the surrounding state, and the relationships between those actors. Besides the British and Spanish influences its small size and resulting close community, as well as its shared history of conflict shape the Gibraltarian identity.

As far as the European Union is concerned, the research on its effect on the Gibraltarian identity is inconclusive. In literature some studies mention the importance of the EU on the Gibraltarian identity (Muller, 2004; Berger, 2010), while others don't mention this connection. Among the respondents there is similarly no consensus on this matter. Some respondents argue that the pro-European attitude of Gibraltar is simply brought about because of the benefits of the EU on the Gibraltarian economy and border situation. It is also argued by several respondents that its historical, cultural and geographical connection to Europe is a reason why Gibraltar is more pro-European and more pro-EU than mainland Britain. There is no consensus among respondents about whether or not being European is part of the Gibraltarian identity. While four respondents do argue that being European is part of the Gibraltarian or their own identity,

others argue that this isn't part of the Gibraltarian identity at all, or argue that it is only important to the younger generation. This is an interesting parallel to mainland UK, where the Brexit made it clear that the younger generation was much more pro-EU than older generations as well.

6. Gibraltar and the Brexit

As the previous section has illustrated, the European Union has been important to Gibraltar from a security and economic point of view. This chapter will dive into how the Gibraltarians have responded to the Brexit so far, what they think will happen after the actual exit from the EU and how they are preparing for this moment.

6.1 Brexit Referendum

In Gibraltar the lead up to the Brexit referendum was dedicated to a strong remain campaign. This section discusses the reasons for the strong remain campaign and remain vote, and what drove the Gibraltar 823 to vote leave despite all this.

6.1.1 the Remain Campaign

The campaign in Gibraltar is being described as very one sided, by both the respondents of this paper (DCM, AT, UG1, UG2) as well as in literature and newspaper articles on the topic (Benwell and Pinkerton, 2016; Moss, 2016). The Deputy Chief Minister summarised that: *"all the political parties, all the trade unions, chambers of commerce, all the associations, everybody was advocating a vote to remain in the European Union."* (DCM, p. 1). Another respondent called the campaign *"very one-sided"* (AT, p. 15) but also argued that *"we didn't even have an effort, and I think campaign would probably be the wrong word for it, because it was like a no brainer." (*AT, p. 15), arguing that there was very little campaigning at all going on in Gibraltar and that there was no need for a large campaign since most people were already on the same page concerning Brexit. This idea of unity among the population is shared by other respondents as well, with one respondent arguing that: *"it was a consensus really"* (UG1, p. 8). On the other hand, another respondent argues that there was a strong remain campaign by both the public and the private sector, and it was one of the reasons why the remain majority was as large as it was (UG2, p. 8). One of the few Brexit supporters in Gibraltar mentioned in an interview with the Guardian (The Guardian, 2016b) that the leave movement barely campaigned in Gibraltar, and Benwell and Pinkerton (2016) recognised the same one-sided campaign the Deputy Chief Minister and other respondents mentioned, with all political and civic leaders backing remain. They also argue that pro-Brexit campaigners who did come to Gibraltar got *"snubbed"* (Benwell and Pinkerton, 2016, p. 10) by its inhabitants. This view is shared by one of the respondents in this study, who argued: *"a couple of different groups that were leave came over, and set up a little post in Casemates. I think ten people wandered around them and looked at them and went like: "weird", very few people took any notice of them."* (AT, p. 15), and the Deputy Chief Minister mentioned that when a leave campaign group from the United Kingdom held a public meeting, only 6 people showed up to it (DCM, p. 1). Other than indifference, one leave campaign on the Rock was, according to a

respondent met with outrage. When the Sun newspaper came to Gibraltar with a *"hands of our Rock"* message meant to promote the leave campaign, the response rapidly shifted from rather happy with the attention to angry with the newspaper when they decided to project their message with a picture of the Chief minister onto the Spanish facing side of the Rock , potentially causing backlash from Spain for Gibraltar (UG2, p. 6).

6.1.2 the Remain vote

After the Brexit vote was cast, Gibraltar was the first area to announce the results. With an overwhelming majority of 95.9 per cent (Benwell and Pinkerton, 2016, p.) and a turnout of 84 per cent (Garcia, 2016), they had voted to remain part of the EU. A large majority in favour of remaining part of the EU was expected in Gibraltar, as the Deputy Chief Minister put it: *"I think in Gibraltar there was never any doubt what the result was going to be."* (DCM, p. 1). An important reason for this strong remain vote was that Gibraltar strongly benefitted from membership to the European Union in terms of security and protection from Spanish hostilities and to keep the border well-functioning as mentioned in the previous chapter. The Deputy Chief Minister also called the former Spanish foreign minister *"one of the strongest campaigners for remaining in the European Union"* (DCM, p. 1). The statements the Spanish foreign minister made during the campaign made Gibraltarians fear for the border situation after a potential Brexit because: *"he kept on making these serious and very aggressive statements against Gibraltar. Along the lines of (…) the border with Gibraltar opened because Spain wanted to join the European Community, couldn't have a closed border, and now the UK and Gibraltar are leaving so all the options are open to us including closing the border completely. That created a shock for even for people on the Spanish side of the border, not only for us."* (DCM, p. 1). Gibraltar also economically benefits from the EU through access to the European single market. In an interview with the Guardian on the eve of the Brexit vote, the Gibraltarian Chief Minister said the following about Gibraltar's economy after a potential Brexit: *"It would require more than a repositioning, (…) It would require a whole new economic model. That's why so many here – barring perhaps a few individuals – will vote remain."* (Picardo in the Guardian, 2016c). Besides the benefits of the European union and the fear of Spanish actions concerning the border after Brexit, the very one-sided campaign in Gibraltar mentioned above is also said to have influenced the overwhelming 'remain' majority (DCM, UG2).

