
Benwell MC. Encountering geopolitical pasts in the present: young people's everyday engagements with memory in the Falkland Islands. *Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers* 2016. DOI: 10.1111/tran.12109

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DOI link to article:

<http://dx.doi.org/10.1111/tran.12109>

Date deposited:

02/02/2016

Embargo release date:

20 January 2018

Encountering geopolitical pasts in the present: young people's everyday engagements with memory in the Falkland Islands

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Abstract: Young people's geopolitical subjectivities are heavily informed by past events in ways which have not been sufficiently acknowledged in the existing literature on youth geopolitics. This paper demonstrates how work on memory can be brought into dialogue with critical geopolitics to identify the assemblage of socio-spatial practices that shape how young people learn about geopolitics. It interrogates what memories and their attendant landscape manifestations and rituals 'do' to young people growing up in the Falkland Islands, a society that continues to live with the legacies of a sovereignty dispute that triggered the Falklands War just over 30 years ago. Young Islanders' embodied and relational encounters with memory through the surrounding environment and adults are shown to play an important role in shaping their perceptions of contemporary geopolitical relations with Argentina. These can both reproduce and/or rework collective memory narratives, emphasising the importance of looking beyond mnemonic discourses manifest in institutional and official spaces. The paper makes a conceptual contribution to debates about young people's agency in relation to geopolitics. While children and young people are considered active agents capable of forming their own views, they are also presented with potent memories of past geopolitical eras that propagate certain understandings of international relations. Engaging scholarship on memory can help address the tensions inherent to recognising children and young people as social and (geo)political actors, within the context of structures, institutions and relationships that have a strong bearing on how their agency is expressed. In a methodological sense the paper illustrates how research

might productively incorporate the adults who are influential in the formation of young people's geopolitical subjectivities.

Key words: Falkland Islands; young people; everyday geopolitics; memory.

Introduction

Argentina speaks of resuming talks on sovereignty as if nothing happened in 1982. Islanders lost their freedom for 74 days until they were liberated by British troops. Some of my constituents were held in degrading conditions in a hall at Goose Green while Islanders were held against their will in other parts of the Islands. *Islanders can never forget what they endured and nor will their children and grandchildren.*

Member of the Legislative Assembly (MLA) of the Falkland Islands, Phyl Rendell addressing the UN Special Committee on Decolonisation (C24), 25 June 2015.

Geographical research has shed light on the impact of contemporary geopolitical issues on young people's (emotional and other) geographies, whilst also emphasising how they can be active in reproducing, resisting and shaping geopolitical discourses (e.g. Benwell and Dodds 2011; Hopkins 2007; Hörschelmann 2008a; Hörschelmann and El Refaie 2014; Pain 2008; Pain *et al.* 2010; Skelton 2013). Notwithstanding these advances, this body of work has been predominantly attracted to exploring young people's views, and their expression, in the geopolitical present (most commonly, on attitudes and experiences of (counter) terrorism and aspects of foreign policy in the Global North). Memories of past geopolitical events that took place before young people were born have seldom been considered when

conceptualising their contemporary subjectivities (although see Berliner 2005; Habashi 2013; Hirsch 2012; Popov and Deák 2015). During the 2015 meeting of the UN C24, MLA Rendell of the Falkland Islands Government (FIG) made reference to the enduring nature of Islanders' memories of the 1982 Falklands War and in particular their experiences during the 74 days of Argentina's 'occupation'. These were harrowing episodes, MLA Rendell claimed, that continued to resonate with younger generations of Falkland Islanders and which they could not forget.

This paper is concerned with the circulation of these memories between generations and, in particular, with the assemblage of socio-spatial practices that make these memories unforgettable for young people. It argues that young people's geopolitical subjectivities are heavily informed by past events, in ways which have not been sufficiently acknowledged in the existing literature on youth geopolitics. It interrogates what memories and their attendant landscape manifestations and rituals 'do' to young people and in what ways they can be seen to influence their perceptions of contemporary geopolitics. In particular, I consider how memory can be made to 'work' in order to actively construct a particular collective or national story for children and young people (Popov and Deák 2015; Till 2012). This is significant because it shows how ideas about geopolitics can be reproduced and/or reworked through young people's relations with adults and the surrounding environment. While children and young people are considered active agents capable of forming their own views about geopolitics, they are also presented with potent memories of past geopolitical eras that propagate certain understandings of international relations. I show how engaging memory can help address the tensions inherent to recognising children and young people as social and (geo)political actors, within the context of structures, institutions and

relationships (with adults or siblings, for instance) that have a strong bearing on how their agency is expressed.

The themes of geopolitics and memory are examined in this paper through ethnographic research undertaken in the Falkland Islands, drawing on empirical data from interviews undertaken with young people born after the 1982 Falklands War (aged 19-27), school teachers, children/youth group leaders and government officials from the Islands. The Falkland Islands are one of fourteen designated British Overseas Territories (OTs) which fall under the jurisdiction and sovereignty of the United Kingdom, but are not constitutionally part of it. Their status as a British OT is, however, highly controversial and overtly contested by Argentina, which continues to claim the Islands (or *Islas Malvinas*) as an integral part of its national sovereign territory. Consequently, this is a lively geopolitical dispute manifest through Argentina's ongoing pursuit of the Islands through its international diplomatic efforts (Dodds and Hemmings 2014).

