IDENTITY CHALLENGES AFFECTING THE SPANISH ENCLAVES OF CEUTA AND MELILLA

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Abstract

This article will examine the border and identity challenges for the Spanish (semi)enclaves of Ceuta and Melilla, which are surrounded by the Moroccan state. This issue is obviously related to the study of territorial boundaries and more specifically to the EU's relationship with the underdeveloped economic sphere to its south. Indeed, Ceuta and Melilla highlight the double standards of the EU, which was founded to build bridges across borders but at the same time has built barriers (in Ceuta and Melilla actual physical barriers) at its southern border which have underpinned the idea of fortress Europe. Thus, the anomalous geographical location of both Spanish cities exposes them to border and identity challenges as well as to a complex situation of interdependent concentric circles which involves the enclaves (first circle), Spain, Morocco (second circle) and the EU (third circle). The aim of this article is to analyse the three concentric circles, paying special attention to the implications of having African enclaves for an EU state. Finally, the article scrutinises the importance of symbolism and its pivotal role in creating lines of division and political conflict at the local and national level.

Introduction

Ceuta[1] and Melilla[2] are two Spanish coastal-enclaves[3] located in northern Africa. They constitute the only territories in mainland Africa which belong to an EU member state and, as a result, the only land border between the two continents. According to Berramdane (2008,

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[1] Its total perimeter has a length of 28 km, 8 of which constitute the land border with Morocco (Instituto Geográfico Nacional)

[2] Its total perimeter has a length of 20km, 11 of which constitute the land border with Morocco (Instituto Geográfico Nacional)

[3] According to the definition provided by Vinokurov (2007, p.10), enclaves are territories enclosed within a territory of another state. Coastal-enclaves or semi-enclaves like Ceuta and Melilla only differ in the fact that they possess a sea border.

p.239) Ceuta and Melilla are vestiges of the *grandeur* of the Spanish Empire. Both enclaves became European cities by treaty when Spain joined the European Community in 1986. In 1995 they became autonomous towns and their statutes of autonomy state clearly that the enclaves are an integral part of the Spanish nation within its *indissoluble unity.* Their anomalous geographical location exposes them to border and identity challenges as well as to a complex situation of interdependent concentric circles which involves the enclaves, Spain, Morocco and the EU.

Figure 1-Strait of Gibraltar map (BBC)

The complex divisions of the enclaves can be divided into three different concentric circles. Firstly, the local circle (1ˢᵗ circle), which denotes the border crossing and the border in general, and the political divisions within the enclave[4]. The second circle constitutes the national border and involves the surrounding state (Morocco) and the mainland (Spain) and their bilateral relations, which are largely shaped by the enclaves' existence. Finally, the third circle refers to the EU and its borders with its Muslim neighbours in northern Africa. This third circle not only implies a post-national border between the EU and non-EU states but also concerns the broader civilisational divide between the so called West and Islam.

Border challenges
The first assumption of this article is that the de-territorialisation[5] process and the softening of borders produced by the (almost) disappearance of the EU's internal borders is in sharp contrast with the hardening of borders that is taking place within the EU external bor-

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[4] there is a significant Muslim minority which is politically organised along with Jews and Indian merchants.
[5] Deleuze and Guattari created the term *de-territorialisation* in their book *Anti-Oedipus* (1972) to refer to the process of global communities being embedded in local communities and consequent declining of ties between culture and place

ders. Needless to say that Ceuta and Melilla are at the core of the external borders of the EU.

Thus, borderlands such as Ceuta and Melilla are those parts of the world where the de-territorialisation process is not perceived to be as apparent as in other parts of the world. In other words, the specificities of borderlands lead the population of these areas to stress their identity and therefore to redress the de-territorialisation. Moreover, the physical frontiers in Ceuta and Melilla, which serve as a reminder of the border significance, are in sharp contrast with the de-territorialisation discourses.

As argued by Billig (1995, p.139), one of the main problems of postmodernist approaches is that the elements of nationalist consciousness seem to be persisting. Mellor (1989, p.74) and Williams (2006, p.22) have both stressed that contemporary territorial borders are (still) inherently a source of trouble and a constant potential cause of friction between neighbours that political leaders have to consciously attempt to overcome. Anderson et al (2003, p.7) would add that territoriality is prone to generating conflict because of its finite and fixed character which encourages zero-sum thinking.