6.1.3 'the Gibraltar 823'

In the end only four per cent of the Gibraltarian voters, voted in favour of leaving the EU (French, 2016, p. 12), when asked about how they feel about the Gibraltarian leave voters the respondents were divided. Some people do not understand why anyone in Gibraltar would

choose to vote to leave the EU (MGS, SM), while others could list some reasons why Gibraltarians would vote in favour of leaving. The main reasons given by the respondents to vote leave in Gibraltar are the sovereignty argument (MM, AT), which a respondent explains as: *"Britain has got to retain its strength and it's got to be outside Europe,"* (MM, p. 7), as well as distrust in or and the wish not to be controlled by the European Union (JJ, AT, UG1). While, an anti-immigrant stance is mentioned as one of the possible reasons why people voted leave in the UK by several respondents, especially ones who resided in the UK during the Brexit campaign (MGS, MM, JJ), this is hardly mentioned as a possible reason for a leave vote in Gibraltar, with only one respondent arguing this might be a possible reason (MGS, p. 6). Several respondents also mentioned that they thought the majority of the leave voters in Gibraltar were British expats (AT; UG1; MGS). These responses are however merely guesses or reasons other people have given them, since none of the respondents in this research voted to leave the EU. While most of *'the Gibraltar 823',* the number of Gibraltarians who voted leave, aren't known to the public, one very vocal leave voter named John Bromfield was interviewed by the Guardian (The Guardian, 2016b) shortly after the Brexit vote. For him the sovereignty argument was indeed the reason to vote leave as he was quoted saying: *"I wanted to have a sovereign British management of my country, where MPs are accountable and responsible for what they do. I did not want to be part of a federal state of Europe."* (The Guardian, 2016b).

6.2 Brexit Impact on Gibraltar

As mentioned above, uncertainty about the border and lack of access to the European single market were important reasons for the strong remain campaign in Gibraltar. Now that the UK is leaving the EU, there is a lot of uncertainty about what the potential impact of the Brexit on the country and specifically on Gibraltar will be. Since the Brexit has not happened yet and no other country has left the EU before, and it is still unclear what kind of deal with the UK will strike with the EU and therefore what the terms of the Brexit will be, it is hard to imagine what will change once the United Kingdom leaves the EU. This paragraph will cover this uncertainty and what the potential Brexit impact is for Gibraltar according to the respondents and literature on the matter.

6.2.1 Border after Brexit

Since the Brexit results came in, the border between Spain and Gibraltar has been mentioned as the main issue for Gibraltar. What will happen to the border after the Brexit is unclear. On the one hand the former Spanish minister of foreign affairs has made a lot of threatening remarks concerning the border. He has clearly stated that the only way in which Gibraltar can keep its access to the EU is by means of co-sovereignty, and was quoted saying:

"they will have to choose between British outside the Union or Hispano-British inside the EU" (Garciano, 2016, p. 130). García-Margallo also mentioned the possibility of closing the border between Gibraltar and Spain once again (Garcia, 2016), effectively isolating Gibraltar. Some researchers however argue that Spain might welcome a deal on freedom of movement with Gibraltar since the Spanish campo the Gibraltar gains a lot from its relationship with Gibraltar, as it creates jobs for Spanish workers (Clegg, 2016). In total some 13,000 frontier workers are crossing the border daily to work in Gibraltar. Out of these 7.8 thousand are Spanish natives. Besides Spanish workers between 150 and 160 of the frontier workers are Gibraltarians who moved across the border and 2500 are other British natives who live in Spain and cross the border to work in Gibraltar (Gibraltar Government, 2017). Possible border closure or restriction of freedom of movement will therefore also be a problem for Spanish workers as well as for Brits and Gibraltarians and other EU citizens living on the other side of the border. Since the Brexit vote a new foreign minister has been appointed in Spain. This has clearly resulted in a milder view towards Gibraltar. Where the previous foreign minister threatened Gibraltar with border closure, the new foreign minister, Alfonso Dastis, stated that he understands Gibraltar's objection to Spanish sovereignty seeing that the area thrives while the Spanish campo faces many problems (Gibraltar Chronicle, 2017a). While Dastis did state that Spain would never accept the current status of Gibraltar or give up their claim, he was also quoted saying Spain would not *"go to war [over the Rock] or close the border"* (Gibraltar Chronicle, 2017a).

Among the respondents of this research there were varying degrees of worry concerning the border. The Deputy Chief Minister mentioned that the Gibraltarian Government carried out an impact study on the possible effects of the Brexit, showing that the border would be of influence in all areas of the economy (DCM, p. 4). A well-functioning border after Brexit is therefore of utmost important to Gibraltar. The Deputy Chief Minister however also argues that it is in Spain's interest to have a well-functioning border as well because of the cross frontier workers and the importance of Gibraltar for the Andalucían economy, as he argues that*: "Gibraltar generates 25 per cent of the GDP of the neighbouring region of Spain and we are the second largest employer for the whole of Andalucía,"* (DCM, p. 5)

Some respondents made the justifiable comment that Gibraltar is not part of the customs union as it is and therefore the border is already a hard one with border checks which will therefore not change when Gibraltar leaves the EU (JT; JJ).

When discussing the border after Brexit, most respondents do not expect or fear a physically closed border as during the Franco time. One respondent argues that a closed border between countries in Europe is simply inconceivable nowadays, saying: *"I don't fear the border closing, I don't know why, but I just think- I just think it's such a strange concept nowadays, a border will just close between nations, in a European- it just doesn't make sense to me, you know,*

and also we're not living in the Franco era you know" (MM, p. 8). While another respondent simply states that: *"it's not going to be closed, we all know that there is not going to be a physical closure,"* (SM, p. 7). However, even though a physical border closure is not expected, most respondents do fear some sort of obstacles which will make crossing the border more difficult. The same respondent who argues that everyone knows that there won't be a physical closure, also states that: *"administrative, obstacles can be so great that it's going to be de-facto closed"* (SM, p. 7).

