Remembering the Falklands War

Media, Memory and Identity

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Cover illustration: Rusted Argentinian Cradle Assembly for Browning Machine Gun from the 1982 war located at the summit of Mount Harriet, Falkland Islands. Image Courtesy Sarah Maltby.

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For Susan Maltby

Acknowledgements

Contents

List of Figures

Introduction

The Falkland Islands are a unique site to investigate the complexities inherent in the intersection of war, media, memory and identity. This is because of the ways they have been continually imagined and historicised in and through media discourse; as a site of commemoration and memorialisation; as a site of contested political ownership; and as a site of UK nationalist politics. This was especially the case in the build up to and during the 30th anniversary of the Falklands War where all of these different—and at times conflicting—'imaginings' were implicitly evoked or explicitly represented in political and media rhetoric. As with all acts of commemoration, the past was recovered, re-told and remembered with particular consequences for those involved in the acts of (re)telling and remembering. Central to this was the subject of war, not only because of a commemorative focus on the conflict of 1982 but because of the ways the conflict was (re)appropriated for political and personal reasons. Whilst the political appropriation of a Falklands history was not unique to 2012, there were particular factors apparent during the 30th anniversary, relevant to the present and future of the Islands that (re)ignited the conflicting 'imaginings' described above.

The first was that, contrary to the convention of giving weight to substantive commemorative years (25th, 50th, 100th), the 30th anniversary was given significant importance in the media. Much of this was publicly attributed to the declining health and aging of living Falklands veterans

(British and Argentinian) who might not be 'fit enough' to return to the Islands to commemorate and honour their compatriots in future years.[1] Whether or not this was the case, the intense media focus on the memorialisation of all those who fought in 1982 intersected directly with other particularly potent claims and counter claims about the Islands (and the war) that were also heavily mediated. The second factor (related to the above) was Argentinian President Kirchner's (re)evoking of the 1982 conflict through her renewed claims to the sovereignty of the Falklands that were framed within allegations of the British colonisation and militarisation of the Islands. In response, the British Government publicly declared emphatic public support for the Falkland Islanders' right to self-determination (as laid out in the UN Charter) and in doing so also attempted to (re)stabilise wider diplomatic tensions within the South Atlantic. Despite this, media coverage of the 30th anniversary and the accompanying associations of loss and victory threatened to unsettle and challenge these diplomatic efforts as the memory of war was being used for political point scoring.[2] Lastly, the Falkland Islands Government (FIG), in collaboration with the British Government, were making considerable efforts to promote the Islands as having undergone significant economic, political and cultural development since 1982 with particular emphasis on the economic self-sufficiency of the Islands, and the Islanders' right to political self-determination (as laid out in the UN Charter).[3]

Thus, although a distant war—temporally, geographically, politically—the struggles, contestations and traumas apparent in the 1982 Falklands (historical, political, institutional, social and private) were once more resonant in the present in media and political discourse, and for all involved. This book is about those struggles. It draws on ethnographic data collected from members of the British Military, the Falklands Islands Government, Falkland Islanders and the BBC in the build up to and during the 30th anniversary commemorative activities in order to explore how the differently 'imagined' Falkland Islands (as a site of commemoration, contested sovereignty and UK nationalist politics) and the tensions that lie between them were negotiated and rationalised in the public domain.

Ignited by the circumstances described above the research was initially guided by questions regarding the relative significance assigned to the 30th commemorative year by those involved (the British Government, British military, Falklands Islands Government, the Islanders and the media), and the extent to which this was underpinned by rationales of political and public diplomacy and/or a recognised need to memorialise

the Falklands War for those who took part. To what degree, for instance, were the aspirations of the Falkland Islanders (and their government) to publicly promote the political, economic and cultural progressions of the Islands—an image that was increasingly necessary to establish credibility as a self-governing, self-determining nation—perceived as being undermined by the media's evocations of historical diplomatic tensions and war victory. In short, how might the (re)emergence of the past, inherent in memorialisation narratives—both private and public—be diplomatically sensitive and/or overshadow the present Falklands in media analysis. And, if so, what might be the implications for political actors (including the British military), the media and the Islanders. What emerged from the data however, was a far more complex story about how remembering is enacted, performed and contested *with* the media, *in* the media and *through* the media, and how this becomes intrinsically linked to issues of identity, power and agency in the competition to privilege one's own remembering (see also Sturken 1997); the implications of which extend far beyond the specificity of the Falkland Islands.

When I write of remembering *with* the media, I am referring to the content and form of remembering that results from encounters and negotiations with media products. How do media texts ignite a remembering—if at all, what type of remembering results and how does this resonate with broader influences that originate from media industries? Related to this, how do these relations inform a performance, projection or negotiation of remembering *in* the media, that is through the processes of engagement with media producers from which a public 'remembering' text is constructed? What does remembering *in* the media text reveal about what 'remembering' actor(s) (want to) remember and be remember*ed* for? Lastly, the book explores how remembering is negotiated *through* media representations; that is, when one is the subject of media representation. Here I ask whose remember*ing* comes to be represented in media, why and how? What are the implications for the subjects of these representations *and* for those denied a media presence? Where is the agency of those remembering located within these processes and how might it impact upon notions of individual and collective identity? Through the consideration of these three (not mutually exclusive) areas of media remembering—with, in and through—this book attempts to better ascertain where agency and power are located in a media remembering, specifically in relation to ceremony, commemoration and war.

Remembering

With the above in mind, let me now define the parameters of the book particularly with regard to the sticky area of terminology and definitions encountered by all those who engage in the scholarship of memory. There is an increasing body of work that examines the broad and variant subject of 'memory' in one way or another and yet it is by no means a settled field. Many continue to debate and contest fundamental aspects of its work including at the most basic level what constitutes 'memory', and the distinctions between individual and collective 'memory'. As Winter (2006:185) has argued, people often refer to collective terms for memory (social, cultural, national) without reflecting on what they actually might mean. There is not scope to unpick these conceptual entanglements here, nor is it necessarily relevant to do so for the discussion contained herein. What is important, however, is to provide a definition of terms and ideas used throughout the book to alert the reader to how and why these definitions are employed and how they might relate to existing scholarly understandings of 'memory'.

The first position from which this book draws is unsurprisingly that of Halbwach. A student of Durkheim, Halbwach's work is the most cited starting point for any engagement in an understanding of the complexities and relationship between individual and (what is most often termed) collective memory. For Halbwachs (1992) individual memory is socially determined. It is the shared experiences of a social group, and their common reservoir of remembrance that forms a collective memory and that simultaneously informs individual, personal memories. This process is of course always in flux with the composition of the social group, the entry of new forms of information and the relative importance of particular types of remembering to the group over time. For Halbwach then, memory is always a reconstruction of the past that builds upon previous pasts, but always in relation to the social group. This is important to the forthcoming discussions primarily because the empirical case studies offered, whilst founded on individual interviews in some cases, offer insight into how a collective sense of the past and its relationship to the present is shaped by and shapes individual remembering. Hence, it is in the collective act of people engaging in the act of remembering together for a purpose—whatever that might be—that memories become formed. Should this activity cease, so too, eventually, does the memory. For the purposes of this book, it is the intersection of media in this process that becomes critical to how

and why particular types of 'memory' become constituted and (re)constituted. Thus it is with Halbwach's notion of the collective and social group that this book considers the powerful role of the media as integral to the processes of remembering in what others have termed the Halbwachian 'leap' from the personal and the concrete (how people remember) to the collective and metaphorical (how societies remember) (Neiger et al. 2011:12; see also Gedi and Elam 1996; Schwartz 1991).

At the same time, it is the point at which the media enters into this process that I take as a point of departure from Halbwach's use of the term memory. Instead, I take up Winter's (2006) notion of collective 'remembrance'; that is, when groups of people come together in public to do the work of remembrance (see also Winter & Sivan 1999). For Winter, the study of collective remembrance enables us to understand what groups of people are trying to do when they act in public to conjure up the past (2006:5). This process implies agency, purpose and context and allows—for the purposes of this book—a consideration of what people are (collectively) doing when they act as a group to conjure up particular narratives and memories of the past for the media. Who is remembering, when, where and how, become critical to this investigation, as do the motivation and commitment of those engaged in remembering within a specific temporal and social context, in this case the 30th anniversary of the Falklands War. Individual memories are not dismissed here. On the contrary, the storying contained in the forthcoming chapters is based upon individual understandings and commitments to a particular construction of a past. But these individual memories (or rememberings) are located within a social phenomenon of remembrance that, as a consequence, directs our attention to a collective development and sharing of a sense of the past, and particularly to a past where there may be no direct experiential connection. This is important to understanding not only what is being remembered *in*, *with* and *through* the media, and by whom, but also who, how and why a particular social group want to be remembered.

At the core of all these processes are questions of power and identity; how might 'remembering' be informed by, or inform, notions of collective identity and allegiance, and how might a public performance of remembering in the media leverage power—or be conceived of as enabling the leverage of power—for those involved? Related to this last point, of course, is the important context of commemoration in which all of the 'remembering' discussed in this book can be located. It is through commemoration that people come together to perform remembrance and

remembering, the result of which generates a particular representation and (re)vision of history as important to the present, and a present that has direct continuity with the past. The ritual of commemoration then reaffirms (and of course at times denies) a group's shared connection to the past but in a manner that is also intrinsically bound up with issues of identity and power. At the same time, as Foot (2009) highlights, commemoration and commemorative ceremony is also fraught with division and contestation. Consequently, simple, consensual understandings of the past generated for commemorative purposes can actually expose divergent and contradictory narratives in both private and public. If, as Connerton (1989) suggests, commemoration is itself a type of performance through which narratives of the past are contested, and through which communities are reminded of their identities, then it is in the intersection of commemoration, collective remembrance and the media that we might most vividly locate the answers to some of the questions regarding how power and identity intersect with media remembering.

War is central to all of the above. As Portelli (1997:ix) contends 'War keeps coming back in narratives and memories as the most dramatic point of encounter between the personal and public, between biography and history'. I reference Portelli here because his point is particularly relevant to the forthcoming chapters. For, whilst it was the subject of war that generated the start point of this research, it was in the 'encounter', oscillations and contradictions between the private and the public, between history and remembering and between narrative and (mediated) experience that the end point was formed. Questions about the authenticity of a mediated Falklands became secondary to issues of identity formation, power and authority in this regard. Thus whilst war is central to the forthcoming analyses, it is not—as Portelli might contend—simply because it forms the 'dramatic point of encounter', nor indeed because of the commemorative focus on war courtesy of the 30th anniversary. Rather, it is because the Falklands War was a mediated/mediatised war, with social, political, historical and cultural implications, that it *could be* (re)appropriated and for political and personal reasons; to make claims to agency, legitimacy and identity.

It is for this reason that, despite the original orientations of the research (as a site of mediated political diplomacy and contested imaginings), it was interpellation, memory work and identity management that, in the end, formed the central themes to emerge from the data and which the forthcoming empirical chapters explore in more detail. In this regard,

this is a book of (and about) stories; specifically stories that remember. These stories are told in three distinct empirical chapters that draw on data from the British military, the BBC and the Falklands Islanders respectively. Their stories, and their storying, offer some insight into how each of these (groups of) actors make sense of the relationship between the past, present and future, how they negotiate their moral and political positioning through these understandings and how they attempt to generate (and express) a sense of collective identity in and through their media remembering as a result. But, their stories are also expressive of the dynamics and implications of particular power relations. Through the storying of their relationship to 'a' Falklands remembering, these actors highlight where and how they locate, embrace and resist meaning and power, but especially power that is (or is believed to be) conferred and denied them by the media.

The Research

Before outlining the structure of the forthcoming chapters, there are a number of issues to note with regards to the data collection that help to contextualise the forthcoming 'stories'. Hence the following provides an overview of the research process through which the reader is afforded some insight into the rationale and constraints of the research and the ways in which the data is presented throughout the book.

The data was collected through combined methods of qualitative interviews, ethnographic fieldwork and textual analysis between October 2011 and November 2012. Because the project was originally conceived with the British military in mind—as a lens through which to examine their wider conceptualisations of, and orientation to media management of commemoration, and in light of the on-going sovereignty contestation—the first set of interviews were conducted with them between October 2011 and March 2012. I conducted six interviews in total with serving members of the British military who were recruited from existing contacts within the Ministry of Defence's Directorate for Communications (DDC) and Measurement of Strategic Effects (MSE) departments. All of those interviewed were responsible, in one way or another for the management of media coverage about and around the 30th anniversary of the Falkland's War including, for example: promoting the key themes of the strategic narrative of the 30th anniversary, liaising with correspondents and facilitating opportunities for them to report.[4] Whilst not all of the

employees working under these remits within the Ministry of Defence are military personnel, all of those interviewed for this research were. Like all military roles however, their media-management positions were only temporary, courtesy of the rotation of staff roles that constitute a British military career. I note this here because whilst the interviewees spoke to their role as communications practitioners in the interview context, they did so within the wider framework of being a serving British military member. The last thing to note with regard to these interviews is that the terms under which the data was collected were such that no information can be accredited to particular military personnel unless already in the public domain. For this reason the names, working titles and location of the interviewees have been removed throughout the book to protect the identities of those involved.

In addition to the military interviews, I visited the Falklands Islands in June 2012 to conduct observational fieldwork and qualitative interviews with relevant parties engaged in the commemorative activities. The bulk of the data was collected between the 9th and 16th of June, a period that was officially recognised as the anniversary of the Argentinian surrender in 1982 and throughout which a number of commemorative activities took place. There were a number of visitors to the Islands during this period (in addition to myself), all of who were in some way relevant to the commemorative activities. These included UK and other government representatives (for example from Guernsey, Gibraltar), returning veterans, veteran families and the media. With the exception of three Reuters journalists, all of the media representatives were from British media organisations, including BBC television news, BBC Radio 5Live, BBC radio, British Forces Broadcasting Service (BFBS), the *Sun* newspaper and the *Daily Mirror* newspaper. In the main, the broadcast journalists were there to produce what they referred to as 'packaged' features (rather than daily news bulletins) that could be broadcast on and around the key remembrance service on Liberation Day, 14th June.

Nearly all of these visitors (media, veterans, visiting representatives) were—like me—resident on the Islands for the whole week, a schedule in part dictated by travel logistics. Travel to and from the Falklands Islands is only serviced through two routes. The first is a non-commercial Ministry of Defence flight operating out of RAF Brize Norton that flies twice a week on Wednesdays and Saturdays. The second is a (considerably cheaper) commercial flight operating out of Santiago in Chile once a week on Saturday. The majority of visitors chose this latter option with

the exception of some of the print journalists, and a couple of Falklands veterans. My own travel coincided with those travelling out of Chile, including a large group of veterans from the Parachute Regiment, members of the media including the BBC, and Islanders returning home from their own trips. Consequently I was able to make contact with a number of research contacts on route to the Islands, many of who subsequently took part in the research.

During my time on the Islands I conducted ten qualitative interviews with Islanders. Some of these interviewees were recruited through contacts made on the flight from Chile. Others were recruited on the Islands either as a result of my approaching them direct or by using existing interviewees to snowball out from. Of this total, two of the interviewees were engaged in the organisation of the commemoration events in an official capacity but the remaining eight were not. Like the military, the terms under which the interviews were conducted were such that the anonymity and confidentiality of the interviewees would be protected. Consequently, whilst they all agreed that their interview data could be quoted, their identities have been removed throughout the book.

I also conducted observational fieldwork during this time. Throughout, I adopted the role of 'observer as participant' to engage in the setting but not in a manner that would constitute membership (Gold 1958; Adler & Adler 1998). It was during this fieldwork that I was able to gain insight into some of the complex shared remembering practices that emerged from interactions between the Islanders and veterans, Islanders and media, and the veterans and media. The fieldwork took place across a number of different settings. These included official engagements that had been organised by the Falklands Islands Government for visiting representatives and veterans (for example, an official VIP dinner, the Liberation Day Ball, the official memorial services, and the Falklands Islands Defence Force celebration ceremony) and for the media (for example press conferences, briefings). But the fieldwork also extended into informal settings including non-official commemorative events, social events and home visits. Because the Islanders and the veterans were embracing of the research they were especially hospitable in their invitations in this regard both separately and together. In particular, and initiated during the flight from Chile, I spent a considerable amount of time with some of the returning veterans and was able to attend (with them) a number of official events in which they were honoured and celebrated by Islanders, or interviewed and recorded (auditorily and visually) by the media. I was also invited to accompany

them on various informal activities such as trips to see the penguins, social trips to the pub, and lunches held at their residence, Liberty Lodge, the house used to host returning veterans and their families.

Prior to my arrival on the Islands I had secured access to all of the events organised for media representatives by the Falklands Islands Government (FIG). These included press conferences, briefing notices, official announcements, and a group interview session with veterans. Consequently, I was able to observe 'in situ' the working practices of all the journalists engaged in these activities, but particularly the BBC who became the focus of the 'media' data collection. In addition, nearly all the journalists (and I) were based in very close proximity in the small town of Port Stanley and all resident in the same hotel. Much of their work took place in this hotel (due to the facilities available), including, for example, the press conferences and briefings, the BBC television transmission of data and the BBC 5Live live radio broadcasts. As a result I spent a significant proportion of my time not only observing the BBC, but also discussing their working practices with them.

Moreover, and by virtue of the lack of facilities (restaurants etc.) elsewhere in Port Stanley, I came together with the BBC almost every evening in a more informal capacity, and particularly at mealtimes, simply to chat. On these occasions, the BBC crew were relatively candid about both their orientation to their forthcoming coverage of the 30th anniversary, but also about their experiences of the BBC more generally. It is this data that I draw upon in the BBC story alongside analysis of their subsequent television coverage of the 30th anniversary. I did not, however, conduct interviews with any of the BBC members on the Islands, partly because of time constraints (for them and me) but also because of the relative wealth of data that I was collecting through the fieldwork. I note this here because, as a result, my presentation of their 'story' is devoid of concrete examples of discursive quotes through which the reader can interrogate and critically engage with the interpretations made. I acknowledge the limitations of this type of data presentation as perhaps the biggest 'trade off' of my gaining access to such rich empirical insights. At the same time, I would suggest that such data restrictions are not unique to ethnographic endeavours and rarely do they fail to contribute to, and deepens understandings of, the phenomenon under investigation. Thus, whilst the BBC data presentation here is summative, it nonetheless offers the reader an opportunity to engage with an insightful and empirically grounded analysis of BBC identity formation that would otherwise not have been possible.

The Veteran Story

It is important to highlight that there is one story that is consciously not included in the forthcoming empirical chapters and that is the story of the Falklands veterans. This deserves some explanation, not least because, like the Islanders and members of the BBC, I spent a considerable amount of time with Falklands veterans during my stay on the Islands and was therefore privy to their story, if only partially. All of these men had returned to remember, honour and commemorate those with whom they had fought but also to commemorate and remember their own experiences of the war, at both an individual and collective level. For some, it was their first visit back to the Islands since the war. For others, it was part of a regular pilgrimage. As noted above, they, like the Islanders, permitted my entry into their formal and informal social activities and company on the Islands. For me, what emerged from these activities was an insight into the complexities of how they situated, negotiated and responded to their own experience on the Islands as those who had 'returned' with memories of war. But what also emerged was an insight into how the Islanders and journalists also situated, negotiated and responded to the veteran experience in their own specific ways and for their own specific reasons. It is with these latter observations in mind that—in part—the veterans' story is not included here, because as a symbol of significance they were in fact evident in the stories of others involved in the research and thus made visible by the ways others appropriated and (re)represented them. I return to this point in the concluding chapter but in essence, it is through the storying of others that the veteran story emerges, not as an verifiable, accurate portrayal of their experience, but as a vicarious 'experience' through which the military, the BBC and the Islanders' collective sense of identity becomes more evident.

There is also another reason why the veteran story is not told here that relates directly to the ethical challenges of conducting ethnographic work with potentially difficult subject matter. Throughout my time on the Islands, in conversation with the veterans and others—particularly those who hosted and cared for the veterans during their stay—it became apparent that some of the veterans were considered (by others but also by themselves) to be 'vulnerable'. This was made especially explicit in the warnings given to the media by, for example, the Veteran Chaperone, in which the media were asked to be sensitive to a potential triggering of traumatic memories. As part of this, it also became apparent that the veterans' relationship to (and with) the media—as those who might 'repre-

sent' their experience—was one of ambivalence. On the one hand some veterans willingly engaged with members of the media and were subsequently interviewed by them, a fact that is borne out in the resulting reportage from the commemorative week. On the other hand many of the veterans—and at times the same veterans who had willingly engaged with the media—expressed hostility towards journalists and were open about their resentment of media intrusion. Within this context, it became apparent that my ability to tell 'the' (or a) veteran story was only made possible by their conscious desire to 'include' me in significant moments, but, critically, not necessarily moments they wanted (re)represented. This is important, because these were also the same moments in which they consciously excluded the media. This was precisely because they had been represented previously in ways that they considered were not authentic to their experience. In short, despite including me in their shared activities, they were *not* explicitly inviting a representation of their story by me or anyone else. In light of this, and for the purposes of this book, the 'veteran story' remains theirs. To include it would have been yet another mediation of their experience (an act that ran contrary to their own desires) and one informed by and framed around other mediations of a commemorative event that I believe should remain distinctly private to them.