The 1982 war resulted in ignominious defeat for Argentina's forces at the hands of a British Task Force, and more poignantly the death of hundreds of Argentine and British servicemen, as well as three civilians from the Falkland Islands. It was an extremely distressing episode, most especially for servicemen and their families on both sides, as well as civilians who remained in the Islands during the war as the opening quote intimates. Its legacies continue to be felt in the Islands through the psychological and emotional scars of its citizens, and the visual reminders of the war, which are scattered across the landscape in the form of minefields, war artefacts and memorials. In recent years, the Falkland Islands have been the subject of global media interest as a result of the 30th anniversary of the war, discovery of oil in the waters surrounding the Islands (Dodds and Benwell 2010) and a referendum

organised by the FIG to enable its citizens to decide how they wish be governed in the future (Dodds and Pinkerton 2013).

The paper begins with a discussion of existing literature on young people and geopolitics, underlining its origins in feminist and everyday geopolitics, before illustrating how recent work on memory can be productively applied to explore the socio-spatial exchanges that shape how geopolitical narratives are learnt. The study details are introduced in order to contextualise the substantive sections, the first of which considers young Islanders' non-arbitrary encounters with landscapes imbued with memories of the 1982 war through organised field trips. The second section examines young people's arbitrary engagements with memory through battlefield landscapes and the accounts of older family members, which can reinforce and also disrupt predominant memory narratives of the overseas territory. They collectively illustrate how young people's embodied and relational encounters with memory can serve to reproduce and rework understandings of the geopolitical past and present.

Remembering, young people *and* everyday geopolitics

The nature of research from scholars engaging critical geopolitics and political geography more broadly has changed markedly in recent years on the back of feminist-inspired calls to 'ground' geopolitics (see Dowler and Sharp 2001; Hyndman 2001). These shifts have led to greater interest in the everyday, lived experiences and emotions of diverse citizenries in geographies previously overlooked by state-centric geopolitical traditions (e.g. Brickell 2012; Dittmer and Gray 2010; Flint 2002; Koopman 2011; Pain 2009; Pain *et al.* 2010; Pain and Smith 2008; Williams and Massero 2013). Following these turns in geopolitical scholarship, interest in the lives and perspectives of children and young people has grown (Pain *et al.*

2010; outside of geography there were precursors to the acknowledgment of children's geopolitical consciousness, see Coles 1986). Only now, however, is geographical research regularly showing 'how larger-scale geopolitical decisions taken elsewhere and played out "elsewhere" intersect intricately with young people's own lives and relationships' (Hörschelmann 2008a, 605; Hopkins 2007; Pain 2009; Secor 2001). Young people are being taken seriously as political actors in geographical research (Bosco 2010; Kallio and Hakli 2013; O'Toole 2003; Skelton 2010) and this has been extended to the arena of geopolitics where they are no longer simply framed as passive and apathetic subjects (Hopkins 2010; Leonard 2013; Skelton 2013; Stratford and Low 2013). Rather, young people are seen to 'respond openly and creatively by resisting, contesting and challenging global issues and events' (Hopkins 2010, 167; Hörschelmann 2008a 2008b).

This paper is heavily informed by these shifts to ground geopolitics in the everyday through an interest in the lives, geographies and perspectives of children and young people. However, it cautions against continuing to merely 'celebrate' young people's geopolitical agency, by once again reasserting their status and capacity as active agents. I argue that in seeking to exemplify expressions of young people's agency, existing literatures have overlooked how their subjectivities might be deliberately shaped through interactions with adults across different spaces. Recent scholarship by geographers and others engaging with the social studies of childhood has provided some welcome advances on debates about agency (e.g. King 2007; Ruddick 2007; Punch and Tisdall 2012; Vanderbeck 2008). This work suggests that children and young people have been accepted as having agency without a clear definition of the concept itself (Bordonaro and Payne 2012) or what it means for different groups of young citizens (Tisdall and Punch 2012). Discussions of agency when linked to the lives of children and young people have been heavily informed by discourses

about children's rights which tend to reproduce 'narrow, dominant, modernist concepts of agency, as self-cohesive and independent' (Holt 2011, 3). The eagerness to dispute the notion of children and young people as passive dependents has led to their acceptance as autonomous subjects, with little space for consideration of the social and spatial contexts that often determine how agency can be expressed (Ansell 2009; Tisdall and Punch 2012; Vanderbeck 2008). Tisdall and Punch (2012), thus, call for greater consideration of children and young people's generational position in society and how their agency might be facilitated or constrained by inter-generational and intra-generational relationships (see also Hopkins *et al.* 2011).

The emphasis on illustrating expressions of youthful agency, most especially in relation to events in the contemporary moment, has also seen research with young people fail to sufficiently consider the influence of past events in the formation of their geopolitical subjectivities (see Habashi 2013). Broader state discourses regularly frame children and youth as a futurity (Evans 2010; Ruddick 2007) and seldom acknowledge their ability to reflect on past political events (Berliner 2005). For Mitchell and Elwood (2013, 34) the focus on 'agency or affective experiences of children in the immediate moment...makes it possible to elide longer term, intergenerational and/or structuring processes that often have great importance in children's lives and in their political formation'. In the case of my research in the Falkland Islands, memory of geopolitical pasts was actively mobilised by adults, alongside young people, through contact with specific landscapes such as battlefields, to reinforce and reproduce discourses about place, territory and sovereignty. Conceptually, then, the paper shows how the vast literature on memory can advance debates about young people's geopolitical subjectivities, giving due consideration to these kinds of socio-spatial exchanges that are a significant part of how geopolitical narratives are learnt. These

kinds of practices are, I argue, influential in the (re)production and circulation of memory and illustrative of the mnemonic 'work' involved in reminding younger generations of past and contemporary geopolitical conflict (Edkins 2003; Till 2012). Children, young people and adults were all embedded in these memory networks, which were productive of local and international geopolitics in the past and present (Hughes 2003).