While one respondent argues that the only change at the border will be that a permit might be needed to cross (JJ, p. 17) another respondent is afraid that it might get as complicated as having to fly to London to obtain a Visa, and even fears the idea of being refused a visa for one reason or another (AT, p. 19)

While some respondents do fear the border closing once again, and the adverse effects this might have for their lives and businesses, others don't fear the border physically closing. It is interesting to see the difference here between the younger generations who did not live through the closed border the last time and who do not fear the border closing, compared to the people who still remember the last time the border closed and are apparently preparing for the worst.

6.2.2 Economic Impact

Besides the potential problems with the border with Spain, the Brexit is also expected to have a large economic impact on Gibraltar. Respondents strongly disagree about the importance of the economic impact the Brexit might have. One respondent argues that due to the economy of Gibraltar being based on financial services *"That could be halved overnight,"* (MGS, p. 5), and mentions that: *"if you look at how this is going to affect trade and living standards it's a catastrophe,"* (MGS, p. 8). Another respondent is more nuanced and argues that while the single market does not account for a large part of the Gibraltarian economy, there will still be a negative impact of leaving the single market that needs to be taken care of, saying : *"Coming out of the single market, because you know the single market accounts for something like eight or nine per cent of our GDP and services, and that's not negligible, you know that's- people's jobs depend on that stuff, and a lot will depend on what kind of political arrangement we can come to with the UK to mitigate the negative impact of exiting the single market."* (JT, p. 6). Two of the respondents of this research are business owners. They seem to be especially worried about the potential economic impact the Brexit might have on their own livelihood. One respondents summarises the issues for business owners as follows: *"there is a great deal of uncertainty, like I said the vast majority of my business right now, and because my life is linked to my business, my quality of life is linked to my business and my income being of a high standard, is- is pretty much in the air."* (SM, p.7)

6.2.3 Opportunities after Brexit

When asked about potential opportunities the Brexit might bring, the opinions were divided. One respondent argued that there are no advantages to leaving the European Union for Gibraltar (MSG, p. 5), while another respondent argued that even though there might be opportunities in a post-Brexit Gibraltar, there were far more opportunities for Gibraltar as part of the EU, saying: *"the EU was a far better opportunity. Ok yes you got to look at things we have and you got to try to make the best out of it but the opportunities are reduced."* (MM, p. 15)

Other respondents did however mention potential opportunities of leaving the EU. One of the opportunities brought along by Brexit is the possibility of having a tax policy that does not have to comply to the EU regulations (JT; MM; UG2). However none of the respondents mentioning the possibility of becoming a Tax-haven seem to be very happy with this idea, saying that: *"it's not one that I particularly relish"* (JT, p. 12) or even saying that: *"this would be obviously a bad thing in my view, that we would end up like a tax haven"*(MM. p. 8)

Digital businesses in several forms are also mentioned as being potential opportunities (JJ, JT, MM, SM), since there is no need for a European license for these types of businesses (JJ, p. 16) which could potentially replace some of the jobs and revenue that might be lost due to the Brexit (JT, p. 12)

The loss of a strong partnership with Europe is also seen as a possibility for new collaborations with other regions (DCM, MM, UG3, UG1). The Deputy Chief Minister argues that both North Africa due to its proximity to Gibraltar and countries in the British commonwealth are both viable options for developing stronger economic and commercial ties (DCM, p. 9) the possibility of closer ties with North Africa is also mentioned by several other respondents (MM, p. 14; UG1, p. 11), while working together with small states or city-states within Europe because of their similarities to Gibraltar is also mentioned as an option (MM, p. 8)

6.3 Response to Brexit

On the morning of the 24th of June 2016 Gibraltar woke up to the realisation that even though they overwhelmingly voted remain, the UK was set to leave the EU (Clegg, 2016).

When asked about their immediate response to the Brexit outcome, some responses were shared by several respondents. There was a sense of surprise or shock among several respondents (JJ; DCM; MM; UG1; AT). The Deputy Chief Minister mentioned that shock was the main emotion people felt after the Brexit vote, saying: "*so, waking up the next morning was a sense of shock, people were shocked, people were also concerned as to what the future might bring."* (DCM, p. 1). News outlets similarly reported shock as the main response immediately after the Brexit vote (the Guardian, 2016a; Reuters, 2016). Some respondents living in the UK at

the time of the Brexit campaign were less surprised based on their experience, one respondent answered that he was *"Initially a little bit surprised" (*JJ, p. 14), but also thought that the result would be close together (JJ). Another respondent mentioned that he "*wasn't as surprised as most people seemed to be"* (JT, p. 5) as he also mentioned that he expected the results to be close together (JT, p. 5), both these respondents however still expected the remain side to win.

Emotionally respondents were mostly sad and disappointment after the Brexit outcome came in (MGS; JT; MM; SM; AT). One respondent called the outcome "*an incredibly retrograde development"* (MGS, p. 4) and argued that they were *"disappointed"* (JT, p. 5) or simply "*not happy"* (MM, p. 5). Two respondents even compared the news of the Brexit outcome to the feeling of losing a loved one (AT, p. 16; SM, p. 5). This feeling of loss was apparently shared more widely in the Gibraltarian community, since in the Brexit aftermath the Guardian also quoted someone saying that it felt *"like someone had died"* (the Guardian, 2016a). Besides being sad and disappointed about the outcome of the Brexit, the vote also lead to people being concerned about the future now that Gibraltar was leaving the EU (DCM, p. 1; Reuters, 2016).

