Bringing the Falklands/Malvinas Home: Young People's Everyday Engagements with Geopolitics in Domestic Space

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This paper draws on recent research examining feminist and everyday geopolitics to focus on the relatively neglected domestic sphere as a space where geopolitical events like the Falklands/Malvinas War are learnt, (re)produced, remembered and contested by young people. It presents qualitative data drawn from interviews with young people from Argentina (Río Gallegos) and the Falkland Islands (Stanley), locations with intimate connections to the 1982 war. It argues that research in domestic environments that engages the familial relations, objects and practices that embody geopolitical pasts can help make sense of how young people (are able to) express geopolitical agency.

Key words: everyday geopolitics; domestic; young people; agency; Falklands/Malvinas.

In the last 20 years feminist interventions have opened up geopolitical inquiry to examinations of the everyday actors, spaces and practices that had been previously overlooked by scholars of critical geopolitics (Dowler and Sharp, 2001; Hyndman, 2001; Secor, 2001). The influence of this work has led to children and young people being gradually acknowledged as actors who engage with geopolitics in multiple ways, across a range of different spaces (e.g. Benwell and Hopkins, 2016; Hopkins, 2007; Hörschelmann, 2008). At the same time there has been a call to explore the 'interpenetration of the geopolitical and intimate' (Brickell, 2012a: 585), that has seen research in critical geopolitics move into domestic spaces of the home. This growing body of work has served to 'problematise conceptual divisions (once) held between the public sphere of geopolitics on the one hand, and the so-called "private sphere" of everyday life on the other' (*ibid:* 575). Despite these new directions, research on how young people learn about geopolitical issues of significance to the nation has tended to reproduce the public/private binary identified by Brickell, by focusing overwhelming attention on geopolitical practices and performances in the public sphere. Research has been drawn to educational institutions and the literal 'schooling' of young geopolitical subjects in the classroom, taking especial interest in the educational resources (e.g. textbooks, posters, films, objects and novels) that represent and narrate the nation and its geopolitics (Benwell, 2014a, 2016a; Escudé 1988; Ide, 2017). It has also highlighted the very visible participation of young people in national performances associated with the remembrance and commemoration of war (Benwell, 2016b; Edkins, 2003), as well as their enrolment in military recruitment campaigns at public events such as airshows (Rech, 2015, 2016).

Rather less well documented are young people's encounters with geopolitics in the domestic sphere that often occur with/alongside other family members (although see Hörschelmann, 2016; Leonard, 2014), notwithstanding recent research that explores young children's ludic engagements with geopolitics through the toys they play with (Carter *et al.,* 2016). This dearth might be explained by the difficulties posed to researchers attempting to gain sustained access to domestic environments and the intimate relationships therein, relative to the ease of accessing large numbers of young people in educational spaces. More popularly, perhaps, the assumption still abounds that geopolitics is something that is addressed in spaces well away from the home (most especially in regions of the world not directly afflicted by on-going military conflict): 'What could possibly be geopolitical about the home and family that necessitates embedded academic research?'

The research presented in this paper does not necessarily provide the methodological answers to the challenges of accessing domestic spaces to investigate geopolitics (see Brickell, 2012b). Instead, it considers how young people referenced interactions with family members in the home as (the most) influential in shaping their understandings of, and ways of talking about, geopolitics and key events

such as the 1982 Falklands/Malvinas War. It uses the reflections of young respondents to make several key interventions to debates about young people and critical geopolitics. Firstly, it argues that young people's geopolitical socialisation is heavily shaped by domestic settings and the intergenerational relationships and (geopolitical) objects found therein. Secondly, an interrogation of the geopolitics of/within these domestic spaces offers researchers the opportunity to examine how young people encounter and negotiate memories of geopolitical conflict that may deviate from 'official' accounts produced by the state. These are important because intimate memories of conflict that circulate in domestic spaces and relations play an influential role in how young people learn and (feel able to) talk about geopolitics. These insights into young people's negotiations of geopolitics in domestic space, then, can yield nuanced and more sensitive understandings of how they express geopolitical agency.