The networks through which societal memory is constructed and circulated have received considerable scholarly attention from geographers and other social scientists. Assmann (2006, 215) identifies political and cultural memory as mediated in that, 'both are founded on more durable carriers of external symbols and material representations; they rely not only on libraries, museums, and monuments, but also on various modes of education and repeated occasions for collective participation'. Indeed, much work has reiterated and extended Assmann's thesis on the representational qualities of political memory (see Alderman 2002; Johnson 1999), with school textbooks receiving the most analytical attention in relation to children and young people's encounters with national memory narratives (e.g. Crawford and Foster 2007; Foster 2013; Williams 2014). For Assmann, this reproduction of political (and cultural) memory is distinguishable from individual and social memory which is embodied and grounded in lived experience and has been typically investigated through social interactions between familial generations.

Hirsch (2012) directly problematises these rigid distinctions between memory transmitted in symbolic (political) and embodied (social) ways and highlights how they can be disrupted by war and other collective historical traumas. She uses the concept of 'postmemory' as a way to 're-embodiment' more distant political memorial structures by exploring 'the relationship that the "generation after" bears to the personal, collective, and cultural trauma of those who

came before—to experiences they “remember” only by means of the stories, images, and behaviours among which they grew up’ (Hirsch 2012, 5). Her work interrogating the ‘postmemories’ of the following generation of victims of the Holocaust, shows how experiences can be ‘transmitted to them so deeply and affectively as to *seem* to constitute memories in their own right’ (Hirsch 2012, 5 emphasis in original). Hirsch remains sensitive to agency here, recognising that memories are not passively passed between generations but rather characterised by the ‘imaginative investment, projection and creation of subsequent generations who are active agents in their production’ (*ibid.* 5).

Geographers have contributed much to understandings of memory, drawing on and critiquing the work of sociologist Maurice Halbwachs (1992) on collective memory, in order to theorise its social and spatial constitution (Atkinson 2007; Crang and Travlou 2001; Legg 2005 2007; Till 2012). Mirroring the recent research on everyday geopolitics, there has been a call to ‘decentre the focus upon privileged, bounded sites of commemoration to think more fluidly about the ways that social memories are constituted throughout society at different scales and in mundane, everyday places’ (Atkinson 2007, 521). The past and present are encountered and juxtaposed across landscapes in more fragmented and dynamic ways that evade elementary categorisation and extend far beyond dedicated commemorative sites and performances which had previously been the focus of Halbwachs’ work (Crang and Travlou 2001). These conceptualisations of memory can help challenge ‘the dichotomy between “elite” [i.e. state-produced narratives] and “public” to consider the multiple agendas, conflicts and negotiations that characterise the process of remembering the past’ (Hoelscher and Alderman 2004, 351). This is important because, as this paper shows, the performances and practices linked to geopolitical memory are by no means

restricted to institutional or commemorative sites and narratives and, rather, manifest in the everyday spaces children and young people come into contact with.

Indeed, there has been recognition in this work that remembering and its oft neglected other forgetting (see Muzaini 2015), are far from politically innocent processes serving to construct and reproduce national myths and identities (Assmann 2010; Edkins 2003; Hodgkin and Radstone 2003; Tyner *et al.* 2012). In her provocative text *Trauma and the memory of politics*, Edkins (2003, 9) interrogates 'the connection between trauma, violence and political community by looking at how traumas such as wars...are inscribed and re-inscribed into everyday narratives'. The production of memory is seen here as 'intensely political' (*ibid.* 54), inculcating a sense of belonging to the nation which uses commemoration to emphasise certain narratives that, in turn, conceal and forget others; most markedly narratives revealing trauma produced by the state itself. Memories of suffering and struggle in specific historical moments can also be mobilised to reaffirm claims and intimate connections to territory, as Moore (2005, 188) has shown in his work on postcolonial land rights in Zimbabwe. These insights are useful for critically understanding how memory 'works' in the case of the Falkland Islands, where questions of sovereignty and territory are currently disputed and have been violently contested in the recent past.

Whilst remaining cognisant of how state narratives of memory can be applied and reproduced for certain ends, this paper focuses on how young Falkland Islanders learn about and are affected by past conflict through a diverse range of embodied practices and rituals across a number of everyday environments. Recent work from geographers and others has ensured that 'memory is increasingly being stressed as being of another order to the symbolic. This order is that of "practice", of memory that emerges from experience,

cultural meaning, and social institutions' (Legg 2005, 500). The practices explored within this paper include memory encounters which were organised, through school activities and trips, and those which were more ephemeral and arbitrary, such as engagements with war artefacts (Tolia-Kelly 2004). It argues that political geographers might productively understand the circulation and transmission of these memories as social-spatial assemblages, which are not only learnt within institutionalised environments and through ritualised commemoration (Closs Stephens 2015).