Besides the initial shock and disappointment about the Brexit outcome, the Brexit vote also had another influence on the Gibraltarian public. Several respondents mention a feeling of unity with their fellow Gibraltarians (AT; MM; JJ) as well as a fighting spirit (SM) when it had become clear that the UK and Gibraltar were leaving the European Union. A possible reason for this togetherness given by one of the respondents is that the loss of protection from the EU means Gibraltar needs to stand up for themselves, uniting the community (JJ). Meanwhile some respondents aren't sure that the Brexit is leading or will lead to a heightened sense of community (JT, p. 11; SM), one respondent argues that a brain drain caused by Brexit might in fact lead do an undermining of the community (JT, p. 11) while another respondent argues that it will only become clear how close the community really is when *"the proverbial shit hits the fan"* (SM, p. 10) after the UK leaves the EU.

6.4 Changing relationship with Spain

Another potential consequence of the Brexit might be a turn for the worse in the relatively stable relationship with Spain. Before the Brexit vote, the potential Spanish response to Brexit was already taken into account by the Gibraltarians. The Deputy Chief Minister mentions that one of the reasons to vote against the Brexit was the potential Spanish response to a Brexit complicating their lives (DCM, p. 1)

In April 2017 the European Council added clause 24 to the guidelines document for the exit of the UK from the European Union, and addition requested by Spain. This clause states that: *"after the United Kingdom leaves the Union, no agreement between the EU and the United Kingdom may apply to the territory of Gibraltar without the agreement between the Kingdom of Spain and*

the United Kingdom." (El Pais, 2018), essentially giving Spain a veto over all Gibraltar related Brexit issues. In Gibraltar this clause is seen as *"controversial"* (Gibraltar Chronicle, 2018), and is seen by unlawful by the Gibraltarian Government (Gibraltar Chronicle, 2018; DCM). Even though the Spanish tone towards Gibraltar has gotten less aggressive since the election of a new foreign minister, the addition of this clause leads Gibraltarians to think Spain is still trying to take advantage of the situation (JJ, p. 17).

Several respondents argue that the Spanish response has been "*quite muted so far"* (MGS, p. 7). Several possible reasons for this response are given by the respondents. Some don't know why the Spanish have thus far behaved quite nicely (MGS, p. 7), while other argue that they might have *"bigger fish to fry"* since these interviews were conducted during the trouble with Cataluña (JT). The change of foreign minister is also given as an important reason for a milder approach (DCM, p. 2) but the respondents don't believe that this milder approach also means that the objective towards Gibraltar has changed for Spain (DCM, p. 2).

6.5 Changing relationship with the EU

In the previous chapter it became apparent that Gibraltar has historically been very pro-European and more pro-EU than the rest of the UK. Leaving the EU might therefore influence this pro-European attitude. The respondents to this research describe a number of ways in which their relationship with and attitude towards the EU and Europe is changing. Some respondents who are more pro-EU and see being European as part of their identity feel like their European identity and being part of the EU has been taken away from them, since they did not vote for this to happen. One respondent argues that he feels that part of his identity has been taken away by leaving the EU, saying: "*It's almost like part of my culture has been removed, has been, you know sliced away .... what am I going to do, I am not European, what am I then?*" (MGS, p. 2). The deputy chief minister on the other hand accentuates the importance of the leaving the EU while not having chosen this, saying: "*I joined politics as a very pro-European person who believed in the European ideal, and that has been taken away from us , not by our votes, by other people's votes."* (DCM, p. 8). While another respondent puts it in a harsher way, saying : "*It's not that I want to leave Europe, Europe has kicked me out."* (AT, p. 5)

The Brexit has in Gibraltar also caused a decline in the pro-European attitude of the Gibraltarians according to the respondents (MGS, JJ, JT, UG2, AT). Several respondents notice a change in attitude from people around them in the community (MGS, JT, UG2), and argue that if the Brexit vote would be held now the vote would be much closer to 50/50 than to a 96 per cent remain vote (MGS; JJ; UG2). Some other respondents mention that they themselves are less pro-EU now that they notice how the EU has been treating Gibraltar since the Brexit outcome. Saying that: "*we gained before June 2016 a false form of security from the EU, and subsequently we saw*

that the EU was probably never on our side." (JJ, p. 5). And "*I'm disillusioned with Europe."* (AT, p. 21)

This decline in pro-European attitude is also caused by a feeling of betrayal by the EU, especially because the EU allowed for Clause 24 to be in the Brexit agreement, causing Spain to have a de facto veto on all Gibraltar issues regarding the EU. One respondent summarised this feeling as follows: "*A lot of people felt betrayed by that (clause 24), because they said the EU was supposed to be fighting our corner, yet they allowed Spain to put in clause 24 which vetoes the deal, so they're not in our corner. So I think since then a lot of people have gotten a lot less European."* (JJ, p. 5) Many respondents notice this sentiment of feeling betrayed around them (JJ, DCM, JT, MM), saying many people saw the addition of clause 24 as "*a slap in the face"* (DCM, p. 2), and some feel this betrayal themselves (AT)

The above responses show that the EU's treatment of Gibraltar since the Brexit has caused a more negative attitude towards the EU. An important reason for this is the acceptance from the EU to add clause 24, a de-facto veto on all Gibraltar issues for Spain, to the Exit document. The Deputy Chief Minister explained the essence of this clause 24 as follows:

"- what it says is that after the UK has left the European Union, then every agreement between the EU and the UK has to go- has to be approved by Spain and by the UK in terms of its application to Gibraltar. So all member states of the European Union have a veto, clearly on everything, but Spain has a second veto on how that applies here. So- so in theory they could say: right, this is a great deal for the United Kingdom, so United Kingdom you can have it, but you cannot apply this in Gibraltar, and I'm vetoing its application in Gibraltar. So it means for us it's dangerous cause we can be potentially left out of everything." (DCM, p. 2)

