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**How has Gibraltar's position
within Britain's military structure
impacted on the role of women in
Gibraltar Society?**

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ABSTRACT

The military base is an intrinsic part of a country's worldwide presence and power made necessary by the anarchistic international system. Gibraltar is a remnant of Britain's global footprint. The fact that Gibraltar initially acted as a military base makes assessing the base's position and impact on Gibraltar essential in analysing Gibraltarian gender relations. This dissertation aims to understand this, using feminist theory.

To do so, I will firstly focus on the feminist theorising of military bases presented by Cynthia Enloe's *Bananas, Beaches and Bases*. I will then examine Gibraltar's similarities to the 'base women' Enloe examines. This will encompass prostitution, marriage, nationality, employment status and other themes in Gibraltar that draw parallels with Enloe's theory: The base always comes first. This is particularly true to Gibraltar between the late nineteenth to mid-twentieth century.

Part two will build on this by exploring a unique three-way nexus of identity. This nexus encompasses three relationships that intertwine in a way that is unique to Gibraltar. These relationships are; the interaction and tensions between the military and the civilian, the class divide between British and Alien, and at the heart of all these relationships remains a core divide in them all which is that of masculine and feminine. This will demonstrate that although Gibraltar once matched the Enloe base, the territory's history has developed towards the late twentieth century, maintaining aspects of base life but still evolving its societal dynamics and feminist exterior, resulting in a shift of gender identities today.

The final section will use a series of interviews and post structural theorising to establish critical moments in the transformation of Gibraltarian identity as civilians that are no longer defined solely by the military base. I conclude with shortcomings in Enloe's work discovered within my investigation.

Keywords: Military bases, Gibraltar, Feminism, Women, Enloe, British Military

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INTRODUCTION

The role of the military in society is one of the foundations that develop a society's growth. As Tilly argues, "the state makes war [and] war makes the state," (Tilly, 1985). The constant perception of 'threat' legitimises in society the need for the military. In the case of Gibraltar this is absolute, as it has always been used as a fortress due to its strategic location controlling access to the Mediterranean Sea. Despite no longer being used for this purpose alone, its use as a base remains. This places an importance on the military history of Gibraltar, as this is one characteristic that has always remained constant and foundational in Gibraltar's growth, making it key to understanding gender relations in Gibraltar.

To find out how the British military structure of Gibraltar has shaped the role of women in its society, I will be using feminist theory as it begins by challenging the assumption that societal relations of women in domestic settings need not be explained by the influence of the international, foreign or military sphere, on them. On the contrary, I will show they are intrinsically linked. Using feminist theory exposes insights that would previously go unnoticed. This is also because International Relations is argued to be formulated in a masculine perspective, so any other perspective would be looking at it in the same way it was formulated. Cynthia Enloe's *Banana's, Beaches and Bases* is one of the most prominent texts to shed light on feminist analysis of military base gender relations and will be core to my theoretical framework. Keohane argues this allows "criticising implicit biases in our thinking about international relations [and] examining how core concepts of international relations are affected by the gendered structure of international society," (Keohane, 1989: 245).

Enloe has been "critiqued for diverging from conventional abstract theorising," (Menon, 2015: 5). Although this could make her theories more unique and helpful in understanding things in one way outside the norm, it risks lacking a comprehensive understanding from all angles. To avoid this, I will also rely on post-structural analysis as presented by Michel Foucault, (Foucault, 2001). Post-structuralism forces us to "rethink assumptions that we did not even know were assumptions," (Brown & Ainley, 2009: 58). This will assist me in assessing my feminist analysis of military bases with clarity, precision, and weariness of issues that surround it and what truly underpins the notions of masculine and feminine and the dynamics that sustain them.

I have chosen this instead of analysis through the eyes of societal actors – for example religion, which has had a large impact on gender relations in Gibraltar due to its vast diversity; or through domestic politics or judiciary, which have largely adapted its status as a British Overseas Territory and consequently its societal relations – because feminist analysis will illuminate perspectives previously unseen due to the masculinised nature of military bases, as well as post-structuralism allowing us to draw in all the combining factors that influence relations.

Understanding Gibraltar through a feminist lens is worthwhile because there is not a single feminist study on military Gibraltar thus far, making this dissertation an original and insightful endeavour. There are other viewpoints that occasionally encompass gender but the studies do not use feminism to learn anything new – which is what I intend to do. Enloe's work is also one of its kind, exploring this topic further will allow me to contribute to her theories of base life.

My objective is to discover how Gibraltar military strategic structure has impacted women in Gibraltar society and gender relations in it. I will firstly provide theoretical framework and justifications for methodologies chosen. The substantive research undertaken is in three parts;

1. Providing a context to Gibraltar and drawing parallels between Enloe's theory and Gibraltar's reality, showing that the base comes first, (focus: late nineteenth, to mid twentieth century).
2. Building on this by analysing the unique three-way nexus of Gibraltarian identity that encompasses: civilian and military, colony and garrison, British and other and male and female to understand the complexities that have shaped women's roles and development in Gibraltar society.
3. Locating Gibraltar's transition from Enloe's prototype base life to the type of base it is presently. I will use my primary information from interviews to identify three key international moments that alter gender relations of contemporary Gibraltar and societal relations within it. I will conclude with critiques of Enloe based on my research.

GIBRALTAR, FEMINIST THEORISING AND GENDER: A SURVEY OF THE LITERATURE

An overview of the core texts

The surrounding literature within the study of Gibraltar's military base history largely consists of political, judicial and ethnological approaches such as *Community and Identity: The making of Modern Gibraltar* (Constantine, 2009) and *Justice So Requiring: The Emergence and Development of the Legal System in Gibraltar* (Restano, 2012), and several other historical studies including, Hills, (1974), Finlayson (1990).

I will use *The Prostitutes of Serruya's Lane and Other Hidden Gibraltar Histories*, (Sanchez, 2007) and *the language of exclusion in F. Solly Flood's "History of the Permit System in Gibraltar* (Ballantine-Perera, 2007) as well interview material and historical studies to shape the feminist analysis of Gibraltar.

The key text within this investigation will be *Bananas, Beaches, Bases* (Enloe, 2014). Supporting material in understanding base life will include *Base Nation* (Vine, 2015) as well as *Maneuvers* (Enloe, 2005) and *The Bases of Empire* (Lutz, 2009). To avoid an overreliance on the work of Enloe, I have consulted academic critics of Enloe including Menon (2013) and Keohane (1989).

Further to avoiding this is my use of post-structuralism in feminist theorising, supported by *The History of Sexuality* and *Truth and Power* (Foucault, 2001) as well as Butler (2004) who has contributed to post-structural feminism largely, and Spivak (1988) who's post-colonial feminising will aid studying Gibraltar women's relations from the perspective of its history as a colony.

METHODOLOGY

Part one of this research will rely on building the case of Gibraltar in light of Enloe's theory. Part two will then draw on building on this using feminism and post-structuralism. However, to truly understand the societal impact Gibraltar's military structure has had on women and its gender relations, interacting in interviews with the people who have withstood the change in gender identities of Gibraltar is essential. The political theories we develop are useful in understanding what to look for in gender relations, but giving a voice to the perspectives that can often become victims of marginalisation due to the generalisation these theories can cause, provides first-hand perspective on gender relations from the people impacted by them. Therefore, I will also be using the testimony of six carefully selected semi-structured interviews with; Sylvia Ballantine, Janet Sacramento, Ernest Vallejo, Cecilia Baldachino, Michelle Walsh and David King. *(Their consent to these interviews and the use of their names has been documented and can be provided upon request, however, it has not been included in this paper due to data protection rights.)*

I chose these persons based on the roles Enloe uses to evidence her theory. For example: the role of the 'good military wife,' – Sylvia is the wife of a naval officer and sheds light on Enloe's theory of this from a Gibraltarian perspective. Janet worked at the Ministry of Defence until the later 1990's, providing an insight into civilian women working within the military environment when it had decreased in size. Ernest's grandmother owned one of the infamous cabaret's in Gibraltar and has studied the red light district in Gibraltar, providing an insight into Gibraltar's female entertainment industry necessitated by military presence. Cecilia worked at the war office post World War II, giving us an insight into working with the military at a time of its peak as well as when it was uncommon for women to work. Michelle is a female ex-soldier and provides insight into the masculine and feminine dynamics present at the core of the military base, in the soldiers. David King is the Commanding Officer of the Royal Gibraltar Regiment, providing a view from the masculinised military itself, building a picture of Gibraltar's base life from inside the base itself.