The paper draws on interviews (not conducted in domestic spaces) with young people and teachers from Argentina and the Falkland Islands in locations directly affected by the war (Río Gallegos and Stanley respectively), to highlight the strikingly similar ways they referenced the significance of home and family when reflecting on their knowledge of, and emotions bound up with, the 1982 war (an event that occurred before all of the young respondents were born). Río Gallegos is a city located in the south of Argentina in Santa Cruz province, about 400 miles from the Falklands/Malvinas Islands. The city hosts an airbase and army unit that were highly active in the late 1970s as a result of tensions with neighbouring Chile and then war in the South Atlantic. Many of the adults involved in this research had vivid memories of these military episodes and regularly talked about the effects on their everyday lives. Stanley is the capital of the Falkland Islands where about 77% of the population reside (Falkland Islands Government, 2016). During the 1982 war, Stanley was occupied by Argentine troops and while no fighting took place in the town itself, several buildings suffered damage from Argentine and British shelling, resulting in the death of three civilians. The lives of all adults living in Stanley (and across the islands) in 1982 were severely affected and many have memories associated with the war and its aftermath that are shared with young islanders.

The paper proceeds with a review of literature on domestic geopolitics that outlines how it might more productively consider children and young people's engagements with the geopolitical. The study is then introduced in order to contextualise the empirical data presented in the following two sections. The first of these emphasises the importance of domestic spaces in how young people learn about geopolitics, before highlighting some of the connections that exist between young people's exposure to the geopolitical in domestic *and* educational spaces. The second shows how familial relations and interactions are critical in shaping the ways young people (feel able to) express geopolitical agency.

Geopolitics of Children, Young People and Families

Geopolitical scholarship has routinely focused attention on the actors, spaces and institutions associated with the sovereign state in ways that have obscured other sites, subjects and protagonists from critical interrogation (Kuus, 2013). This disciplinary myopia continues to blight critical geopolitics as Cowen and Story (2013: 350) have recently argued in relation to its failure to effectively embrace the domestic sphere and family relations:

> ‘it is the widespread invisibility of the intimate and related questions of the family, household, social reproduction […], intimacy, gender and sexuality in the critical geopolitics literature that is extraordinary, given their central place in lived events and relations, and in scholarly work in a number of cognate fields’.

Scholars of feminist geopolitics in particular have sought to directly challenge this ‘absent presence’ (Valentine, 2008, cited in Harker, 2011) shedding light on the, ‘inseparability of international relations from everyday life, as evident in the “domestication”, or the bringing of geopolitics into the home and into the personal spaces of the body’ (Smith, 2009: 212). A geopolitics of the everyday has emerged that makes space for home in ways that underline, ‘the interactive and entangled nature of domestic life and geopolitics, collapsing together the dualism often set up between small “p” non-state politics (read: home) and big “P” politics (read: geopolitics)’ (Brickell, 2012a: 575). This growing body of research has made possible more sensitive examinations of the ‘generative and intimate nature of conflict and violence at multiple [and intersecting] spatial scales’ (Cowen and Story, 2013: 343). Geopolitics does not simply trickle down from above to ‘permeate relations of care, familial forms and notions of the self, but forges them too’ (*ibid*: 343).

In a similar vein, the work of Chris Harker in the Palestinian context has shown how family relations and routines that animate domestic space can be ripe for geopolitical analysis. Going against the grain of many (geopolitical) studies that explore Palestinian geographies through the lens of the Israeli Occupation, Harker (2009: 322) instead homes in ‘on domestic spaces and practices precisely because they create more intimate knowledges about the people and things that produce such spaces’. The ethnographic research he conducts alongside Palestinians in domestic spaces of the West Bank shows how ‘families do not stand outside or apart from geopolitical processes’ (Harker, 2011: 312). Indeed, domestic spaces should be of direct interest to scholars of geopolitics as, ‘Nations, citizenship and states are made in, through, and on behalf of families’ (Harker and Martin, 2012: 768). This literature on the domestic sphere, home and the family is still in its relative infancy in the field of

critical geopolitics at least, and as Brickell (2012a: 585, emphasis in original) asserts, 'much more research is needed on how geopolitics is influenced *by,* and emerges *from,* the home'.