As the Italian sociologist Raimondo Strassoldo predicted back in 1982 (1982, p.133), the successful integration of the EU has led to an intensification of frontier problems with non-EU states. In fact, this article argues that the process of integration of the EU, which has led to the abolition of the internal borders and the reinforcement of the external ones (Frontex, the building of fences in Ceuta and Melilla and SIVE[6]), has deepened the Mediterranean divide (Driessen 1998, p.100) between the north and the south and has encouraged the southern mistrust.

From the Spanish perspective, this border of borders is challenged by two main issues. On the one hand, in terms of territoriality since Morocco has claimed sovereignty over Ceuta, Melilla and several islands on the southern Mediterranean shore since the very first day of its independence in 1956. Indeed, Morocco has brought the enclaves question to the UN Assembly on several occasions, unsuccessfully

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[6] System of Integrated External Surveillance. The Spanish Guardia Civil is in charge of the SIVE, a security system which allows the monitoring of illegal immigration in the coasts of Andalucia and the Canary Islands. It operates through mobile and fixed radars. It has monitored Ceuta since 2005.

trying to put them onto the UN decolonisation list[7]. One of the recurrent arguments used by Morocco has been to draw comparisons with Spain's claims on Gibraltar (Lethinen 2005). However, one of the main differences between these cases is that unlike Ceuta and Melilla, Gibraltar is mentioned in the UN decolonisation list.

On the other hand, the fences[8] that surround Ceuta and Melilla pose a challenge for the border since they contribute to make the enclaves extreme examples of gated communities. Walters (2004, p.692), for instance, describes the wall in Ceuta (we should add also the one in Melilla), which was built in order to defend the enclave(s) from migrants seeking their way into the EU, as the best material representation of the idea of Fortress Europe.

Indeed, hundreds of immigrants coming mostly from the south of the Sahel attempted to cross the fences in October 2005. The result was the death of 13 people and the fences were militarised from both sides for two months[9]. Beyond the tragic consequences, these events showed the shortfalls of the security and public order policy introduced by Spain and the EU along its southern border (Soddu 2006, p.212) as well as the inefficiency of blocking borders in order to stop a world-scale phenomenon like immigration. Unfortunately, this has not been an isolated episode and the attempts by Sub-Saharans to reach the enclaves have become a common trend. The last attempt occurred in Melilla in June 2008 during the Euro quarter-finals.

Living in a border region or enclave
What makes these cities interesting politically, sociologically and anthropologically is that they are not only caught between two states but also between the EU and Africa, between Christianity and the Muslim world, between the 1st developed world and the 3rd world, between "us" and "them", between those who regard themselves as "civilisation" and those who are regarded as "barbarians". (Driessen

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[7] http://www.un.org/Depts/dpi/decolonization/trust3.htm
[8] Both fences are 6 metres high and feature barbed-wire, motion sensors, over a hundred CCTV and infra-red cameras along with dozens of control towers.
[9] In ordinary circumstances, the Spanish side is patrolled by 331 police officers and 676 *Guardias Civiles* in Ceuta and 316 police officers and 626 *Guardias Civiles* in Melilla[9]. During the October crisis, 480 soldiers from the Spanish army were also deployed along both borders during two months

1996, 1998; Donnan and Wilson 1999; Gold 2000; Ferrer-Gallardo 2006).

These divisions are enhanced by some Spanish authors who consider Ceuta and Melilla as a European penetration which serves to contrast the XXI Century and the last bastions of the Middle Ages[10] (Seco Serrano 2002) and whose task has been to defend Western values (Campos Martinez 2004, p.9). Due to this multiplicity of divisions, Ferrer-Gallardo (2006, p. 2) has labelled the Spanish and Moroccan frontier as "border of borders".

Let me provide an example of the disparities of this border: Alvarez claims (1995, p.451) that no other border in the world exhibits the inequality of power and economic conditions that the US-Mexico border does. However, on a closer examination, this assertion is proved to be false because the economic imbalance between Spain and Morocco is higher and, arguably, so is the difference between Morocco and the EU in terms of power. Spain has a gross domestic product (GDP) $ per capita of 30,120 and Morocco's GDP $ per capita is 4,075, while the U.S is $ 45845 and Mexico $ 12774.[11] Adjusted the cost of living, the per capita income difference between Spain and Morocco has a ratio of approximately 6:1, while between the U.S and Mexico it is 4:1. What seems clear is that in both cases (the U.S and Europe) the traditional police function of borders has been reasserted.