Geographical engagements with affect, embodiment and the more-than-representational suggest that memory can be 'transmitted *and* received discursively and affectively at the same time' (Tumarkin 2013, 315; Tolia-Kelly 2004; Tumarkin 2013). Kuusisto-Arponen (2009) considers the bodily memories that can be stimulated by engagements with certain landscapes, focusing on the memory trails of Karelian families displaced in the 1940s when Finnish territory was ceded to the Soviet Union (see Tyner *et al.* 2012). Her work shows how 'the bodily affects of particular places are personal, but often have intersubjective meanings and easily evolve into communal identity politics' (Kuusisto-Arponen 2009, 548). The affective engagements with these places can 'reawaken' memories which are passed on to younger generations and this 'cross-generational transfer of memories is a crucial part of collective identity struggles' (*ibid.* 556). Young Falkland Islanders embodied interactions with landscapes of the Islands such as battlefields or commemorative sites associated with the 1982 war during organised field visits played an important role in commemorating the community's struggle for self-determination and sovereignty.

Methodology

The paper is based on ethnographic and interview data collected in the UK and the Falkland Islands. The overarching research question of the study sought to investigate how young Falkland Islanders learn about, interpret and commemorate geopolitical events associated with the sovereignty dispute with Argentina. More specifically, the research examined the role of education, geopolitical representations, material artefacts, intergenerational relationships and commemorative performances to further understand how young people engage past and present geopolitical events. Whilst it identified young people as active (geo)political agents with the capability to reproduce and contest dominant state narratives, adults (in particular, teachers and children/youth group leaders) had a critical role in transmitting ideas about geopolitics to younger generations (Philo and Smith 2003).

The initial phase of research with young Falkland Islanders was not funded so recruitment and semi-structured interviews were conducted online. This was also practically necessary as many young people from the Islands were studying and working in different places throughout the UK and elsewhere. Snowball sampling enabled the recruitment of eight female and three male respondents (aged 19-27) via email and then Skype was used to undertake the interviews over a period of three months (see discussion below). The interviews began by exploring themes linked to identity and belonging that prompted discussions about national identity and the connections between the Islands and the UK. Respondents were then asked to reflect on how they learnt about the history of the Islands both within and beyond educational settings, with subsequent discussions exploring everyday reminders of the 1982 war, the young people's participation in commemorative ceremonies and their perspectives on contemporary geopolitical relations with Argentina. Although not an exclusive focus of the research, the subject of the 1982 Falklands War and

its remembrance was a prominent theme throughout the interviews with young people as they took place in the run up to the 30th anniversary commemorations of the war.

The award of funding from the Leverhulme Trust then enabled a two week fieldtrip to the Islands in 2013 during which a children/youth group leader (Cub Scouts), two government officials and two teachers were interviewed (the principal and citizenship programme teacher. The Falkland Islands adopts the UK National Curriculum although certain subjects including their citizenship programme are adapted to incorporate local history and geography). These respondents were selected because they had extensive knowledge of how young people learnt and engaged with the history of the Falkland Islands, commemoration of the war and contemporary geopolitics. They were asked a range of questions about how young people learnt about these subjects as part of the school curriculum, commemoration and everyday life which encouraged some respondents to reflect on how their own children engaged with geopolitics. Spending time in the Islands facilitated additional ethnographic research which encompassed trips to the secondary school, visits to key commemorative sites in the Islands' capital Stanley and the surrounding battlefields of the 1982 war, as well as informal discussions with Islanders. These were all reflected upon in my field diary which was analysed alongside the interview transcripts. The research followed ethical guidelines set out by those undertaking research with children and young people in the social studies of childhood (e.g. Alderson and Morrow 2011; Christensen and Prout 2002). Informed consent was received from the young people after sending information sheets and verbally explaining the research. All of the interviews were recorded with consent, transcribed and coded thematically. Confidentiality of the respondents has been ensured through the assignation of pseudonyms (Hopkins 2010).

The Falkland Islands is a relatively small island community with a population of under 3,000 people (Falkland Islands Census 2012), limiting the pool of potential respondents within the desired age range. There is a danger that such small island communities are over-researched by academics and so sensitivity and respect is required especially during recruitment (Clark 2008; Pugh 2013). A group of young Islanders studying in the UK were approached to take part in the research but declined, citing 'fatigue' at having been constantly asked for their opinions vis-à-vis the dispute with Argentina by journalists during the 30th anniversary of the Falklands War. Their right to not participate in the research was, of course, fully respected without further correspondence. Critical considerations of positionality are necessary when undertaking any qualitative research and this study was no exception (Rose 1993). My identity as a British national (alongside gender, ethnicity, generation and so on) conducting research on/in the Falkland Islands was regularly reflected on in my field diary and is explored in greater depth in Benwell (2014). There is a risk that island communities are framed as a curiosity to be 'gazed' at by more mobile, 'cosmopolitan' academic researchers so careful thought went into how the research was introduced and the phrasing of interview questions (Smith 2010). In the case of interviews conducted via Skype, email correspondence and informal conversation before the interview were important ways to establish rapport with respondents and ensure they felt comfortable discussing geopolitically sensitive topics (Madge 2010; Tarrant 2013).