Given the identification of the home as a site where the nation and citizenship are brought into being, it is rather surprising that nascent interest in domestic geopolitics and the family has not placed more emphasis on children and young people. Instead, studies exploring the making or becoming of national citizens (and their geopolitical socialisation) have been largely confined to the public arena, and most notably school and educational settings (Benwell, 2014a; Gagen, 2004; Habashi, 2017; Mills and Waite, 2017). In some ways this is logical given that these are sites where young people overtly learn about the nation and the (geo)politics of the state in which they live. For instance, in the case of Argentina, children and young people learn about the Malvinas sovereignty dispute at school through their engagements with objects (e.g. maps, textbooks, novels, photographs and films), actors (e.g. veterans, teachers and teaching assistants) and rituals (e.g. singing the march of the Malvinas on the 2nd of April, *el día del veterano y de los caídos en la guerra de Malvinas* or Day of the Veterans and Fallen of the Malvinas War) that remind them of their connection (as national citizens) to this estranged part of Argentine territory (Benwell, 2016a; Escudé, 1988). Similarly, in the Falkland Islands young people play public roles in commemorative events that mark the anniversaries of key dates in the 1982 Falklands War (most significant among them the 14th June, or Liberation Day, when the Falkland Islanders remember the sacrifices made by British military personnel during the war and celebrate their liberation from Argentine occupation), retracing the steps of British forces who 'yomped' across the islands (Benwell, 2016b), marching alongside veterans and laying wreaths to commemorate the lives lost.

These elements of young people's political socialisation are clearly significant and present researchers with public, embodied and symbolic performances through which young citizens are enrolled into the nation. They also inevitably result in the analysis of young people's engagements with the state's 'official' scripting of geopolitical narratives of the past and present (Assman, 2010; Edkins, 2003). While critical for picking apart and critiquing the politicised nature of state-sponsored performative practices and memory (including young citizen's place in such politics), this work struggles to account for the ways that young people might negotiate unofficial, inconvenient, forgotten or, even, less partisan histories related to past geopolitical conflicts. In the research I present below, young people in Argentina and the Falkland Islands talked about their experiences and emotions of dealing with family histories that complicated the official or expected narratives associated with the geopolitics of the Falklands/Malvinas sovereignty dispute. Habashi's (2017: 105) extensive study of the political socialisation of youth in Palestine draws attention to what she defines as the 'unstructured'

education young people are exposed to as they learn about (geo)politics in their everyday lives. Here she refers to some of the informal exchanges that young people have with peers and family members in their daily lives away from classroom or commemorative settings that can also be instrumental in the formation of their knowledge about geopolitical issues. This interest in informal processes of political socialisation in Habashi's work also acknowledges the domestic arena and the relaying of family experiences and narratives as a formative part of young people's understanding of the political realities of growing up in Palestine (Habashi, 2017: 161). There is an emerging recognition here, then, of the 'intertwined' nature of young people's structured (i.e. state-scripted) and unstructured (i.e. informal) political socialisation across a range of different sites including the home.

Research conducted with children and young people in Cyprus, an island divided by another intractable geopolitical dispute with a recent history of bloody intercommunal violence (see Papadakis, 2005), has also pointed to the influence of family in shaping how geopolitical pasts and presents are (re)presented and learnt. Christou and Spyrou (2012: 305) state that, 'children's sense of national belonging is not an abstract relation with discourses of identity but is embedded in "the localised constructions of community" that children engage in at particular historical moments'. Children and young people are not disaggregated from the geopolitical histories they are told given these are often relayed to them by older family members (i.e. parents, grandparents) who have directly experienced conflict and its consequences (Spyrou, 2006: 100). Indeed, these personalised histories are also presented to them in educational contexts as:

> 'teachers themselves are part of the history of Cyprus. Many are also refugees or come from families of refugees. Hence, they may have directly experienced the division of Cyprus or their own families may have been influenced by these events, and they may bring these experiences into the classroom so that official history lessons may be punctuated with unofficial personal stories' (Leonard, 2014: 71).