The EU allowing this clause to be added was to some respondents proof that the EU does not care about Gibraltar, saying that this clause shows that: "*The EU was probably never on our side"*(JJ, p. 6), another respondent explains her changed relationship with the EU as follows: *"if it had come to that kind of thing in Europe at any time, I would have been prepared to lay down my life for Europe, I wouldn't lay down my spit for Europe right now."* (AT, p. 5). Other respondents, while clearly unhappy about this clause, did understand why the EU felt the need to add it (SM, JT, MM), which one of them clearly explained: "*I'm not saying that clause 24 is good or anything. What I'm saying is that if you look at the EU situation and you have a member state who will remain a member state and Spain you know is not likely to leave the EU, and you have a member state who's leaving for sure, you know, pretty much, the UK, which interest do you look after for? You look out for the interest of your member state,"* (MM,p. 10)

When asked about the post-Brexit relationship between UK and Gibraltar and the EU, the predominant response was not knowing what the future would bring in, with several respondents mentioning that they have no idea what the relationship with the EU will look like in the future (AT; MGS). Respondents did mention their hopes for a functioning relationship with the EU going forward (MGS; MM; SM), and for some *"common decency"* from the EU going forward in this process (AT, p. 17)

6.6 Changing relationship with the UK

According to Canessa (2018) the Brexit is once again threatening the Gibraltarian's sense of Britishness due to concerns from Gibraltarians of the UK government not being willing or able to make sure Gibraltar's interests are taken care of during the Brexit negotiations.

Trust in the UK government concerning Brexit seems to be slim. On a Facebook page dedicated to the remain campaign a poll was held on the 6th of December 2017 on the chances of there being a deal before the end of the week. Of almost 1000 voters only 8 per cent expected there to be a deal. Among the respondents of this research there is also little trust in the way the UK government is handling the Brexit, calling the way the Brexit is being handled: *"shocking"* (MM, p. 8), "*disastrously"* (JT, p. 8), and "*inadequate"* (SM, p. 7). Another common opinion among the respondents is the idea that the UK government do not know what they are doing concerning Brexit (UG1; UG2; UG3; AT; MGS), with a respondent saying that: *"they're running in circles, like a dog chasing its tail."* (MGS, p. 5). Only one respondent was relatively positive about the way the UK was handling the Brexit both nationwide and concerning Gibraltar, arguing that: *"Boris Johnson actually kind of gets it, when he comes to Gibraltar and he sees the queues and he sees the incursions. So as foreign secretary he's been quite astute in saying Gibraltar is not a point of negotiation,"* (JJ, p. 8). It is important to note that all these responses are from December 2017 and it is unclear how and if these opinions might have changed since then.

It is clear that most respondents think very negatively about the way in which the UK government is handling the Brexit, the question however remains if and how the Brexit and the way it is being handled is influencing the relationship between the UK and Gibraltar. From a government point of view the Brexit vote required close collaboration between the Gibraltar and the UK government. The Deputy Chief Minister mentions that the Gibraltar government is working closely with the UK government to get *"the best possible deal outside of the European Union"* (DCM, p. 3). Economically the UK market is already the most important market for Gibraltar (DCM; JT), which will become even more important if access to the European market becomes limited due to Brexit (DCM; JT). This shows that politically and economically the UK is seen as an important partner.

There is no consensus among the respondents about how and if the Brexit is changing the relationship with the UK. As mentioned above, on the one hand respondents are critical about the way the UK government is handling the Brexit, and therefore more critical towards the UK government (MM, p. 9), and people living in the UK also notice a hardening of attitudes towards foreigners, including Gibraltarians even though they are *"technically British"* (SM, p. 6; MGS). While one respondent argues that the Brexit might enlarge the British disinterest in Gibraltar (UG1, p. 18) another respondent argues that the British are in fact very supportive of Gibraltar. According to her the leave voters want to prove to Gibraltar that the Brexit isn't a terrible thing for Gibraltar and protect them from harm, while the remain voters are happy to see a community with such a large percentage of remain voters (AT), and another argues that the UK government is standing up for the rights of Gibraltar and Boris Johnson in his role as foreign secretary was very clear about Gibraltar not being a point of negotiation (JJ, p. 8). At any rate, at a governmental level the UK will be an even more important partner now the country is leaving the EU (DCM, JT).

6.7 Gibraltarian government's response to Brexit

While most respondents have a quite negative view towards the way the UK government is handling the Brexit, this is not the case towards the Gibraltarian government. Most respondents argue that the Gibraltarian government are doing the best they can concerning the Brexit (MGS, DCM, JT, MM, SM, UG3, AT).

One of the ways in which the Gibraltarian government is preparing for the Brexit is through an impact study conducted soon after the Brexit vote. The Deputy Chief Minister explained that: *"As a government we immediately set out to organise an impact study as to the impact of Brexit on all the different areas of the economy, on the public sector, on the private sector and everywhere else. So that study was ready by the beginning of September and was submitted to the department for exiting the European Union in the United Kingdom which has just been formed and which is the basis of the discussions that we're having even into this day. So we knew very clearly from the beginning exactly what it is that we want and what we don't want,"* (DCM, p. 1). As mentioned before the most important outcome of this impact study was the importance of the border through all layers of the economy. Respondents of this research appreciate this impact study, especially since there was no such action undertaken in mainland Britain.

Another way in which the Gibraltarian government is preparing for Brexit is by making its voice heard to all relevant actors, as the Deputy Chief Minister states: *"We made it very clear at the beginning that we would leave no stone unturned to safeguard the position of Gibraltar … We've met with all the member states of the European Union, we've met constantly with the United Kingdom, all political parties in the United Kingdom, the devolved administrations; the government*

of Scotland, of Wales, of Northern Ireland, the Channel Islands, the overseas territories. European Parliament, European Commission, there's nobody we haven't actually met to put across out point of view." (DCM, p. 5). This action from the government is not going unnoticed by the residents of Gibraltar, as several respondents also mention that the government is making its voice heard the best they can (JJ; MM).