Ethnography and Remembering

The last point I want to make here is with regards to my own remembering. As Fabian (2010:17; also 2007) tells us, remembering is at the centre of every imaginable aspect of ethnographic research from participation, to data gathering, to writing up. Remembering is, in Okley's (1992) terms, the ghost in the ethnographic machine. Not only is ethnography about getting people to remember, it is also about recording remembering (of ourselves as field workers and the remembering of those with whom we engage). The generation of field notes—as evolving aid memoirs of field work experiences (see Bond 1990; Sanjek 1990) are thus entirely centred around the act of remembering, precisely because one is often unable to record experiences as they occur in the 'present' (see Fabian 2007; Reed-Danahay 1997). This was true of my own fieldwork in the Falkland Islands where I diligently took field notes—usually twice or three times a day—but only after the events had occurred and when I could remove myself from the setting. Hence, throughout I too was engaged in a process of re-call and remembering through which to document and record the field.

Inevitably, this process involved some forgetting, or a remembering that was to some extent determined by my own internalised, disciplined and auto-ethnography. This is not to suggest that the fieldwork, or its presentation here, adheres to some pre-determined positivist agenda. Rather, is to acknowledge that remembering and the human experience enter into the processes of all ethnographic projects and that this research is no exception. Indeed, my approach to the fieldwork was, in Okley (1992) terms, to 'follow what beckoned', a process that continued through the accumulation of field experience, the analysis of the field notes and the writing of this book. This was at once a structured and serendipitous process (see Coleman 2010) that consistently returned me to the act of remembering (the field and the field notes) through which to make sense of all different 'stories' that emerged and how they intersected at key points and in key ways.

The cumulative result of this process, as we will see in the following chapters, is that I suggest that for the actors represented here there was an imagining (of history, of oneself) at the core of their media-remembering and identity formation. In making these claims however, I too must acknowledge the disparities between 'the happened' and 'the imagined' (see also Radstone 2000) in my own ethnographic endeavours and the ways imagining may also have entered into my own reproductions of remembering among those with whom I engaged. The point I am making here is that whilst the insights and understandings presented here emerge from a rigorous research process, it is nonetheless incumbent upon me to recognise and acknowledge the extent to which remembering is not limited to the phenomenon under investigation but, rather, central to the research process itself. I reference this here to show an appreciation of how, in my capacity as a researcher, I have endeavoured to use my own remembering reflexively and knowingly so as to best authenticate the remembering of others throughout this book.

Forthcoming Chapters

With all of the above in mind, let me now outline the forthcoming chapters. Because the Falkland Islands are a unique site through which to critically consider the role of the media as social agents of memory and remembering, such an analysis is inevitably and intrinsically linked to media representations of the 1982 war. This is because shared readings of the Falklands have become intimately bound to, and founded upon

the British media coverage of the war in 1982 through frames of sovereignty, nationalism, victory and sacrifice, and in a manner that deserves some attention here so as to contextualise the remaining discussions in the book. In Chap. 2 therefore I provide an overview of the themes that emerge from the 1982 media reportage of the war and how these related to the media coverage of the 30th anniversary in 2012. The objective of this chapter is thus threefold: first, to provide the reader with a contextual backdrop for the forthcoming empirical stories; second, to highlight the role of the media as memory agents in the formation and sustaining of particular types of remembering of the Falklands; and third, to draw the reader's attention to specific 'media' frames that critically re-emerge in the stories of the British military, the BBC and the Falkland Islanders (living memory, traumatic memory, obligated remembrance, the myth of redemption, etc). Combined, these three elements offer a framework in which the all the empirical stories are situated and through which the role of the media is interrogated, as both a contributor to an emergent media-memorial culture and a site through which negotiations of identity, agency and power are played out in the processes of media-remembering.

The first of the empirical stories is the military story in Chap. 3. Here I explore the ways the military contest and negotiate multiple identities (political, military, personal) *in* and *with* media. First, I examine their narrations of an institutional and political identity through their narrations of the 30th anniversary strategic narrative intended for media production (remembering *in*) that subjugates the military member for political, diplomatic and strategic reasons and in which the Falklands veteran is all but absent. Second, I examine their narrations of a more private, personal (but still institutional) identity that emerges through their remembering *with* media texts (memory-work) in which the military member and veteran is represented through a lens of suffering and post-traumatic stress disorder (PTSD). I explore how both these forms of media-remembering are functional to a performance and negotiation of a public and private identity that is normative but simultaneously conflicting. What emerges from this collapse of remembering *in* and *with* the media is a confused, conflicting performance of embodied narrativity and identity that is also illuminating of the real tensions in the lived subjective experience of the military member.

The second of the empirical stories pursues these themes of remembering and identity management in relation to the BBC in Chap. 4. Here I draw upon the ethnographic data collected from the BBC during the 2012

commemorative events in the Falklands Islands, combined with a textual analysis of their subsequent television coverage of the 30th anniversary. In so doing I critically consider the role of the BBC as agents of social memory who operate within a competitive commercial and institutional environment that can decisively impact on the ways they define, interpret and re-interpret the past (and others' memories). To this end, I analyse not only *how* the BBC represented the 30th anniversary of the war but *why* they bestowed particular meaning upon particular events and what this might reveal about the relatively neglected relationship between journalism and memory more generally (Zelizer 2008). First, I examine how the BBC's newsgathering and assemblage of the 30th anniversary coverage was informed by their own remembering *with* media that culminated in their (re)producing a particular BBC identity in the final commemorative coverage (remembering *in* the media). This involved remembering through the professional and institutional parameters of their own journalistic practice and organisation, from which particular narratives of the Falklands emerged because of what they would mean for the BBC. Within this, I also explore their use of others' memories and remembering as a story-telling device in the BBC coverage—particularly the incorporation of veterans' memories—and what this reveals about the identity, ethos and news-making practices of the BBC operating within a specific institutional, social and cultural context. What I suggest in this chapter is that the BBC's coverage of the 30th anniversary is not necessarily reflective of the commemorative events themselves but rather of the importance of institutional identity to the construction of their mnemonic outputs; where the text is the outcome of identity management efforts, at the core of which is a media-remembering.

Chap. 5, the last of the empirical stories, is concerned with the field-work and interviews conducted with Falkland Islanders who generated some particularly interesting data with regards to their own media-remembering and identity formation. In this chapter I consider the context, motivation and agency involved in how and why Falkland Islanders remember *in*, and *through* media, and the potentially profound implications this may be having on their understanding, construction, negotiation and performance of identity, that is (at times) at odds with their everyday existence. More specifically, I suggest that Islanders experience the simultaneous collapse of remembering *in* the media (wherein they attempt to influence the narration of their past and present) and remembering *through* media (wherein their accounts, memories

and experiences are located within and constrained by dominant media frames). It is in this collapse that their notion of identity starts to fuse with those represented in the texts, and where the media's dominant authorship has a distinct impact on how Islanders understand who they are in relation to their past, present and future. These findings help elucidate what and why collective groups remember, and what they want to be remembered for, and how this intersects with a public rationalisation of identity with particular consequences. Here then I further explore the role of the media as social agents of memory and the implications this has for others who utilise the media to authenticate their own remembering and identity in media texts.

I conclude the book's analysis in Chap. 6 by bringing together the central themes of each of the three empirical stories, for whilst these stories are divergent—in so much as they emanate from different (groups of) actors in different circumstances—they are also similar in their ability to tell us something about what happens when the practice of remembering and the practices of the media converge. In this chapter then, I rehearse the themes and concepts outlined in the previous chapters and assess their significance, extending them to offer a broader interpretive framework through which to understand the processes apparent in the relationship between media and remembering but also the ways in which issues of identity, agency and power become wholly embedded within the practice of remembering that is mediated. As part of this endeavour, I also draw attention to the processes by which the veteran becomes a vehicle through which others also engage in what I term 'vicarious remembering'. Here I explore how the veteran emerges in the remembering of the military, the BBC and the Islanders in different ways but in a manner that is revealing of how he—and potentially others in different circumstances—become significant, functional and symbolically resonant to the war-remembering of others. In so doing, the extent to which war-remembering is enacted, performed and contested *in* the media, *with* the media and *through* the media is clarified and expanded upon.

Notes

1. Veterans (and their families and friends) have regularly returned to the Islands since 1982 to honour the memory of their dead, in part because of the 255 British servicemen who died during the war in 1982, only 64 of whom were repatriated to the UK (174 died at sea and 16 are buried on the Islands).

2. Perhaps the most notable of these was a provocative Argentinian television advertisement that had been secretly filmed on the Falkland Islands ahead of the London 2012 Olympic Games and depicted an Argentinian hockey player on a training run around Falkland Islands' landmarks including a war memorial with the strap-line 'To compete on British soil, we train on Argentine soil'.

3. Here the Falklands Islands Government marketed the Islands and their inhabitants as being 'Proud, resourceful and self-sufficient'. Falklands Islands Government website: http://www.falklands.gov.fk/ accessed May 2012

4. For a wider discussion of British military media management please consult Maltby (2012a, b, 2015; Maltby et al. 2015).

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The Media and the Falklands

Most scholars recognise the media's ability to capture, store, retrieve, 'reactivate' and preserve what is remembered or forgotten (Hoskins 2004; Hoskins & O'Loughlin 2010; Huyssen 2000; Edgerton 2001). This is especially true of the Falklands Islands because of the ways they have become inextricably linked to mediations of the 1982 war. The Islands came into the wider public consciousness (particularly among the UK population) because of the war and its accompanying media coverage. Indeed it is well documented that few among the UK population (including members of the British Task Force) had heard of the Islands or knew where they were prior to the war. Fewer still would have had an understanding of their economy, culture or history. Perhaps it is for this reason that in 1982 the British media were able to privilege certain readings of the war that now form part of a normative landscape around which the Falklands are (re)constructed and remembered. Even now, whilst other media frames have emerged (and are still emerging) specifically in relation to the unique wildlife and beauty of the Islands, these consistently remain subsidiary to the focus on war in the myriad of British cultural and media products produced about the Islands.

The continued political contestation of the Islands has further fuelled this process as sovereignty claims (both British and Argentinian) become predominantly told through and rarely detached from a historical analysis and remembrance of the war. Consequently, it is the media who become the primary narrators of the Falklands past and present and thus key memory agents in the formation and sustaining of shared collective

understanding (see Zelizer 1992; Schwartz 1982; Connerton 1989). Any analysis of remembering 'the Falklands' is thus inevitably and intrinsically linked to media representations of the 1982 war. With this in mind the following discussion offers an overview of the dominant themes emerging from British media coverage of the Falklands in both 1982 and 2012 (the year of the 30th anniversary) to provide a contextual backdrop in which to situate the forthcoming empirical 'stories'.

THE MEDIA AND THE FALKLANDS IN 1982

Much has been written about the British media coverage of the Falklands War in 1982. For some, it was characterised by the constrictive media management strategies of the British Ministry of Defence (MoD), complete with access clauses and (un)official censorship restrictions that undermined the professional integrity of journalists and generated a climate of reliance and over-identification with military hosts (Harris 1983; Glasgow Media Group 1985; Adams 1986; Morrison and Tumber 1988; Foster 1992; Hamilton 1992). As Anthony Barnett (1982) notes, the war had a 'curious air of unreality' as the absence of real, hard news was substituted with identifications with the British military, government and nation in a manner that was profoundly lacking in historical substance.

For others, the media coverage of the war was shaped by powerful myths of national identity from which only a story of nationalism, bravery and victory unfolded (Foster 1999; Aulich 1992; Wilcox 1992; Anderson 2011). Foster (1999), in particular, argues that the war and its coverage represented a critical space in the shaping of a collective sense of British identity that continues to inform how Britain understands its present. Nationalism is at the centre of Foster's analysis in which he suggests the war offered distinct opportunities to evoke narratives and myths of past victories and glories that had 'made Britain great' (see also Aulich 1992). As Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher claimed herself, at a Conservative Party rally in 1982:

> Today we meet in the aftermath of the Falklands Battle. Our country has won a great victory and we are entitled to be proud… The lesson of the Falklands is that Britain has not changed and that this nation still has those sterling qualities which shine through our history…. British people had to be threatened by foreign soldiers and British territory invaded and then— why then—the response was incomparable…. When the demands of war

and the dangers to our own people call us to arms—then we British are as we have always been: competent, courageous and resolute…The spirit of the Falklands was the spirit of Britain at its best. It surprised the world that British patriotism was rediscovered in those spring days. But it was never lost.

Retrieved from the Margaret Thatcher Foundation[1]

The myths of past glories aroused by speeches such as this one, and in turn the media coverage of the 1982 war, resonate with a particular construction of Britain's colonial, imperial history. And in the national context of the 1980s, where economic recession and unemployment prevailed, this evocation of 'the spirit of Britain at its best' became critical to a (re) generation of national pride, confidence and self esteem among the UK population. For Foster (1999) the media reading and (re)mediation of the war played a vital role in the promotion of this narrowly defined version of both the war and the nation. The Argentinians came to embody the forces of tyranny against which the British must rally, perhaps best illustrated through the (now infamous) jingoistic tabloid headlines 'Gotcha', 'Give 'Em Hell', 'Stick It Up Your Junta', and 'Victory'. Similarly, the Falkland Islanders—as victims of Argentinian aggression and invasion—were cast as deserving and grateful for British protection. They were a people united with the British population by virtue of a shared and common social and cultural heritage, 'one of us' (or in Thatcher's own words 'our people'), replete with 'Britishness', epitomised through cups of tea, white picket fences and Union Jacks.

And, whilst the Islanders were representative of an invaded territory, members of the British Task Force came to personify the courageous and resolute determination of the nation to restore the glories of its past. Most of them remained anonymous—in the sense that they were not named—and instead were subjects of group photographs, a framing that enhanced their emblematic status as ideal warriors; ordinary but simultaneously (and collectively) extraordinary. Others however, as individuals, came to embody the values of bravery, glory and duty including, for example, Colonel H. Jones whose fated (and later much debated) heroism, whilst apparently single-handedly leading an offensive at Goose Green, elevated him to almost immortal status (Taylor 1992; Aulich 1992). Overall, there was a consistent celebration of heroes and their mythic potential in media representations of the war in 1982-a factor that all but denied any complex diplomatic efforts that may have been

involved beyond combat-which culminated in a construction of the war as synonymous with, 'Britain at its best'.

In this sense, the coverage of the Falklands War in 1982 served to crystallise and re-establish a very specific British national identity at a very particular moment in history. In turn, whilst the victorious outcome of the British Task Force's campaign was not necessarily predictable, media representations often suggested otherwise. Indeed Foster (1999:2) contends that informed by powerful myths of national identity and preceded by narrative and historical precedents, the media coverage of the war was essentially written before the war had even taken place. We see echoes of Baudrillard (1995) in this claim, who similarly questioned the extent to which the representation and mediation of war transforms and (re)shapes its materiality. But we also see echoes of Virillio (1989) for who war *is* representation in a manner that significantly impacts upon the public consciousness and understandings of the events depicted.

This collapse of war and representation, and its implications, remain especially resonant today, for it is through the ideological underpinnings of the original 1982 media coverage that a Falklands remembering continues to be structured in contemporary media, rather than through a re-visiting of the distant, unmediated reality of the war itself. As Aulich (1992: 11) has suggested, it is the military achievements (and losses) and the political fall-out of the Falklands War that are (re)produced, (re)constructed and (re)marketed in a culture industry which represents the present as the pastiche of a partially illusory past.

THE MEDIA AND THE FALKLANDS SINCE 1982

This 'pastiche of an illusory past' was especially evident in the British media coverage of the 30th anniversary in 2012 as a continuation of a particular type of media-remembering of the Falklands. Here, as with the 1982 coverage, audiences were invited to participate in a celebration of nationalism and heroism at a particular point in history, and often through the reproduction of familiar historical 'war events' that followed the war's trajectory as it was originally told in 1982. These included, for example: the sinking of the *Belgrano*; the sinking of HMS *Sheffield*; the raid on Pebble Island; the sinking of HMS *Antelope*; the Parachute Regiment's advance on Goose Green; the advance of the British troops to Port Stanley; the sinking of the *Sir Gallahad*; the Argentine surrender.[2] Of course in the context of anniversary and commemoration—which by its very nature

invites a recalling and remembering of history—it is to be expected that stories of the war would resurface in the 2012 media coverage. But, *how* these stories were told became especially revealing of an on-going 'media-remembering' that reinforces and reignites the myths of past coverage and, in turn, overshadows a Falklands of the 'present'.

Flashframes and Iconography

The first point to note in this regard is the British media's repetitious incorporation of iconic images, often tied to the familiar 'war events' described above. These images become visual prompts, instantly and widely recognisable as representing a significant historical event—what Hoskins (2004:6) terms 'flashframes'—that serve to crystallise memories and provoke a relatively static remembering. The most iconic of these is perhaps *The Yomper*, so named by virtue of its depiction of the Royal Marines 'yomp'[3] into towards Port Stanley (see Fig. 2.1). Originally taken in June 1982 by Royal Navy Official Photographer Officer Pete Holdgate, 'The Yomper' is perhaps the most recognisable of the official photographs that, due to the access denied independent photojournalists (Sontag 2003) and the imposition of tightly controlled censorship, helped to construct an especially anodyne, bloodless view of conflict. Embraced by the British press at the time (Taylor 1991)[4], and repeatedly reproduced in the media since[5], it is this image that appears to have entered the British imaginary of the Falklands War unqualified (Brothers 1997:209). Indeed, it is even evoked in the empirical stories contained in this book as representing a public remembering of the war that remains resonant and profound.

When considering *The Yomper* in light of Griffin's (1999) contention that the relationship between photographs as documentary records and photographs as mythic symbols is fluid, the fact that *The Yomper* has become the most enduring image of the war is perhaps best explained by virtue of its ability to readily present itself as a symbol of cultural and national myth: the nameless soldier hero(es), the prominence of Britishness, the onward march to victory. As Griffin notes (1999:123), enduring war images are not those that depict life and death on the battlefield, nor those that offer historically specific information about people, places and things, but rather those that shed their historical specificity and, in doing so, take on a ritual quality that becomes constructed as a marker of collective memory. For Griffin, it is through such images that national history is seen and learned, but also produced, fictionalised, and presented as a 'thing' to be simulated

Fig. 2.1 *The Yomper*, depicting 45 Royal Marine Commando's march towards Port Stanley during the Falklands War, 1982. Marine Peter Robinson carries the Union Flag on his pack. Photographer: Pete Holdgate, Royal Navy Official Photographer (with permission Imperial War Museum)

in replicas and re-enactments. Indeed, *The Yomper* has inspired countless yomp 're-enactments' and replicas since 1982, including, for example, a replica painting that adorned the walls of the Goose Green café during the 30th anniversary, and the *Yomper Statue* unveiled by Margaret Thatcher on 8 July 1992 (ten years after the original image was taken) to commemorate all the Royal Marines who served in the South Atlantic during the 1982 campaign (see Fig. 2.2).

In accordance with Griffin's notion of a historical 'thing', the significance of *The Yomper*—and indeed other iconic images of the Falklands War—lies not in its photographic realism but in its entry into an imagined British heritage as a marker of British cultural belief and mythology that exists around the war. Whilst *The Yomper* is the most prominent in this regard there are nonetheless other photographs that are consistently and repetitively integrated into the on-going media-remembering of the Falklands including, for example: the sinking of HMS *Antelope* in San

Fig. 2.2 Yomper Statue at the entrance to the Royal Marines Museum, Southsea, Hants Photographer Richard Lewis (with permission Richard Lewis)

Carlos Water; Argentinean prisoners at Port Stanley; discarded helmets from surrendered Argentine troops; British Royal Marines raising the Union Jack at Government House, Port Stanley; The *Sir Galahad* ablaze after an Argentine air raid; the sinking of the Argentinian cruiser *General Belgrano*; and the welcoming home of HMS *Invincible* and HMS *Hermes* in Portsmouth. It is in the continual reproduction of these images that the 'pastiche of an illusory past' is generated.