Owing to their geographical location, the Spanish enclaves seem to challenge the natural border represented by the Mediterranean; they are politically in the north but geographically in the south. This specific background leads to several paradoxes that have been highlighted by Peter Gold (2000, p.1-2) such as the fact that they are located in the world's poorest continent but they belong to the richest trading block in the world. In addition, they are physically on the African continent but the majority of their citizens are fully European. It should also be noted that, as is the case with the rest of Spanish territory, both cities are entitled to elect MEPs to the EU parliament.

Their specific geographic position has also implied that the enclaves have been held up as a good example of Schengen flexibility (Apap and Tchorbadjiyska 2004, p.6). In a protocol attached to the Schengen *acquis* it is stated that the citizens from the Moroccan prov-

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[10] Implicitly pointing at Morocco.
[11] http://www.imf.org/external/datamapper/index.php

inces adjacent to Ceuta (Tetouan) and Melilla (Nador) are exempted from visa requirements (European Council 2000, p.73[12]). Moroccans from outside these two provinces, though, remain subject to the ordinary visa requirements. Therefore, Moroccans from Nador and Tetouan may apply for a one year residence permit 'visado multiple limitado' which allows them to enter and exit the enclaves on a daily basis (*Ibid*). Obviously these permits facilitate the movements of the citizens of Nador and Tetouan across the border (Berg and Ehin 2006, p.65). However, the visas are only valid for Ceuta and Melilla and do not permit access to the rest of the Spanish territories. In fact, Spain maintains checks (on identity and documents) on sea and air connections departing from both enclaves and having as their destination the Spanish territory.

This flexibility should be understood in the context of historical interaction between the enclaves and their hinterland. In fact, the economic viability of the enclaves depends on their interaction with their hinterland (Ferrer-Gallardo 2006, p. 10). This economic dependency, which partly explains the visa exceptions, leads to a selective permeability of the border. The fact that the enclaves are asking for an extension of the visa exemptions for all Moroccan citizens (El País 16/03/2009) is proof that the enclaves need Moroccan traders (and tourists) for their economic survival.

As a result of this permeability, thousands of Moroccans[13] from the adjacent provinces enter the enclaves on a daily basis for trading purposes (Gold 2000). This *atypical trade*, or smuggling, is carried out mainly by women and usually consists of basic products such as food and clothing, which are packed in bundles. On average, the *porteadores*[14][see fig.2] get 50 dirham (4.5€) for every bundle they transport[15]. Subsequently, these goods are transported and resold in the northern provinces of Morocco (El Pais 18/11/2008). This unorthodox trade is estimated at 440 million Euro (data from 2006) in Melilla (which represents over 40% of the local economy according to the Government Delegation), and 500 million Euro in Ceuta (El Pais

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[12] Agreement on the Accession of the Spanish Kingdom of Spain (Declaration on the towns of Ceuta and Melilla)

[13] Sources from the Spanish National Police estimates that the figure is between 20,000 and 30,000

[14] It can be translated as porters.

[15] It usually weights between 50 and 70 kg.

15/07/2008). If we take the illegal trade into account, Spain becomes the main trade partner for Morocco. The latter also benefits from the illegal trade since it supports 45,000 direct jobs and 400,000 indirect jobs.

Figure 2-*Porteadores* queuing in the Ceuta border (Diario Sur 16/11/2007)

However, since Morocco lies around and behind Ceuta and Melilla, this diversity and flexibility has not been appreciated by Spanish officials but has rather been feared. The main fear has always been the *Moroccanisation* of both cities which might eventually result in the loss of sovereignty. Apart from assuring its national sovereignty, Spain has to be very cautious in not outraging Morocco. It cannot therefore treat the enclaves in the same way as other parts of the country because what is at stake is the relationship with an important partner and the stability of the region (Gold 2000).

Finally, it should be noted that Ceuta and Melilla are not only ordinary borderlands, but they are also (semi)enclaves, that is to say, they are territories enclosed within a territory of another state. Hence, the fact of being enclaves is important for two basic reasons. Firstly, the lives of the enclave dwellers are influenced by the fact that their village is an enclave. Secondly, the enclave influences the relations between the mainland and the surrounding state to an un-proportional degree compared to the smallness of its territory and population (Vinokurov 2007, p.5). Indeed, the existence of the enclaves of Ceuta and Melilla has a powerful negative impact in the bilateral relations between Morocco (the surrounding state) and Spain (the mainland) (Vinokurov 2007, p.180).