Even though the government of Gibraltar is being applauded for the work they are doing concerning Brexit, the respondents of this research are also realistic about the level of influence the Gibraltarian government has and what they can be expected to achieve (MGS; MM; SM; AT; UG3), with one respondents says about the government's efforts: *"As best as we can I think, within the circumstances, I mean we're little, very little. there's only so much we can do,"* (AT, p. 20).

6.8 Conclusion

This chapter set out to research the aftermath of the Brexit vote as well as the potential impact of the pending Brexit on Gibraltar and on its relationships with the UK, the EU and Spain. In the preamble to the Brexit vote, the remain vote was the only side to receive attention, and it was therefore not surprising that an overwhelming majority of the Gibraltarians voted to remain. Important reasons for this remain vote were the uncertainty concerning the border with Spain in case of a Brexit, and the economic benefits the EU brought Gibraltar. The few Gibraltarians who did vote in favour of Brexit are mostly thought to be expats and people who think the EU has a too large amount of control over its citizens. Since the Brexit vote, there has been a great deal of uncertainty about the potential impact this will have on Gibraltar. The border is by most respondents thought to be the largest potential problem. An impact study done by the Gibraltarian government found that a less permeable border will have consequences in every area of the economy. Exactly how 'hard' the border will be after Brexit is unclear. While most respondents do not expect or fear the border to close altogether, they do fear some form and expect some kind of restriction in the crossing of people and goods after Brexit. There is no consensus among the respondents about the potential impact of the Brexit on the economy, while some argue that most trade is with the UK and will therefore not change, others argue that trade could be greatly impacted, and impact on individual companies, especially those dependent on import from Europe or tourism could be large. The Brexit vote has led Gibraltar to look for opportunities in other areas than the EU, having a less restricted tax policy, investing in digital businesses and new partnerships with parties other than the EU are seen as opportunities by some respondents, while others argue that staying a part of the EU will offer more opportunities.

In the immediate aftermath of the Brexit vote, the prevailing response was shock as well as disappointment in the outcome. Some respondents mention that the Brexit vote also brought along a feeling of unity among Gibraltarians, while others argue that it is too soon to see whether Gibraltar will unite in the face of Brexit. The Brexit vote is already having an effect on the relationship between Gibraltar and Spain, its surrounding state, and between Gibraltar and mainland Britain, as well as between Gibraltar and the EU. The Spanish response to Brexit concerning Gibraltar has not been as aggressive as initially expected by the respondents, since the election of a new foreign minister softened their tone concerning Gibraltar, however the addition of Clause 24 to the exit document, giving Spain a veto on any issues concerning Gibraltar, leads most respondents to believe that Spain's objective concerning Gibraltar has not changed and that they will be taking advantage of the Brexit to further their agenda on Gibraltar. The relationship with the EU among the respondents has similarly worsened. While only some respondents felt European identity wise and therefore experience a loss of the European part of their identity, a clear decline in pro-European attitude can be seen, as people are feeling betrayed by the EU due to their acceptance to the addition of clause 24. Some respondents therefore expect a very different outcome, were there to be another Brexit vote. Respondents are also uncertain about the relationship Gibraltar and the EU will have going forward, but hope it will be a civil one. The impact of the Brexit vote on the Relationship with the UK is an interesting one, while most respondents have little trust in the UK government concerning the Brexit, this does not necessarily lead to a worse relationship with the UK. Some respondents argue that the UK will become an even more important economic partner with the loss of the partnership with the EU. While some respondents living in the UK notice a hardening attitude towards foreigners and Gibraltarians alike, others argue that relatively Gibraltar and their Brexit concerns are getting a lot of attention from the UK government. While the UK government does not seem to be handling the Brexit very well, the respondents of this study are positive about the Brexit efforts of their own government. Most respondents argue that the Gibraltarian government is doing the best they can and really making their voice heard, however they are being realistic about the limited influence the Gibraltar government has in the process as well.

7. Conclusion

This research set out to find out to answer the question: "*What is the impact of being part of the EU on the Gibraltarian identity and how might this change when the United Kingdom leaves the EU?".* The first part of this study, chapter 5, researched the elements of the Gibraltarian identity and the impact of the EU on the area and its national identity. This chapter set out to answer the first two sub-questions of this research:

- What does being a Gibraltarian mean to the people of Gibraltar?
- What is the impact of being an EU member on Gibraltar?

The question concerning the Gibraltarian identity resulted in several responses. Both existing literature as well as the respondents of this study mentioned a British and a Gibraltarian component to the Gibraltarian identity. A European element to the Gibraltarian identity was only mentioned by some respondents and some literature on the subject. While Spanish or Mediterranean influences were acknowledged by the respondents, no one mentioned a there being a specifically Spanish element to the Gibraltarian identity. The Gibraltarian identity was furthermore said to be shaped by the population's shared history of conflict and immigration, the small size and resulting sense of community and the hybridity caused by the specifically Gibraltarian, British and Mediterranean influences.

The EU has influenced Gibraltar in several ways. Both the respondents of this study and existing literature highlight the importance of the EU in the reopening of the border with Spain. The EU is in recent years still seen as an extra form of security concerning the border, although some respondent argue that this has been a false sense of security. Economically the EU has also had a positive influence on Gibraltar according to the respondents. The exact importance of the EU on the economy is disputed among respondents, some respondents argue that the EU is not very important to the Gibraltarian economy since most trade is with the UK.

The second part of this study, chapter 6, researched the specific potential influence of the Brexit on Gibraltar. This chapter set out to answer the following sub-questions of this research:

- How will the Brexit potentially impact Gibraltar?
- How is the Brexit vote changing the relationships of Gibraltar with the EU, the UK and Spain?