Part three is devoted to identifying when Gibraltar's military base structure changes using these first-hand sources. I ask my interviewees what prominent points of change they recognise in Gibraltar. Given their backgrounds, they all seem to have experiences that have shaped their opinions on this. This must be treated with caution as their testimonies do not present any factual evidence, and do not represent the rest of Gibraltar. Additionally, the opinions provided are given with the benefit of hindsight so this could harm the reliability of their answers. However, analysing their key claims builds a selection of answers to my question of how military base life has affected and adapted the role of women in Gibraltar Society.

THEORY

Cynthia Enloe's Base Women

Enloe adopts a pragmatic approach of standpoint feminism. Her focal question always being, “where are the women on and around a military base? (Enloe, 2014: 125). This encompasses all women who have **any** involvement with the base, and how they affect operations within it. In a military base, only one thing is important – the base, therefore decisions are based on how well they serve the military's priorities. The military's priorities rest on masculine and feminine dynamics that keep the men and women on the base within roles that ensure its sustainment. Any change, (this could be in the form of external change or internal change, including policy), could upset the fine-tuned dynamics present.

Enloe argues there is a “camouflage of normalcy” (Enloe, 2014: 132) present when the civilian population – and even military – partake in the everyday actions that allow them to interact and disguise the divide between these two groups, as well as the fact that their interaction is only because the base is the priority and they can be useful in sustaining it. Furthermore, “If the fit between local and foreign men and local and foreign women breaks down, the base may lose its protective camouflage of normalcy,” (Enloe, 2014: 133). The interaction can prove dangerous to the base if it results in new interactions between foreign and local men and women as this can threaten soldier's loyalties to their country as well the nationality of the base's next generation, demonstrating the fragile structure of foreign, local, male and female societal relations on the base.

“The good military wife” (Enloe, 2014: 142), also shapes the base. Marriage is good for the military as it can “cut down on troops drunkenness, indebtedness, and venereal disease ... [but it could also] divide a soldier's loyalty [...] as a dissatisfied wife will urge her husband not to reenlist,” (Enloe, 2014: 143). Wives had to be cut out for the role of supporting their husband and his needs. This has resulted in an ignorance about domestic abuse at times. Despite wives' associations often in place, base commanders enforce that the chief job of these associations “is to help military wives **cope**; it is not to alter the way the base is run,” (Enloe, 2014: 148).

Women soldiers are a threat too. Military bases rely on a certain stereotypical forms of masculinity present in its soldiers such as toughness, violence, shared enemy, lack of emotion and discipline, (Enloe, 2014: 150) – female soldiers threaten this. Enloe argues that allowing women to partake in a ‘male’ job is a step towards “gendered transformation” (Enloe, 2014: 153), yet not always the final solution. This is demonstrated by various cases of sexual harassment in the military and lack of effort to prevent them. “Sexual violence [too] is an issue of international politics,” (Enloe, 2014: 156).

Prostitution on military bases is a key part of base dynamics, as “they are assumed to go together as a natural twosome,” (Enloe, 2014: 157). Prostitution on and around military bases has been the product of male soldier’s present fulfilling their sexual ‘needs,’ so their masculinity remains intact. Enloe argues that the British troops around the world were no different and sought companionship, which often came in the form of colonized women of colour, (Enloe, 2014: 157). This resulted in a need for controlling contagious sexual diseases – the Contagious Diseases Act; forcing women to undergo crude vaginal examinations. These examinations were adopted on many colonies ruled by imperial military bases, including Gibraltar and were a way for soldiers to continue their necessary sexual activities and avoid contracting disease.¹

Post-structuralism

Post-structuralism is a critical approach to theorising. The key claim is that we view the world subjectively as it is already tainted by our interpretation of it. There are no universal truths because everything is subject to individual interpretations, shaped by experiences. Our understanding of the world is interpretive. There are binaries, specific to individual experience of the world, that prevent it from being objectively viewed. Post-structuralism seeks to break these binaries down. At the heart of this theoretical approach is the understanding of how discourse can accord to it degrees of power. Our understanding of the power attached to different meanings is due to the ability of power to move through discourse depending on who, what or how it has been conveyed.

Language is the core of the binaries problem, according to Foucault. We conceive of language as something which we have created to interact, but instead language becomes an element that limits our understanding. The meaning of our discourses are capped at the level of power attributed to them dependent on the people or places using it. Discourse is the vehicle that informs power. Post-structuralism is aware of this and aims to see these binaries for what they really are, power structures informed by discourse.

Foucault argues that there is no masculine without feminine. Our language used to describe the relations between these two binaries, ascribes to them various levels of power, which then shapes the way we perceive them in the world, which is shaped by our experiences of them, hence the power ascribed to the term masculine as opposed to feminine. Our understandings of masculine and feminine are not simply to do with male or female but rather the amount of agency, authority and ultimately power attributed to them. This is what sets these binaries in motion.

¹ This has been the case for many worldwide bases, the clearest example being the use of “comfort women” – a system of forced prostitution of Asian women in bases, consequently protecting white women from being involved in this.

The intricate structure of life within the base makes every base's gender understandings varied. By analysing from a feminist perspective, we open ourselves to the analysis of the interaction between domestic and international in society. Post-structuralism exposes these as binaries and opens them up to analysis in the attempt to understand gender relations, allowing that nothing should be taken for granted as certain. It will allow us to understand far beyond the apparent understanding of gender roles on military bases.

Post-structuralism invites us to use the interaction of these opposing binaries as metaphors for the various other opposing binaries at play to truly understand the interactions of masculinised and feminised relationships such as domestic and international, colony and motherland, British and civilian. They are all gendered relationships in that there is a subservient and a dominant. Foucault wants us to break this down so that we can see what is really going on behind our surface level understanding of them. Although many of these roles are not gender driven they are informed by the same power structure.

Sandra Harding argues that all the binaries identified by post-structural theorising, from identities, to norms, to languages and discourse, can be interpreted through a gender lens, (Harding, 1986). She uses post structuralism to separate everything by its binary and then assess it accordingly with(in) gender. This is again using the concepts of masculine and feminine – two primary roles in society that balance levels of power between them – to understand the balance of power in other opposing binaries. This helps us see how the binaries are in place to begin with and what level of authority has been ascribed to them that has allowed them to develop into the social limitation that they are. This is in line with the use of post-structuralism and feminism together in part one and two of my study. The aim is to build on my argument using post-structural framework such as Harding's and then identify where these binaries lie and how they can be deconstructed. Feminist studies allows me to tackle this from a new lens.

Judith Butler and Gayatri Spivak have provided extensive insight into post structural feminism. Butler argues that the concept of what 'normal' is, creates our notions of male and female. She claims, "norms are what govern "intelligible" life, "real" men and "real" women," (Butler, 2004: 206). A post structural feminist analysis from Butler would involve not using a female subject as the point of investigation, as doing so would force a preconceived idea of what a 'normal' woman is. She argues there is power in feminising. Spivak breaks down the meaning of female by equating the relations between male and female with the west and colonies, in a post-colonial analysis. She concludes "the female intellectual as intellectual has a **circumscribed** task which she must not disown," (Spivak, 1988: 104). Spivak's application of post-colonialism will be useful to our case study of Gibraltar due to its history as a British colony.