Although Leonard does not develop the theme, the testimonies she presents reveal a bleeding of private and public narratives in relation to (memories of) intercommunal violence that broke out across Cyprus in the latter half of the 20th century. The research presented below builds on these insights showing how understandings of geopolitical socialisation might start to break down the public/private binaries that have been unwittingly created in relation to where children and young people develop understandings of geopolitics. The telling and re-telling of these stories from the past in the home *and* educational settings mean that young citizens 'become familiar with, not just their family memories and family histories, but the history of the nation' (Leonard, 2014: 66; Hart, 2002). As Hörschelmann

(2008: 601-2) has suggested, ‘The micro-scale of the home […] becomes simultaneously a key site through which the macro-scale is realised and experienced in everyday life. Young people perform their identities in part through such translations between scales’.

Finally, this work has explored how geopolitical accounts from the past are, ‘constructed, confirmed, negotiated and contested by young people rather than passively transmitted from adults to children’ (Leonard, 2014: 67). While my research in Argentina and the Falkland Islands does not dispute the notion that young people can be ‘active agents’, the potential for the expression of their geopolitical agency was severely constrained by the wider communities of which they were part. These communities (i.e. family, school, friendship groups and so on) have intimate connections to collective and personal memories of the 1982 war that have a strong bearing on how young people talk about the geopolitics of the South Atlantic in the past and present. Research exploring young people’s perspectives on (geo)politics is often quick to highlight evidence of active agency, particularly in post-conflict settings where young citizens express views that point towards more hopeful, conciliatory and peaceful ways forward (although this is by no means inevitable, as young people can sometimes hold more extreme or entrenched views relative to preceding generations, see Leonard, 2014). However, as Woon (2017: 202) usefully points out, ‘children’s agency does not equate to full intentionality and independence but is fully caught up within complex webs of power’. Young people’s geopolitical agencies, then, must not be considered in ‘abstract terms and divorced from the institutional and cultural contexts in which they operate’ (Woon, 2017: 214). Instead, research should pay close attention to how geopolitics is encountered in familial and intergenerational relations within domestic and institutional spaces, in order to better comprehend how these might influence (enable and/or inhibit) the expression of young people’s agency.

The Study

The research presented below was undertaken with young people, teachers and political officials (including those responsible for education) from Argentina and the Falkland Islands between 2011 and 2015. The overarching research question of the study sought to investigate how young people learn about, interpret and commemorate geopolitics in locations with histories directly connected to the 1982 war (e.g. Río Gallegos and Stanley). While this study brings together the perspectives of actors from locations on opposing sides of the sovereignty dispute there were some methodological distinctions between settings. The initial phase of research with young Falkland Islanders was not funded so recruitment and semi-structured interviews were conducted online. Snowball sampling facilitated the

recruitment of eight female and three male respondents (aged 19-27) via email and then Skype was used to undertake interviews over a period of three months in 2011. Funding from the Leverhulme Trust subsequently enabled two two-week long fieldtrips to the Islands in 2013 and 2015, during which teachers, youth group leaders and further young people were interviewed. The research with young people in Río Gallegos consisted of focus groups undertaken in person with groups of 4-5 young people (aged 15-19) accessed through several private and public secondary schools in the city (teachers of history and geography in these schools were also interviewed). Despite the age difference between the cohorts (determined by the practicalities of the study as it unfolded), the critical characteristic that united the young respondents was the fact that they were all born after the 1982 war. In that sense, the study offered an opportunity to contrast perspectives from across an intractable geopolitical divide in ways that are rarely possible, drawing attention to striking parallels in the respondents' accounts (see Benwell, 2014b). Analysis of the research data was necessarily attentive to the diverse methods used across different spaces and stages of the study, noting the different rapport, interactions and dynamics that were made possible. 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 were comfortable discussing sensitive geopolitical topics (Madge, 2010; Tarrant, 2013). 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). Informed consent was received from the young people (and guardians where legally required) 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).

Home Learning: Engaging Geopolitics in the Domestic Sphere

A point repeatedly made by young people from Stanley and Río Gallegos during discussions about the formation of their knowledge of the 1982 Falklands/Malvinas War, was the significance of the things they learned from older members of their family, in stark contrast to the paucity of what they learned in school:

> 'A lot of it was picked up from my parents. My dad used to collect old Falkland photo books so we used to look through them and sometimes that would regenerate memories and get the conversation towards it […], I honestly don't remember learning really anything about it at school at all' (interview with Alice, speaking via Skype from Stanley, 2011).