Narratives and Protagonists

This media 'pastiche' has been further sedimented through the re-calling, re-telling (but rarely re-thinking) of 'war stories' in a manner that—as Kitch (2005:11) has argued of journalism more generally—simultaneously characterises and merges the past with the present in a single, unending narrative. Narrative, as a distinguishing feature of news media apparatus, has becomes critical to the construction of media-remembering of the Falklands in this regard, also constituting the important link between journalism and remembering more widely. It is through narrative that a media-remembering of the Falklands becomes structured in familiar cultural form with protagonists and moral lessons that attempt to guide a mnemonic consensus (see Neiger et al. 2011).

The protagonists in particular emerge as known and identifiable 'characters' whose initiations and responses develop (or reactivate) an unending and relatively fixed version of the past. In other words, they become symbolic of more concrete processes related to the war through which the war and the national memory of it becomes rationalised and legitimated. Some of these characters are no longer alive but they have left behind stories deemed significant enough to (re)narrate as key historic moments of the war. They include, for example, Colonel H. Jones whose repetitive entry into the mediascape surrounding the Falklands construct him (and his 'heroic' actions) as a site of national significance and recognition, which in turn become further mythologised in the present narratives about the past. This was especially apparent in the media coverage of the 30th anniversary where Colonel H. Jones was not only visible through the re-telling of his 'own story' but through the vicarious re-telling of it by his widow (see in particular: *Falklands Anniversary: Wife of Colonel H Jones*, BBC Wiltshire, 2 April 2012; 'The widow of Falklands hero Colonel 'H' Jones says: 'I didn't need therapy—I had a close family'', *Daily Telegraph*, 2 April 2012; *Remembering the Falklands sacrifice 30 years on*, BBC News,

14 June 2012; *Falklands anniversary*: '*We treated more Argentines than Brits*, BBC News, 28 May 2012; *Return to the Falklands*, Yesterday TV, 1 April 2012).

Living Memory

Others characters are still living, such as Welsh Guard Simon Weston whose survival and physical and mental recovery from the Argentinian bombing of the *Sir Gallahad* in 1982 has now become one of the more enduring 'stories' to emerge from the Falklands War. Weston's prominence in the Falklands narrative was once again evident in 2012 when he was consistently asked to re-call his memories of 'his' war, but also comment on the 30th commemoration process and its relationship to the continued contestation of the Islands (see for example: *Return to the Falklands*, ITV, 20 March 2012; *Falklands 30th anniversary*: *Simon Weston rules out further conflict*, BBC News Wales, 2 April 2012; 'Falklands 30 year anniversary: British serviceman 'bears no grudges' despite the scars*', Telegraph*, 2 April 2012; 'The Falklands was full of horror and pain for me... today its beauty fills my heart', *The Sun*. , 19 March 2012; 'Simon Weston: Falklands advert is cheap, tawdry and sad', *Telegraph*, 4 May 2012). It is here, through characters like Weston, that the merging of past and present in the single unending narrative of the war becomes evident; where the ability and authority to comment on the present is wholly contingent upon, and fused with, a past experience and memory.

In this context, the Falklands War journalist, as a purveyor of news with their own memories of the war, has the ability to claim specific authority. They too have become additional characters in the unending narrative of a media-remembering of the war. I refer specifically here to people like Max Hastings and Mike Nicholson whose memories have become a staple for news reports about the Falklands and who were both evident in media outputs during the 30th anniversary (see for example *Return to the Falklands*, ITV, 20 March 2012; *The Falklands Legacy with Max Hastings*, BBC1, 27 April 2012; *Falklands 30*: *Brian Hanrahan's memories*, BBC News, 1 April 2012). These characters literally and metaphorically 'return' to the Falkland Islands to re-live their experiences and memories in and through the media. In so doing, they (re)position themselves as the original and official story tellers of the Falklands War whilst simultaneously recasting themselves in the original war event (see Zelizer 1992).

What results is a fusion of 'living memory'—by which I mean the personal, retrospective and reflexive accounts of the living—with the

authority and credibility of journalist 'witness' testimony. This dual narration—familiar, public journalist and private, reflexive participant—is particularly potent to a continued, static but culturally familiar remembering of the Falklands because these (media) characters not only embody the original 1982 media coverage but consistently refer to it in their remembering. In effect, new and old journalist testimony converges with a living memory in a manner that reinforces an already existent media-memory of the Falklands as a site of distant, mediated war.

Of course the media's use of living memory is not unique to a remembering of the Falklands. Rather, it is reflective of a growing trend in journalism that elevates the status of living memory as a primary source in the production of 'experiential' narratives where personal testimony is privileged over accuracy and verification (Hoskins & O'Loughlin 2010; see also Todman 2005; 2009). Much of this elevated status relates directly to the living memory being founded upon, or emerging from, events that most have not experienced, including war. Indeed, as Todman (2005) suggests it is through the use of living memory (among other things) that war—or certainly the experience of war—has become increasingly personalised and authenticated, contributing to a cultural memory of war around symbolic and mythological reference points. A living memory of war becomes acutely affective in this regard, further augmenting its importance in media and remembrance more generally. It is perhaps for this reason that Falklands veterans—as the previously unnamed heroes—have been increasingly invited to recount their living memories of the war in the media and who, consequently, become the more 'generic' characters of the unending (and experiential) narrative through which the Falklands' past has become defined.

Whilst we can situate this within a general context of mediated living memories, for Robinson (2011), it was in response to the 25th anniversary of the war in 2007, in particular that veteran living memory and testimony came to prominence in media coverage. Here she cites a gradual shift in media focus from official, international and structural war issues to the personal, individual and autobiographical experiences of veterans; a factor in itself that suggests official remembering precipitates media and cultural engagement in particular ways.

As another significant marker of commemoration, the media coverage of the 30th anniversary was no different in this regard. For many the 30th anniversary represented a turning point in the ritualistic commemoration

of the Falklands War because of the increasing age of veterans. It was therefore potentially the last year in which journalists might be able to record the living memories of veterans on the Islands themselves. Thus in the same way that the testimony of World War I veterans (and more recently World War II veterans) has taken on substantial importance in media discourse and national mythology at the time at which large numbers of them were dying (Todman 2005:187), the testimony of Falkland's veterans has also increased in prominence precisely because opportunities for their living memories to be most 'alive' (through retracing steps, etc.) are presumed to be diminishing.

The Myth of Redemption

Certainly the 30th anniversary generated a significant number of media reports in which veterans were asked to retrace, relive and remember their experiences of battle but in a manner that also emphasised the possibilities of redemption, resolution and reunion in the present. Perhaps unsurprisingly Simon Weston was, once again, at the forefront of many of these reports (see for example, *Return to the Falklands*, ITV, 20 March 2012; '*Falklands War: Your memories*', BBC website [6]; 'Falklands 30 year anniversary: British serviceman 'bears no grudges' despite the scars*', *Daily Telegraph*, 2 April 2012; 'Simon Weston: Now my family is in LOVE with the Falklands: Injured hero on poignant return to islands', *The Sun*. , 30 March 2012; 'Simon Weston: 'Falklands War was right then and still feels right now', *Daily Telegraph,* 2 April, 2012). Weston has in many respects become the 'face of the Falklands' not simply because his face is distinctive in its physical display of scarring from war injures, but because his journey to recovery (mental and physical) has become one of the most enduring 'stories' of the Falklands. His testimony in *Return to the Falklands* (ITV 20 March 2012) is perhaps the best example of this, where he explicitly articulates the myth of redemption that he has come to embody:

> I've been looking for myself for 30 years and I'm there now I think. This trip has done a lot. It has squared the circle. I came back with trepidation and nightmares. 30 years on I don't have that anymore. I've enjoyed it immensely [the return to the Islands] and it's filled a void somewhere in my heart that I didn't think I had.
>   Excerpt from *Return to the Falklands*, ITV, 20 March 2012, 9 p.m.

It is through the living memory of characters like Weston that the possibilities of recovery, resolution and redemption become evoked. These are the romantic heroes of the Falklands War by virtue of their emergence from the struggle of conflict as reconciled, contented and even improved men. Cumulatively, they become the ultimate personification of how the Falklands campaign was worth all the suffering, anguish and loss incurred. In this way, the romantic quest of the Falklands hero (and perhaps Weston more specifically) as a retrospective reading of the past becomes informed by and suited to the social, political and moral needs of the present.

Redemption was also evident in the foregrounding of media narratives of reunion and reconciliation in 2012. This was most notable in programmes like: *The Reunion*: *HMS* Sheffield (BBC Radio 4, 20 April 2012), *Return to the Falklands* (Yesterday TV, 1 April 2012) and *Return to the Falklands* (ITV, 20 March 2012). In the former—*The Reunion: HMS* Sheffield— six survivors of HMS *Sheffield* were bought together to recall and share their memories of the sinking of the *Sheffield* by Argentinian forces. Here, reconciliation was implicitly emphasised as the survivors were invited to resolve their divergent and difficult memories through the shared reunification process. Similarly, in *Return to the Falklands* (ITV, 20 March 2012), the collective remembering of Simon Weston, Mike Nicholson and former Royal Marine, Nick Taylor—told through their experience of returning to the Islands—climax in an especially optimistic note of reconciliation at the end of the programme: 'All of them return home with a great sense of hope for the future'.

Other prominent narratives that emerged further emphasised the processes of reconciliation between reunited British and Argentinian veterans where past antagonisms were laid to rest and hostility substituted with friendship (including, for example: *Falklands veteran meets Argentine* '*enemy*' *30 years on*, BBC News, 16 January 2012; 'Falklands veteran meets Argentine pilot he thought he'd killed', *Daily Mirror* , 16 January., 2012). Again, this was evident in *Return to the Falklands* (ITV, 20 March, 2012) in which former Royal Marine, Nick Taylor, was 'reunited' with Argentinian soldier, Marcello Llambias, whose camera he had retrieved during the battle of Mount of Two Sisters. After developing the camera film on his return to the UK, Taylor became intrigued by the 'man in the photos' and wanted to return them. This forms the premise of the programme in which Taylor's desires are realised as both men are reunited at their former battle site and pictured embracing and laughing together,

claiming 'this is incredible' (see Fig. 2.3). The reconciliation process is once again made complete when we are told that: 'Nick Taylor leaves with a new friendship having returned the photos to their rightful owner'.

An almost identical narrative was apparent in the BBC's *Falklands veteran meets Argentine 'enemy' 30 years on* in which British veteran Neil Wilkinson was united with the Argentinian Pilot, Mariano Velasco, he believed he had shot down and killed in 1982. We are told that Wilkinson was subsequently haunted by the memories of the incident and has ongoing issues with PTSD. What emerged from their reunion were not only themes of reconciliation and resolved hostilities (once again articulated through the notion of forgiveness and friendship), but also of resolution and the healing of suffering:

> Velasco: Good soldiers should be able to forgive each other and afterwards why can't they be good friends

Fig. 2.3 Screen shot of Nick Taylor and Marcello Llambias from *Return to the Falklands*, ITV, 20 March 2012

Wilkinson: It's too massive to put into words. Part of it is closure really, but meeting him in the flesh I now know he is alive and we are friends.

BBC Presenter: Seeing them today it's hard to imagine that 30 years ago they were enemies in a bitter war. A long time has passed and wounds have had chance to heal

Extract from BBC *Falklands veteran meets Argentine 'enemy' 30 years on*, BBC News, 16 January 2012

On the one hand, these reunion and reconciliation narratives can be considered progressive because they afford opportunities through which the remembering of the Argentinian veteran can be made visible. Traditionally Argentinian veterans and their 'living memories' have been relatively absent in British media discourse, a factor that is indicative of the 'flattening of difference' across the mediated history of the Falklands. When they do appear, they are commonly represented as the victims of an oppressive Argentinian regime or aggressors in the continued contestation of the Islands. Even then there is a notable absence of the physical, corporeal, living Argentinian veteran. Most often, they are represented as symbols of a past defeat at the hands of the British and often in a manner where the body is visually substituted with signifiers that accentuate its absence, such as, the iconic picture of abandoned Argentinian helmets after the surrender, or photographs of the unmarked graves at the Argentinian Cemetery in Goose Green where many Argentinians remained unidentified (see Fig. 2.4).

As such, when integrated into reconciliation narratives the Argentinian veteran is offered a forum through which to potentially voice (and legitimate) his own remembering in a manner that he has previously been denied. On the other hand, Argentinian veterans remain significantly 'othered' in these mediated accounts, functional only in their metonymic ability to legitimate and rationalise the mythic potential of a past British war, be that of redemption or victory. In other words, despite the inclusion of the apparent corporeal reality and 'living memory' of the Argentinian veteran, he remains framed within and constrained by the wider ideologies of British media institutions and cultural forces wherein reconciliation and the resolution of difference is the *only* narrative outcome.

As with other reconciliation narratives then, the 'shared experience' is privileged over the individual (perhaps contesting) experience, which in turn, flattens and denies difference, hostility and personal and political violence in the (re)writing of the past (see also Robinson 2011). Meaning

Fig. 2.4 Argentine Military Cemetery, East Falkland. Author's own photograph.

and contradiction thus become lost and the Falklands past constructed as devoid of controversy (see also Edy & Daradanova 2006; Edy 1999; Zelizer 2011). This is especially important in relation to the 30th anniversary, for whilst a media focus on reconciliation was not necessarily specific to 2012 it was produced during the period of explicit and on-going contestation of the Islands. In effect, reconciliation narratives became the counter-narratives to the political furore over self- determination in a manner that negated any personal (and political) contestation that may still be evident in others' remembering. Instead, what resulted was the conjuring of nostalgia through which an imagined, shared, collective experience of the war could be constructed (see De Groot 2009).

Traumatic memory
Whilst the myth of redemption is embodied by some however, it is wholly contested by others. There are a number of (perhaps less) familiar voices whose mediated remembering and (re)telling of *their* Falklands War rallies against the standard hero narrative. In particular, Robert Lawrence offers

an unflinching account of on-going physical and mental post-Falklands trauma in his book *When the Fighting Is Over: A Personal Story of the Battle for Tumbledown Mountain and Its Aftermath* (Lawrence & Lawrence 1988), and latterly the television play *Tumbledown* (BBC 1988). So too does Ken Lukowiak whose memoirs of battle and post-traumatic stress—originally published in the *Guardian* newspaper (1992) and later in the much acclaimed *A Soldier's Song* (Lukowiak 1999)—suggest that reconciliation with, and a 'moving on' from the Falklands War is all but impossible. Similarly, Bramley's (1992) memoir of the battle for Mount Longdon in '*Excursion to Hell/Forward to Hell*' is especially dispelling of the hero myth, not least for its inclusion of war crimes committed by British forces.

All of these accounts not only serve to dismantle the official accounts of the war and its aftermath, they also undermine the mythical potency of collective belonging (institutionally, nationally, politically) that becomes evoked in stories of victory, heroism and reconciliation. Indeed, there is suggestion of a 'sense-making' in these narratives that fundamentally challenges the celebrated iconography of the war (see Berger 2012). The protagonists in these stories become defined less as heroes and victors of battle in this regard, but more its victims, particularly traumatised ones. Indeed, Lawrence, Lukowiak and Bramley all refer to their own experience of combat-related post-traumatic stress (PTSD), an issue that permeates their narratives in a complex movement between past and present (Robinson 2011). As the first British veterans to confront, respond to and experience combat-related PTSD as a diagnosed, labelled, medicalised condition (Robinson 2012), these accounts can be situated amongst a growing number of Falkland veterans' retrospective descriptions of PTSD (See for example: Colbeck 2002; Ely 2007; Eyles-Thomas 2007; McNally 2007; Walters 2007).

There is no reconciliation in these narratives. Instead they have contributed to a growing recognition that the Falklands War was disproportionately traumatic for those who took part and that many now carry the long-term legacies of the war's impact (García-Quiroga & Seear 2009). At the same time, the centrality of suffering and trauma in these accounts is not the narrative impediment to the mythic potential of the Falklands' hero that some might suggest (see Foster 1999). In fact, in many respects the opposite has occurred as traumatised veteran 'heroes' become some of the more enduring characters in the more recent mediation of the Falklands. Thus, alongside reconciliation, the second issue that emerges, with (and through) the emphasis on memory in mediated accounts, is trauma which

was especially discernible in the media coverage surrounding the 30th anniversary, for example: *Falklands War*: *Living with post-traumatic stress disorder*, BBC News, 3 May 2012; 'Suicide of Falklands veterans' *Mail on Sunday*, 3 April 2012; 'Falklands veterans braced for traumatic 30th anniversary', The *Independent*, 1 April 2012; 'Battle stress: The hidden price of the Falklands conflict' *Daily Mirror*, 3 April 2012; 'Men who saw their comrades die in front of them say they still can't forget the trauma' *Calendar News*, ITV, 4 April 2012; 'Falklands soldier Donald McLeod: We battle to cope with horrors of war—but nothing is done to help' *Daily Record*, 2 April 2012.

Thus, as the Falklands War has progressively become synonymous with the recurring theme of war trauma, so too has its mediation through the living memory of those who took part. We can of course situate this increased focus on the traumatised Falklands veteran within the emergent 'culture of memory' that is fuelled by traumatic discourse (in and of memory) for the creation of marketable products (see Huyssen 2003; Sturken 1997; Garde-Hansen 2011). In this context, when Falkland's veterans are invited to share their traumatic memories they are both responding to, and further stimulating, a culture in which the sharing of memories, and the perceived therapeutic potential of telling one's own story, is led and framed by the ideologies of the media (Sturken 1997; Robinson 2011).

At the same time, there is also a more nuanced and local context in which we can situate the dominance of traumatic Falkland memories in British media reportage, one that resonates with a current and intense British media interest in what King (2010) terms an ignorable and developing concern in contemporary British culture around war suffering per se, due to the recent conflicts in Iraq and Afghanistan. In this context, the media emphasis on the living traumatic memories of Falklands veterans in 2012 takes on additional significance as part of the single, unending narrative that merges the past with present. In effect the traumatised Falklands veteran becomes the embodiment of on-going concerns about the legacies of war that are once more resonant in the immediate aftermath of more contemporary conflicts.

Remembering through Place
Yet there is also another reason why the Falkands veteran's living memories are so prolific in a British media-remembering of the war, and that is because of the uniqueness of the Islands themselves. With many veterans

returning to honour and remember their experiences, the Islands offer a 'place' in which a remembering, grief and potential trauma can be both expressed, and captured for media. In this sense, the Islands are littered with real (rather than virtual, mediated) and tangible (rather than ephemeral) places that can be visited and evocatively represented through and by the media (with or without veterans). Many are battle sites (Goose Green, Mount Tumbledown, Mount Longdon, Mount Harriet, Two Sisters, Wireless Ridge, San Carlos) but others are places of capture, surrender, liberation (Goose Green again, Port Stanley). And it was exactly these 'places' that were represented in a number of accounts during the 30th anniversary that drew upon the spatially specific nature of the living memory of veterans, inviting them to 'retrace' their original battle steps including for example: 'Falklands veteran as he retraces the steps he made 30 years ago and remembers the friends he lost along the way', *Remembrance Week*, BBC 1, 6 November 2012; 'Brother of Royal Marine killed during Falklands War retraces his footsteps (yomping 75 miles of them) in poignant tribute', *Daily Mail* , 30 April 2012; 'Falklands yomp retraces last footsteps of fallen comrades*', Western Gazette*, 7 June 2012; 'Falklands veteran relives nightmare experience as he makes return to battle scene 30 years later', *Daily Record*, 6 December 2012; 'Falklands veteran retraces his steps to raise money for the forces' charity Combat Stress', *The Sun*, 19 January 2012.

In the latter of these two (selected) examples, the explicit references to trauma are indicative of how the notions of place and trauma become enmeshed in the mediated accounts of Falklands veterans' living memories. This was even more explicit in the promotional text accompanying *Return to the Falklands* (Yesterday TV, 1 April 2012)—not to be confused with *Return to the Falklands* (ITV, 20 March 2012)—where unambiguous associations are made between space, history and memory:

> *Return To The Falklands* takes three British servicemen back to the Islands and to the battlefields where they fought 30 years ago. One soldier, one seaman and one airman; what will their reactions be as they see the battle-grounds again? What memories will be stirred as they step ashore? How much has changed? How will they react to the sight of the military cemeteries and memorials that are testimonies to the savage fighting of 30 years ago?
>
> Extract from promotional text for *Return to the Falklands*, Yesterday TV website: http://yesterday.uktv.co.uk/return-falklands/article/return-falklands/ accessed 30 April 2012.