The identity challenge
The importance of symbols in the enclaves
In Ceuta and Melilla the analysis of symbolism becomes salient. The Spanish flag is a paradigmatic example; it can be found everywhere. Its presence is, without a doubt, much more prominent in Ceuta and Melilla than in the rest of the country. One of the plausible explanations of this omnipresence of the flag is, again, the permanent fear of *Morocconisation* that was mentioned above. In recent years, the EU flag has accompanied most of the Spanish flags. The EU flag also serves to clearly state that the enclaves are European cities, and as a result, not Moroccan.

The flag derives its importance from the fact that 'it converts intricate notions about the nation-state into relatively undifferentiated sentiments and commitment, as in the case of patriotism' (Driessen 1992, p.111). Similarly, Billig (1995, p.41) has conceptualised flags as banal reminders of nationhood. Precisely this banality contributes to make flags powerful symbols because unlike commemorations, they operate unconsciously, they are part of the social environment and, as a result, they remain unsaluted, unwaved and even unnoticed (Billig 1995, p. 40). Billig (1995, p.38) labels this process as *forgotten reminding*, that is to say, 'the remembering not being experienced as remembering, is, in effect, forgotten'.

At the end, the national flag is the repository of the legitimate power of the state (Driessen p.112). Therefore, symbols like the flag not only express meaning but they provide people with the means to make meaning (Cohen 1985, p.19) which entails the assumption that symbols are malleable. Its malleability means that these symbols are made to fit in different circumstances allowing one community (in this case the Spanish Christian community) to distinguish itself from others but most importantly to legitimise its power: 'A State must always have specific symbolic and institutional practices for narrating, signifying and legitimizing the existence of a nation and the bounded space that it occupies' (Paasi 1999, p.9)

Another exceptionality of the enclaves in terms of symbols is the prevalence, particularly in Melilla, of symbols glorifying the Spanish Dictator Francisco Franco and his fascist regime (1939-1975). In effect, Melilla has the dubious honour of being the last city in Spain with a statue of the dictator. This could be explained by the fact that Franco

defended the city from a Berber revolt in 1921 as a commander from the Spanish army, but also because a considerable majority of the enclave dwellers[16] do not see Franco as a fascist dictator but as a liberator[17] from the city and therefore there has been little pressure for the removal of the statue.

In effect there are, at least, five different monuments in Melilla related to the dictatorship; the above-mentioned statue of Franco, a monument dedicated to Franco's victory, a cross commemorating those who fell for God and Spain (meaning the Franco supporters), a plaque commemorating the place where Franco lived and an equestrian monument inside the *Legión*[18] military headquarters. In Ceuta, there are the Franco footprints in cement.

Figure 3-One of the Fascists Statues[19] in Melilla (photography by author)

Precisely, during Franco's regime Spain was (symbolically) defined as a 'unity of destiny through the Universal'[20]. Therefore we can notice a process of objectification behind the symbolism which allows the bearer (of the symbolic power) to strategically use mental representations in order to accomplish its material and symbolic interests (Bourdieu 1991, p.221). Kertzter (1988, p.6) provides us with a wider

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[16] It is important not to forget that the Spanish civil war started in Melilla. Moreover, each enclave has over 3200 soldiers.
[17] From the Muslim invader
[18] The 'Legión' is an elite unit of the Spanish army.
[19] 'Una grande y libre' was the most common slogan used by Franco. It literally means 'a great and free (nation)'. The eagle, known as águila de San Juan, was another common element in the dictatorship iconography. With the restoration of democracy, both the slogan and the eagle were eliminated. Note that the photography was taken in April 2009.
[20] Ley de Principios del Movimiento Nacional de 1958

perspective of symbolism. His point is that as the state is invisible the nation needs not only to be imagined, but also symbolised and personified.