The potential impact of the Brexit on Gibraltar has been researched by the Gibraltarian Government in an impact study. The outcome of this study showed that disturbance in the border would impact every aspect of the Gibraltarian economy. Since it is unclear at this moment if and how the border will change and what other effects the leaving the EU will have, it is not possible to predict the impact of leaving the EU on Gibraltar. The respondents to this study have voiced some expectancies and fears concerning the Brexit. None of the respondents expect the border with Spain to be fully closed, but most do expect some restrictions concerning the

border, some more severe than others. The respondents all expect the Brexit to have a negative influence on the Economy as well, but disagree on the exact impact.

The pro-European attitude of Gibraltar and relationship with the EU are changing due to the Brexit vote. Several respondents mention a disenchantment or feeling of betrayal concerning the EU, for not being 'on their side' anymore. The exit from the EU will also result in a change the political relationship with the EU. The respondents of this study are uncertain about what this relationship will look like going forward. Even though some respondents express their that Spain is not responding to the Brexit as aggressive as expected, the addition of clause 24 is seen as an example of ill will from Spain. The relationship with the UK is complicated. While none of the respondents is positive about the way the UK government is handling the Brexit, a closer partnership with the UK is expected after Brexit to make up for the loss of the EU.

This research has shown that the EU did have a positive impact on Gibraltar, but that this did not for everyone translate to a European element in the Gibraltarian identity. Those who did acknowledge a European part of their identity experience a sense of loss with the loss of the EU, while more generally respondents were disenchanted by the EU. It is too soon to predict the exact impact of leaving the EU on Gibraltar in general and specifically on the Gibraltarian identity. A change in the relationships with significant others Spain, the UK and the EU can however already be noticed.

8. Discussion

In order to understand the significance of the results in the previous chapter, the validity of this research needs to be depicted. The interview questions for this research have been formulated based on literature on national and group identities, combined with literature on the specific Gibraltarian identity and the Gibraltarian history, in order to understand Gibraltar as well as possible. To account for potential gaps in the interview questions, the list has been adapted between interviews to account for interesting insights given in previous interviews that had not been taken into account before.

Identity is a complicated concept to research. It can be called into question whether someone's identity is based on the aspects they see as part of their identity, or also on habits and influences that someone does not notice or does not see or want to see as part of their identity. In this research I have decided to let the respondents decide which elements they acknowledge as part of their identity and which they do not, because this is more straightforward to measure.

The time and situation in which the interviews are conducted are of influence on the validity as well. All interviews were conducted between November and December 2017. They were therefore all conducted in the same time period. When these interviews were conducted the Brexit vote had been over a year ago, which gave all respondents a chance to understand and accept this news. During the time of the interviews the Cataluña independence referendum had just taken place. This might have been of influence of the way in which the respondents viewed the Spanish government and the way in which they handle independent regions or regions that want to be independent.

Due to the qualitative nature of this research, the results cannot be generalised. This research tried to get a widespread pallet of opinions by interviewing a diverse group of people, but research does not reflect the opinions of most or all Gibraltarians.

Based on the existing literature on the matter, the Gibraltarian identity was expected to be a hybrid one made up of British, Gibraltarian and Mediterranean elements, with a Spanish influence which is sometimes downplayed or denied. This coincides with the way in which the respondents of this research described the Gibraltarian identity. The importance of Europe was unclear with some literature mentioning this connection, while others didn't. Among the respondents there was similarly no consensus on this matter. A large influence of the EU as found in the results was to be expected as it explains the pro-European attitude of the Gibraltarians.

Respondents had different thoughts about the way in which and the degree to which the Brexit will impact Gibraltar. This was to be expected because of the uncertainty surrounding the matter, leading to a variety of possibilities on the subject. The strengthening of the relationship

with the UK makes sense because with the loss of the partnership with the EU this partnership is necessary and useful for Gibraltar, though disappointment with the UK government concerning the Brexit could have potentially caused a dent in this partnership as well.

This research yielded several unexpected results as well. Based on literature on the subject of national identity shared ethnicity and religion are important identity markers which are missing in Gibraltar. Surprisingly the respondents of this study mentioned the immigration background which resulted in the different ethnicities, as well as the resulting multicultural society as an important identity marker in its own right. This shows that the way in which we look at identity might be old-fashioned, and that multiculturalism can be seen as a unifying characteristic instead of a divisive one.

Another interesting outcome is the disillusionment with the European Union which is already taking place. On the one hand it is not surprising that Gibraltarians are disappointment in the way the EU is handling the Brexit and treating them in the process. However in the light of the discussion in the UK about whether or not there should be a second referendum it is interesting to see that in Gibraltar this would probably not lead to a shift towards the remain side, but rather to a shift to the leave side. According to some respondents the results might even be close to 50/50.

Related to these results another interesting observation can be made. Based on the literature on identity and conflicts, an expectation of this research was for the Brexit to bring the Gibraltarian community closer together in the face of this potential hardship. While some respondents thought that the Brexit would indeed bring the community closer together, the community's opinions concerning the Brexit have only grown apart, with a near consensus before the vote and a very different result now.

Because the Brexit has not yet happened, the impact it will have on Gibraltar is still unclear. For this reason this research has only been able to poll people's expectancies and fears, limiting the outcome of this research to possible scenarios. It would for this reason be interesting to repeat this study once the Brexit has actually happened and the effects can be measured. This research already shows that the relationships between Gibraltar and the EU and Spain are changing. It is to be expected that the direction and degree of this change in relationships with Spain and the EU will be dependent on the extent of change and hardship Gibraltar has to go through because of Brexit.

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Appendix

1. Interview questions

How is the pending Brexit affecting the Gibraltarian national identity?