Of course, as I have already noted, the production of these spatially and visually specific 'trauma' reports is partly contingent on (and perhaps fuelled by) the relatively large numbers of veterans and their families who (re)visit the Islands to commemorate and honour their dead. Consequently, veterans can be easily taken to, or located on the Islands, particularly around key commemorative points (anniversary of battle events, Remembrance Day, etc.) from which media accounts can be generated. This offers the media distinct opportunities to report, in situ, on the living memory of veterans, particularly in relation to potential trauma. In effect, the 'liveness' of the memory becomes ever more evocative in the physical and spatial site of battle or remembrance.

But the unique place and space of the Islands is also important because the majority of those who died during the Falklands War were not repatriated to the UK. As a consequence the Islands have also become a literal, physical space for commemoration and memorialisation of the war dead who remain there. Notions of 'place' in relation to death thus take on additional significance in the social, historicised, mediated remembering of the Falklands because they evoke particular events (spatially and visually): 'Here'—literally—is where a soldier fell; where he is buried; where he is remembered. In the 'here', mediated or otherwise, history will continue to 'live' for generations to come. It is perhaps for this reason that the contemporary visual aesthetic of the Falklands—by which I mean images of the present rather than flashframes of the past—is most often produced through 'characters' returning to, and being filmed and photographed at, graves, memorials, cemeteries and sites of battle. In 2012, for example, these included: the battle site of Goose Green where Colonel H. Jones supposedly fell (Fig. 2.5), the cemetery at Port San Carlos (Fig. 2.6), the battle site of the Mount of Two Sisters (Fig. 2.7) and the memorial to the Welsh Guards at Fitzroy Bay (Fig. 2.8). These sites, and others in the Falklands, are of course also places through which battles can literally be retraced, relived and remembered by those veterans who are still living.

Remembering and Forgetting

The final point I want to make is that whilst the media are the main mechanism through which mnemonic consensus is generated (through the use of flashframes, narratives, living memory and place), they are also the main mechanism through which forgetting is realised. Whilst some memories are privileged, others are negated, undermined, or omitted. As noted ear-

Fig. 2.5 Screen shot of Major John Crosland retracing the battle of Goose Green at the point where Colonel H. Jones was killed, *Return to the Falklands*, Yesterday TV, 1 April 2012

lier, Argentinians (veterans and citizens) are rarely visible. When they do appear, they are usually framed within narratives of reconciliation or political antagonism.

The same can be said of the Falkland Islanders whose recollections of the war, and/or progressive narrations of the Islands present and future (socially, economically, politically, culturally) tend to be overlooked or predictably framed around issues of the war and/or continued contestation. Few media reports, for example, incorporated Falkland Islanders into their coverage. Even fewer offered insight into the Falklands as it is now. Perhaps one exception was *Return to the Falklands* (ITV, 20 March 2012) where the testimony of an Islander, Neil Watson, was incorporated into the narrative alongside journalist Mike Nicholson's assessment of the Falklands in the present. But, even here Neil's 'story' was one of continual management of PTSD as a result of the war (see also Chap. 5).

Fig. 2.6 Screen shot of the visitors to the memorial service held at the Blue Beach Cemetery, Port San Carlos on the 13 June 2012, BBC News, 13 June 2012

Similarly, Mike Nicholson' appraisal of the Islands development echoed the myth of redemption evident in other media reports with veteran testimony. As he claimed in a piece for the *Telegraph* newspaper about the making of the programme:

> The Falklands are not the place I left three decades ago. The islanders are in good health and not fussed by the distant sound westwards of rattling sabres. Victory has propelled them into a new age. Their society has not simply recovered: it has been rejuvenated and transformed into a thriving economy. It has new housing estates, a fully equipped hospital and a busy hotel. Those of us who witnessed the war and those of us who have been privileged to return can never doubt that it had to be fought and we had to win it. And you will understand that, for a British correspondent, it was a very special war and the Falklands remains a very special place.

Fig. 2.7   Screen shot of Nick Taylor retracing the battle of Mount of Two Sisters, *Return to the Falklands*, ITV, 20 March 2012

Excerpt from *The Telegraph Newspaper* , March 20 2012.

This is a familiar (media) story of Falklands rebirth, but this time with different characters. And, of course, its juxtaposition with the Islander's story of PTSD is problematic, for whilst Nicholson suggests progression and revitalisation through victory, the Islander suggests stasis and suffering through loss. Inherent within this then is a forgetting of the complex and diverse responses to war both during and in the aftermath.

The same can also be said of the 'forgetting' of atrocities committed during the war, most notably those outlined in Vince Bramley's (1992) memoir of the battle for Mount Longdon where he claimed that Argentinian prisoners had been executed by members of the 3rd Battalion, the Parachute Regiment, after surrendering. These claims subsequently spurred an internal inquiry by the British Ministry of Defence but have rarely appeared in media reportage about the Falklands War. To repeat

Fig. 2.8 Simon Weston at the memorial for the 1st Battalion Welsh Guards' at Fitzroy Bay, *Return to the Falklands*, ITV 20 March 2012

these claims would not only deconstruct the hero myth and the image of the ideal British warrior during the war, they would also significantly impact upon the current construction of the Parachute Regiment as the nation's elite and courageous fighting force. When taken as a whole, the neglect and exclusion of these 'other' voices, bodies, and memories is critical to the narrowly defined but constantly (re)written script of the Falklands, especially in British news media.

Concluding Remarks

Taken together, there is little to suggest that a remembering of the Falklands War in the media has altered or shifted with the passing of time. Rather, the pastiche of an illusory past—in Aulich's terms—remains, evoking powerful myths of national identity, redemption and the romantic traumatised hero that conspire to overshadow a Falklands of the present.

And as Berkowitz (2011) notes, it is often the news journalist's version that becomes the version of history. Thus in the British media's narrowly defined assemblage of specific, iconic and resonant images, single unending narratives, and fragmented but evocative memories (of others) an imagined British history has come to be constructed in relation to the Falklands War but critically one that constrains remembering by failing to offer new interpretations. In this sense, when new-makers have entered into a remembering of the Falklands War, they have not only mediated a particular and often mythologised version of history through the collected memories of others, they have also simultaneously evoked and produced a collective remembering in the process (see Olick 1999). It is for these reasons that we need to critically consider the distinctive role of the media in defining, sustaining and generating consensus in the collective memory of the Falklands War (see also Schwartz 1982; Landsberg 2004; Connerton 1989), not just because they contribute to the documentation of history and the emergent media-memorial culture, but because their resulting texts have implications for the remembering and identity of all those involved in these processes.

Notes

1. See http://www.margaretthatcher.org/
2. See, for example in broadcast media: 'Falklands' Most Daring Raid', Channel 4, 18 March 2012; 'Tumbledown', BBC1, 26 September 2011 and 1 June 2012; '20th Century Battlefields: 1982 The Falklands', BBC 4, 27 September 2012
3. The word 'yomp' is Royal Marines slang for a long-distance march carrying full kit. The origins of the word remain unclear (one suggestion being that it is an acronym of Your Own Marching Pace). It was popularised by journalistic coverage in 1982 during the Falklands War and used especially in relation to the long-distance walk depicted in this image wherein members of the Royal Marines and members of the Parachute Regiment, after disembarking from ships at San Carlos on East Falkland, on 21 May 1982, yomped approximately 56 miles with their equipment across the Islands towards Port Stanley.
4. 'The Yomper' was also used in *The Sun*'s logo for their coverage throughout the war.
5. Examples of its use in 2012 include (but are not limited to) coverage from The BBC, Channel 5, ITV, CNN, the *Daily Telegraph*, the *Daily Mail*, and the *Radio Times*.
6. See http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/uk-17582133 accessed 3 April 2012

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Multiple Identities, Subjectivity and Narrative Sense-Giving

I start this book's empirical journey with the British military's 'story' for a number of reasons. The first is that it was previous research with the British military that brought to my attention the importance of the media coverage of the 30th anniversary of the Falklands War, particularly in terms of how it had potential to destabilise and de-legitimate wider political and military aims but also normative accepted stories of the Falklands. In that sense, because the military data was the starting point of the research it seems appropriate to begin my empirical analysis with this data. The second reason however is that what emerged from the interviews I conducted with the military was in fact more revealing of the complexities involved in their allegiance to, and performance of conflicting and contested identities and how these intersect with a media remembering. These themes subsequently re-emerged with other participants (the BBC and Falkland Islanders) especially with regards to how identity and agency is negotiated in and through a public and private remembering *in* and *with* media. What was especially notable in this regard was that all participants, including the military, used similar sites of significance as a means through which to articulate these negotiations, especially and in particular the (often traumatised) military veteran. The military data therefore offers a good starting point to introduce these sites of significance, not least because of their resonance with other contemporary debates that are not Falklands specific.

In the following chapter I explore the ways in which the military members interviewed for this research contested and negotiated multiple identities (political, institutional, individual) both in and through

their articulations of the politically directed 30th anniversary strategic communications campaign[1] when remembering *in* the media and, latterly, through their remembering *with* media texts in which the military were represented. By exploring how the interviewees articulated a remembering of the Falklands War through these different positions, we can see how they simultaneously assumed a political and institutional identity that subjugates them when remembering *in* the media, but also how they narrated resistance to these positions through their own individual (but still institutional) remembering *with* media. These multiple positions of remembering that are simultaneously complicit and oppositional become revealing of the nuances and potential conflicts apparent in their work in a professional capacity with a public political and military 'face', and the real, lived experience of a military member as they understand and articulate it. Moreover, these positions draw our attention to the various subjectivities of military work, the power relations in which they are situated, and critically, the ways in which these become meaningful to military members through their engagement with media remembering.

It is important to reiterate at this point that those interviewed were all serving members of the British military who were responsible, in one way or another for the management of media coverage about and around the 30th anniversary of the Falkland's War. Thus, whilst they all spoke to their media management role in the interview context, they also spoke to—and discursively located themselves—within the wider structure, culture and ethos of the British military. It is also important to reiterate that the names and working titles of the interviewees have been removed throughout the chapter to protect the identities of those involved (see Chap. 1). However, in order to demonstrate the extent to which the same interviewee(s) spoke in often quite contradictory terms at different points in the interview, each interviewee has been allocated a number.

Remembering In the Media: Being an Object

Being an object is defined here as the activity the interviewees engage in when they act as an information source and/or object of enquiry from which media texts are produced. In the case of the interviewees represented here, it was their professional role as media managers for the British military to either volunteer, or be called upon by the media, to remember, narrate or comment on the 30th anniversary for the sole purpose of generating media coverage about it. As such, they took an active role in

authoring versions of the Falklands past and present in the media for a wider audience. They were, however, not authoring on behalf of themselves when being an object, but rather for the collective British military institution, so as to define and represent the institution in particular ways through the act of remembering. As a result, their remembering *in* the media became conflated with the act of representing the institution in particular ways that had an impact on the types of remembering that they were able to engage in where, on the one hand they actively and purposefully engaged in *not* remembering, and on the other engaged in an imagined remembering. I discuss both of these positions below to highlight how, more widely, the military's engagement in a remembering *in* the media becomes suffused with different identity positions at different times, motivated by different intentions.

Not *Remembering In the Media: a Political Identity*

Let me start then by outlining how the interviewees appeared to actively engage in the act of *not* remembering *in* the media as a result of a performed allegiance to and adoption of the wider political and institutional narratives that were re-evoked at the moment of telling and through which a *not* remembering *in* the media became rationalised. It was in this active *not* remembering that I suggest we can see their adoption of a political identity, by which I mean one that is informed by their location within a hierarchy in which the British military are governed, directed, resourced and sustained by wider political governance. It was in their articulations through a political identity that they implicitly drew attention to the various subjectivities of military work by aligning themselves to what Somers & Gibson (1994) might refer to as the 'meta-narratives' of politics that guide and direct their behaviour in particular ways.

To clarify this point I want to briefly discuss the ways in which the interviewees explained the wider diplomatic and political context in which they situated their work of being an object for the 30th anniversary because through these explanations they expressed awareness of—and an orientation to—wider politics that resonated with a political identity. Here, they stated that, as active serving members of the British military in a media management role, it was their responsibility to assist with the implementation and dissemination of the politically developed and directed strategic narrative for the 30th anniversary on behalf of the British military. This narrative, developed in the context of on-going contestation over the Falklands

Islands sovereignty, was founded upon one key message: that the UK Government would support and protect the Falkland Islanders' right to self-determination as laid out in the UN Charter. But, more specifically, they claimed this narrative had been developed in order to counter an already successful exertion of influence by Argentina through their own strategic communications campaign that was destabilising the UK's diplomatic, economic and political position in the South Atlantic:

> Argentina was doing it successfully. The rhetoric they were using and the influence they were bringing to bear, was saying basically that we were militarising the South Atlantic and being a colonialist power.
> Interviewee 2

> But she [President Kirchner] has done a very clever strategic communications campaign and up until the beginning of this year [2012] it was working. She had driven us out of all Latin American countries militarily—we couldn't get support from LA countries, they were saying 'we are under so much pressure from Argentina we can't possibly allow your ships to come through here if they were connected to the Falkland Islands'.
> Interviewee 3

> She [President Kirchner] was winning the campaign 'til probably the end of Jan [2012] when she was starting to get people in the Caribbean, Latin American countries to talk about sovereignty, access to ports and all that sort of thing.
> Interviewee 4

What we see in all of these quotes is the invoking of overt political and diplomatic statements that are at once suggestive of a performed allegiance to a political identity and an assuming of its political subjectivities. This is immediately notable in the consistency of the explanation across the interviews—the ways they tell and re-tell the 'same' story - even if the explanation is part of the UK strategic narrative itself. But it is also evident in their consistent use of the collective noun ('we', 'us', 'they') from which the rationale for the UK strategic narrative becomes legitimated: 'she has driven **us** out of all Latin American countries militarily', 'basically saying **we** were militarising the South Atlantic' [my emphasis]. Here, then, the interviewees position themselves within the wider structures (military, political, and even national) in whose interests the strategic message of self-determination was supposedly operating.

But there is another point to note from these quotes which is the extent to which they demonstrate the interviewees' alignment to, and adoption of the meta-political narratives of strategic communications itself (narrative, influence, effect). This is not only revealing of a particular orientation to politics and power leveraging in which power is imagined as an outcome of strategic communications ('She has done a very clever strategic communications campaign and…it was working', 'the rhetoric they were using and the influence they were bringing to bear', 'she was winning the campaign'), but also of how their alignment to this orientation foregrounds a relational position to 'others' in the exertion of influence ('she was starting to get people in the Caribbean, Latin American countries to talk about sovereignty'; 'we couldn't get support from LA countries, they were saying "we are under so much pressure from Argentina"'). In other words, the interviewees are not explaining power leveraging through bi-lateral negotiations (between Britain and Argentina for instance) but rather through an appeal to, and 'influencing' of, third party actors who, in turn, act and tip the balance of power.

The point to note here, because I return to it later in this chapter, is that by invoking the meta-principles of strategic communications the interviewees appear to wholly locate themselves within a corresponding imagining of power through and in media. In other words, the importance attached to the dissemination of the UK strategic narrative (and its central message of self-determination) appears not to just derive from the fact that it was the interviewees' 'job' to do so but because they were investing in, and aligning themselves to the meta-politics that suggested it was necessary. And it was through this political interpellation that they rationalised and legitimated a *not* remembering of the Falklands War *in* the media, because it might further destabilise the UK's position in the South Atlantic. As Interviewee 5 stated:

> So the first risk was an over-inflation of the commemoration theme in a way that would make our diplomatic efforts in the South Atlantic and South America more difficult than we would like them to be.
>   Interviewee 5

Thus, despite claiming that it was their role to assert the message of Islander self-determination through a 'commemorative lens', what emerged from the interviewees' descriptions of this process was in fact an indication that the commemorative feature of the strategic narrative

was effectively lost—and with it a remembering of the past and the war—through an emphasis on self-determination and the present. The war, in this sense, was implicitly presented not as an event to be remembered *in* the media in and of itself, but only in relation to how it had generated the current circumstances in which the Islanders could determine their own sovereignty:

> The 30th anniversary bit is about commemoration because it's right to commemorate the sacrifice of the servicemen and Falkland Islanders to restore the self-determination of the Islanders.
>   Interviewee 6

This was especially evident in the Interviewee 3's remembering with and through the iconic Yomper image (see Fig. 3.1; see also Chap. 2). For him, 'The Yomper' was not only indicative of 'what people immediately think of when they think of the Falkland Islands', but also of how this type of remembering ran contrary to the understanding of the Falklands that he—in his role as a purveyor of the strategic narrative—needed to construct *in* the media during the 30th anniversary:

> We want to underline the right of self-determination for Falkland Islanders and to change the lens through which people look at the Falkland Islands from one of a Royal Marine with a Union Jack coming out of his backpack heading off into the distance, which is what people immediately think of when they think of the Falkland Islands, to a lens through which they think of the Falkland Islands as a vibrant, young community, forward-looking and wanting to get on with their lives in the new century.
>   Interviewee 3

There are a couple of things to note from this example. The first is that the interviewee's claim that this image is representative of a particular public memory of the war is revealing of the extent to which he is enacting his own remembering of the war with this image (see Kuhn 2010; see also Chap. 2). In other words, he is expressing and perhaps even working through the interconnections of a personal, military and public memory of the war through the image. But more than this, and by virtue of his belief that this image acts as a direct reminder of the past, his aspiration to substitute it with one that is 'forward-looking' when adopting the role of being an object is indicative of how the focus on self-determination served to erase the past. These observations - the interviewee's

Fig. 3.1 *The Yomper*: Photographer: Pete Holdgate, Royal Navy Official Photographer (with permission, Imperial War Museum)

own remembering with the image, and his desire to transform a public remembering in context of his being an object—not only illustrate how adopting a political identity (in this context) undermined his ability to remember *in* the media, but also how the tensions that arise from this were potentially negotiated through his remembering *with* media.

With this in mind, there were other interviewees whose articulations became especially revealing of the complexities and tensions that result from their alignment to a political identity that denied them the opportunity to remember the war *in* the media. These were made more explicit when the interviewees discussed how, in light of the wider political and diplomatic situation, references to the war were considered to be too contentious and potentially inflammatory and as a result had been either avoided or downplayed. When explaining how this had been achieved however, the interviewees exposed the apparent frictions in their allegiance to meta-narratives and the inability to remember as a result. In the following quotes, for example we can see how the interviewees express both an alignment to a political identity—in the use of collection nouns (nation, government, military) and in constructing an outwardly conciliatory narrative of commemoration—yet simultaneously convey the importance of the 'fight' to their own remembering:

> The language is about commemoration but there is nothing about the fight. Defence hasn't been saying anything at all, anything about the actual fight itself, how it was done or how difficult it was, or how successful we were or overcoming problems and all the rest of that. That might have been placed there by the media, but even then most of the rhetoric has been about commemoration not the real fighting.
>   Interviewee 1

> So what we wanted to do was make sure that our target audiences through the media understood that we were commemorating but not in a way that was pumping chests.
>   Interviewee 6

The phraseology employed by the interviewees here offers some indication of what they cannot/have not remembered *in* the media, but also what aspects of the war were important to their own personal/institutional remembering, namely: 'how difficult it was', 'how successful we were or overcoming problems', 'pumping chests'. In other words, by indirectly drawing attention to the importance of the war in their own remembering, the interviewees—like the one above with the Yomper image—are

also indirectly highlighting the tensions and negotiations apparent in their remembering that is at once informed by multiple identities (personal, institutional, political) but publicly constrained by a political one.

Moreover, despite the claims above that their remembering *in* the media was centred on commemoration ('The language is about commemoration', 'we were commemorating', 'most of the rhetoric has been about commemoration') it became increasingly unclear what this looked like for them, or indeed how it was achievable if references to the war were disallowed. And it is here—in their inability to clarify exactly what and how they were commemorating *in* the media—that their articulations of being an object seemed to be more indicative of an aspiration to commemorate *in* the media, rather than an indication that this has been realised.

The last point I want to make here is that it also became apparent throughout the interviews that the apparent constraints on their remembering *in* the media were not limited to those assigned to the professional role of 'being of an object' but rather to all those in the military who might encounter (even just the possibility) the circumstances in which they too become 'an object'. As one interviewee suggested in discussion of the directives disseminated to military units during the 30th anniversary:

> We needed to explain to all our [military] units that they didn't need to talk about deterrence or the war. They didn't need to talk about the military position. If they were asked anything then it was all about the self-determination of Falkland Islanders and their rights.
> Interviewee 4

This is important because it suggests that by extension *all* military members must necessarily adopt, or align themselves to, a political identity and perform deference and compliance with their political subjectivity if mined for information by the media. Consequently, the public 'face' of the British military becomes a political one, because it is necessarily framed, directed and constrained within the wider politics. Moreover, and critically, this position becomes normative and necessary precisely because of their position as politically-governed subjects. In this sense, beyond the professional role of being an object, military members are always and at once situating themselves in the 'meta-narratives' of politics that guide and direct their institutional and personal behaviour.