The purpose of using post-structuralism and feminism is not simply a merge of theories but a simultaneous application and critical assessment of my study using them both to aid it and develop it further.

PART ONE: GIBRALTAR AND ITS BASE WOMEN

1.1 Historical Context

Gibraltar was ceded to the British in 1704 following the Spanish war of succession and in 1713 the Treaty of Utrecht was signed, declaring the crown of Great Britain would own Gibraltar entirely. Since this, it has been an issue of intense dispute over sovereignty claims between Spain and UK over the years. Gibraltarians remain adamant they want to stay British within this. The treaty cemented Gibraltar's status as Britain's property, "during the first fifteen years after Utrecht, British ministers tried on no less than seven occasions to use Gibraltar as a diplomatic bargaining counter in their foreign policy," (Jackson, 1987: 115). Despite this it was only in 1830 that Gibraltar's status changed from Garrison to Colony. "Gibraltar during the eighteenth century was a Military Garrison where the British Governor ruled supreme with no elected civilian government," (Government of Gibraltar Web Archives: 2017). Constantine argues that, "in the minds of British ministers [Gibraltar] was a fortress with a town attached, and the placement there of a very substantial garrison even in times of peace or of cold war," (Constantine, 2009: 67).

Despite the desire for independence expressed by many imperial colonies, Gibraltar has never followed suit. This is why the United Nations pressure for decolonization did not bring to Gibraltar the same enthusiasm for liberation it did elsewhere – Gibraltarians did not want or need to be 'liberated.' Gibraltarians have always expressed their eagerness to remain British and consequently a British overseas territory, making its international relations a matter for British governance. However, "as soon as the second world war ended, Britain willingly agreed to a series of constitutional changes, [giving Gibraltar] more internal self-government. At no time did the people of Gibraltar aspire to independence because under the treaty of Utrecht the Union Jack could be replaced only by the Spanish flag" (Jackson, 1987: 295), due to a clause in the treaty.

Gibraltar's use during wartime made it essential to evacuate during World War II. "The evacuation which commenced in June 1940 is now referred to in terms of diaspora because it saw the wholesale removal from Gibraltar of women, children and the elderly, with only men in essential services remaining," (Ballantine-Perera & Canessa, 2016: 277). A clear example of its prioritisation as a military base, historically.

Gibraltar's geopolitics add to its military backdrop. Gibraltar is a 6.8km² peninsular at the southern tip of Spain, and shares a border with Spain and a centuries old dispute over the Spanish claiming sovereignty. Despite this, the communities have largely benefitted each other over the years. Summerfield speaks personally about this during the mid-twentieth century, claiming "we were two

communities helping each other then,” (Summerfield, 2007: 52). Ellicot claims that the late nineteenth century saw cordial relations with Spain with “residents of the rock entering Spain during daylight hours without producing any documentation and hundreds of Spaniards, both men and women, came into Gibraltar every day to earn the higher wages offered here,” (Ellicot, 1975: 112). The integration was substantial and apparent in male and female relations not just amongst civilians, but within the base too. “Young Gibraltarians courted and married Spanish *señoritas* while many a soldier or sailor took to England as his bride a Gibraltar girl or a Spanish maid who had been working on the rock,” (Ellicot, 1975: 112-113). However, during the years of Franco’s dictatorship in Spain, 1969 saw the complete closure of the frontier and resulted in a loss of Spanish workers as well as cordial relations. It reopened in 1982 for pedestrians and then in 1985 fully, and the communities still benefit each other today. However the relationship is far from stable.

1.2 The Base Women of Gibraltar

Enloe’s assessment of female contribution to sustainment of the military base is rampant in Gibraltar’s history as a military base. She cites examples of policies such as housing, curfew, civilian hiring, commercial, prostitution, sexually transmitted disease, marriage, sexuality and race. As well as this are the jobs and roles of the women on the base, from wife, to soldier, to prostitute, to laundress, to confirmer of masculinity. I will now take a closer look at some of these roles in Gibraltar.

Sanchez describes attitudes towards prostitution in eighteenth and nineteenth century Britain as “a necessary evil [as] fighting men, being highly sexualised, needed to release pent up energies [...] All garrison towns, including Gibraltar, had a large contingent [of prostitutes] ready to service the men,” (Sanchez, 2007: 14). Gibraltar was primarily a British garrison, and so the “belief that the British military in particular... was an uncommonly sexualised apparatus that needed prostitution to release its pent-up energies” (Sanchez, 2007: 15), meant prostitution thrived in the Garrison of Gibraltar.

Enloe’s discussion of the Contagious Diseases Act in colonies is ever present in the case of Gibraltar. Sanchez argues this was a “Foucauldian strategy of control” (Sanchez, 2007: 16), due to its portrayal of soldiers as victims of venereal disease in Gibraltar’s case. This was enhanced by the fact that prostitutes in Gibraltar were largely alien women from La Linea, Spain,² infiltrating a country that was not their own and spreading disease, victimising the soldiers further.

When the acts were implemented, women were subjected to the most invasive methods of control. No less, any women suspected of being a prostitute could be subject to checks in order to ensure men

² There were many Spanish men and women referred to as aliens who would enter Gibraltar daily to work.

could visit prostitutes knowing they would be safe from disease. *Seruya's Lane*³ was the area that situated most Brothels in Gibraltar. Sanchez argues that by 1922 all brothels were situated on this lane, making it far easier to police. "The alien prostitutes of *Seruya's Lane* were arguably subject to a much tighter form of control than anything witnessed in the British mainland," (Sanchez, 2007: 18-19). This was largely due to the fact that they were alien and under law would be kicked out of the garrison if they did not comply with treatments. These women who relied on prostitution for their livelihoods had no alternative.

Aliens did not want to be removed from the garrison, therefore they had no choice but to undergo checks. Their alien status made it easier to police and control prostitution. This demonstrates how discrimination between ethnicities and/or nationalities, causes an imbalance of power between two societal groups which then plays a vital role in the ability to institutionalise prostitution in garrison Gibraltar.

Whilst Enloe often finds a binary of race at play in her case studies, it does not play such a poignant role in the case of Gibraltar. Her studies that involve colonies include colonised people who have clear racial differences between them, which act as triggers of differentiation. In the case of Gibraltar, you have a place that finds itself with social problems that parallel those found in binaries of race, however being driven primarily by issues of nationality and ethnicity. However, it is clear that the sense of the lesser, 'Other,' remains. The discrimination between parties of different nationality despite the close interaction between them, demonstrates that the racist discourse often found in colonial settings remains alive in other ways.

Furthermore, the reliance on immigration law to control venereal disease resulted in Gibraltarian prostitutes posing a threat to this means of regulation. These women were "exempt from immigration restrictions and could therefore not be controlled as easily as their Spanish counterparts. This made them virtually untouchable from a point of law – and also threatened to destabilise the garrison's strategies of civilian control," (Sanchez, 2007: 21). This illuminates the fragile system of control in place to ensure the base runs smoothly – what Enloe argues is always the priority.

A 1921 report on venereal disease in Gibraltar states: "The inhabitants of La Linea (the aliens) are of a very low class," (National Council for Combatting Venereal Diseases Commission, 1921). Ballantine points out that consequently they "were perceived to be the carriers of disease" (Ballantine Perera, 2007: 211), and so this controlled the methods of venereal disease control as well as marriage to them. The governor was given the power to "break up marriages between British citizens and aliens of

³ Used to be known as Calle Peligro meaning Danger Street. Now renamed as New Passage, (Benady, 1996).

disreputable character” (Sanchez, 2007: 21), as they were an “affront to all that is true and decent and British,” (Ballantine Perera, 2007: 222). This shows how marriage policy is essential in shaping the bases structure to suit its needs. This demonstrates the binary of racial superiority present in the British over their colonies and its interaction with the binary of masculinity through which prostitution is justified to ensure the base’s success. Furthermore, it demonstrates the use of law to maintain hierarchy and identity, as well as rarefying the status of ‘other’/ ‘alien’.