Good afternoon, thank you for talking to me. My name is Isa Kleij and I am currently enrolled in a master's degree at the Radboud University in the Netherlands in Human Geography, Conflicts, Territories and identities. For my master thesis research I am currently on a three month internship at the Gibraltar Garrison Library. I am researching the Brexit and its effect on the Gibraltarian identity. In this interview I will therefore be asking questions about what the Gibraltarian identity and being a Gibraltarian means to you, how you are experiencing the Brexit and how the Brexit is influencing your Gibraltarian identity.

-What does being a Gibraltarian mean to the people of Gibraltar?

1. Does the Gibraltarian identity exist?
    a. What according to you **makes the Gibraltarian people?** (do they need to be born there? Live there for a long time? Is it based on culture or language?)
    b. Would you describe yourself as **a 'real' Gibraltarian**, in what ways yes/no
2. The Gibraltarian identity is often described as **hybrid and as a mix of British, Mediterranean** and specifically Gibraltarian aspects, do you agree with this?
    a. what according to you are **British aspects** of the Gibraltarian identity?
        i. In what way are Brits and Gibraltarians similar
        ii. In what ways are they different?
    b. What do you think are **more Mediterranean** (Spanish/Andalucían/ Mediterranean) aspects of the Gibraltarian identity?
        i. In what ways are Gibraltarians similar to Spaniards
        ii. In what ways do Gibraltarians differ from Spaniards
3. As the Brexit has shown, Gibraltar is much more pro-EU and pro-European than other parts of the United Kingdom. Do you think **being European is important to the Gibraltarian identity?**
    a. Why?
    b. How is this expressed?
4. What aspects of the Gibraltarian identity are then **specifically Gibraltarian?**

5. Is being British or being Gibraltarian **more important** to you?
    a. Why?
    b. How much more?
6. Do you feel **European**?
    a. How important is this in comparison to being British or Gibraltarian How important is being European for you? Why? (Scaling from 1-10?) circeltje/taart
7. When/ in what situation or situations do you **feel most Gibraltarian**?
    a. Why in this situation?
    b. How does this express itself?
8. How **often do you visit the UK**?
    a. For what purpose?
    b. Do you know a lot of British people?

    c. Have you **ever lived there**?
    d. Would you ever consider living there?
        i. Why/ why not?
9. Do you feel more **Gibraltarian when in the UK or when in Gibraltar**?
    a. why?
10. When/ in what situation do you feel **most British**?
    a. Why then?
    b. How do you express this?
11. When (if ever) do you **feel most European**?
12. How often do you visit Spain?
    a. For what purpose?
    b. Have you ever lived there?
    c. Would you ever consider living there?
        i. Why/why not?
13. How do you feel about the Spanish **government**?
14. How do you feel about **Spanish people**?
15. Would you ever consider living in another EU country, why?
16. Do you feel more British or more Gibraltarian? Why?
17. Are you proud to be a Gibraltarian
18. Are you proud to be British
19. Are you, or were you before the Brexit ever proud to be a European?
20. Waar voel je je het meest Gibraltees, Spanje, UK?

Changes due to Brexit: (Subquestion 2)

1. How did you experience the **Brexit campaign in Gibraltar**? (nudges: did it bring the people closer together)
2. Did you **vote** on the EU referendum?
    a. What did you vote?
3. What was **your initial response** to the Brexit outcome?
    a. How do you feel about it now?/ has this **changed?**
4. Do you think the **EU is good for Britain**; are there negative aspects of the EU as well?
5. Do you understand why people in **mainland UK would vote in favour** of Brexit?
    a. Do you understand why **Gibraltarians** would vote in favour of Brexit?
    b. Can you imagine voting differently if you hadn't lived in Gibraltar?
6. Now that the vote has been cast, do you feel the UK/Gibraltar should leave or still try to remain (**reliever or a remoaner**)? (nudges: if they want to remain, at what cost? Independence from Britain, co-sovereignty with Spain?)
7. What do you think will **change after March 2019**?
    a. Are you **afraid** of what will happen?
    b. Can the Brexit be seen as an opportunity for Gibraltar? (and for Britain?)
8. What do you think will change for you personally due to the Brexit?
9. How do you see your **future in Gibraltar**? Might the Brexit change this future?
10. How often do you cross the border?
    a. Are you afraid of border related changes

Subquestions 3-6

11. How do you think the **UK government** is handling the Brexit (is enough being done to secure a good deal for Gibraltar)?
12. Has the Brexit vote changed how you feel about/ your **attitude towards the UK** (the government or its people)?
13. Has the Brexit vote changed your relationship/communication with **British people**?
14. How do you think the **Gibraltar government** is handling the Brexit?
15. Have the Brexit vote and the Brexit negotiations increased or decreased your confidence in the Gibraltarian Government? Why?
16. How do you think **the EU** is handling the Brexit? (Do you think the UK and Gibraltar are being treated fairly?) -> clause 24
17. Has the Brexit vote changed how you feel about/ your **attitude towards the EU**?
18. How do you feel about the **Spanish government'**s treatment of the UK/Gibraltar during the Brexit negotiations?
19. Has the Brexit vote changed how you feel about the Spanish government/ **your attitude** towards Spain (the government or its people)?
20. Has the Brexit vote changed how you view **Spanish people**
21. Has the Brexit vote changed your relationship/**communicatio**n with Spanish people?
22. Has the Brexit vote changed your relationship with **other Gibraltarians**? (nudges: has it brought you closer together, was there a strong feeling of community after the vote?)
23. How, if at all, do you think the Brexit vote has influenced the Gibraltar **national day** in the past two years?
24. (What does the **Catalonian independence referendum** illustrate according to you?

Mag ik je gegevens

Weet je verder nog mensen die mee willen werken

2. List of codes filled in

In separate document