At the same time, it is through their assuming of the subjectivities inherent in this political identity that we can see how and why the interviewees—and military members more widely—may be contributing to

their subordination (see also Thornborrow & Brown 2009). For as we have seen above, by expressing allegiance to a political identity and thus *not* remembering the Falklands War *in* the media, they concurrently deny fundamental aspects of their own military identity including the importance of historical experience and the ways this intersects with notions of honour, duty, cohesiveness and kinship (see also Woodward & Jenkings 2011; Woodward et al. 2009).

An 'Imagined' Remembering In the Media: an Institutional Identity

With the above in mind, I now want to turn to another form of remembering that the interviewees engaged in during the interviews when adopting the role of being an object. This remembering arose in response to questions I asked about their commemoration of the Falklands veteran *in* the media. What was notable about these discussions was that firstly the Falklands veteran was not referred to as a tangible feature of their remembering *in* the media. In other words, at no point did the interviewees claim they had remembered the Falklands veteran *in* the media. Instead, it was apparent that their active *not* remembering the war (discussed above) also extended to an active *not* remembering of those who fought in it. The second notable aspect of these discussions was that it was immediately apparent that all of the interviewees conceived of the Falklands veteran as intimately bound up with issues of post-traumatic stress disorder (PTSD) and combat-generated stress. What emerged then, and perhaps as a result of their remembering of the Falklands veteran as 'traumatised', was a spontaneous, unprompted discussion of PTSD in the military more generally. But here the Falklands veteran took on additional significance in that he appeared to be functional to their representation of the British military institution in a manner that intersected directly with an alignment to and performance of an institutional identity.

When I refer to their institutional identity here, I am referring to one that is at once imagined in and through the institutional goals, working practices, and culture of the military institution (see Maltby 2012a, b). A core element of this identity is the foregrounding of capability—both experientially as well and symbolically—where the lived experience of the military member is produced and articulated through a prioritisation of physical, mental, cultural and institutional capability (see Maltby et al. 2015). And it was this issue of capability that was evoked in the interviewees' remembering of the Falklands

veteran where they suggested that the upholding of institutional capability was essential for the maintenance and longevity of the military institution whose credibility as a committed, capable, fighting force is predicated on a public, unified, embodied performance of competency, determination and endurance. As Interviewee 2 stated:

> Defence has a reputation to uphold and that reputation is quite important. If We are considered to be staffed by troubled or incompetent buffoons and generals, admirals and senior airman that's fine to a point but defence as a military organisation, their ability to carry out an operation and win, that mustn't be tarnished because that is deterrence, that is real deterrence. Now if we ever lose that, if we cock that up then that is going to be a problem.
> Interviewee 2

And it is in the above quote that we can see how—when a remembering *in* the media is conflated with the representation of the British military institution—issues like PTSD that may at the core of a remembering are removed so as to protect institutional projections of capability considered necessary for military work. Once again there is an active *not* remembering *in* the media here as a direct result of an alignment to, and performance of an institutional identity. At the same time, this active *not* remembering is also informed by their simultaneous allegiance to the politics that govern, resource and direct the wider institution that publicly constructs the British military institution as apolitical (see Strachan 2008). In this sense, when engaging in an active *not* remembering of the traumatised Falklands veteran the interviewees are essentially performing different identity positions that subjugate them in different ways. We see this in the following quotes where there is an oscillation between these subject positions that is at once normative but conflicting:

> There is an interesting constitutional issue here. A military officer cannot be a spokesperson to the British public. Now you will see military people in uniform saying things but they have to be authorised by the Permanent Under Secretary not the Chief of Defence Staff because the military cannot express their view to the British public and nor should we. You should not have armed people expressing views to a non-armed civilian which is governing a country but that does put us in a difficult position institutionally.
> Interviewee 2

On the stress issue we want to preserve the reputation of the British military while at the same time recognise that there are issues out there like

PTSD. But we as military personnel can't communicate that message. We can't do that.
    Interviewee 4

Whilst in the above the interviewees appear to align themselves to the parameters that leave them devoid of a public voice ('But we as military personnel can't communicate that'), they also implicitly highlight the tensions that this can generate at an institutional (and personal) level ('but that does put us in a difficult position institutionally', 'But we as military personnel can't communicate that message'). Attempts to resist the parameters in which they are denied a voice become counterproductive in this regard, precisely because the military are wholly dependent on their political governors for resources and support (see also Maltby 2012a).

The point I am making here then is that there are a number of reasons why the interviewees engaged in a *not* remembering of the Falklands veteran *in* the media (political subjectivity, institutional capability, etc.) that are revealing of the various subjectivities of military work. And, it is because of these combined reasons that I suggest the interviewees' remembering described below was in fact an 'imagined' remembering *in* the media where the traumatised Falklands veteran became helpful to an outward construction of an imagined institutional past, present and future in accordance with an institutional identity that foregrounds capability. In this sense their imagined remembering was one that was still conflated with the act of representing the British military institution—a position that they would adopt when being an object—but in a manner that was suggestive of what they would/could have remembered *in* the media had they not been constrained by subjectivities outlined above.

The first thing to note in this regard was that in their remembering of the traumatised Falklands veteran they appeared to temporally position PTSD as a condition that emerged from, but was wholly fixed in, the historical 'past' of the Falklands War. In the quote below for example, Interviewee 4 consigns high rates of suicide to Falklands veterans only, thereby essentially divorcing the circumstances that lead to suicide from a contemporary military context and instead positioning them in a past that may/does no longer exist.

I know the reported suicide rates of Falklands servicemen are above the norm, they appear quite high.
    Interviewee 3

Others similarly remembered the Falklands veteran as a site of transformation in the temporal configuration of an institutional PTSD history. Thus, in their acknowledgement of PTSD as both a past and present problem, it was the Falklands veteran that emerged as a site of remembering through which the notion of progress became asserted. In this sense, the meaning of the Falklands veteran became apparent through the temporal positioning *and* temporal logic the interviewees employed in their narrations of him in relation to the wider military institution as (see also Somers and Gibson 1994:59):

It is much better now for Afghan veterans than for Falklands veterans, Afghan veterans have got more support, have both a department of state and a series of service charities who do look after them.
    Interviewee 6

Falkland veterans are saying 'well we didn't have that level of support when we came back but isn't it good that it's there now and I can access it'. So in other words we have learnt our lessons, we appear to be getting better at this.
    Interviewee 1

And in fact perhaps here there is a connection with Afghanistan in that I think our understanding of the impact of conflict on people is much much better than it was in 1982. So I think we have demonstrated to the public and will continue to do is how we understand the impact of conflict on people and the longevity of that impact and that how you have to maintain a relationship with your veterans always beyond the time of the conflict.
    Interviewee 5

In all of these quotes the traumatised Falklands veteran becomes a specific temporal benchmark that allowed the interviewees to consciously differentiate the past from the present in terms of increased recognition, understanding and support for contemporary sufferers of PTSD in the military. In other words, there is a relational construction of past and present in a causal, linear configuration (see also Steedman 1992). As a result, the present becomes represented as improved, reconciled and transformed: 'it is much much better than it was in 1982', 'we appear to be getting better at this', 'it is much better now for Afghan veterans', etc. Moreover, by prioritising the present the interviewees are also able to situate the issue of PTSD within the wider contemporary context of on-going war operations (at the time of the interview) from which PTSD sufferers

may be emerging. Critically however, and by virtue of the causal linear configuration of past to present they employ, the present (and possibly continual) issue of PTSD within the military is constructed as both managed and manageable precisely because it is directly informed by past institutional experience. This is especially apparent in their claims to improved understanding: '...how we understand the impact of conflict on people and the longevity of that impact', '.we have learnt our lessons'.

The last point to note in this regard is that the 'improved understanding' of PTSD is expressed directly in relation to a perceived concern among 'others', in this case the UK public: 'I think we have demonstrated to the public and will continue to do is how we understand the impact of conflict on people'. These quotes not only suggest a need to demonstrate progress, but in a manner that is responding to an (imagined or otherwise) context in which the issue PTSD among military personnel requires some form of public-facing response. Thus, when the interviewees engaged in an imagined remembering of the traumatised Falklands veteran they also appeared to be situating and negotiating their identity (and remembering) within wider meta-narratives that simultaneously speak directly to the collective military body *and* existing media and public discourses.

I suggest this on the basis that there is growing recognition in both public and media discourse that the Falklands War was disproportionately traumatic for those who took part and that many now carry the long-term legacies of the war's impact (García-Quiroga and Seear 2009; see also Chap. 2), a recognition that the interviewees appeared to be speaking to in their own remembering of the Falklands veteran. Moreover, there is also increasing public recognition that—by virtue of being the first British veterans to confront PTSD as a diagnosed condition (Robinson 2012) — the suffering of Falklands' service personnel was initially unacknowledged and unsupported within wider political and institutional frameworks. It is within these wider discourses that we can situate quotes like the following from Interviewee 5 who appears to simultaneously speak to, and through, wider discourses and an institutional identity:

> In 1982 when the servicemen came back PTSD wasn't even recognised. It was OK. It's happened. We are in the military, either get on with it or get out because there were other things to consider.
>   Interviewee 5

Here then we see a convergence of, and alignment to, meta-narratives of the traumatised Falklands veteran ('In 1982 when the servicemen

came back PTSD wasn't even recognised') and institutional discourses of capability ('We are in the military, either get on with it or get out'). Consequently, much like Interviewee 3's remembering of the Yomper image (above) the interviewees' remembering of the traumatised Falklands veteran may be suggestive of their responding to, and working through, the interconnections of personal and institutional remembering through and with existing media discourses in terms of how this impacts upon their institutional identity. Combined, this is suggestive of how the interviewees assume the position of 'being an object' when remembering the Falklands veteran, whereby they are consciously speaking for, and behalf of, the military institution in a manner that anticipates public dissemination. And it is here, when the interviewees emphasise the extent to which veteran care is 'much much better', that they appear to be engaging in an imagined remembering (and reconstruction) of an institutional (and war) past *in* the media but critically through the Falklands veteran precisely because he is relational—and therefore functional—to on-going institutional needs of the present (see also Halbwachs 1992; Schwartz 1982).

Taken together, what we see in all of the above then (a political and institutional *not* remembering and an imagined remembering of the Falklands veteran *in* the media) are divergent positions of remembering in which the interviewees position themselves within and became subjected to meta-narratives and representations operating elsewhere (the self-determination message, the projection of capability, the publicly recognised, traumatised Falklands veteran). This is precisely because they are assuming the role of 'being an object' and thus anticipating being mined for information to underpin these wider stories. These quotes are not private expressions in this regard, but rather rationalised and purposeful narrations that illustrate how a remembering *in* the media becomes inflected with different identity positions.

Remembering the Traumatised: an Individual Identity

In contrast to these remembering positions however, some interviewees– and at times the same interviewees—also offered a far more complex, nuanced sense-making narration of the issue of PTSD. Here, there was an evident shift towards a more personal, embodied narrativity that was not a remembering as such, nor articulated in accordance with their role of 'being an object'. Rather, these narrations appeared to be made in response to, or prompted by, a remembering of the Falklands veteran that highlighted the tensions

and negotiations apparent in their simultaneous adoption of multiple, and at times, conflicting identities. I discuss these in this section in relation to what I term an 'individual identity' but only to distinguish it from the 'political' and 'institutional' identity. As I illustrate below, the individual identity *does* intersect with the 'institutional' identity but its distinguishing feature is that it is rarely a public identity and thus only made visible in private contexts. It is especially noteworthy then that these articulations emerged in the context of the research interview that allows for, and indeed invites, a very different positioning of the interviewee from that which they might adopt when consciously acting as being an object. In this sense, the interviewees' articulations of an individual identity were perhaps made possible by the reflexive orientation of the research interview and its focus on subjectivity. This is important, because in making this distinction between private and public, the multiple—and at times incongruent—aspects of what it means to be a military member, and the ways this work is constructed for public 'consumption' become more evident and the apparent tensions between them are exposed.

With this in mind, the first thing to note is that some interviewees were acutely overt in their assertions of PTSD as an on-going problem, and not one that was fixed in the past. This still entailed a remembering by virtue of being generated in response to, and prompted by a remembering of the Falklands veteran, but the configuration of the remembering was narrated differently. In the following, for example, we see the same temporal logic seen in the comparative narratives above, but here these are also *future oriented* where PTSD is represented as a vast and impending threat for the military institution ('..a huge problem out there which we have yet to face', 'there are lots and lots of servicemen out there'):

> It wasn't really until the Iraq war did we start to get the proper rehabilitation and people sorted out and so there are therefore lots and lots of servicemen out there—I hate to say it—whether they are from Northern Ireland, Bosnia….[pause]….since 1900 there has only been one year when servicemen have not died on operations and that was 1961. So that gives you some scale of the amount of problems that we have potentially got out there. So there is potentially a huge problem out there, which we have yet to face.
> Interviewee 5

As Riceour (1984) would argue, there is directedness to this narration that allows for the problematisation of PTSD as an essentially

unknowable, un-measurable condition of war in the future as well as present and past. In this sense, the threat of PTSD is made meaningful through an embodied narrativity, or to borrow a term from Cunliffe and Coupland (2011), narrative sense-making. In other words, embedded in this interviewee's narrative is the lived experience of a subjective body through which sense is made in relation to their remembering of the past in relation to the present. And, it is through this narrative sense-making and the directedness of the 'telling' that we see an oscillation between two opposing positions, one asserting resolution (the implementation of 'proper rehabilitation' where 'people are sorted out') and one asserting uncertainty ('a huge problem out there which we have yet to face'). There is no resolution here, as we saw with previous narrations, but rather a sense-making in progress.

The second thing to note is that as a direct result of this sense-making we also see an oscillation in the identities. On the one hand there is a vocalisation of PTSD as a 'huge' problem, an articulation that is representative of neither a political nor institutional identity precisely because it fails to maintain the public face that is demanded by these identities. Instead, the quote is expressive of an assumed individual identity that is implicitly divorced from the others. At the same time, there is expressed alignment to (and performance of) an institutional identity where the interviewee locates himself within the collective military body ('**we** have yet to face', etc.), an expression that is at once suggestive of the conflicts, tensions and negotiations of identity in the subjective, lived experience of the military member. There is thus another way to read this quote: as more nuanced and expressive of the interviewee's recognition of the power relations in which he—as a military member—is located and which he is overtly attempting to rally against. This being the case, the quote can be read as a claim to agency, particularly against the constraints of a public institutional identity that demands some issues remain private.

It was within these parameters that some interviewees also drew attention to the lack of resources available to deal with the (real or imagined) PTSD problem and in so doing simultaneously situated themselves within both an institutional identity ('we') and an individual identity (by expressing concern, frustration and disempowerment as political subjects):

> We are trying to look after the servicemen, but we don't have the resources to do it properly.
> Interviewee 4

The military turns over about 15,000 people a year well there are a certain among of them who will have PTSD, well the NHS can't afford to do that. The MoD definitely can't afford to do it and it would be a huge burden on the British public. It's a difficult thing for us to deal with.
   Interviewee 1

What we see in these quotes then is not only a claim for wider political acknowledgement of the PTSD problem, but also a call for wider acknowledgement that the support and resources necessary to deal with it are not available. These quotes are not only expressive of a disassociation from a political identity but are also tacitly expressive of the extent to which conformity to a political identity leaves the military member devoid of an independent voice (and agency) through which to publicly resist, contest or challenge the politics in which they are situated, including that which directly relates to the security, health and safety of their institution and its personnel (Maltby 2012a). In this sense, they are symbolic of a sense-making that emerges from the political relations and material reality of military work *and* an awareness of, resistance to and a desire to intervene in these power relations. But they are also suggestive of what Gioia & Chittipeddi (1991) term 'sense-giving', that is: 'a process of attempting to influence sense-making and meaning construction in others toward a preferred redefinition of organizational reality' (1991: 442). Here, the collective institutional identity ('we') becomes central to the claims and is used to support and sustain their resistance to political subjectivity even if the opportunities to effect change are limited (see also Dawson & McLean 2013).

Remembering With the Media: Being a Subject of

It is with this notion of 'sense-giving' in mind that in this final section I consider how the interviewees articulated a similar awareness of, and resistance to, their political subjectivity through their remembering *with* media in which they (as a collective military) were the 'subject of media'. To do this I draw upon Kuhn's (2000, 2002, 2010) notion of memory work as a means through to which interrogate the ways in which the interviewees' remembering *with* media intersects with the constraints of their multiple identities. It is in their remembering *with* media that we can see how the interviewees both assume *and* resist the political subjectivity in which they are situated, but as importantly, how they negotiate these tensions through a belief and investment in media power. For Kuhn (2010)

then, memory work is a conscious and purposeful staging of a remembering in which media texts becomes a vehicle through which narrative sense-making is enacted and substantiated. And it was through a particular remembering of specific media coverage that the interviewees engaged in their own enactments with, and (re)narrations of this coverage, from which their own identity position was revealed. These 'enactments' took place in various ways, one of which was to simply use media as 'evidence' of a particular remembering and narrative identity.

For example, some interviewees remembered specific media stories to make meaningful and legitimate the issue of PTSD. Much like their articulations in the previous discussion, these media stories became a means through which they could substantiate 'sense-giving' narratives (and directedness) of PTSD as a problem in the past, present *and* future. For example, in the following, the interviewee uses his remembering *with* wider media coverage to (re)configure the present (Iraq, Afghanistan) in relation to the past (Bosnia, Falklands) in order to foreground PTSD as a present and continuing problem:

> So back in March there were quite a few stories in the media by the mental stress organisation for servicemen, Combat Stress... saying that this was not just for Iraq veterans and Afghanistan veterans and they brought out a story from one guy from Bosnia and actually a guy that recently in the last couple of years has been helped because he constantly has problems with the Falkland memories and PTSD.
> Interviewee 2

This backwards 'working' of present to past may have been evident in the media coverage to which he refers. But, it is through *his* enactment and (re)narration of these texts that the present becomes emphasised in a manner that is revealing of *his* remembering of the coverage and the meaning that *he* constructs from them. What is especially noteworthy is that in this purposeful staging of remembering he distances himself from the claims that he suggests are being represented in the coverage. To put another way, he is not overtly claiming PTSD is a problem, but rather re-presenting a claim (that he claims) is made through wider media that works to construct PTSD as an accepted issue. Similarly, there is no indication from the quote that he is a military member. He does not, for example, use the collective nouns ('we, 'us') that we saw previously, a device that would affiliate him with the 'servicemen' he claims are represented in

the coverage. Consequently, whilst he aligns himself to the claims made in the media by remembering them in the first place, he concurrently distances himself from them and thus protects his institutional identity. What emerges from this quote then is at once a performance of an individual and institutional identity that is indicative of the tensions apparent in, and attempts to reconcile, the dual articulation of an institutional identity and the assertion of a military PTSD problem.

We see something similar in the quote below where Interviewee 1 suggested that the media have made 'connections' between PTSD in the Falklands War and the Afghanistan War. Indeed, they might. But it is in *his* enactment with this coverage, and *his* (re)narration of the texts that these 'connections' are made meaningful:

> I think there has been a bit of a connection there [with Afghanistan and the Falklands in the media] and there have been a few articles that have, I think, both highlighted the issues faced by veterans now who are still having to deal with nightmares and so on.
>   Interviewee 1

As with the quote above, the media coverage becomes a substantiating tool through which the interviewee is able to distance himself from, but concurrently emphasise 'the issues faced by veteran who are still having nightmares' in the present and future: 'constantly has problems'. In both of these extracts the coverage is pivotal to the interviewee's sense-making and sense-giving in a manner that allows them to legitimate their particular remembering. And it is through this process that interviewees articulate an awareness of their subjectivity both within the media coverage they draw on, but also beyond.

Subjectivity and Narrative Sense-Giving

Other interviewees went a step further, interrogating media texts for alternative meanings from which 'counter-memories' and counter-narratives were produced through which a particular remembering and identity position could be substantiated. It was here that their 'sense-giving' was most apparent and through which they explicitly expressed resistance to their political subjectivity. There were two key examples of this, namely their remembering *with* the media coverage of the Wooton Bassett repatriation ceremonies and the Help for Heroes charity. Both of these examples are

of course unrelated to a direct remembering of the Falklands, but reso-nant with wider issues the health and well being of military personnel that come to be articulated through reference to the corporeal military body. As such, these examples appeared to emerge from, and indeed conflate, a remembering of the Falklands War with a remembering of the on-going (at the time of interview) war in Afghanistan.