The final example of these binaries in place is a letter discussing the issue of venereal disease control in Gibraltar, stating that “it has been brought to the notice of the commissioners that a certain number of women practising prostitution are the deserted wives of British soldiers formerly in the garrison of Gibraltar,” (National Council for Combatting Venereal Diseases Commission, 1921). Their concern for prostitutes that are the wives of British soldiers demonstrates the superiority of the British garrison over the sex trade in Gibraltar; taking comfort in prostitution provided by aliens, but never at the expense of the reputation of the garrison, these wives being representative of that.

However, the binary of nationality comes to a halt when put against the prioritisation of the base and its soldier. This is demonstrated in a letter stating that there is concern because, “the sailor will frequent the lodgings of the lowest class British born prostitute [whereas] the alien woman residing in a brothel is known to be more free from disease,” (Colonial Secretary of Gibraltar, 1892). This shows how feeding ‘masculinity’ always comes first to ensure the smooth running of the garrison.

The politics of prostitution stretches throughout the nineteenth and twentieth century, however, following the shutdown of *Seruya’s Lane* in 1922, female entertainment for military in Gibraltar came in a new form – cabarets. These cabarets were used exclusively by the military personnel explains Ernest Vallejo. The bars were clearly condoned by authorities too, (See Appendix 1a). “I never saw a Gibraltarian in the cabarets bars,” (Vallejo, 2017). Prostitution was not an issue for Gibraltar, nor the military, as “the soldiers would go to La Linea for prostitution” (Vallejo, 2017) – the first city across the border in Spain notorious for a street named ‘Calle Gibraltar,’ which situated many brothels, (See Appendix 1b). These cabarets were made up of women from all over the world and so the racism present in female entertainment for the military is no different in this instance, as per the example of a cabaret dancer known as ‘black ham’ due to her skin colour and ‘ham’ suggesting she is a ‘piece of meat,’ (See appendix 1c). Just like the case of prostitution causing alien marriage, “these soldiers who were here for two or three years used to frequent the place and they used to get to know the girls, and they got married,” (Vallejo, 2017). (See Appendix 1e for various photos of these cabaret bars with only sailors present.)

‘The good military wife’ also had a place in base life in Gibraltar. Sylvia Ballantine speaks of her experience as the wife of a naval officer claiming, “it’s a different way of living, it’s a different life, you have to be prepared,” (Ballantine, 2017). Her experiences parallel Enloe’s writings in that her support is imperative and there are social expectations that must be met. “My husband worked very hard and he needed someone to support him, in everything. I was very involved with socialising [...] but I had to entertain at home too. [...] I knew somebody whose marriage broke up because she wasn’t sociable [...] he wanted to get on in the navy and he didn’t have the support of the wife to be able to go anywhere with her,” (Ballantine, 2017). Sylvia shows us the essential role wives can play in their husband’s military careers.

Michelle Walsh’s experience of being in the military appears far less gender sensitive than some of what is reported by Enloe but perhaps this is due to Michelle’s attitude. She claims, “I think if you join the army you can’t expect to be treated like a woman because you’re a soldier,” (Walsh, 2017). Michelle admits her knowledge of cases of sexual assault, and considers herself an almost-victim of sexual assault by a colleague of the same gender. Same sex assault being more common, as homosexuality was illegal in the army.

This draws in many layers to the assessment of female soldiers and one not just bound by gendered binaries, but complicity and ignorance of these binaries that allow them to co-exist. This is exemplified in her claim, “I’m not a sensitive person but lots of sexist jokes go on [...] just laugh along with them [...] it’s a mind set about what you consider to be sexual harassment,” (Walsh, 2017). In addition to this, she claims that you get instances where “men have been discharged as their fitness is not to standard but if they had been female they would have reached the fitness pass ... the discrimination goes both ways,” (Walsh, 2017). This shows how feminist analysis can illuminate unseen issues about both genders. LT CO David King adds that he welcomes women in his regiment, however, at the moment women are not able to join the infantry, which is the dominant role in the Royal Gibraltar Regiment and so, they currently employ three women overall (King, 2017), demonstrating the large gender gap present. This parallels Enloe’s warning of looking for real “gender transformation,” (Enloe, 2014: 153).

Civilian hiring was also a large aspect of military life in Gibraltar. Despite the majority of high ranking roles belonging to British men, the garrison’s seamen were predominantly Genoese natives of Gibraltar. Howes reports there were 182 in 1791, (Howes, 1982: 48). This pattern prevails throughout the years and even increases over time, showing the economically beneficial relationship between the garrison and the town of Gibraltar. By 1921 Howes reports that the female population actually exceeds the male, by around 1000 (Howes, 1982: 198), culminating in a strong female workforce, with 1042

domestic occupations of all kind, 109 seamstresses and 102 laundresses and ironers. The role of a laundress as a contributor to the base is the first occupation Enloe discusses in her study.

The use of the civilian workforce as contributors to the military base is ever present in the example of Gibraltar's H.M. Dockyard. A 1981 Gibraltar dockyard study claims "H. M. Dockyard is the single most important economic element of Gibraltar" (Government of Gibraltar, 1981: 6), stating it employed 2,131, at the time its closure was first proposed.⁴ The dockyard put civilians to work irrespective of their gender and had a substantial female workforce. Summerfield claims that "the only job I could find was in H.M. dockyard contributing to the war effort," (Summerfield, 2007: 55). The dockyards employment of civilians encouraged economic growth and integration between the civilian population and the military. This is what Enloe describes as a "camouflage of normalcy" (Enloe, 2014: 132), as the base is ultimately always in control.

Thus far, the roles of military wives, female soldiers, female employees and female sex workers exactly parallels those that Enloe uncovers during her research into bases. The camouflage of normalcy that allows it to remain constant is ever present in Gibraltar, just as her other case studies that aim to sustain base life. I will now turn to a closer look at key moments in these military and civilian interactions to engage in a closer analysis, followed by an investigation into what point in time Gibraltar breaks out of the constraints of base life and is no longer defined by it in the way Enloe describes.

⁴ To put this figure into perspective, there were 11,506 total employees in Gibraltar at the time. (Economic Planning and Statistics Office, 1980)

PART TWO: THREE-FOLD IDENTITY

Part two will focus on the development of a three-way nexus of identity model of the Gibraltarian civilian based on Gibraltar's societal interactions as well as the international relations that have historically and currently influence its domestic politics and externally presented attitudes.

2.1 Military and Civilian Tensions

Gibraltar's status as a fortress precedes its status as a colony. Towards the end of the twentieth century, Gibraltar found much self-governance, however, the conflict and balance of power between these two aspects of life are an essential cornerstone in understanding the development of the role of women in Gibraltar

Gibraltar's civilians had been ruled by military laws via garrison orders since their British occupation. This created a class structure placing Gibraltarians below the military. Paralleling a Marxist depiction of a bourgeoisie and proletariat society, the binary of class presents itself as a further layer of masculinised and feminised societal relations in Gibraltar. Despite never being said, "It would have been difficult for civilians in Gibraltar not to be conscious of their subordinate place, both numerically and in terms of status and power," (Constantine, 2009: 73). This divide between military and civilian is enhanced following the introduction of the 1830 Fifth Charter of Justice, which created a separate judicature for civilians from the governor and military, (Restano, 2012: 33). "The judicial innovations of 1830 did establish a ... very important civilian authority in Gibraltar," (Constantine, 2009: 185). Jackson argues that this charter is significant in transforming Gibraltar from a Garrison into a garrison and colony, (Constantine, 2009: 184). However, what is also significant about this is the start of an explicit divide between the civilian and military population of Gibraltar. This becomes apparent in 1830 but stretches well into twentieth century Gibraltar.