Putting memory to work in place

For a place of memory to 'survive and maintain its relevance, it requires a story to support it that can replace the lost *milieu*...The place requires explanation, and their relevance and meaning can only be maintained through stories that are continuously transmitted'

(Assmann 2011, 292). Young people from the Falkland Islands learnt about geopolitically significant histories through embodied engagements with landscapes of the Islands. The accompanied visits to these landscapes were when adults were able to transmit their associated memories and meanings. Each year the gender-mixed Cub Scouts group in the Islands undertook an organised hike from Stanley to one of the highest battlefield sites overlooking the town, as the leader of the group explained:

Jan: Every 13th June the Cub Scouts take part in an annual memorial hike up Mount Tumbledown to remember the Scots Guards killed in the battle on that day. The children are allowed to enjoy the fun of running up the hill usually in snow as its mid-winter but once we get to the top we change the mood and show them how the Scots Guards had to climb up the hill in the dark, under heavy gunfire, and how through sheer bravery they won the battle...We then go up to the memorial cross, polish all the plaques, and then hold a simple service. One Cub reads out the names of the fallen, another reads the Scots Guards Collect and then we lay a wreath and place a Cub cross. You can hear a pin drop during this.

This 'memorial hike' took place on the same day as the battle of Mount Tumbledown in 1982 which was one of the final battles in the British advance towards Stanley (the Argentine forces surrendered the next day). The children and young people (aged 8-14) who participated had to scale challenging terrain in the middle of winter, simulating the difficult conditions faced by British soldiers crossing the landscapes of the Islands during the war. The fact that the physical location of Mount Tumbledown was within visual range and walking distance of Stanley, where the majority of the young people and their families lived, was also significant as it emphasised the proximity of the fighting to the civilian population.

As Kuusisto-Arponen (2009, 554) has recognised in memory journeys undertaken elsewhere, 'walking was a crucial part of experiencing. It became a representational strategy and an embodied practice of remembering' (cf. Megoran 2006; Sidaway 2009). Memories were transmitted both affectively through the personal bodily experiences of those participating in the hike and commemorations (polishing memorial plaques, reading the names of the fallen and laying wreaths or planting crosses) and discursively through the stories told by adults of sacrifices made by the British armed forces (Tumarkin 2013).

Here the collective memory narratives of the Falkland Islands linked to the 1982 war were 'intertwined and nested' with the individual's bodily experiences during the hike (Kuusisto-Arponen 2009, 551). Thus, the symbolic, material and embodied engagements with the battlefield landscape were important in reproducing a 'narrative of the nationalist past' which worked to remember the events of the 13th June 1982 and in turn reaffirm a sense of belonging to the Falkland Islands and the UK (Hodgkin and Radstone 2003, 169; Assmann 2010). Reflecting on accompanied visits to the same battlefield when he was younger *Dean* (aged 23) stated, 'you develop an appreciation for what they [the veterans and Islanders who assisted them] did and all the feelings against Argentina and that also will be passed on'. While interpretations will vary amongst young people, collective memory transmissions of this nature seemed more likely to emphasise pejorative notions of the 'other', in this case Argentina. As the next section shows, the personal transmission of memory within the family had the potential to offer more nuanced narratives of memories connected to the war.

Closs Stephens (2015, 3) has posited the notion of, 'national affective atmospheres as an opening for engaging with the ways in which national feelings touch us, take hold and

become infectious: how they are felt through bodies but surpass any individual body'. Organised memory activities such as those outlined here are bound up with this politics and reproduction of nationalism (Closs Stephens 2013) and their sensory characteristics are central to their affect: 'Objects, materials, sounds and gestures all suggest different ways in which the nation was seen, heard and felt [as well as remembered]. But none of these examples can be understood as simply symbolic; their meanings were multiple. They carried their own affects' (Closs Stephens 2015, 11). The affective atmospheres evident in these landscapes needed to be given meaning by adults and this was especially powerful when memory narratives were provided by veterans or families of fallen soldiers visiting the Islands:

Jan: My husband and I are carers for the 1982 Memorial Wood, we planted the Wood in 1992 to mark the 10th anniversary, there is one tree in the Wood for every British serviceman killed in 1982 and then another 45 in the annex to remember the servicemen and women who have lost their lives in the Falklands due to various accidents since '82. The Cubs actually helped us plant the trees and place the plaques 21 years ago and since then every year we have planted a thousand daffodil bulbs all over the Wood. If veterans or families of the fallen come down I encourage them to meet up with the Cubs in the Wood and talk about their son. This helps the children to realise that each of these trees is a 'person' and the families get so much comfort from knowing that young children are looking after and remembering their son.

Assmann (2011, 311) has stated that 'a place will only retain its memories if people care enough to make the effort'. The youth group leader and her partner put considerable affective and physical labour into ensuring that this place of memory was firstly,

inaugurated, and then later maintained and actively engaged by younger generations and visitors. The Memorial Wood works to perpetuate a specific mode of remembrance intended to 'embody continuity', a continuity that was to be sustained in symbolically important ways by the next generation of Islanders (*ibid.* 282). They were seen here as the cultivator and 'keeper of collective memories that previous generations experienced' in ways that, it was suggested, offered catharsis for veterans and families of the fallen (Habashi 2013, 421). The embodied performances of young people 'planting' and 'looking after' the wood were laden with symbolism that rooted and reproduced memory in place. These were, however, performances of memory which were activated and orchestrated by the adult supervisors. This is not to suggest that the young people involved were forced to take part; rather, to underline that these kinds of commemorative practices that imbued a particular collective 'postmemory' were led by adults. The supervisors facilitated exchanges between young Islanders, veterans and family members of the fallen illustrating how the transmission of memory was 'embedded in multiple forms of mediation' (Hirsch 2012, 35). Hence, the transmissions were not only restricted to those which took place between generations of the same family but extended to these kinds of organised recreational activities (Popov and Deák 2015).