In this way, the interviewees' remembering *with* media coverage of Wootton Bassett and Help for Heroes can also be located within the wider socio-political context at the time of interview in which there was an on-going media debate about the state's failure to meet the expecta-tions and mutual obligation of the Military Covenant (see Forster 2012; see also Parry & Thumin, 2016)[2]: issues to which the interviewees inad-vertently referred in the interviews. Moreover, and in light of the war in Afghanistan, military personnel and veterans were increasingly—at the time—represented in the media as 'victims' of conflict' (see Kean 2009; King 2010), abandoned by government and left to struggle in civil society resulting in—amongst other problems—significant numbers of PTSD suf-ferers (McCartney 2010; Iversen et al. 2005). As a consequence, military members (and the corporeal military body in particular) were increasingly appropriated in the media to symbolise wider political disputes related to warfare and the welfare and healthcare of military personnel, and often in a manner that demanded a political response. The point to note here then is that there was a particular contextual specificity to the interview-ees' remembering *with* media; one that was not only embedded within a particular military identity but also one in which they were—once again—responding to and directed by wider discourse.

It is within this context that the first example of interviewees interro-gating media coverage for alternative meanings—and one that I refer to again in Chap. 4—was through the media coverage of Wootton Bassett. For those unfamiliar with Wootton Bassett (now named Royal Wootton Bassett), it is a small village in the UK near the British Royal Air Force base RAF Lyneham. Between 2007 and 2011, due to the temporary closure of RAF Brize Norton, bodies of British service personnel who had been killed in Iraq or Afghanistan were temporarily repatriated at RAF Lyneham. By virtue of the military repatriation funeral processions passing through Wootton Bassett on route to RAF Lyneham, and initiated by members of the Royal British Legion (the UK's charity for the armed forces), the village became an unofficial site of public commemoration and mourning eventu-ally generating gatherings of over 2,000 people (see Fig. 3.2).

Fig. 3.2   Screen shot of Wootton Bassett funeral procession, *Channel 4 News*, 9 June 2010

These funeral processions attracted a significant amount of media coverage and it was with reference to this coverage that Interviewee 3 stated:

> The media coverage of Wootton Bassett was great. The public there, fantastic. Commemoration absolutely wonderful and great to see them. The British public bypassing the Ministry of Defence and going straight to the Government and saying we support our services and we don't support what you have done.
>   Interviewee 3

Once again, what we see in this quote is an enactment and remembering with the media coverage in a manner that is revealing of how and where Interviewee 3 locates the meaning of Wootton Bassett. This is evident in a number of ways. Firstly, he fails to make reference to the military as the subject of the text, despite the fact that the texts clearly represent military members. Rather, in his production of an alternative meaning, the military become 'absent subjects', evident only through their relational position to the 'others'; namely the UK public and UK Government. Secondly, in his construction of the military as 'absent subjects', the UK public become

the primary subject of his remembering through which he is able to construct a particular narrative of Wootton Bassett and himself—as a military member—in relation to it.

More specifically, the UK public become (relationally) meaningful as those who offer support to the military precisely because the UK Government can/do not. Here the UK public are constructed as interventionists who, critically, have a political voice ('The public there, [at Wootton Bassett] fantastic', 'The British public bypassing the Ministry of Defence and going straight to the Government and saying we support our services and we don't support what you have done'). This is of course the meaning that *he* brings to the texts in his remembering *with* them, but one that produces an embodied sense-giving narrativity that is more revealing of the political voice *he* would like to possess but cannot due to his political subjectivity. But more than this, it is revealing of his desire for intervention in these power relations: a claim to agency via a vicarious public. The UK public thus become critical to his narrative of resistance.

What we see within Interviewee 3's memory work and narrativity of the Wootton Bassett media coverage then is his own lived subjective experience through which he not only 'makes sense' of Wootton Bassett but also 'gives sense' in an attempt to influence the meaning Wootton Bassett has for others. His selection of Wootton Bassett texts is significant in this regard. This is because public engagement in the ceremonies was constructed in the media as a spontaneous, unorganised and unfettered demonstration of support for the military beyond the formal established channels and rituals of commemoration. The extent to which this is true is debatable (see Freeden 2011) but the idea that the needs and sacrifices of the military are supported by the UK public is what resonates most with, and is reproduced through, Interviewee 3's remembering of the media coverage. Once again what we see through the interviewee's choice of the coverage of Wootton Bassett as text(s) to remember *with*, is a response to and a situating of his remembering in wider media discourse through which he can legitimate his institutional and individual position.

Other interviewees drew upon the media coverage of Help for Heroes events to articulate something similar. Again, for those unfamiliar with Help for Heroes it is a charity that was established in 2007 to offer support and resources to injured members of the armed forces and their families. At the time of interview it had gained significant public support and media coverage to which the interviewees referred (media coverage included news coverage of public and charity events, public celebrity

endorsement, and a charity single through the television programme *The X Factor*). In remembering *with* wider media coverage of these events, the interviewees drew attention to what they believed to be the successes of the Help for Heroes charity in terms of generating resources for the military community and leveraging public support for this cause. It is through the interviewees' remembering of these perceived successes that we can see their awareness of, and resistance to, their own political subjectivity in particular ways. As Interviewee 6 stated:

> Help for Heroes…that is bottom up strategic communications—it's influencing the Government and its gone right over the top of the Ministry of Defence. Yes we [the military] support it [Help for Heroes] and we think it's fantastic giving us the resource we need to be able to look after these people in the short-term and the long-term
>   Interviewee 6

Again, there is a sense-giving at work here, one that involves direct allegiance to an institutional identity ('Yes, **we** support it [Help for Heroes] and **we** think it's fantastic' [my emphasis]) in recognition and implicit critique of a lack of political resourcing. In turn—and through the support of the UK public—Help for Heroes becomes constructed as those who *can* (and do) campaign, petition and intervene on matters on behalf of the military because the military *can't* (and don't). We see something similar but far more explicit, in the following quote from Interviewee 5:

> Now what is Help for Heroes really all about—and this is real strategic communications in the media—that's the British public turning around and saying to the Government of the time: "We don't like what you did in Iraq, you lied to us, you took us for idiots and you did something that was completely wrong. Now we can't get that message across in any other way than we create this charity, we support this charity and we think you servicemen are absolutely fantastic—don't agree with what you were doing whatsoever but we think you are fantastic and we want you to get the support afterwards which consistently Governments have failed to do".
>   Interviewee 5

Here in particular we see an interrogation and (re)narration of the media coverage of Help for Heroes to produce a narrative that constructs the UK public—and by extension Help for Heroes—not only as those helping to resource the (under-resourced) military, but as those who

actively and politically protest, challenge and resist the wider political frameworks in which the military are situated. This is particularly explicit in the interviewee's re-voicing of the UK public voice through which he makes a claim to agency ('we want you to get the support afterwards which consistently Governments have failed to do', '...that's the British public turning around and saying to the Government of the time "We don't like what you did in Iraq…"'). There is an strong sense of injustice articulated here through this vicarious voicing of the UK public ('you lied to us, you took us for idiots and you did something that was completely wrong') that derives from Interviewee 5's enactment with the coverage, and the meaning that he constructs from it by virtue of this own subjective experience.

Taken together, these examples are especially revealing of a negotiation of and resistance to political subjugation. Central to this is the construction of the UK public as those who metaphorically embrace the military institution independent of its political governance, and through which the military member can speak. And it is perhaps here that a performance of, and allegiance to, an institutional identity is made most evident. Because, by constructing the UK public in particular ways the interviewees, in turn, construct the military in particular ways: as apolitical agents who are brave, honorable, and deserving. This resonates with the military's imagined sense of an institutional identity as constrained within political governance, an issue that can then be used to support and sustain a 'resistance story' (see also Dawson & McLean 2013), but it also resonates with the wider media discourse at the time. Thus, in their remembering *with* media, the interviewees are essentially reinforcing, identifying and investing in their particular subject positions in the coverage because this identification may confer relative power (see Henriques et al. 1984).

Media Power, Relational Influence and Sense-Giving

This last point leads to me to the final observation that can be taken from these examples, one that relates directly to the interviewees articulated understanding of politics and media power. In all them we see an allegiance to the conceptual orientation (influence, media power, effect) and embedded practices (comparative narratives, proxy audiences) of strategic communications work. Whilst some were explicit in their belief and investment in this approach ('Help for Heroes…that is bottom up strategic communications—it's influencing the Government', 'Now what is Help for

Heroes really all about—and this is real strategic communications'), others implicitly drew upon the core principles of the strategic communications approach in their 'sense-giving' narrativity, particularly the relational position of 'others'—in this case the UK public—in achieving influence.

This observation takes us back to the starting point of the chapter where the interviewees' articulations were also suggestive of an investment in the power of strategic communications as a method of leveraging power by virtue of their alignment to a political identity. This is important because through this investment they appear to be evoking, and uncritically assuming, a wider orientation to politics (in and through media) in which they themselves are subjugated. Here, then we can further see how and why the interviewees may be contributing to their own subordination.

At the same time, their investment in strategic communications—and the politics that inform it—is also being used to rally against the very political framework in which they are subjugated. On the one hand then, there is a claim to agency here, an investment in the media that is believed to confer power as much as deny it. On the other hand, there is a confused, conflicting performance of embodied narrativity and identity, and an articulation of the real tensions in the lived subjective experience that are held together in problematic ways. As Somers and Gibson (1994:67) suggest 'people are guided to act by the relationships in which they are embedded and by stories with which they identify'. Here, then, whilst the interviewees narrate an investment in the 'resistance' story, there appears to be a greater investment in the politics of strategic influence through which they can articulate 'resistance'. Of course this may not be rational but it is where the contradictions and tensions apparent in the military's multiple identities (political, institutional, individual) come to the fore which draws our attention to not only the various subjectivities of military work and the power relations in which the military are situated, but also the ways in which this becomes revealed through their remembering (and not) *in* the media.

Concluding Remarks

Cumulatively, what emerges from these interviews is an embodied narrativity in their remembering *in* and *with* media that reveals particular conflicts and tensions in both their identity and agency: public and private, object and subject, strategic and embodied, political and military. At the centre of all of these tensions is an imagined power that the interviewees believe is

conferred, or denied them, by the media in the act of remembering. This becomes evident in their simultaneous complicity with and resistance to a denial of remembering *in* media, coupled with their simultaneous claim to agency and desire to remember *with* media. The result however is that the claims to agency that emerge from the interviewees' remembering are fleeting, temporary, sometimes imagined, and sometimes contradictory, exposed through the tensions in their embodied narrativity. As we have seen, at times these tensions are held together but not unproblematically. At other times these tensions appear irreconcilable and are expressive of the very subjectivity in which military members are located. Perhaps then the 'absent subject' is a powerful metaphor through which the lived, subjective experience of the interviewee—and the military more generally— can be articulated and moved forward, albeit in irreconcilable ways. But the last point to note here is that also at the centre of these tensions is the corporeal military body as a site through which remembering, identity and politics are narrated, contested and played out. This is an especially important point because it is the military body that is celebrated, denied and contested in commemorative activities, and yet it was the very act of commemoration that the interviewees were *not* talking through. Rather, it was the traumatised veteran or the injured veteran returning from continuing conflicts (such as Afghanistan and Iraq) who emerged as the focus of discussion. Perhaps it is here then, in the juxtaposition of commemoration—and its performed rituals of mourning and assertions of victory and patriotism—alongside the continued suffering and death of continuing war, that a public remembering *in* the media (politically, institutionally) and a private remembering *with* media becomes difficult to reconcile and negotiate (see also Schulman & Stratchan 2010).

Notes

1. Acting as an umbrella under which the other key instruments of state power are positioned (diplomatic, economic and military) Strategic Communications is the coordination of information to perform, achieve and maintain influence on the global stage in order to advance national strategic objectives and security interests (see MoD 2012b:3– 11; House of Lords 2014:34). This involves the upholding of national reputation, the promotion of trade and prosperity, and the generation of attraction and positive international relationships through communicative acts. Strategic communications are a means through which is it

believed influence can be achieved, particularly through the use of strategic narratives which are considered to be persuasive, explanatory and compelling from which inferences can be drawn that guide action at both a political, diplomatic and military level (Freedman 2006:379; MoD 2012:2–10; Miskimmon et al. 2013:2). Thus, it is through a specific narrative that strategic political objectives are asserted, framed and legitimated and within which all words and actions of political actors, including the military, can be cast in the belief that leverage will be attained (see also Maltby 2015).

2. Until 2000, the Covenant had existed as an 'unwritten' set of mutual obligations and expectations that bind the British nation, its government and the British military together. By 2000 however, it was codified in Army doctrine and in 2011 applied to all armed forces through the first published Covenant documentation (see MoD 2011a, b, 2012a) in response to a perceived need to repair and rebuild civil-military relations.

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Identity and Memory Work as News Determinants

The second of the empirical chapters is dedicated to the BBC 'story' where I draw upon the ethnographic data collected with members of the BBC in the Falklands (henceforth referred to as the 'BBC crew' to distinguish them from the wider BBC institution) alongside the BBC television coverage of the 30th anniversary. Using this data I explore not only *how* the BBC represented the 30th anniversary of the war but *why* they bestowed particular events with particular meaning to consider what this might reveal about the relatively neglected and under-researched relationship between journalism and memory more generally (Zelizer 2008:80). In many ways the themes discussed in this chapter resonate with those of the military 'story' with regards to the negotiation and performance of institutional work through and in media texts. Yet, whilst in the military story I discussed how the military negotiate conflicting multiple identities (political, military, individual) differently depending on whether they are remembering *in* or *with* media (being an object of and subject of media respectively), here I explore how the BBC crew's remembering *with* media appeared to inform a conscious and purposeful performance of a particular institutional identity *in* the remembering texts they subsequently produced.

In this regard, there is a notable difference between the BBC story and the other empirical stories in the book, because, in contrast to the military and the Islanders who aspire to author media texts, the BBC—by virtue of

being media producers—have explicit power of authorship and are therefore the ultimate determinates of the final remembering text. The importance of the BBC story resides in the extent to which their remembering (in and with media) directly intersects with this power of authorship and how this translates into the on-going production of remembering texts. As a pre-cursor to the Islanders' story then, and following on from the military story, in the following I critically consider the processes of media production from which remembering texts emerge, to explore the extent to which the decision-making involved is as much informed by a remembering of and by media organisations (such as the BBC) as the events they purport to represent.

Whilst I do not employ the terms 'object of' and 'subject of' in relation to the BBC crew's remembering *in* and *with* media here, it is nonetheless notable that the BBC crew engaged in both positions throughout, and often in a manner where the two were conflated because of the BBC's power of authorship. In their remembering *with* media for example, at times they drew upon texts in which the BBC institution was the subject (i.e. news coverage about BBC productivities). In this sense, their memory work was similar to that of the military interviewees where the text—in which their institution was implicitly represented—became a vehicle through which narrative sense-making was enacted and substantiated (Kuhn 2000, 2002, 2010). Indeed, the military and BBC's discursive negotiation of their respective identities through similar sites of significance—namely Wootton Bassett, the veteran and the war dead—is noteworthy in this regard, not least because of the resonant associations these sites have with notions of nationalism and hegemony. Likewise, the BBC crew also adopted the position of being an object (in and beyond their memory work) by virtue of being authors and producers of media texts for the BBC, and thus for and about themselves as BBC members. Whilst the BBC institution may not have been the overt 'subject' of these produced texts, all of them will have been imbued with an institutional imperative to perform a particular and distinct identity in (and through) the text (see Maltby 2014) which, in turn, makes the BBC the implicit subject of the text. Consequently, all BBC texts in some way represent the BBC institution and it is here that we can locate how the BBC crew simultaneously understood and discursively negotiated BBC media coverage from the position of being a subject *and* object, and in a manner that—I suggest here—informed their on-going authorship and production of BBC remembering texts.

With this in mind, the chapter is divided into three key sections. The first explores how, through their memory work, the BBC crew expressed allegiance to a particular imagined ideal BBC by not only evoking certain characteristics and qualities of the BBC that were at once aspirational and resonant with wider institutional discourses produced by and about the BBC, but by also expressing anxieties about the ability of the BBC to perform these (ideal) qualities in and through material BBC outputs. The second section examines the extent to which these evocations were visibly manifest in the BBC crew's subsequent production of the 30th anniversary coverage, and in a manner that suggests a performance of this assumed ideal BBC identity in and through this particular textual output. Combined, what I suggest through both these sections is that the BBC's coverage of the 30th anniversary is potentially more expressive of a convergence of the BBC crew's remembering and identity management efforts than the 30th anniversary itself. Lastly, in the third section, I examine not only how the remembering texts generated by the BBC crew in their coverage of the 30th anniversary contributed to a static, formulaic remembering of the Falklands War but also how, in turn, this served to contribute to a broader undermining and negation of alternative media 'rememberings' with critical implications for the Islanders.

Remembering With Media: Imagined Identities

In this first section then I consider how the BBC crew remembered *with* media by drawing on the ethnographic fieldwork I conducted with them on the Islands, especially the television crew with whom I spent most of time (see Chap. 1). During this fieldwork, the BBC crew were relatively candid about both their orientation to and decision-making processes around their forthcoming (at the time) coverage of the 30th anniversary, but also about their experiences of the BBC more generally. Here they discussed, for example, BBC outputs, changes in organisational structure, internal politics, fellow BBC colleagues and wider BBC activities. Indeed, it was rare for the conversation to be about anything other than the BBC and although there may have been many reasons for this, I note it here to acknowledge that it may have been—in part –influenced by my own presence as a willing and interested party and as such as performance of an institutional identity itself. Either way, or indeed perhaps because of it, the discursive content of these conversations was suggestive of their allegiance to and collective performance of a particular ideal and imagined

BBC identity expressed not only in relation what they think the BBC are (or should be), but also in relation to what they believe others think the BBC is, or want the BBC to be, particularly the UK public. It was here that their understanding and negotiation of an imagined ideal BBC identity as both relational and institutional came to the fore.

There were two key sites through which the BBC remembered *with* the media, the choice of which appeared to resonate most with their sense and negotiation of an ideal BBC identity in divergent and complex ways. The first was the Wootton Bassett repatriation ceremonies and the second was the Queen's Diamond Jubilee. It is through their enactments with the media coverage about these events that we not only see an articulation of what, for them, constituted an ideal BBC identity, but also how they attempted to substantiate and legitimate it.

Making the Nation as One Man: Wootton Bassett and the BBC Ideal

I want to start then by exploring the BBC crew's memory work with the BBC's coverage of Wootton Bassett, from which emerged an alignment to, and investment in particular, imagined, subject positions in BBC outputs. As stated in Chap. 3, Wootton Bassett is a village in the UK that temporarily hosted the repatriation of British service personnel killed in Iraq and Afghanistan between 2007 and 2011. As such it became an unofficial site of public commemoration and mourning, generating large crowds and a significant amount of media coverage by both the BBC and other UK national and local media. In their remembering *with* the coverage of Wootton Basset, the BBC crew drew specifically on the BBC coverage of these ceremonies, appearing to mine and interrogate it for non-overt meaning and possibilities that were at once celebratory and aspirational in terms of what the BBC can (and do) produce. It was through these discussions that they suggested an alignment to, and reinforcement of an almost Reithian vision of the BBC as an institution that is central to generating national citizenship and cultural belonging (see Scannell 1989:130; Price 1995; Freedman 2008; Raboy et al. 2008). This became evident in a number of converging ways that were expressed in relation to their foregrounding of particular subjects within the coverage, notably the UK Public, the military and the war dead.

Perhaps the most significant subject of their remembering *with* the Wootton Bassett coverage was their discursive positioning of the UK

public. Not only did they suggest that the UK public had come together to honour the military war dead in response to media coverage, but that it was primarily the BBC coverage that had been influential in generating and sustaining substantial public engagement in these ceremonies. These conversations were especially revealing of where the BBC crew located the meaning of the UK public in relation to their own sense of identity. Because, in their imagining and construction of the UK public in this way they, in turn, constructed a particular (sense-making) narrative of their own institution as one that produces collectivities and communities bound by shared cultural experiences (see also De Groot 2009) whose sense of civic nationalism—expressed particularly in relation to key state institutions like the military—is facilitated through BBC texts (see also Annan 1977; Tunstall 2010). But what was especially noteworthy in this regard was that in so doing, the BBC crew were not only re-evoking historical institutional narratives that locate the UK public as central to realisation of the BBC remit (and thus identity), but also more contemporary, public BBC claims that they 'bring people together for shared experiences'[1] (see also BBC 2012:2–21). In other words, what emerged from the BBC crew's remembering of the UK public *with* Wootton Bassett was an identity that was situated within, and negotiated through, wider meta-institutional discourses that may be similarly imagined but critical to the longevity of the BBC in its current form.