At points when Gibraltar was at its peak use as a base, i.e from its 1704 British capture right through to post world war II, it was common to see military men exert drunkenness and disrespect for the town. Civilians witnessed much of it because "the drinking houses and brothels of the town, were awkwardly adjacent to their homes," (Constantine, 2009: 73). Even after the brothels were closed in 1922, Sylvia Ballantine, in an interview with myself, expresses that "sailors in those days used to come onshore for free drinks ... and they used to get really drunk and you couldn't go down," (Ballantine, 2017). This creates a divide. The debauchery conducted by military alongside their differences in conduct to civilians cemented their differences. The implementation of the 1830 charter brings this forward to create a clearer sense of them versus us, due to the threat each group posed to one another, enhanced by legal framework. The military seeing the growing size of the population as a threat to the garrison, and the civilians seeing the military's behaviour as threatening to their home.

Alongside this is the added complicity of both the civilians and military in these tensions by the use of one another in economic and resourcing needs. Gibraltar's economic sustainment in the nineteenth and twentieth century was predominantly its use as military base. The H.M. Dockyard being the biggest employer of Gibraltarians creating the "camouflage of normalcy" previously discussed.

Not only does this create the camouflage, but the actions of the two groups allows a complicity in the divide between them, that seals their differences and forces them to remain in place, because of their reliance on one another given the small size of Gibraltar, and the large military presence in the mid to late 1900's. The civilian population and military population find itself utilising each other creating a system of advantage for both. The complicity, especially on the part of the submissive civilians becomes clear in claims such as, "we cannot say anything bad about the military because that has been our livelihood," (Vallejo, 2017). This complicity was well engrained in the lives of young women as Sylvia explains, "If you were a young girl you couldn't go down main street. They were all drunk, so all the mothers used to say come home," (Ballantine, 2017). Being a woman in Gibraltar was ultimately shaped not just by gender differences, but also by the clashing tensions of being military or civilian.

Within this is a binary of class and status ascribed to both civilian and military gender relations. For example, Cruz's Gibraltarian play *'La Lola se va pa Londres,'* (Cruz, 1963: 4), is a parody about military and civilian tensions in Gibraltar during mid 1900's. In this play, Mari's mother is angry to find she is with an English soldier from the military, however, when she finds out that the man is not a soldier but an officer, she is glad. This subtle but prominent scene defines many civilian attitudes towards military soldiers as men of drunkenness and bad character, however the ranks of military are influencing on civilians too, who admire military of a higher rank. This demonstrates not just civilian and military tensions but a binary of class permeating the dynamics between both groups and the way genders interact between them.

In line with this, is the class (or lack thereof) ascribed to alien characters. (Spanish persons entering Gibraltar to work.) This work included work for the military, for the town, the prostitution previously mentioned, and before long resulted in a workforce largely dominated by persons of alien status, something that clashed even further with the military personnel. Ballantine articulates there was, "unease felt by the garrison over an expanding civilian population of alien character and the threat such a demographic posed to the "military character" of the garrison," (Ballantine Perera, 2007: 210-211). The presence of alien workers presents a binary of foreigner present within civilian and military tensions, as demonstrated by the acceptance of prostitutes being alien. However, when they were wives of British soldiers they required urgent attention. This demonstrated the colonial powers' desire to inadvertently maintain the power attributed to the binary of British in a place like Gibraltar. The

embarrassment of British soldiers' wives prostituting themselves would be an affront to this. This class divide between British/Gibraltarian/Alien is apparent in the fact that during the mid 1960's, "they had three rates of pay, the English fellow used to get let's say one hundred pounds, the Gibraltarian about sixty pounds, the Spaniard (alien) would get about forty," (Vallejo, 2017). They also had separate toilets based on these three groups.

The interaction between civilian and military populations is coded in the same way as masculinised and feminised relationships interact with one another. The two are part of the same group that suffer a balance of power within it, as Foucault describes. The military – the masculine, powerful population present in Gibraltar, that is ultimately the source of economic stability in the town. The civilian population is feminised by its reliance on military support. Within this, the binary of foreigner is exposed through the presence of alien workers dominating much of the workforce, presenting themselves as a threat to both military, (as prostitutes were mostly alien and aliens were "perceived to be the carriers of disease," (Ballantine Perera, 2007: 211)), as well as resistance from the civilian population to interact with aliens at the threat of the "incorporation of the civilian population into that of "alien character," (Ballantine Perera, 2007: 210). In Gibraltar, the binary of foreigner superceded the dynamics between male and female, civilian and military.

The civilian population's complicity in doing this is enhanced by the binary of British versus Spanish sovereignty, a unique layer added to Gibraltar that shapes much of its attitudes and actions. "The perceived advantages of British rule for civilians, even British military rule, outweigh its limitations," (Constantine, 2009: 75)

2.2 Britishness and Otherness

Gibraltarians have within the last two centuries become incredibly loyal to their British attachment and evermore resentful of any threat to their sovereignty imposed by Spain.⁵ However, Gibraltar's history as a colony and closer proximity to Spain have skewered both the concept of their equality in being British as well as shaped the population to estrange from a typically British persona. For example, prior to World War II, much of the population only spoke Spanish, and yet still identified themselves as British. This also happens with older generation Gibraltarians today. Stemming from the military and civilian divide, festering during the late nineteenth century, and enhanced by the presence of soldiers during World War II – there is a strange and subtle divide in the purity of Britishness. This double layered national status estranges the civilian population from a clear sense of nationality and alienates them from their military counterparts further, creating an implicit class of Britishness. Cecilia illuminates this when discussing the military, claiming “they thought that they were British, they were in charge, and the Gibraltarians were second class. Even though they were also British, they did think of them as second class,” (Baldachino, 2017). This binary of British vs Britishness is a symptom of both Gibraltar's historically colonial status as well as the military presence within it serving as a two-fold imposition of status, authority and British ‘purity’ over the civilians.

However, despite their eagerness to be and remain British, Gibraltarians were only recognised as British citizens following the 1981 British nationality act. This act implemented that “the term “nationals” and derivatives used in the EC treaty are to be understood as referring, *inter alia*, to British citizens and to British dependent territories citizens who acquire their citizenship from a connection with Gibraltar,” (European Court of Human Rights, 1999: 5). This is interesting given that Gibraltar held a referendum in 1967 on whether to remain British or become Spanish – British won by a landslide. This all the more confirms the binaries of nationality and colonialism present, because despite the fact the Gibraltarian citizens were expressing their pride and certainty in being British, they still did not have the same status as British citizens until fourteen years later. Until the act they were colonial subjects.

A January 1981 article in the Gibraltar Chronicle entitled ‘Gibraltar will fight on against Nationality bill’ cites that there are three classes of British Citizenship: British citizen, citizens of British dependent territories and British overseas citizens. The debate surrounding the act was that Gibraltarians were to be given the second type of citizenship when they felt entitled to the first. This issue draws parallels to the colonial binary present, especially due to the fact that the British government had to point out it was “in no way a second-class citizenship” (Gibraltar Chronicle, 1981). Despite it not being a second-class citizenship, the British government were determined not to move

⁵ As mentioned in the previous chapter, independence is not a possibility nor a wish of Gibraltar.

on it. The article states: “For us it is a matter of national identity. We ask that we get our rightful status, that of British Citizens which is what we are.” (Gibraltar Chronicle, 1981). This contrast between identifying as British despite being separated as different type of British Citizen expresses the Foucauldian issue of language’, and the varying layers present in understanding Gibraltarians’ identity as British.

It also epitomises what Spivak identifies as “the clearest available example of epistemic violence, [the] heterogeneous project to constitute the colonial subject as Other,” (Spivak, 1988). By separating Gibraltarians from the same status of Britishness as Great Britain, there is an ‘Otherness’ about the British military presence in Gibraltar. However, unlike most remnants of British colonialism, Gibraltarian civilians identify themselves as British too. Consequently, despite an Otherness about the military enhanced by the post-colonial effects of a British Gibraltar,’ the Otherness of Spain – a threat to British Gibraltar, serves as a greater Otherness that makes camouflages the Otherness of the British military presence. This shows there is a binary of colonialism ever present in the case of Gibraltar that has shaped its nationality.