The Cub Scouts are, of course, an organisation which has traditionally propagated notions of citizenship informed by certain national and imperial imaginations, so it is perhaps not surprising that the children and young people attending took part in the commemorative activities and exchanges outlined here (see Mills 2013). Beyond these specific clubs, however, the secondary school in the Islands also arranged guided visits to historical and geopolitically significant landscapes. These were not exclusively focused on remembering the war and teachers were keen to reiterate to their students that there was far more to

Falkland Islands history than 1982 alone. The teacher responsible for citizenship education in the Islands outlined the school's visit to Port Louis, a key site in the history of the sovereignty question:

Lisa: Port Louis ends up being a much easier option [when compared with Port Egmont, the first British settlement established in 1765 on West Falkland which was logistically harder to reach] for us to take students to, plus it gives them a bit more of an insight. Well, actually it was the French who were here first. We then spend some time trying to map out a little bit of archaeology, mapping out some of the houses around there. We have a look at Brisbane's grave and talk about the history involved in the death of Brisbane and how it came about. At that point we do bring in, well this is what the Argentines say about *Gaucha Rivero*, and this is actually what evidence we've got to say that that isn't true. So, again, it's an opportunity to bring in both sides of the story.

Jelin (2003, 38) has brought attention to the physical markers of memory and more specifically 'the material objects or the sites connected with past events that are chosen by different actors to territorially inscribe memories.' The site in this case was highly significant and chosen by the teacher because it gave young Islanders the opportunity to learn about the early history of the Islands and consequently the roots of the sovereignty dispute with Argentina. As the quote above suggests, the guided trip enabled the active construction of a narrative about the Falkland Islands that also worked to negate Argentina's historical and contemporary sovereignty claims.

Port Louis was the site of the first settlement in the Islands dating back to 1764, situated in East Falkland and established by the French diplomat and explorer Louis Antoine de

Bougainville (Pascoe and Pepper 2008). Crucially, it was also the setting for a controversial incident in August 1833 (eight months after the British had returned to administer the Islands), which is still contested and remembered in vastly different ways by Argentina and the Falkland Islands. In short, a small group of workers led by Gaucho Rivero, who was from what is now part of Argentina (previously the Viceroyalty of the Río de la Plata), murdered several senior members of the settlement in protest against the pay conditions imposed by the new administration (Lorenz 2014). Among them was the British Antarctic explorer Matthew Brisbane who is commemorated at Port Louis with a small gravestone that was visited by the young people during their school trip. The events are remembered in the Islands as a heinous crime committed against innocent civilians, whereas in Argentina, Gaucho Rivero has been heralded by some historical revisionists and the current government as defending Argentine sovereignty over the Islands, by leading a heroic rebellion against British imperial rule and oppression (Lorenz 2014). Rivero is commemorated on a 50 peso banknote released by the Argentine Central Bank in 2015, and a contentious law was named after him in 2011 that places restrictions on shipping between the Falkland Islands and Argentine ports.

The historical events bound up with this place were remembered and experienced by teachers and their students through the act of visiting commemorative sites and imagining past landscapes. As has been previously acknowledged, 'the sense of place is formed out of the ways in which people experience representations of present and past landscapes, and it forms an important part of territorial identity and geographical understanding' (Duffy 1997, 64 cited in Kuusisto-Arponen 2009). Moreover, remembering histories bound up with these individuals played an important role in the formation of young people's understandings of contemporary geopolitics. Jelin and Kaufman (2000, 106) point out that, 'explanations of the

past cannot be automatically conveyed from one generation to the next...the past has to be actively transmitted to the next generation, and that generation has to accept that past as meaningful'. References to Gaucho Rivero were not confined to historical narratives learnt at school, as the name was mentioned in news reports related to current geopolitical tensions serving to make these histories meaningful for young Islanders. For instance, the Gaucho Rivero law enforced by Argentina that places restrictions on shipping was a source of considerable anxiety for some young people in the Islands:

Alice (aged 21): I really, really wish that they [the Argentine government] would just give it up and just stop it because they're making life difficult, not just for us, but for themselves. And, yes, they're causing issues with shipping links and air links...I still feel a bit threatened by the Argentina situation, because we are a very small place, and we're a very long way away from good friends.

The organised encounters with the landscapes of the Islands were, then, a crucial way of connecting past and present geopolitical events in local, everyday spaces. They work to 'generate meanings of the past, framed by the power relations in which their actions are embedded in the present' (Jelin 2003, xv). These narratives were not neutral and invoke certain understandings of the British Empire, the Falkland Islands and Argentina, as well as their citizens (Grosvenor 1999; Scourfield *et al.* 2006). Argentina was typically represented as the 'irrational aggressor' throughout, evidenced by the actions of Gaucho Rivero and the military dictatorship in 1982, in ways which chimed with contemporary accusations from the British government of 'bullying' and 'intimidation' by the Argentine government (see Basham 2015).

Everyday encounters with geopolitical memories

Many parents and young people also spoke about their everyday contact with reminders of the 1982 war in the landscapes surrounding Stanley. Using the notion of 're-memory', Tolia-Kelly (2004) has shown how memories can be encountered through everyday engagements with material artefacts and the accounts of parents and friends. Her ideas drawn from domestic space resonate with how Islanders talked about their interactions with battlefields and other landscapes marked by the war:

Dean: I've got two kids, a three year old and a seven month old, but my three year old, he's starting to pick stuff up...And we were out in Camp [the countryside outside of Stanley] at new year and came across a crashed Argentine plane on a hillside, so he was asking why is it crashed, and all the rest of it, so we explained to him about the conflict and things, so because it is all around I think children are naturally just going to... they're little sponges anyway so they're just going to soak up stuff.