But their remembering could also be situated within other media narratives of Wootton Bassett that had likewise constructed public engagement in the ceremonies as a spontaneous and unfettered demonstration of support for the military beyond the formal established channels and rituals of commemoration. As stated in Chap. 3, Whilst this may be debatable (see Freeden 2011), the idea that the sacrifices of the British military were collectively recognised and commemorated by the UK public is what appears to have resonated most with, and been reproduced through, the BBC crew's remembering *with* Wootton Bassett. That they chose Wootton Bassett as a site through which to articulate these ideal imaginings (of both themselves and the UK public) was therefore not insignificant and further suggestive of a solipsistic orientation to their identity that overwhelming takes account of the broader media culture in which they operate.

The second significant textual subject to emerge from the BBC crew's remembering *with* the Wootton Bassett coverage was that of war, and the material recognition and due commemoration of military involvement in historical and contemporary conflict. Ignited by Wootton Bassett,

their remembering *with* media extended to other BBC outputs about war including, for example, documentaries, news and online productivities about World War I, World War II and the Falklands War. Here the BBC crew not only articulated an investment in an 'ideal' BBC as one that *can* and *has* manifestly (re)created a nation's past through material outputs, but also one that *should*, courtesy of the BBC's public service credentials. When remembering *with* these texts then, they suggested that the BBC had not only made a significant contribution to the documentation of war history that was at once respectful and celebratory, but also to the generation and maintenance of a British sense of national war history as a result. Again what emerged through these enactments was a commitment to the BBC ideal as expressed through meta-institutional discourses that not only position the BBC as the nation's archivist and documenter (see also Garde-Hansen 2011) but also the nation's primary institution through which 'structures of feeling' (of remembering) are (re)created. And it was here that the symbolic resonance of Wootton Bassett, as a site of collective, mediated remembrance of war appeared to be especially functional to their performance of an imagined BBC ideal.

Taken together, this memory work also implied a purposeful and collective staging of remembering through which they could think through, and make sense of, the implications of the BBC ideal for their coverage of the 30th anniversary of the Falklands War. By foregrounding the military and the war dead in their remembering *with* the Wootton Basset coverage, they—once again—appeared to be negotiating how they might perform this particular aspect of their imagined BBC identity in their coverage of the Falklands commemorative services. In particular, they expressed the importance of generating a respectful and appropriate remembrance of the British military in their coverage, particularly of the British Falklands veteran, that would resonate with the UK public in a manner similar to their coverage of Wootton Bassett. To bring about a collective (UK) remembering of British history, war history and the war dead thus appeared to become instrumental to their decision-making processes regarding their Falklands coverage, and a means through which to substantiate and legitimate BBC texts more generally. In effect, their orientation to their coverage of the Falklands 30th anniversary mapped onto their remembering of other BBC texts about war (rather than having unique and distinct features) as a vehicle through which wider performances of, and citizen participation in, remembering war (and sacrifice) could be structured and sedimented.

Within this context, it also became apparent that they attached significant importance to the incorporation of living memory and testimony in the production of BBC (war) remembering texts. Here they made explicit comparisons between Wootton Bassett and the Falklands Islands, referring to the latter as a unique site of remembrance because few of those who had died in 1982 had been repatriated in the first instance and thus a number remained buried on the Islands. Moreover, they cited that because a number of veterans and their family members return to remember, honor and grieve those lost on the Islands, there were a number of opportunities through which they could secure and record an especially vivid living memory in the original space of war.

Consequently, they were particularly overt about their prioritisation of veteran living memory in their newsgathering processes, the most favoured option, by virtue of its emotional resonance, being an interview at a battle or commemoration site. This prioritisation was not only evident in their discursive deliberations but also in their interaction with veterans, which is worthy of brief discussion here because it becomes revealing of how, in their pursuit of the veteran interview, they appeared to undermine the position they had taken in relation to their remembering *with* the Wootton Bassett coverage. This is important because it reveals the tensions and contradictions apparent in an allegiance to, and performance of, an imagined BBC ideal identity, and the realities of their BBC work in practice, especially in the newsgathering process.

To illustrate this point I want to briefly draw upon some of the observation data collected with the BBC and the veterans themselves. As indicated in Chap. 1, most of the veterans expressed extreme reluctance to engage with the media for a variety of reasons not least because, for some, returning to the Islands was a challenging experience that they did not want made public. These concerns were also reiterated in more official settings including press conferences and media briefings where all media representatives were warned about the veterans' 'fragility'. We see this in the quote below from the designated spokesman and chaperone for the visiting veterans who asked media representatives at the initial press conference to be mindful of the anxieties the veterans may be experience.

> I would ask you that, a lot of these guys, it's their first time back and they are pretty fragile…they don't look it but having spoken to them there are couple that are very nervous about what they are going to do here.

Veteran Chaperone based on the Islands, Press Conference, 10 June 2012

Motivated by the concerns expressed in the above quote, the Veteran Chaperone and the Falklands Islands Government set up a media session with veterans at their residence, Liberty Lodge .[2] This session was specifically designed to facilitate media access to the veterans but in a manner that was safe, controlled and comfortable for the veterans themselves. As the Veteran Chaperone stated 'it is a nice environment where they are quite comfortable'. Yet, whilst a number of the other journalists attended this event (Reuters, BFBS, the *Sun*, and the *Daily Mirror*), the BBC crew did not. Instead, they engaged in a variety of alternative methods to secure a veteran interview that were not only suggestive of the lengths to which they would go to secure the 'living testimony' of a veteran (above and beyond other information), but also how they appeared to implicitly ignore the warnings above.

One BBC crew member, for example, attempted to 'recruit' a veteran in the Santiago airport lounge prior to their arrival on the Islands. The veteran concerned subsequently claimed he felt he had been 'pounced upon' and shown little regard for the challenging journey that he was about to embark on. Another BBC crew member claimed that having been refused an interview by two particular veterans, he was going to continue his pursuit of the interviewees by 'following' these same veterans at a 'dignified distance' as they retraced their battle steps on Mount Longdon. I later discovered he secured one veteran interview as a result. Another stated that the persistent pursuit of any news subject, including the Falklands veteran, was a key feature of BBC journalism training, describing it as akin to 'hunting a deer' where, if you stalk the deer long enough it will eventually tire and give in.

There are a couple of things that I suggest we can take away from these observations when combined with the BBC crew's remembering *with* Wootton Bassett. The first is that they offer some indication of the extent to which the living memory of the veteran was a pre-determined topic in the BBC crew's selection and newsgathering processes, made more evident in their attempts to recruit a veteran prior to arrival on the Islands. The second is that they reveal the implicit—and again pre-determined—emphasis on place and sites of remembering that may have emotional resonance despite the difficulties that the veteran may experience as a result. Whilst it is notable that the facilitated session at Liberty Lodge may have

prevented the BBC from obtaining an exclusive interview, their eventual securing of interviews at a battle site (Mount Longdon) and memorial site (Port San Carlos) are indicative of their prioritisation of a remembering through place. The third point to take away from these examples is the potential divergence between the BBC crew's articulated allegiance to an imagined ideal BBC in which due honour and respect for veterans (and the war dead) was prioritised, and the actual decision-making and news-gathering processes where these sentiments were undermined. To put another way, there is an obvious tension revealed in what the BBC crew claim they are or want to be when remembering *with* Wootton Basset, and what the BBC crew actually are (or do) when attempting to realise this imagined ideal in the material BBC output.

Taken together, the final observation we can make here is the extent to which the BBC crew's emphasis on veteran living memory can also be situated within the growing trend in journalism where the use of increasingly personalised and acutely affective memories and experiential narratives are contributing to and reinforcing a cultural memory of war (Hoskins & O'Loughlin 2010; see also Todman 2005, 2009; see also Chap. 2). As such, when the BBC crew engaged in the gathering of living memory for their material outputs, they were not only situating a textual performance of their identity within wider recognised institutional workings and productivities of the BBC in which the use of memory has gained increasing prominence (see Garde-Hansen 2011), but also within a wider corresponding media culture in a manner that might aid the legitimation of the BBC's professional-institutional status (see also Meyers 2007; Zandberg 2010).

History and Authority: the Queen's Diamond Jubilee and BBC Anxieties

With the above in mind, I want to now explore the BBC crew's memory work with the media coverage (both BBC and non-BBC) of the Queen's Diamond Jubilee. To offer some context, the Queen's Diamond Jubilee took place in the UK in early June 2012, just prior to the BBC crew's arrival in the Falklands. It consisted of a series of celebratory events including, for example, a service at St Paul's Cathedral, a Jubilee Picnic, a Royal Pageant and a Jubilee Concert. The BBC (alongside Sky News) were responsible for the majority of the live coverage of these events. But the BBC coverage, and in turn the BBC, subsequently received significant complaints from viewers[3] and were widely criticised in the national UK

media; an issue to which the BBC crew consistently referred throughout their stay in the Falklands. In contrast to their remembering *with* Wootton Bassett then, their remembering *with* the Jubilee coverage was not aspirational or celebratory, but instead expressive of anxieties felt over the extent to which the ideal and imagined BBC identity is (and is not) performed through the BBC text.

In their memory work *with* both the BBC and non-BBC coverage of the Jubilee the BBC crew's expressions of anxiety were predominantly located in their enactments with the texts from the position of being a subject, and notably a subject of criticism. This was articulated in two key ways. The first was in relation to the actual content of the BBC Jubilee coverage where they stated that it was deserving of the condemnation it had received because it had lacked formality, gravitas and appropriate ceremonial tone. Here they made discursive comparisons between what they considered to be 'appropriate' and 'inappropriate' aspects of the coverage, citing specific incidents that they thought had been unsuitable and tasteless in the context of the event: including, for example, the introduction of Jubilee sick-bags and the addressing of a veteran with the wrong name by BBC Presenter Fearne Cotton. Overall, they claimed that by virtue of these 'incidents', the coverage had been un-ceremonial, disrespectful and too informal in tone, but had also been inaccurate, ill-prepared and failed to provide adequate historical context. Indeed, this latter issue was particularly emphasised in their discussions about the BBC coverage of The Association of Dunkirk Little Ships (ADLS) during the pageant day, a flotilla that comprised boats who had assisted military efforts in the evacuation of British and French troops from Dunkirk in 1940.

But what is especially noteworthy was that these criticisms (lack of ceremony, respect, formality, history and accuracy) could be directly mapped onto the criticisms levied at the BBC in the wider, non-BBC criticism coverage. In fact, they were almost identical in not only the selection of particular aspects of the coverage, but also in the focus of the criticism itself (see for example: 'Pass the sick bag: BBC receives almost 2,500 complaints over 'dumbed down' Diamond Jubilee coverage,' the *Daily Mirror,* 6 June 2012; 'BBC's diamond jubilee coverage draws 4,500 complaints,' the *Guardian*, 8 June 2012; 'Fearne Cotton's 'sick' stunt heads backlash', the *Daily Star*, 7 June 2012; 'BBC receives more than 2,400 complaints about the Jubilee coverage as it tries to shrug off stiff 'Aunty' image but gets it spectacularly wrong,' the *Daily Mail,* 5 June 2012; 'Panned BBC: Nearly 2,500 complaints over dumbed down coverage of

the Queen's Diamond Jubilee celebrations,' the *Evening Standard*, 6 June 2012; 'Diamond Jubilee: BBC backlash over 'dumbed down' Jubilee,' the *Daily Express*, 7 June 2012). In this sense, there appeared to be a convergence of their remembering *with* the BBC's Jubilee coverage *and* the criticism coverage, where the two become almost indistinct. With this in mind, the second way in which their expressions of anxiety were located within their adoption of the 'subject' position was in relation to the idea of institutional criticism itself. Here they claimed that the Jubilee coverage was both predictable and exaggerated in its critical focus on the BBC and symptomatic of an enduring and historical culture of criticism of the BBC within wider media discourse. In so doing, they appeared to be, once again, re-evoking, and reproducing meta-narratives of the BBC, articulated by the BBC itself but also beyond (see for example BBC's *Strategic Objectives*[4]; Born 2002, 2005; Harvey 2005). On the one hand then, their defence of the BBC was expressive of an alignment to, and collective performance of an already established BBC identity (that is similarly imagined and ideal). On the other—and not necessarily at odds with the first—it was also illustrative of how they positioned their imaginings of the ideal BBC identity within meta-narratives and representations operating elsewhere.

As a result, whilst there was a convergence of their remembering *with* the BBC's Jubilee coverage *and* the criticism coverage, there also appeared to be a further convergence of this with a remembering of the BBC per se. I suggest this because when they referred to the importance of history in BBC texts, they also seemed to be referring to the BBC as an institution with a particular historical identity. 'History', in this sense, was discursively positioned in multiple ways (as BBC text, as BBC remit, as BBC identity) that was illustrative of the challenges they understood were being presented by the criticisms of their Jubilee coverage. This appeared unsettling for them because the BBC that was represented in the criticism coverage was one that was unstable, populist and lacking in the ability to gauge public sentiment and meet the demands of the nation's public service broadcaster. In Annan's terms (1977:79) this was an inability to be the 'natural interpreter of great occasions to the nation as a whole'. These criticisms were not merely an attack on the BBC's material output then, but aimed at the very foundations of the BBC. Moreover, when evoking a BBC history—including a history of criticism—the anxieties and implications that emerged from the BBC crew's remembering with the Jubilee coverage were in turn positioned as having a 'live-ness' that was/is continually negotiated by the BBC especially and in their material outputs.

Combined, what emerged from their remembering *with* the Jubilee coverage then was an expressed allegiance to these two contrasting positions (condemning and defending) that was at once suggestive of particular anxieties felt in the possibilities of an ideal imagined BBC identity and the ability to realise this ideal in BBC productivities. And, when combined with their remembering *with* Wotton Bassett, these anxieties became further reinforced. For, whilst the Jubilee coverage was cited as un-ceremonial and informal, it was formality, ceremony and due respect that was celebrated in their remembering *with* the BBC's Wootton Bassett coverage. Similarly, whilst the lack of historical context was considered significant in the Jubilee coverage, it was the BBC's role as archivists and educators of British (war) history that was celebrated in their remembering *with* Wootton Bassett. Thus, what surfaces from their dual remembering of Wootton Basset and the Jubilee is a strengthening of the imagined ideal BBC by their simultaneously drawing attention to what they believe the BBC *should* and *can* be as well as what it *shouldn't* be, but sometimes *is*.

With this in mind, it again became apparent that the concerns and anxieties expressed through their remembering *with* the Jubilee had particular implications for their orientation to, and decision-making processes in the subsequent coverage of the Falklands 30th anniversary. This was especially evident through their articulations of the need to achieve a necessary and appropriate, respectful and dignified 'tone' throughout the coverage, but also to prioritise historical facts that were accurate and verifiable, particularly of war events, dates, regiments, and numbers of war dead. There was, for example, much discussion about the most 'appropriate' archival footage to include from the significant database at their disposal. Whilst we can read these articulations as stand-alone responses to their concerns about the Jubilee coverage, we can also read them—although not incongruently—as part of a broader, aspirational desire to perform an ideal BBC identity through the 30th anniversary coverage, one akin to the celebrated performance of the BBC's Wootton Bassett coverage.

REMEMBERING IN THE MEDIA: A COMMEMORATIVE WEEK IN THE NEWS

With all of the above in mind, I now want to turn the discussion to an analysis of the BBC's (predominantly television) coverage of the 30th anniversary to highlight what was reported and how it appeared to be permeated with a performance of the imagined ideal BBC identity as articulated through the BBC crew's memory work. Here I divide the analysis into

three (not mutually exclusive) sections to tease out the extent to which the themes discussed above were evident in both the visual composition and the almost exclusive focus on remembrance.

To start, I want to briefly return to the fieldwork data to outline what the BBC did not include in their coverage. This is in order to provide a broader context in which we can situate and interrogate what they did cover and how. The first thing to note in this regard was that the television coverage was almost wholly focused on the commemorative and memorial services at Port San Carlos (13 June 2012) and Liberation Day (14 June). Despite this, there were two key events that took place on the Islands during the commemorative week, both of which could be considered as newsworthy as the commemorative activities in the context of contested sovereignty, but both of which were either excluded, or only minimally (and retrospectively) included in the BBC coverage of the 30th anniversary.

The first of these events was an announcement by visiting MP Jeremy Browne that a Falkland Islands referendum was to be held in 2013 regarding the sovereignty of the Islands.[5] This announcement was planned to coincide with commemorative activities on the Islands. Yet, despite prior warning of the event by the relevant FIG Press Officers, the BBC crew did not attend this event and only briefly referenced it in their coverage of the Port San Carlos memorial service on the 13 June 2012. The second event was the G24 Summit in New York that both Argentinian President Kirchner and a group of young Falkland Islanders were attending to present their respective claims regarding the sovereignty of the Islands.[6] Both British news broadcasters, Channel 4 News and ITV News, dedicated most of their news report to this issue of the G24 Summit on Liberation Day (14 June) incorporating President Kirchner's speech and interviews with the Islanders, and framing the theme of remembrance within the sovereignty issue, for example:

> 30 years to the day after the Falklands War ended the Argentine President has been ramping up the rhetoric tonight over her country's claim to the Islands.
>   ITV News, 14 June 2012.

The foregrounding of the contested sovereignty issue was also reflected in the visual imagery used to support this coverage. Both included footage of the summit itself, and whilst Channel 4 also included visuals of an interview with Islanders (see Fig. 4.1), ITV showed the Islanders outside the summit building unveiling a banner that stated 'Our Right. Our Voice. Our Choice' (see Fig. 4.2).

Fig. 4.1 Screen shot of interview with Islander Richard Edwards from Falklands Islands Legislative Assembly at the G24 Summit in New York, *Channel 4 News*, 14 June 2012

I raise these examples here not necessarily to emphasise that Channel 4 and ITV were divergent in their coverage of 30th anniversary compared to the BBC. There are plenty of reasons why this might be the case, not least an orientation to different audience segments. Instead, I draw attention to these examples because the story told through the Channel 4 and ITV coverage is illustrative of an alternative story of the 30th anniversary that was *as* newsworthy and *as* significant as the one told by the BBC, but critically *not* told by the BBC; an issue that frames the forthcoming discussion and one that I return to at the end of the chapter.

A Visual Remembering

The final BBC television coverage comprised event-oriented coverage, personal testimony and archival footage. Combined, these elements told a particular visual 'story' of the 30th anniversary which from the outset

Fig. 4.2   Screen shot of Falkland Islanders outside the G24 Summit in New York, *ITV News*, 14 June 2012

appeared to manifestly embody some of the themes that had emerged in the BBC crew's remembering with Wootton Bassett. This was especially evident in the opening visual sequence of the television news broadcast on the 14 June. Here, three images were used to frame the forthcoming news report comprising (in order): captured Argentinian prisoners (Fig. 4.3); the bombing of the British Naval ship HMS *Antelope* (Fig. 4.4); and a map of the Islands set against a backdrop of the memorial cross at the summit of Mount Harriet (Fig. 4.5).

What we see in the juxtaposition of these images is a particular remembering that emphasises an historical, British relationship with the war in which victory, conflict and sacrifice are foregrounded. There are no Islanders represented here (despite the newsworthy issue of contested sovereignty) and the opening image (Fig. 4.2) is the only visual representation of Argentinians throughout the entire BBC coverage.

This image sequence is not just symptomatic of an institutionalised remembering of the Falklands but also one that reverberates with the BBC crew's memory work around Wootton Bassett through which they articulated an aspiration to be influential in the (re)production of cultural memory, generating a shared national sense of belonging to a particular *British* past. Similarly, the importance they attached to recognising and remembering British war history and the British war dead in their remembering *with*

Fig. 4.3   Screen shot of visual imagery from opening sequence: Argentinian Prisoners, *BBC Television News*, 14 June 2012

Fig. 4.4   Screen shot of visual imagery from opening sequence: HMS *Antelope.*, *BBC Television News*, 14 June 2012

Fig. 4.5 Screen shot of visual imagery from opening sequence: Mount Harriet Memorial Cross, *BBC Television News*, 14 June 2012

Wootton Bassett texts is also reflected in this image sequence through the inclusion of battle events and a memorial cross. What emerges from this short opening sequence then is a manifestation of the aspirations and imaginings of the BBC (as an institution) as expressed through the BBC crew's memory work *with* Wootton Bassett, but one that immediately results in the stimulation of a relatively static remembering of the Falklands, centred around the myth of past British victories and glories (Foster 1999; see also Aulich 1992).

These themes continued through the incorporation of specific archival footage. Perhaps the most resonant of these was the original footage of 'The Yomper' (see Fig. 4.6; see also Chap. 2; Chap. 3).