This concept of nationality becomes even more complex when considering the interaction between Gibraltar and Spain. Stretching from the nineteenth and early twentieth century, Spanish aliens have been a vital part of Gibraltar’s economic and societal development and sustainment. The prostitutes in Gibraltar that sustained ‘base life’ were Spanish aliens, and many workers in the dockyard were aliens coming to Gibraltar from Spain. British soldiers, local men and women and alien men and women formed relations with one another that often resulted in marriage across these juxtaposing groups. These relations across societal groups blurred the sense of one clear British nationality in Gibraltar.

During the nineteenth century, the influx of aliens posed a threat to the nationality of the garrison as they were, “entering Gibraltar for the sole purpose of giving birth there knowing their children would be born British [so they aimed to] remove aliens married to English women in the event of their wives giving birth in the garrison,” (Ballantine Perera, 2007: 221). This is because the women and children were a burden to the Garrison as it was. The garrison too suffers a conflict of interest as although the alien population posed a threat to the nationality of Gibraltar and its soldiers, “economic growth in Gibraltar depended on ... a workforce provided by a floating population of aliens,” (Ballantine Perera, 2007: 215).

This economic need for the alien population, as well as their integration into Gibraltar’s society through marriage and pregnancy demonstrates the level of interaction between Gibraltar and Spain despite tensions between them. At this time, the deep-rooted military culture of Gibraltar presents itself not only as a solid validation of British status within the country, but also a protector of

sovereignty in the face of this integration with Spain. Most Gibraltarians prior to World War II were mostly Spanish speaking and shared close ancestral roots with Spain due to this integration. Gibraltar's feminized Britishness benefits from the military's masculine representation of power and protection in the face of the Spanish threat. This is still true today as LT CO King from the Royal Gibraltar Regiment claims, "a big part of our role in Gibraltar is reaffirming our sovereignty and reassuring Gibraltarians of the United Kingdom's will to secure and defend it," (King, 2017).

The 'Otherness,' described by Spivak is therefore three-fold in its encompassment of Spain, Gibraltar and military Gibraltar. Therefore, what is first presented as a them versus us in the form of military versus civilian becomes overshadowed by the them versus us in the threat of Spain to Gibraltar's British sovereignty. This shapes the gendered status of Gibraltar amongst its 'Others' supported by the various binaries at play with one another.

These multi-layered binaries of British, military, civilian, foreign, alien, local, protector of sovereignty, colonialism, masculinity and femininity remain present in Gibraltar today. They are not just multi-layered binaries, but rather binaries that have become so intertwined with each other that they are structures with varying degrees of power – as Foucault would describe it – that simultaneously form Gibraltar's unique gender relations and societal relations as a whole.

Perhaps these binaries and social structures are not explicitly present due to Gibraltar's lack of day to day military presence, however, Gibraltar's military structure and colonial links remain. As Ballantine points out, decolonisation and separation from these links would result in Spain's favour, therefore it would be "a further act of colonisation. [Therefore, there is still] a complex if not complicit colonial bind that exists between Gibraltar and Great Britain," (Ballantine-Perera & Canessa, 2016: 281). Instead of a clear them versus us, there is a unified us in that they are British, and yet a them versus us within this. There is an underlying dynamic between Great Britain and Gibraltar remaining a matter of masculine protector and feminised dependency despite the façade of a military base representing masculinised power worldwide.

PART THREE: BEYOND THE BASE

3.1 The Turning Point

On a day to day basis the presence of military is largely reduced, and within the confines of Gibraltar, no longer is it apparent that the military presents a masculinised presence against a feminised civilian one. This is largely due to the fact that civilian population entirely outnumber the military population as well as integrate with each other largely. However, all six of my interviewees confirm that they still see Gibraltar as a military base to this day, often due to its strategic location and links to Britain. Despite the decrease in presence over the years, Gibraltar still remains in use as a base but the male and female interaction as well as masculinised military and feminised civilian dynamics have shifted. This is attested to by several of my interviewees who have been living in Gibraltar during high points of its use as a military base as well as today.

Gibraltar's size and colonial status during the early twentieth century left Gibraltar behind progressively, compared to many of its European neighbours, especially Great Britain. The military presence despite initially presenting a masculine force also provided civilians, women included, with opportunities they would not have had before. For example, Cecilia Baldachino, who worked in the war office claims, "the base gave us a great chance to get out of the house," (Baldachino, 2017). Janet Sacramento, a more recent employee of the M.O.D. claims that she would be one woman among sixty men working and never experienced any form of sexual harassment. Sylvia Ballantine, didn't see her role as a 'good military wife' as hindering, but rather, an opportunity to socialise that would not have been given to her otherwise, due to the small size of Gibraltar. "I made lots of friends, lovely English people," (Ballantine, 2017).

Gibraltar's use as a base also proved valuable to women in Gibraltar during the evacuation in World War II where many were sent to London and educated more so than before. Summerfield argues that, "there emerged a generation of women better educated than the previous ones ... the way women perceived themselves had also changed drastically. Those who had worked in London ... wanted to be more active and independent and take place in society on their return," (Summerfield, 2007: 43, 75-76). The use of the base as an international defence mechanism for Great Britain, provided tools – perhaps unintentionally – that allowed the civilian population, especially female, to grow and defeminise itself when placed back in the domestic setting.

I now look to my interviewees to gain a real perspective into societal and gender relations of Gibraltar from people who have been politically marginalised by these relations in the past and progressed beyond them at present. I will use their first-hand experiences to identify at what point Gibraltar

makes this turn from a masculinised military presence in a feminised civilian town to less gendered relations between both groups.

Ernest argues that the evacuation too is a turning point as “that’s when Gibraltar became more nationalistic. The evacuation is the key point because everybody was taken away and when they came back they were more British than ever. The majority of them didn’t know how to speak English, most of them were Spanish women who had married Gibraltarians. So, when they left they had to learn how to speak English. [That’s when] the identity of the British Gibraltarian was born,” (Vallejo, 2017). This demonstrates the way in which a purely military decision made by the colonial office to put “womenandchildren” (Enloe, 2014: 1) to one side, changed societal relations in Gibraltar permanently. This responsibility the military took upon themselves reiterates the gendered binary of colonial protector and vulnerable ‘native’. This eludes to the suggestion that the evacuation provided locals with a clearer sense of identity that allowed women to progress beyond the Otherness of British military strategic structure in Gibraltar.

Summerfield argues that the most prominent time for women in Gibraltar, that allowed women to grow as well as the civilian population to utilise its entire capacity, is when the border between Gibraltar and Spain was closed in 1969. She started the ‘Housewives Association,’ which began contributing to the communities needs at the time of the border closure. At a time when Gibraltar relied largely on international interaction, (namely Spain), for its day to day functions, women in Gibraltar presented a reform in domestic norms that altered its base dynamics. Cecilia points out “this saw a mass reduction in the man power normally supplied by cross border alien workers and so the Gibraltarian women came out of their houses for the first time. They used to run the petrol stations for the cars ... they had to do it because the men were needed and none of the Spanish workers came over, and that’s when really women went out to work ... The border closure did us women a lot of good,” (Baldachino, 2017).

Ernest recalls this view in his claim, “all the women got together to help out anybody without getting paid. As if to say, “the Spanish want to drown us, were not going to drown,”” (Vallejo, 2017). The rise of civilian population working and sustaining Gibraltar, as opposed to the military sustaining it, is fuelled by gender neutrality in work and by the geopolitical relations with Spain, encouraging movement of the entire civilian population and providing them with a more powerful and masculine role within the community. That remained present in women of Gibraltar once international relations with Spain were restored and the border reopened.