> ‘You learn about the history through your parents, through their sorrow and because of your own interest but […] mostly away from school, here in Patagonia at least. You learn more from your parents because they’re the ones who saw it and as they’re your relatives they end up telling you things but in education and that, no, not a lot is covered’ (focus group contribution from Fran, Río Gallegos, 2014).

The young respondents involved in this research largely downplayed the significance of school settings in their knowledge about the war and the broader geopolitics of the sovereignty question. Benwell (2016a) has previously discussed the challenges faced by teaching staff in communities where collective memories related to conflict are still relatively fresh. In the case of Río Gallegos, some teachers preferred to circumvent the topic of the Malvinas in the classroom in case it caused offence or controversy among young people or their families, many with their own personal connections to the Malvinas War (other institutions brought these family testimonies into the school in overt ways, explored below). Similarly, the respondents from the Falkland Islands were part of a generation that grew up during the 1990s in the aftermath of the war and before Falklands-focused material had been substantially integrated into the curriculum. More generally, the playing down of what was learnt in school is probably a consequence of growing up in places that had vivid, first-hand memories of 1982 to which many respondents felt personally connected.

Young people, then, tended to reference engagements with their families when the topic of the islands was raised, sometimes initiated as a result of looking at objects in the domestic sphere that their parents collected from the 1982 war, others inspired by contemporary geopolitical developments related to the sovereignty dispute. This research was conducted during the presidency of Cristina Fernández de Kirchner which saw Argentina adopt a markedly abrasive approach to international diplomacy concerning the Falklands/Malvinas. This ensured that the issue was regularly in the news, most especially in the Falkland Islands, where the results of this diplomacy had direct consequences for the everyday lives of islanders (see Dodds and Benwell, 2010). Young people, then, engaged with memories of 1982 (typically alongside other family members) through an affective assemblage of personal mementos (that included photo books, albums, military paraphernalia and so on), collective historical accounts that documented the war in newspaper cuttings collected from the local media, their attendance at commemorative parades and the narration of the direct memories of adults (Christou and Spyrou, 2012). The findings chime with Leonard’s (2014: 67) observation that in ‘areas of protracted conflict […] parents and relatives have a significant impact on young people’s understanding of the past’. This is about more than simply the testimonies of older relatives, however, as memories of the

war were evoked through a constellation of bodies, places, objects, events and atmospheres that together left a lasting impression on young people (Closs Stephens *et al.*, 2017; Tolia-Kelly, 2004).

Places such as Río Gallegos (and other sites in Patagonia, as Fran intimates above) and Stanley, 'become the agents and bearers of memory, endowed with a mnemonic power' (Assmann, 2011: 281). The fact that these were familiar public and private spaces integral to the past experiences of communities and families of which the young people were a part, meant these memories took on an even greater affective charge:

> 'Above all our families lived here and they felt and suffered everything that happened. It's like more convincing what they pass on to you. For example, the families that lived here, the fact that they lived all of that makes it a normal topic of conversation at home. Then suddenly there's an important act or a memorable date and you will find more than one testimony or more than one story from your family because it's something common. It's something that is passed on in a natural way among people [here in Río Gallegos]' (focus group contribution from Violeta, Río Gallegos, 2014).

> 'A lot of it, I'd say, most of it, actually, I've learnt about the history and my passions for the Islands that has been passed down by the older generations and friends that were here at the time of the war. Obviously, it was quite recent so my parents were there during the war, my uncles were there, grandparents. I've got friends that were there. All of them have got their own stories about what they experienced at the time. So, all those feelings and emotions and stories are all passed on to me' (interview with Darren, speaking via Skype from Stanley, 2011).