This extract from an interview with a FIG official reflects on finding the remnants of the wreckage of an Argentine plane scattered across the landscape of the Islands with his young son. The omnipresence of wartime reminders and the ability of children and young people to have direct engagements with wreckage and battlefields were significant in the formation of their knowledge about the past. These encounters with landscapes and material objects 'charged with memories' (Tolia-Kelly 2004, 314) sometimes triggered intergenerational discussions emphasising the significance of family narratives in the construction of national memory discourses (Habashi 2013). Memory of the war is not transmitted through formal curricula or citizenship education in linear ways here, rather it is 'an inscription of time in place, which is touched, accessed or mediated through sensory stimuli' (Tolia-Kelly 2004, 316):

Steven (aged 27): I'm looking out into the harbour [in Stanley] now, and there are shipwrecks, and battlefields of the war are just outside the town, so it just becomes part of the background really. I remember when I was younger you'd be out playing somewhere and you'd come across ammunition from the war, and you'd find bits of shrapnel and things, so it's just a part of your growing up. You just walk a couple of minutes up a hill and you can find the Argentine positions from the war and stuff, so we used to mess around in those. The remnants of the war are all around you.

Fiona (aged 26): Wow, it's everywhere really. It's part of your everyday, so you don't notice it as much...if you just go walking around Stanley out into the common land, it's amazing the amount of shell holes that are still visible just from the sheer battering that the land around Stanley got. It was 30 years ago. It's amazing that these big holes are still there. And I just think, wow, I wonder what it was like at the time.

Young Islanders, like Steven, talked about their ludic childhood encounters with military paraphernalia found strewn across the terrain around Stanley, which played a key role in introducing children to the idea that their home had been invaded, fought and struggled for (Moore 2005; Woodyer 2012). For Fiona, the visible marks left in the landscape by the shelling that are still in evidence, evoked the violent battles that took place to remove the invading Argentine forces. Both comment on the ubiquity and almost quotidian nature of the war-scarred landscapes around them (Edensor 2002), in ways which connect with Billig's (1995) conceptualisation of the banal practices and symbols that serve to reproduce the nation. These everyday landscapes with the tangible markers of war were an integral part of Falkland Islander identity, embodying the battle won by British forces to regain their freedom (Edensor 2002). Of course, the landscapes and debris of war do not transmit

national memory discourses in isolation and instead, 'work as part of an assemblage' that encompasses exchanges with adults, formal commemorative ceremonies and school curricula, for instance (Closs-Stephens 2015). The everyday and embodied 'eruptions' of memory, stemming from arbitrary and/or arranged visits, are actively 'put to work' by adults in order to reproduce knowledge about geopolitical pasts (Tumarkin 2013). These encounters that take place away from the typical sites, ceremonies and materials that have previously been considered important in the formation of young people's knowledge about geopolitics, are fundamental to the construction of discourses about identity, territory and sovereignty (Atkinson 2007).

These 'eruptions' of memory also occurred when young people learnt about how the war affected adults in the community and, more specifically, older members of their families. The memories of adults had the potential to both reproduce and disrupt predominant collective memory narratives in the Falkland Islands. As Hodgkin and Radstone (2003, 101) state: 'Memory, in a sense, has a great deal of work to do in the community, producing an agreed narrative that gives meaning and value to collective struggle, but simultaneously allowing for the expression of moments of disaffection and suffering within that community.' Commemorative ceremonies related to the 1982 war were moments when children and young people witnessed the emotional responses of adults, as this teacher explained:

Lisa: For Falkland Islanders, Liberation Day [14th June, when the Argentines forces surrendered] is still a very important and poignant day because the actual conflict hasn't gone away; not properly. It's still very much there. So it's important that our children get an opportunity to express how they feel at that particular time. There's all

sort of emotions come out because they see their grandparents upset. They see their mothers and fathers, who may have been locked up at Goose Green, upset.

Memories of traumatic experiences endured by older generations of Islanders at the hands of the Argentine invading forces (referenced in the quote above is the imprisonment of over 100 Islanders in Goose Green's community hall during the war) were a significant part of collective and personal memory narratives in the Falkland Islands. The 'postmemories' of many young people were thus informed by these personal and collective traumas (Hirsch 2012). The narratives also emphasised the bravery and resistance shown by Islanders during the invasion and young people regularly referred to learning about these acts from older family members:

Michelle (aged 21): My dad's side of the family were here in the conflict and some of them, well, quite a lot of them were a major part in the conflict. They helped move troops and encouraged the troops and stuff. And yes, I have learned from them.

These kinds of stories gave meaning to past and present collective struggles of the Falkland Islanders in the face of what they considered to be continual aggression from Argentina. However, this was not always the case as young people also talked about other familial memories that were more marginal in official memory narratives (Muzaini 2015; Popov and Deák 2015). Instead of emphasising the ruptures between Argentina and the Falkland Islands, these evoked the intimate connections that existed between the two societies before 1982 and the personal consequences of the war on family relationships:

Amy (aged 27): I think because it's so close to home, it's so personal for people. Everyone lost something in '82, I think. People lost friends. My grandmother was living

with an Argentine guy at the time and he obviously after '82 was made to leave. I think it's just a personal thing.