Finally, LT CO David King believes the closure of the Dockyard in 1984 is a turning point in societal power relations in Gibraltar as it resulted in a huge shift in military presence. However, as David

points out, this is not specific to Gibraltar as the end of cold war meant a scale down on a need for military presence world-wide and so 1980's becomes a turning point in Gibraltar based on this. However, to say that it was as simple as no war, no base, is untrue in the case of Gibraltar as exemplified by David's view that; "Gibraltarian's still identify with defence," (King, 2017). This is shown in a 1983 panorama article stating "the dockyard closure is clearly not to be seen as a rundown of the naval presence here. The navy ... is remaining in a big way," (Panorama, 1983: 3). This suggests that the closure aroused concern that the navy was distancing from Gibraltar, suggesting there was some kind of attachment to its presence outside of the economic benefits it brought. This intrinsic link to military in Gibraltar remains a part of its societal attitudes despite the advancements in the role of women in its society, demonstrating that it is possible for a base to have altered gender identities in favour of women's advancement as well as retaining its role in defence internationally.⁶

Finally, David explains that in 1991 the Royal Gibraltar Regiment took the place of the last resident battalion in Gibraltar, making it the permanently stationed British military of Gibraltar. The regiment is the only resident army in Gibraltar but they remain an army of Great Britain and report to the U.K Secretary of State. David argues that the Regiment serves as "the interface between the community and defence," (King, 2017). This could be the source of the breakdown of Otherness between the military and civilian population as the regiment is both of these and serves to break down the post-colonial international control of the domestic and shifts it towards a domestic **interaction** with the international.

Finally, despite the downscale of size of the base in Gibraltar, David points out that it very much still **has** a military base but that the claim, 'Gibraltar is a military base,' is not true anymore. This change in the definition of Gibraltar as a base also reflects the change in military and civilian familial interactions and its gradual integration over the years.

Michelle argues this is a prominent turning point because by then there is a removal of separate services such as schools and hospitals due to cutbacks and unnecessary. "They have to [integrate] because the M.O.D have taken away all the specific facilities and especially since the children have come into the community schools, they have no choice," (Walsh, 2017). Michelle suggests that the key to enabling women within base life successfully and disabling the Enloe prototypes of masculine and feminine on the base is to enable both groups together. This is reflected in the dissolution of military/civilian segregation in services. Finally, Ernest argues that in his opinion, Gibraltar broke out of its military base persona when the colonial office was closed. This suggests that it was not so much its military rule but its colonial status that feminised Gibraltar.

⁶ An example of Gibraltar's continued military significance in international politics is its preparing *H.M.S Ocean*, Britain's ship to aid victims of the Hurricane Irma in September 2017.

These answers present me with three key findings that have been essential and unique to Gibraltar's transition of women's roles and gender identity. Firstly, the evacuation was a turning point in the role of women in Gibraltar. This developed them into a highly educated and proactive workforce that altered both civilian and military perceptions of women's roles in Gibraltar. This event happened in the interest of masculinising Gibraltar in the event of war and resulted in defeminising its women, post war and to this day. Secondly, the closure of the frontier was a turning point in the types of jobs women were able to and capable of doing in Gibraltar, encouraged by political relations between Gibraltar and Spain and the Britishness of Gibraltarians in the face of sovereignty threats. This shows how issues of intense international dispute such as sovereignty can have an impact on gender relations on a domestic level. Finally, the closure of the dockyard was symptomatic of the international decrease of military presence but yet highly impactful on domestic gender relations due to the empowerment of a large civilian, including female, workforce that transferred these skills elsewhere in Gibraltar. These three external moments present themselves as turning points in the role of women in Gibraltar society and the transition for Gibraltar between **being** a military base, and **having** a military base.

3.2 Critiquing Enloe

Enloe's base often rests on more obvious and defined binaries of foreign and local, male and female to sustain the 'base women' she observes. Although she touches on a variety of cases, her most recent examples are U.S bases in foreign countries such as Japan, Guam, Germany, Afghanistan. In these bases, the concept of 'Otherness' is clear in the divide between American soldiers and the locals present in the base. The U.S presence is a reminder of the masculine and victorious U.S hegemony and their presence is welcomed on the premise of their protection of the weaker, feminised host state. There is only one them and there is only one us with such clear boundaries drawn. In a post-cold war era, there are still many active bases worldwide, the large majority – around 800 – are American (Vine, 2015). This is one kind of base that represents one kind of international sphere in which the U.S hegemony is the cause of international and domestic interaction, and consequently male and female interactions on base life. The case of Gibraltar advances this as it not only places an Otherness in the military presence but its geopolitics come in to create structures of Otherness supported by many binaries at play. This shows that Enloe's model can be advanced to support smaller scale political relations between groups and countries and the multiple actors and factors involved in the two-level game of domestic and international, that have the power to shape women's social identities.

Enloe is certainly not wrong, and her observations are present in Gibraltar's history as a military base too as it matched the 'base women' type until the mid to late twentieth century. However, the base also seems to provide civilians and particularly women in Gibraltar with tools to grow into a civilian population in control of itself. The fact that it did this would be easily comparable to Enloe's "camouflage of normalcy" (Enloe, 2014: 132), if it wasn't for the fact that it does not become stagnant in the face of reduced military presence and necessity, it becomes a stepping stone in growth thereafter. Consequently, there are far more layers present within the case of Gibraltar that shape its gendered dynamics.

In Enloe's work the use of civilians is only for the base and so if the base doesn't need them, they don't necessarily grow. We can see examples of this in Gibraltar in part one, however, gradually, the base life in Gibraltar gave opportunity and did not take it away once military decreased. This allowed the civilian population to adopt a certain level of power previously ascribed to the masculine, masculinising itself to the point that through sheer power in numbers, the roles of masculine and feminine reflected in military and civilian, are reversed. This causes an integration between the civilians and military due to the civilians welcoming of them and the size of Gibraltar forcing the sharing of services and cooperation. This counters Enloe's model in the way that it looks beyond the base, whilst still maintaining a base, as opposed to Enloe's theory which remains within the confines

of base life the whole time. Consequently, being at risk of not exposing itself to other external factors that can influence women's roles.

The complexities of base life in Gibraltar surpass that of standpoint feminism. Keohane suggests that Enloe could be enhanced by being used in conjunction with neoliberal institutionalism. This theorising is done by analysing the international system through the perspective of the institutions "that prescribe behavioural roles, constrain activity, and shape expectations," (Keohane, 1989). As analysing from a feminist perspective can illuminate issues previously unnoticed, it can also isolate the complex structures of base life to one perspective. Menon also illuminates this in claiming, "Women always seem to be the victims, and their role in perpetuating masculine dominion is left unexplored," (Menon, 2013: 5). This reminds us to maintain that a feminist approach is not only about women but about gender relations. This is why looking at civilian relations as a whole provides greater insight into feminist studies.

Furthermore, Butler would argue that "the question of the relationship between feminism and social transformations opens up into a difficult terrain ... we may imagine social transformation differently," (Butler, 2014: 207). This reminds us to take the results of these interviews with caution. Enloe's analysis only allows us to explore base life but as Butler argues feminism often results in taking for granted the understanding of the subject 'woman,' as this only provides us with one standpoint. By using civilian and military perspectives of both men and women I constructed a well gendered picture of women's roles as opposed to one solely through a female perspective.

Through this critical analysis and primary sources of interviews, I have been able to gain a greater understanding of Gibraltar's political history that gives me a richer insight into its unique base set up as well as into Enloe's 'base women.'

CONCLUSION

The aim of this dissertation was to find out how the British military structure of Gibraltar has impacted women's roles in Gibraltarian society, by using a feminist perspective to understand gender relations and all the international and domestic factors that play a role in constructing said roles.

By using Enloe's theory I was able to develop a coherent notion of what societal relations in a military base, through a feminist perspective should look like. Drawing on Foucault allowed me to further this understanding in the form of binaries interaction. This ensured that I was able to break down the binary of international and domestic between Gibraltar and its external relations with Britain and Spain to truly grasp the way they all play part in shaping gender roles in Gibraltar.