Hirsch's (2012: 5) concept of postmemory resonates here given its attempt to comprehend the relationship younger generations have 'to experiences they "remember" only by means of the stories, images, and behaviours among which they grew up'. The accounts of young people in Stanley and Río Gallegos were replete with references to feelings and emotions (of suffering, sorrow, pain and fear predominantly) experienced by older relatives and friends that had been passed on to them. The intimate testimonies of adults who lived the 1982 war and in particular the everyday stories of how it ruptured domestic routines and relations, were transmitted 'deeply and affectively [to young people] as to *seem* to constitute memories in their own right' (*ibid*: 5, author's emphasis). In recent years, there has been a call to embrace emotion in geopolitics in order to connect 'political processes and everyday emotional topographies in a less hierarchical, more enabling relationship' (Pain, 2009: 466). This turn to the emotional entails being 'far more attentive to what is happening on "the ground" in the places and lives that people inhabit' (*ibid:* 467) and has relevance for understandings of how young people

learn about the nation and its geopolitics. While school spaces, as well as the objects and practices found therein, are of considerable interest and should remain so, scholars interested in critical geopolitics and the lives of children and young people could place more emphasis on domestic settings and the role of these kinds of intergenerational interactions in young citizen's geopolitical socialisation.

Indeed, the findings from this research suggest that in some instances the domestic (private) and school (public) spaces are already entangled in terms of where geopolitical stories of intimacy, home and emotion emerge. For instance, teachers and students of one private school in Río Gallegos talked about the centrality of family testimonies in their classes and school assemblies that focused on the Malvinas (Benwell (2016a) provides a more detailed analysis of how different schools and teaching staff chose to interrogate the Malvinas in Río Gallegos):

> 'The Malvinas is a subject that is sentimentally very close here, so we work with testimonies of some of the people who participated. The students bring their own material sometimes, either from things their grandparents experienced or their own parents when they were young or from any other person in a setting they [choose to] go and study' (interview with Belén, teacher Río Gallegos, 2013).

> 'Here in the school for the Malvinas assembly there were teachers who gave testimony about what happened in the city and what they experienced was fear all the time, waiting for the alarm to take cover because of the [perceived threat of bombing runs by British] warplanes and stuff. In other words, at that moment they always lived with fear' (focus group contribution from Elena, Río Gallegos, 2014).

As Leonard (2014) has observed in Cyprus, teachers (and their students) are not emotionally detached from the memories that are embedded in places that have experienced war. They can bring intimate family memories from the domestic sphere into the classroom in ways that inform how young people learn about geopolitical events in the past. The school referred to in the quotations above organised assemblies during which teaching staff relayed their personal recollections of life in Río Gallegos in 1982 (for the thirtieth anniversary of the war they hosted a seminar inviting testimonies from older family members of students) and encouraged young people to interview family members for school projects. In the Falklands, more recently, the secondary school has encouraged young people to undertake projects, 'on different aspects of the '82 war […], one or two of them might have a family member who was locked up in Goose Green [during the war] or their dad might have been part of the Task Force' (interview with Kelly, teacher in Stanley, 2013). These kinds of familial and

intergenerational engagements with intimate memories connected to war instigated in school settings are not inevitable, however, and depend on the willingness of schools and their teaching staff to engage with what are highly sensitive topics (Benwell, 2016a). Where they did take place, young people were consistently struck by the emotionally-rich accounts of adults that detailed how the war had affected the people and places they were familiar with.

On Agency and the Negotiation of Everyday Life in the Aftermath of Geopolitical Conflict

Young people from Río Gallegos and Stanley demonstrated their (geopolitical) agency in the ways they talked about their engagements with geopolitics in school and domestic settings during interviews and focus groups. However, the expression of their agency was not unlimited and required negotiation and these sensitivities became most apparent when they talked about their families and everyday episodes that had occurred in domestic settings. It was their discussion of these sometimes extremely banal engagements with geopolitics in the home that revealed the 'power matrices and even intergenerational relationships' instrumental in shaping young people's voices in these post-conflict settings (Woon, 2017: 214). Some of the young people, such as Mae from Stanley, were required to negotiate family histories that complicated the 'conventional' geopolitical relations in the sovereignty dispute between the UK/Falkland Islands and Argentina:

> 'Well, okay, I'm going to surprise you even more now and say I have family in Argentina as well […] though 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. But, of course, I don't really pick up on exactly what people think because they know that I'm related to them. So they're probably a little more careful about what they say in front of me, but there's usually the derisive snort and, "Oh, bloody Argentines", and things like that every now and again. And people forget who I am perhaps. I don't know' (interview with Mae, speaking via Skype from Stanley, 2011).