Fiona (aged 26): I'm going to surprise you even more now and say I have family in Argentina as well. [A member of the respondent's family] she already had an Argentine husband here before the war, but, because of their nationality at the time of the war, her and her husband had to move to Argentina. And some of their kids have now come back here to live because they've got dual nationality. I would say that some people in the Falklands, I don't think they look on my family that have come back in a very good light...there's usually the derisive snort and, 'Oh, bloody Argentines', and things like that every now and again.

In the years preceding 1982, there were connections between Argentina and the Falkland Islands facilitated by regular transport links (links which have now been all but severed apart from a monthly flight predominantly for Argentine war veterans that lands in the south of Argentina on its way to and from Chile). These allowed Islanders to go to Argentina for educational and health purposes and during this period relationships developed between citizens of the two societies. The young people in the extracts above, then, relayed the painful memories of the separation of previous generations in their families as a result of the war. The sensitivities of such relationships were still very much in evidence today as Fiona makes clear and both respondents voiced their concerns at what they considered to be rising antipathy towards Argentine citizens in the Islands. Their accounts add another layer to memories of the 1982 war, absent from collective narratives that tend to emphasise conflict between Argentina and the Falkland Islands. As Jelin and Kaufman (2000, 90) suggest, 'one should not expect an "integration" or "gelling" of individual and public

memories, or the presence of a single memory. There are contradictions, tensions, silences, conflicts, gaps, disjunctions, as well as “integration”. The tensions and silences in collective narratives alluded to here are worthy of attention precisely because they open up possibilities for more nuanced memories of the 1982 war to emerge. These are memories which instead of emphasising societal difference and conflict, might remember the potential for more peaceful relations between Argentines and Falkland Islanders.

Conclusion

Research outlining the connections between young people and geopolitics is still in its relative infancy, notwithstanding the valuable contributions made by a number of scholars (e.g. Coles 1986; Hopkins 2011; Hörschelmann 2008a; Pain *et al.* 2010). This emerging body of work has often privileged the agency and voices of young people, as a means to challenging their marginalisation in critical geopolitical research. While laudable and arguably necessary, this has resulted in a narrow temporal focus on the present, encouraging young people to reflect on their everyday realities in ways which reveal little about how geopolitical memories, and their telling, might be transmitted and interpreted. Exploring the spatialities and temporalities of young people’s encounters with geopolitics and memory has implications for how research is undertaken and with whom. This paper has illustrated the importance of listening to the perspectives of adults around young people (e.g. teachers, family members and children/youth group leaders) who can play an influential role in how they learn about geopolitics (see Riley 2014). It also pays closer attention to the everyday spaces and performances through which emotions and memories associated with past geopolitical events are witnessed and experienced by young people.

Cross-disciplinary scholarship on memory has been sensitive to processes like the transmission and circulation of mnemonic narratives and this paper has suggested how these can be productively applied to understandings of youthful geopolitics. They offer the opportunity to more effectively explore the formation of young people's geopolitical subjectivities, in ways that can continue to acknowledge their status as agents with competent things to say about contemporary geopolitics. Connecting work on memory and geopolitics need not be restricted to post-conflict settings like the Falkland Islands, as children and young people have sensorial, embodied and intergenerational encounters with memory in many diverse contexts as previous research has observed (e.g. Berliner 2005; Habashi 2013; Kuusisto-Arponen 2009; Tolia-Kelly 2004). These ideas help to shift the focus beyond the spaces, representations and practices that have typically received attention in studies exploring the formation of young people's national and (geo)political identities, such as the school classroom, textbooks and official commemorative performances. In the case of the Falkland Islands, significant 'memory work' is undertaken to ensure children and young people engage memory through the landscapes surrounding Stanley. The organisation of trips by teachers and children/youth group leaders brought young Islanders into direct contact with landscapes of memory that were central to narratives of the nation and other nations. The embodied and affective encounters with the past, accompanied by the accounts of adults, were also connected to and informed understandings of present geopolitical disputes with Argentina.

Memories of the 1982 Falklands War were also part of the everyday for many young Islanders, manifest through their experiences of playing in the battlefields around Stanley and learning about the histories of older generations of Islanders. This acknowledges 'memory as a more dynamic and shifting phenomenon: as a continuously productive

process, evident throughout society rather than merely within demarcated sites' (Atkinson 2007, 523). These everyday encounters with memory both reinforced collective narratives and revealed alternative ways of remembering the war. The personal transmission of memory within families who had been broken up as a result of the hostilities was particularly interesting here, inflecting the tendency for collective memory narratives to emphasise difference between Argentina and the Falkland Islands. Young people with these familial histories expressed more moderate views towards Argentina and its citizens, and were critical of what they considered to be growing anti-Argentine sentiment in the Falkland Islands. Their expressed wish for improved relations with Argentina suggested these young people's 'postmemories' were influential in informing their perspectives on the current geopolitical dispute. These kinds of personal memory narratives, '*reactivate and re-embody* more distant political and cultural memorial structures by reinvesting them with individual and familial forms of mediation and aesthetic expression' (Hirsch 2012, 33, emphasis in original). They open up space for less divisive memories of relations between citizens of the Falkland Islands and Argentina before 1982, and underline the importance of looking at the diverse ways young people engage with memories of geopolitical pasts.

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