I then used this theoretical framework in part one, where I analyse Gibraltar's history as a military base in light of what I have uncovered in Enloe's theory. This allowed me to develop the role of women in Gibraltar as consistent with Enloe's and using post-structuralism. This is shown in the way that despite several binaries remaining at play such as, class, nationality and gender, the base ultimately came first.

Part two allowed me to build on this, uncovering that although true to Gibraltar once, this assessment was simplistic when considering the varying historical, political and geopolitical factors that have influenced the identity and international relations of Gibraltarian society and consequently the women in it. It allowed me to uncover that there is a unique three-way nexus of identity in Gibraltarian society consisting of its Britishness, its status as a colony and garrison and its relations with Spain, that effected Gibraltar politics and have shaped the roles of women in Gibraltarian society. This allowed me to successfully build on Enloe's theory to show some of the shortcomings within it, and the way that assessing a larger amount of said base's political and social history can provide a richer insight into base women that surpasses that of the standpoint feminism that Enloe relies on.

Finally, part three aimed to uncover an idea of at what point Gibraltar makes this transition from the previously confirmed Enloe base women prototype explored in part one and the type of base it is today. Through various interviews, I conclude there are three points that shape the role of women with the military base in Gibraltar. These are; the evacuation, the closure of the frontier, and the closure of the dockyard. These events are influenced by the international that permanently changed society in Gibraltar and the role of women in it. All of these things are specific to Gibraltar's history and so I do not think that they are just symptomatic of military decreasing world-wide but rather a change in base dynamics in Gibraltar. This is supported by a debate taking place in the commons in 1964 in which Lord Healey points out, "a military base is useless without the consent of the people who live and

work in it. It is no good at all having a military base if one has to commit so many troops to protecting it against local attack,” (Healey, Commons Sitting, 1964). However, we can see this is not the only explanation for Gibraltar gender relations (hence looking at several), as attack has never been a question – the base has always been welcomed as a protector despite tensions.

I conclude by looking at shortcomings in Enloe’s work based on my discoveries in the case of Gibraltar, to realise that her analysis, although fruitful, needs to build on individual base experience to truly understand all the political, social, international factors that play tribute to the outcome of the role of women in military bases. Given the importance of the military to the state, we cannot generalise its societal dynamics, as each base is carefully crafted to suit each state. However, by using feminist theorising we can gain a clearer understanding of the international and domestic political influence on social relations and consequently, the role of women within them.

I set out to find out how the military structure and culture of Gibraltar shaped the role on women in its society. In doing this I have been able to conclude that there are three internationally motivated events that mark a significant point in Gibraltar’s history as turning points for the alteration of gender identities and the role of women in Gibraltar society. My research has also brought me to discover that there is a remaining gap in literature on the nexus of identity discussed, due to the integration of civilian, military, British, Spanish and Gibraltar identity in Gibraltar and the way it is influenced by Gibraltar domestic and international relations.

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APPENDIX 1. EVIDENCE OF CABARETS AND PROSTITUTION

1a) Left: Infamous cartoon of both local and military standing outside Trocadero bar whilst sailors act disorderly.

Right: Photographic evidence of local and military police waiting patiently for sailors to leave Trocadero bar.



1b) Left: Calle Gibraltar still present in La Linea today.

Right: List of Brothels situated in Calle Gibraltar.



Some saw it as corrupt, shameful and scandalous and yet to many others, it was an accepted way of life. To the young it was fun, to the not so young, a morale booster to their sexual ego and frustrations, I dare say it became therapeutic ! It was therefore not very uncommon, to find many clients marrying some of these benevolent ladies, who went on to make the best of mothers and respectable wives. The majority of these Spanish women, had been driven to the oldest profession by sheer poverty, following the Civil War. Many are said to have sold themselves for a mere loaf of bread (Pan de Churchill), pound of sugar or Cork butter (Manteca Cork). On the other hand, it is ironic, when we consider that prostitution was tolerated, medically controlled and thriving, under the Republic. Brothels became organised and well run. The height of the profession came, when a client could demand to see a woman's Monthly Medical Check, Record Card, before engaging her services, thereby satisfying himself that she was safe and free from venereal diseases.

Towards the end of the 1930's a well established set up existed in Calle Gibraltar in La Linea, some of the best known Bordello's are listed below :

No. 17	Casa de Salvadora Ruiz
No. 23	" " Anita
No. 25	" " Carlota
No. 30	" " Manuela Coll
No. 40	" " Antonia Alonzo
No. 40	" " Maria Jurado Villena
?	" " Luisa Levy
?	" " Anita la Ditera (Love now Pay later ??)
?	" " Angeles Luque
?	Patio el Valenciano

Filiación

Encarnacion Rosa Puente
 hijo de *Miguel* y de *Encarnacion*
 edad *27* años en *1959* natural de *La Linea*
 provincia de *Cádiz*, estado *Libre*
 con _____ profesión *prostituta*
 domicilio *Gibraltar 22*
 La Linea *11* de *Marzo* de *1959*



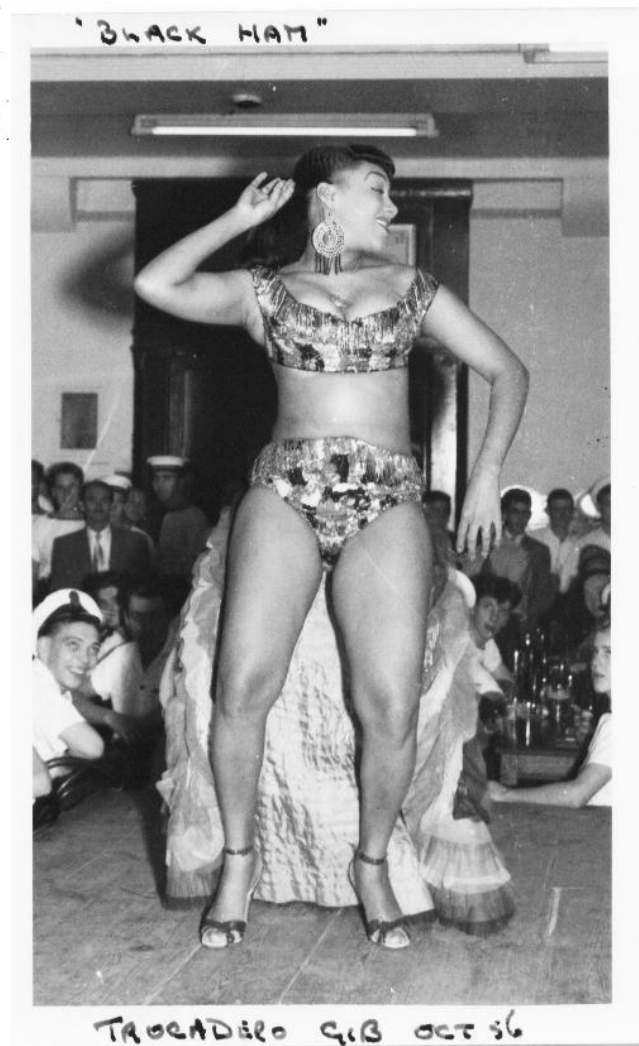
Firma del filiado,

(Si no sabe firmar, impresión de los dedos pulgar e índice)

(1) El número, será el mismo del acta, oficio o atestado

1b cont.) Filed report registering woman. Notice in 'profesion' it says 'prostituta' meaning Occupation: Prostitute, showing the presence and condoning of prostitutes in La Linea.

1c.) Photo of cabaret dancer nicknamed 'Black Ham' by the men watching her – sailors, dancing in Trocadero Bar in 1956.



1d.) Photographic evidence of the cabaret shows performed. Notice the audience filled with sailors, not a single civilian present. Notice the last photo locating sailors outside Trocadero bar waiting for shows to begin.





All photos and documents of Appendix 1 are courtesy of Ernest Vallejo.