The geopolitics of the sovereignty question marked the everyday interactions that Mae had with fellow islanders precisely because of her family lineage and its links to Argentina. These attracted reactions of disdain explicitly directed at Mae, as well as an unsettling sense that people were talking about her family in negative ways elsewhere. The ability to demonstrate ancestral links and uninterrupted settlement of the islands has become a key pillar in the geopolitics of the South Atlantic, used by the Falkland Islands Government (FIG) to reinforce their right to self-determination and, at the same time,

discredit Argentina's sovereignty claim and the associated notion that the islanders are an 'implanted population' (Falkland Islands Government, 2012). The 'geo-politicised' ancestries of individual Falkland Islanders, many of whom can trace their family heritage back several generations, are presented in a FIG-produced booklet entitled, 'Our Islands, Our Home', that was produced to coincide with the thirtieth anniversary of the war. Interestingly, this does include the biography of one islander with family links to Argentina who, having detailed her Argentine ancestry, declares her pride in being a Falkland Islander in the same sentence, perhaps in an attempt to quell the kind of suspicion outlined by Mae in the quotation above. In a similar vein, the ability to demonstrate heritage and ancestral links between the Malvinas and Patagonia have attracted interest in Argentina (see Pierini and Beecher, 2011), with the Argentine state providing funding for academic research exploring such connections (a Malvinas funding call was launched by the now defunct *Secretaría de Asuntos Relativos a las Islas Malvinas* in 2015, a state department created during the presidency of Cristina Kirchner and subsequently dissolved by President Mauricio Macri, a decision indicative of their starkly different foreign policy objectives and diplomatic approaches to the Malvinas). The significance placed on ancestry at different scales of geopolitics (from the everyday to the state) is illustrative of 'the mutual imbrication of geopolitics and home' and how family relations in the past and present can shape the everyday emotional geopolitics of young people (Brickell, 2012a: 585).

This was eminently the case for Becky, another Falkland Islander with a family history that was intimately connected to Argentina and the war:

> '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' (interview with Becky, Stanley, 2013).

The abrupt interruption of her grandmother's relationship with an Argentine man as a result of war in 1982 was something that had affected Becky profoundly. Her way of dealing with this personal history was to embrace it directly by making a radio documentary (broadcast on the Falkland Islands Radio Service, the radio station of the Falklands based in Stanley), detailing how three generations of women in her family were affected by the Falklands War (i.e. grandmother, mother and Becky herself). This public investigation of what were potentially geopolitically-sensitive, and at the same time very painful, events in her family was an overt expression of agency. Becky's decision to highlight the 'geopolitical as personal' through the radio documentary was striking, especially given the suspicion aroused by historical family links to Argentina in the Falklands (described above), and the relative

paucity of 'public' accounts disclosing family relationships that complicate and cut across geopolitical dividing lines in the Falklands/Malvinas sovereignty dispute. Her radio documentary shows how geopolitics can forge familial relations in domestic spaces (Cowen and Story, 2013; Smith, 2009) and reveals young people's negotiation of geopolitical narratives that deviate from the 'official' version that is often engaged in schools.

Anecdotes highlighting young people's exchanges with parents in the home were also indicative of how their use of seemingly ordinary, everyday objects could be influenced by geopolitics and familial relations. Sara, from Río Gallegos, explained her father's reaction after she purchased a bag bearing the Union Jack:

> *Sara:* 'For example, on holidays about three years ago, they were selling some bags on the beach and there was one that had little flags of England [a reference to the Union Jack] and I liked it, it was a nice bag so I bought it. I arrived at my house and I got tired of listening to my dad [saying], "How did you buy that Sara?" He was talking to me for about an hour about how I was going to have a bag with the flag of England and at first I used it because I liked it and then afterwards it upset me as well because each time that my dad saw me with it he spoke with me again.'
>
> *Emilia:* 'The cursed bag!'
>
> *Sara:* 'Then I stopped using it. I haven't used it for two years and it's stored in the closet and I don't use it […] But when you see something that you like, you are not thinking all the time about what happened in the Malvinas, the conflict. I saw it, I liked it, I bought it! Then I arrived at my house and my family made a scene' (focus group contributions from Sara and Emilia, Río Gallegos, 2014).