From this standpoint, it can be inferred that symbols are means by which we give meaning to the world around us (Kertzer 1988, p.4) and by which the state is brought into 'close relation with the whole organic world' (Walzer 1967, p.195). In similar terms, Kertzer (1988, p.85) adds that 'Through ritual [...] we not only make sense of the world around us, but we are also led to believe that the order we see is not of our own (cultural) making, but rather an order that belong to the external world itself'

Consequently, it is important to concentrate on the role of symbols and rituals in the enclaves since they strengthen the social divisions because they have a unique emotional impact on people. For instance, I will mention two clear examples of symbols and rituals that play a pivotal role in dividing the communities in the enclaves: *Sábado Legionario* in Ceuta and *el Levantamiento del Sitio* in Melilla. The former is a Spanish army tribute to the fallen soldiers, which glorifies death and sacrifice for Spain and the Spanishness of the enclaves. The latter is a commemoration of the defeat of the Moroccan Sultan on the 19th of March 1775 by the Spanish troops, which includes a Catholic ceremony. It is important, even though it is not surprising, to highlight that no Muslim representative attends this rally[21]. The Melillean researcher Enrique Delgado (El Faro Melilla 21/3/2009) questions this commemoration on the basis that it recalls unnecessarily a war between Christians and Muslims which might jeopardise the coexistence of these two communities at present.

As it can be inferred from these examples, symbolic power has a noteworthy drawback -it can only be exercised when it is *recognised.* Therefore, for this process to work, those who submit to the power have to believe in the legitimacy of the symbols and of those who instrumentalise them (Bourdieu 1991, p.170). The notion of 'recognition' is crucial in understanding that symbols are interpreted by people who 'impute meaning to them in the light of their own experiences and purposes' (Cohen 1985, p.98). Therefore, it can be stated that sym-

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[21] Coalición por Melilla (CpM), the main Muslim party, is strongly criticised, every year, by some members of the Christian community for not attending the rally.

bols cannot work *in vacuo,* since they need to be recognised and filled with meaning.

Paradoxically, the de-territorialisation process has led to a situation where territorial borders between the great civilisations are (arguably) fading away but simultaneously mental borders are being re-invented (Roy 2004, p.20). Cohen (1985, p.117) agrees with Roy in the sense that 'the diminution of geographical bases of community boundaries has led to their renewed assertion in symbolic terms'. Hence, we can conclude that these mental communities work as a repository of meaning and as a reference for identity. But most importantly, through these invented frontiers, strangers are construed and transmogrified into an alien, and the alien into a (necessary) threat (Bauman 2001, p.115). Put differently, 'we only come to know ourselves as a self by representing the other as distinct from ourselves' (Houtum 2003, p.42)

In similar terms, Ó Thuatail (1999, p.28) argues that in order to reduce the irredeemable global problems of the contemporary risk society, risk is represented as the enemy and drawing boundaries is a necessary process to protect ourselves against the enemy. Reading the reports about Sub-Saharan immigrants trying to reach the enclaves by Spanish newspapers serves to prove Ó Thuatails' point. Indeed, both right-wing[22] and left-wing[23] newspapers use derogatory expressions, which entail the notion of *risk,* such as *avalanche* or *assault* when referring to immigrants trying to surmount the barriers in Ceuta and Melilla.

The symbolic border between Spain and Morocco

The fact that around 40% of the population in Ceuta and 50% in Melilla[24] is of *Muslim faith* (and Moroccan origin) involves historical prejudices between the Spanish and the *Moors*, which is connected with a past (and also constructed narratives) of invasions and Christian *reconquistas.* Vidal (2004, p.493) claims that since its independence in 1956, Morocco has been a dangerous and vindictive enemy of the Spanish nation and that Islam poses the major problem that Spain is

[22] *El Mundo,* 14 December 2005
[23] *El Pais,* 10 October 2005
[24] This percentage is approximate since it is very difficult to establish an exact figure. To these percentages though, we should add the 30.000 Moroccans who cross the border for trading purposes on a daily basis.

facing today (Vidal 2004, p. 16). Driessen (1998, p.101) agrees that the border between the two Mediterranean countries has never been stable. To this local factor, we shall connect the global factor, that is to say, the negative prejudices against Muslim minorities that have been widespread in Europe, particularly after the 11th of September 2001.

The unprecedented visit of the Spanish monarchs to Ceuta and Melilla in November 2007 can be seen as highly symbolic since it was the first visit of a Spanish head of state to the enclaves since 1927. On the one hand, the visit created great enthusiasm among the enclave dwellers and was appreciated by the presidents of both autonomous cities, Juan José Imbroda (Melilla) and Juan Jesús Vivas (Ceuta) (La Razón 5/11/2007). The latter, for instance, highlighted that the royal visit generated optimism and confidence to the Ceutans and recalled that the city 'had always been linked with Spain'. This assertion is fairly controversial considering that the city of Ceuta was conquered by Portugal in 1415 and did not become Spanish until 1668 (Ferrer-Gallardo 2006, p.4). On the other hand, the visit by the Spanish royal family created a correlate level of anger on the Moroccan side.

Subsequently, the Moroccan monarch, Mohammed VI, recalled the Moroccan ambassador in Madrid and strongly condemned the visit. He warned the Spanish authorities that they would need 'to face up to their responsibilities for jeopardizing the future of the relations between the two countries' as well as for causing a 'serious breach of the letter and the spirit of the 1991 friendship, neighbourliness and co-operation treaty' (Maghreb Arab Press 6/11/2007). What seems clear through the passionate reaction of both sides is that this *symbolic* visit had real political effects in consolidating the status-quo and the Spanishness of both enclaves.

The symbolic division between both states is also poignant in regards to migration. Herrero de Miñón (1999) who is one of the *fathers* of the Spanish Constitution[25], for instance, argued in favour of filters

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[25] Miguel Herrero y Rodriguez de Miñón is considered to be one of the seven *fathers* of the Spanish Constitution (1978). The constitution was written by seven politicians who belonged to different political parties and who represented the different sensitivities of the Spanish political spectrum; AP (right-wing), UCD (centre-right) PSOE (social-democrats), PSUC (communists) and CIU (Catalan nationalists).

on 'linguistic and cultural affinity'[26], with the underlying purpose of excluding Moroccans, while favouring Latin-Americans, Romanians and Slavs (López Garcia 2002, p.66). The point seems to be that these migrants do not threaten the notion of Spanishness, as much as Moroccanization does. In fact, even Samuel Huntington (1996, p.119-120) in his controversial *Clash of civilisations*, explicitly mentions Spain as a country 'uneasy confronted by Maghreb neighbours with population growing more than ten times as fast and per capita GNP about one-tenth its own'.

The uniqueness of the situation in Ceuta and Melilla is that Muslim communities are not newcomers, like in the rest of Spain, since they started to settle in the enclaves during the 1930s and specially the 1940s. Therefore, the majority of them have been living in the enclaves for decades. Another significant difference is that the Moroccan state regards these two cities as the last vestiges of Spanish colonialism[27], and therefore, as Moroccan towns (still) under Spanish occupation.

Conclusion

First of all it seems evident that that the remarking of the Spanish southern border by the EC (now EU) in 1986 changed the economic and political relations in the region leading to several border and identity challenges. One of the most salient was the creation of a sophisticated system of wired fences, in the mid-1990[28], aimed at stopping immigrants from entering the EU, and arguably to explicitly delineate the boundaries between the EU and Africa.

However, the fences were proven completely ineffective in stopping the increasing migratory pressure from Africa. In effect, the reinforcement of the security of the fences has not stopped immigration but has diverted it to the Strait of Gibraltar and other routes. This approach based almost exclusively on policing the border and emphasising the security aspects of the border policies has led to the idea of

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[26] Ironically, in Europe most Muslims come from areas with historical ties to the host country (Roy 2004, p.100); Most North Africans chose France, Southern Asians the UK and Moroccans from the former Spanish protectorate, Spain.
[27] See Moroccan foreign minister Taieb Fassi Fihri declaration (Maghreb Arab Press 3/11/2007) and Mohammed VI communiqué 6/11/2007.
[28] in 1993 started the construction in Ceuta and in 1996 in Melilla

Fortress Europe, which is in sharp contrast with the Europe of bridges that the EU claims to represent.

The objective of delimiting the border though, has been more effective. Thus, the fences play a pivotal role in, physically but most importantly symbolically, dividing what is inside and what is not. Inside Ceuta and Melilla, symbolism has also a very significant effect through, commemorations, Spanish (and EU) flags, royal visits, etc. It seems obvious that all these symbols and rituals contribute to the logic of "us versus them" and, consequently, they have the primary goal of differentiating what is Spanish from what is foreign, that is to say, Moroccan.

Because of their geographical location, their enclave character and the fact of being a border region, Ceuta and Melilla are in the front line of the bordering process. As a result, they are trapped between a national division between Spain and Morocco and between a post-national division between the EU and a non-EU country (Morocco). It is worth noting that the introduction of the post-national border did not erase the national border. Instead both territorial lines are juxtaposed and constitute a two-folded territorial amalgam (Ferrer-Gallardo 2006, p.7). These multiple divisions contribute to challenge the already difficult *equilibrium* between the different communities within the enclaves.

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