While young people in Argentina and the Falkland Islands may well be conceptualised as actors without the geopolitical baggage of previous generations (i.e. with direct memories of the 1982 war), the expression of their agency in daily life was heavily shaped by adults and related exchanges in the home. Sara did not associate the bag with the sovereignty dispute in the same way as her father (in some ways hinting at the potentially different geopolitical perspectives of young people vis-à-vis older generations) and the reaction it provoked at home led her to stop using the bag. The exchange also hints, once again, at the significant geopolitical agency of non-human objects (i.e. in similar ways to the photos, newspaper cuttings and objects referenced above) that can generate certain affects within domestic space with their consequences for intergenerational relationships (Dodds, 2014). Whether it was through 'unorthodox' or geopolitically 'inconvenient' family relationships or the use of seemingly

banal objects, the agencies and experiences of young people were shaped by these interactions in the home.

Conclusion

This study makes several key interventions to an everyday geopolitics that considers and conceptualises young people as geopolitical actors, embedded within broader spaces and relations that influence how their geopolitical agencies may be expressed. Firstly, it identifies the importance of family and domestic space in informing how young people learn about, and are affected by geopolitics, including past geopolitical events such as the 1982 war. This emphasis does not intend to downplay the significance of the school as a site where geopolitics is learnt. Instead, the research presented shows how domestic *and* educational spaces might be considered holistically as interconnected, given that intimate insights of family and home often informed how teaching staff presented the 1982 war to their students. Geopolitical narratives relayed to young people in school classrooms were personalised with the memories of teachers and classmates drawn from domestic settings (see Leonard, 2014), in ways that begin to challenge any falsely imposed public/private binaries concerning how and where geopolitics is engaged. The nature of such familial recollections drawn from domestic space added an intimacy and affectivity to the teaching of geopolitics in the classroom that left a lasting impact on many of the young people involved in this research.

Secondly, as others have found elsewhere (see Leonard, 2014), young people do not inevitably and passively reproduce the perspectives they hear about geopolitics from adults and there was evidence of some holding alternative views regarding the 1982 war and broader sovereignty dispute. However, the intimate and personalised nature of the memories young people were presented with, often drawn from the direct experiences of older family members during the 1982 war, were extremely potent and, I argue, tempered the potential for the expression of alternative geopolitical perspectives. Placing attention on domestic spaces and family relations in research that seeks to understand how geopolitics is engaged by children and young people brings greater sensitivity to the parameters of the expression of their geopolitical agency. Young people are undoubtedly active geopolitical agents but they are also members of communities and families that have, in the case of this research, (traumatic) memories of violent geopolitical events such as the 1982 war (Woon, 2017). These were not insignificant and, indeed, had direct implications on their lives (or those of close relatives) that inevitably shaped how they talked about geopolitics.

Future research might usefully reflect on the methodological challenges of undertaking geopolitical research on/in the private sphere with young people and their families, as well as suggesting methods that might enable researchers to 'access' these spaces and relations. Geopolitics is more readily 'visible', accessible and observable in the institutional spaces of the school and young people's engagements with geopolitical narratives produced by the state will continue to be an important part of a critical geopolitics of children and youth. This paper has argued, however, that understandings of young people's geopolitical socialisation and agency can be substantially enriched by paying closer attention to the ways geopolitics is encountered in the often 'harder to reach', intimate spaces and relations of the home.

Acknowledgements

The authors wish to thank the young people, teaching staff and political officials in Argentina and the Falkland Islands, who generously gave their time to participate in this research. We extend our thanks to delegates who provided insightful discussion at the 'Researching everyday geopolitics in Latin America' workshop at Newcastle University in September 2017, as well as the anonymous referees and editorial team for their useful comments. This research was made possible with the support of an Early Career Fellowship funded by the Leverhulme Trust (award number: ECF-2012-329) and the Comisión Nacional de Investigación Científica y Tecnológica (CONICYT project number: 1170643).

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