The BBC's inclusion of this footage is interesting for a number of reasons. First, it reflects an alignment to the re-evoking of a particular memory of the Falklands War as wholly focused on the British military and British victory by virtue of its perceived status as a marker of collective memory. As Griffin (1999) would contend, it is through images such as this one that a national history is seen and learned but also produced and presented; an issue that the BBC crew suggested they aspired to in relation the

Fig. 4.6   Screen shot of archival footage of 'the Yomp' in 1982 from *BBC Television News*, 14 June 2012

construction of their identity in BBC outputs. Second, as noted in Chap. 3, it was this image in particular that the military did *not* want incorporated into media coverage of the 30th anniversary precisely because, for them, it was emblematic of a public memory of the war that ran contrary to more progressive stories of the Falklands that could be told. Taken together then, it is noteworthy that this footage—with its resonant focus on the past—was selected by the BBC crew for, in so doing they were not only overshadowing a potentially progressive Falklands present, but also contributing to the reproduction of a particular (perceived) public remembering of the war that in turn supports a particular version of British history through which national and cultural belonging might be generated.

Other incorporated archival footage was similarly resonant, precisely because it emanated from the original coverage of the war in 1982 and was thus critical in the shaping of a collective sense of British identity at the core of which was nationalism and glory. This included, for example, the British military entering Port Stanley after the Argentina surrender (see Figs. 4.7 and 4.8) and the British military's raising of the Union Jack flag outside the Governor's House in Port Stanley after surrender had been secured (Fig. 4.9).

In effect, through the BBC coverage audiences were invited to participate in a celebration of nationalism and heroism, at a particular point

Fig. 4.7   Screen shot of archival footage of British troops entering Port Stanley in 1982, *BBC Television News*, 14 June 2012

in history that emphasises British victory, the British military and the national flag. These themes were reinforced through the accompanying commentary that claimed the 'joyous moment' of British victory is one that is remembered both intensely and collectively:

> Many remember vividly the joyous moment 30 years ago today as the Union Flag was raised by British forces on the Islands.
>   Commentary from Carolyn Wyatt, BBC Defence Correspondent, *BBC Television News*, 14 June 2012

There are of course a number of ways we can interrogate the incorporation of the archival footage and its accompanying narration—and indeed all of the BBC's 30th anniversary coverage—not least in relation to issues of hegemony and cultural reproduction. But my focus here is how this might intersect with a negotiation of identity in and through the text specifically in relation to remembering. As such, there are a couple of points to note

Fig. 4.8   Screen shot of archival footage of British troops entering Port Stanley in 1982, *BBC Television News*, 14 June 2012

with regards to the ways the selection and use of this footage resonates with the BBC crew's remembering *with* Wootton Bassett and the Jubilee coverage. The first is their incorporation of archival footage per se, which becomes significant in light of the anxieties they expressed in their remembering *with* the Jubilee coverage as devoid of historical context and where the prioritisation of history and explanation became key. The second is that we know they deliberated about what archival footage they should incorporate (noted above). Consequently, their selection of these specific reels of footage was both conscious and purposeful. This suggests an intentional reinforcing of this particular memory of the war but one that is also reflective of their remembering *with* the Wootton Basset coverage by virtue of its celebration of the British military and civic nationalism in and through the BBC text. Perhaps what we see through their incorporation of this footage then—and reflected in the coverage overall—is an aspiration to facilitate audience participation in a celebration of particular national past, *and* a celebration of an imagined and ideal BBC.

Fig. 4.9 Screen shot of archival footage of British troops raising the British flag in 1982, *BBC Television News*, 14 June 2012

A Ceremonial Remembering

The second way in which the BBC crew's memory work with Wootton Bassett appears to map onto their subsequent coverage of the 30th anniversary was through the almost exclusive focus on the ceremonial events of the 30th anniversary in the final coverage. These included the memorial service held at the Blue Beach Military Cemetery in Port San Carlos on the 13 June, and the remembrance service held at the Port Stanley Falklands Memorial on the 14 June (Liberation Day). Indeed, it was this footage that dominated the coverage through which the crew's expressed aspirations to generate appropriate acknowledgement of British war dead and structured feeling of remembering were clearly manifest. But this coverage also appeared to reverberate with their memory work *with* the Jubilee coverage where they cited the prioritisation of formality and appropriate (ceremonial) tone to be critical to an 'ideal' performance of an ideal BBC. These themes were especially palpable in their coverage of the Port Stanley Memorial Service on Liberation Day which was redolent of traditional, ceremonial and sombre war remembrance coverage.

Fig. 4.10   Screen shot of wide shot of Port Stanley memorial service on Liberation Day, *BBC Television News*, 14 June 2012

The visual footage comprised wide shots that allowed for a framing of the entire 'ceremony' (see Fig. 4.10), close up shots of memorial plaques (see Fig. 4.11), the laying of regimental wreaths by veterans and serving military personnel, (see Fig. 4.12) and, notably, their salute on retreat (see Fig. 4.13).

Throughout, the British military—including Falklands veterans and current serving military personnel—were foregrounded visually, and military sacrifice emphasised narrationally through the accompanying commentary that not only accentuated British victory but also the 'high emotion' of remembrance:

> This is a day of high emotion because for many people the events of 30 years ago are as clear as vivid as they were yesterday especially for the veterans coming back to see the battlefield where they fought and where many of their friends and comrades laid down their lives, 255 British servicemen who were killed in this conflict
>
> Commentary from Carolyn Wyatt, *BBC Television News*, 14 June, 2012

Fig. 4.11 Screen shot of memorial wall at Port Stanley memorial service on Liberation Day, *BBC Television News*, 14 June 2012

Fig. 4.12 Screen short of laying of regimental wreaths at Port Stanley memorial service on Liberation Day, *BBC Television News*, 14 June 2012

Fig. 4.13 Screen shot of military salute at Port Stanley memorial service on Liberation Day, *BBC Television News*, 14 June 2012

These same themes of victory and sacrifice were also reflected in the 13 June coverage of the memorial service held at the Blue Beach Military Cemetery in Port San Carlos where 14 British military members are buried. Here the visual footage included wide shots of the cemetery and the veterans (amongst others) attending the service (see Fig. 4.14), and close up shots of the graves (see Fig. 4.15) accompanied by the following commentary:

> Victory came at a price. Veterans visited the ceremony here where some of their comrades are buried.
>   Commentary from Carolyn Wyatt, *BBC Television News*, 14 June, 2012

The point to note here—and one I return to—is that in their prioritisation of the military and sacrifice, the Islanders' remembering was overlooked. Whilst the footage of the Liberation Day service incorporated Islanders they were either depicted standing next to—and thus aligned to—military personnel (see Fig. 4.16) or looking down on the ceremony from the memorial wall (see Fig. 4.17) as though disconnected from—rather than fundamental to—the remembering taking place. Consequently, the

Fig. 4.14   Screen shot of Blue Beach Military Cemetery memorial service, Port San Carlos, *BBC Television News*, 13 June 2012

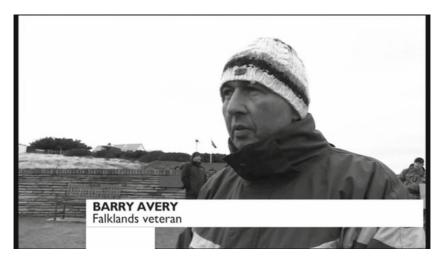**Fig. 4.15**   Screen shot of grave at Blue Beach Military Cemetery memorial service Port San Carlos, *BBC Television News*, 13 June 2012

Fig. 4.16   Screen shot of Islanders next to military personnel at Port Stanley memorial service on Liberation Day, *BBC Television News*, 14 June 2012

Fig. 4.17   Screen shot of Islanders looking down on ceremony at Port Stanley memorial service on Liberation Day, *BBC Television News*, 14 June 2012

remembering of (and by) the Islanders was portrayed as only relevant and deferential to a remembering of British military sacrifice.

The third and final way in which the BBC coverage of the 30th anniversary reflected the themes that emerged from the BBC crew's memory work was through their incorporation of the living testimony (and memories) of veterans. These interviews were especially resonant with the BBC crew's desire to capture a veteran remembering in the original space of war. Indeed—as noted above—it was a consequence of their remembering with Wootton Bassett that they considered the Falklands to offer them a unique opportunity to capture 'live' memories of veterans 'in situ'. It was perhaps for these reasons then that the final television coverage of the 30th anniversary included an interview with Falklands veteran, Royal Marine Barry Avery at the Blue Beach Military Cemetery, Port San Carlos (see Fig. 4.18) in which Barry was explicitly asked about his memories of the war:

> Those memories are always there. You tend to…you do get used to them. But people deal with things differently. Some people talk about their experiences, some not because it wasn't all…you know, there was good and bad.
>
> Barry Avery, *BBC Television News*, 14 June 2012

Fig. 4.18 Screen shot of BBC interview with Barry Avery at Blue Beach Military Cemetery memorial service, Port San Carlos, *BBC Television News*, 13 June 2012

Their inclusion of this interview is notable not just because Barry reveals that his own memories have 'liveness' ('memories are always there') but because they are also, in some way potentially difficult and traumatic ('there was good and bad'). Consequently, whilst fulfilling their aspiration to capture the 'live memories' of a veteran in situ, the BBC are also able to situate Barry's memories as 'news' in a manner that reaffirms the on-going BBC contribution to the wider cultural memory of war produced in and through its material outputs. The history and remembering that comes to be articulated through Barry's memories then is not necessarily specific to a Falkland's past in this sense (although his own memories of course are) but rather one that reverberates with the BBC crew's own memory work of other mediated wars, from, in their own words, World War I to Wootton Bassett.

Obligated Remembrance

Critically, it was within their construction and (re)production of this relatively simple, binary sense of history (victory/loss, conflict/peace, military/civilian) that the BBC failed to offer new perspectives, interpretations and 'rememberings' of the past, or a relationship to the present. Instead, what we see in the final BBC television coverage of the 30th anniversary is a relatively static, one-dimensional remembering of the war where contradiction and meaning become lost (see also Edy & Daradanova 2006; Edy 1999; Zelizer 2011). There was no Argentinian remembering for example, and the remembering of the Islanders was especially constrained—and at times negated—by the frames through which the BBC's own remembering was performed.

In this final section I briefly explore how—by virtue of their emphasis on nationalism, cultural belonging, sacrifice and ceremony, and ignited by their aspirations to perform an ideal BBC through the text—the BBC characterised the Islanders remembering in particular ways that culminated in an overshadowing, and even substitution of a local remembering and experience as it may have been felt in the present. In so doing I draw attention to the ways in which we can consider the BBC coverage not as an authentic depiction of the 30th anniversary, but rather as a convergence of identity management efforts and an institutional remembering (both *with* and *in* media) with critical implications for those represented.

In order interrogate how and why the BBC framed the Islanders' remembering in particular ways, I draw upon Ricoeur's notion of

'obligated memory' and the 'duty of memory'. This is because it is the essence of Ricoeur's ideas that are captured in the BBC's representation of the Islanders that echo the BBC crew's imagining of Falklands War as it related to their imagined, ideal identity. For Ricoeur, remembering (and memory) is fundamentally tied to a debt to the past for the sake of the future. This means that to remember is not only to have a responsibility *for* a particular narrative of the past, but a responsibility *to* the past for one's very identity. In other words, Ricoeur foregrounds the (moral) need to uphold continued remembering precisely because of the debt incurred by the actions of those in the past—to whom we owe a large part of our identity—in order to exercise justice, to give back, or transmit, whatever it is we have received (see also Misztal 2010; Hannoum 2005; Bienenstock 2010). As Ricoeur himself states: 'It is justice which extracts from traumatizing remembrances their exemplary value, turns memory into a project, and it is this project of justice that gives the form of the future and of imperativeness to the duty of memory' (2004:107).

It is precisely these ideas that appear to resonate most with the BBC crew's imaginings of their identity through their memory work with Wootton Bassett and the Diamond Jubilee; as those who aspire—or indeed feel obligated—to generate a shared cultural memory of the past that pays heed to the debts and sacrifices incurred that, in turn, inform a national sense of identity. So, taking into account the BBC crew's remembering *with* media, and their subsequent television coverage of the 30th anniversary, I use this notion of obligated memory—or what I term here the 'obligated remembrance media frame'—to conceptualise what was being asserted through their coverage of 30th anniversary, where emphasis was placed upon on sacrifice, duty (to remember), and the debt to the past for one's identity.

This 'obligated remembrance' frame, and the texts that result, not only offer some indication as to what the BBC deemed necessary (or obligatory) to (continually and necessarily) remember for their own sake, but also how the Islanders, as corresponding subjects, become wholly constrained by the frame. For by being located within the frame, they too become positioned as those who are in debt to, and grateful for, the sacrifices of the British war dead (and living), as the immediate beneficiaries of the debt incurred. In short, the obligated remembrance media frame invites a necessary positioning of the Islanders as those who do, or should, perform obligated remembrance because it is their duty to do so. We saw this above in the BBC's visual composition of the Islanders at the Port

Stanley Liberation Day ceremony, but it was also evident in the narrative commentary that accompanied both memorial services (Port Stanley and Port San Carlos) where the gratitude and appreciation of the Islanders was consistently foregrounded:

> Today, the Islands gather together and give thanks. As the Last Post was sounded at the Liberation memorial, Falkland Islanders stood with the veterans who stood by them when their Islands were invaded by Argentina.
> Commentary from Carolyn Wyatt, *BBC Television News*, 14 June 2012

> Islanders have approached them [veterans] very often simply to say 'thank you' and express their gratitude for the sacrifices made for the freedom of these Islands.
> Commentary from Carolyn Wyatt, *BBC Television News*, 13 June 2012

> All week, the Falklands have remembered and given thanks, as they do every year, for the sacrifices made in the 74 days it took to liberate these islands.
> Commentary from Carolyn Wyatt, *BBC Television News*, 14 June 2012

> …for the Falkland Islanders it is an important day and a vital ceremony to mark the freedom and liberation for which they still feel undying gratitude towards the men who came from 8,000 miles to end the Argentine occupation after 74 days, 30 years ago today and that gratitude is still felt very strongly.
> Commentary from Carolyn Wyatt, *BBC Television News*, 14 June 2012

In all of the above, we can see how the Islanders become the vehicle through which the BBC can perform their own imagined responsibility as those who remind us of the imperative to remember the debt of the past. As a consequence however, the Islanders become denied of alternative 'frames' through which their experience can be represented. This repeated and singular frame of obligated remembrance became the only access to the Islanders' remembering of, and engagement with the 30th anniversary in the BBC coverage, and one that was especially asserted through interviews with Islanders. The following, for example, is taken from the BBC television coverage on the 14 June in which they interviewed Islander Trudi McPhee (see Fig. 4.19).

Whilst we are told Trudi helped British forces during the war, she is not asked about her own living memories in this regard. Instead, the only (edited) access we have to Trudi's remembering or experience is in relation to her gratitude for the sacrifices of the British military:

Fig. 4.19 Screen shot of BBC interview with Trudi McPhee, *BBC Television News*, 14 June 2012

> *Carolyn Wyatt*: For the Islanders, the sacrifices made will never be forgotten. Farmer Trudi McPhee helped resupply British forces during the war, regardless of the dangers, but her gratitude is for the men who risked their lives for her liberty
>
> *Trudi McPhee*: I think of all the families whose loved ones haven't returned. Yep [starts to become tearful] and for that we will always be grateful
>
> *BBC Television News*, 14 June 2012

Trudi is not only implicitly framed as representative of *all* Islanders who are continually grateful in their remembering ('For the Islanders, the sacrifices made will never be forgotten'), but explicitly framed as personally grateful by her own spontaneous, emotional expression of gratitude to those who died during the war ('and for that we will always be grateful'). It is here, in particular, that I would suggest we can see how the Islanders become implicated in, and constrained by, the obligated remembrance frame.

Let me offer another example, taken from BBC's Radio 5Live's panel discussion between Islanders, a Falklands veteran and presenter Tony Livesey. Here Livesey positions the Islander being interviewed—whilst

simultaneously addressing Martin, the veteran in question—as someone who *would* or *should* be grateful as the beneficiary of the debt incurred by 'the veterans who fought for you' and as such constrains the Islander's answer through the framing of the question. It is unsurprising that in response the Islander does indeed express gratitude:

> *Tony Livesey*: When you meet people like Martin [a Falklands veteran] what can you say to them, what do you say to the veterans who fought for you?
> *Islander*: We say thank you, what they have done for us is very hard to describe…they fought for us, they freed us.
> *Tony Livesey Show*, BBC Radio 5Live, 14 June 2012

The point I am making here is not that the Islanders are not grateful. Rather, it is that gratitude may be one of a myriad of emotions and memories ignited by their own remembering. But few—if any—of these were authenticated, or touched upon in the BBC's coverage of the 30th anniversary. Instead the Islanders become a vehicle through which the BBC narrated and (re)produced a particular history of the war that was fundamentally about British victory and British sacrifice, and through which the BBC could perform its own imagined ideal identity.

Concluding Remarks

To conclude this chapter I want to return to a point I noted at the outset regarding the BBC's power of authorship. It is by virtue of their power of authorship that the BBC not only play a distinct role in the competition for shared understandings and shared memories of the Falklands War (see also Edy 1999), but also become memory agents in the formation and sustaining of a shared reading of the war and its relationship to the present (see also Zelizer 1992; Schwartz 1982; Connerton 1989). Yet, as we have seen above, this reading is static, limited and constraining of alternatives frames through which to remember the Falklands War and its legacies. What I have attempted to do in this chapter is engage in a critique of the BBC's role (which can be extended to media institutions more generally) in the (re)production of remembering texts that on the one hand are presented as authoritative, neutral and objective but on the other are produced in a competitive commercial and institutional environment. As others have noted—such texts have a decisive impact on the ways the past is defined, interpreted and re-interpreted, not merely in accordance with professional norms, ratings and legal restrictions, but often in a manner

that legitimates a cultural hegemony and the media's own professional, commercial and public status (see Blumler 1993; Neiger et al. 2011; Meyers 2007; Zandberg 2010; Zandberg et al. 2012).

By situating my analysis of the BBC coverage within the imagined institutional remembering that may have informed it, my aim was to tease out the parameters that inform remembering texts beyond an understanding of journalistic practice per se. For whilst many have recognised the extent to which the 'new' becomes framed within a context of the old precisely because it will have cultural and social resonance (see also Berkowitz 2011; Robinson 2009; Edy & Daradanova 2006; Tuchman 1973) I would suggest here the BBC coverage of the 30th anniversary was infinitely more complex than this. Indeed, their dominant focus on the past and a particular remembering of the war appeared to serve a particular purpose beyond cultural resonance, *and* beyond the events they are reporting. Rather, it appeared to be one fundamentally informed by their imaginings of an institutional identity.

At one point during the fieldwork with the BBC I asked a BBC crew member to explain a particular decision relating to their production of the 30th anniversary coverage. In response they replied: 'There is a very BBC way of doing it, you get trained to think that way and end up knowing what will work without having to think about it'. This reply lies at the core of what I am suggesting here. It speaks to an embodied, clear and definite (if imagined) core BBC identity through which decisions are made, and performances constructed, through (and beyond) the texts that result. It is perhaps unsurprising in this regard that what we saw in the 30th anniversary coverage were the distinct characteristics of an imagined 'ideal' BBC—'a BBC way of doing it'—that had emerged through the BBC crew's own memory work.

The 30th anniversary coverage, as the end product of this process, thus becomes revealing of not only who the BBC think they are, but more importantly what they think others want them to be within a given context. And, as noted in relation to the BBC crew's remembering *with* the Jubilee, there is an on-going live-ness to these negotiations of identity (in and beyond the text), replete with aspirations of the ideal identity, and anxieties about being able to realise it. It is here most explicitly then that I would suggest the 'remembering' texts that the BBC produce are as much a manifestation of their own institutional and imagined remembering and identity management efforts as they are a remembering of history itself. In short, there is an interdependent process of remembering of the BBC both *with* texts and *in* (the production of) texts that is cyclical, reinforcing and continually imagined. It is for these reasons that we need to critically consider the motivations and contexts of media workers—and particularly

newsmakers—like the BBC crew who determine and (re)produce remembering texts. For like all newsmakers, the BBC are uniquely positioned as social agents of memory. They play a decisive role in sustaining and generating consensus around a particular history of the Falklands, but one in which the past—and its relationship to the present—can only ever be understood in simplified, formulaic and static terms.

Notes

1. See http://www.bbc.co.uk/aboutthebbc/insidethebbc/whoweare/publicpurposes/communities.html accessed April 2013
2. Liberty Lodge is a self-catering facility in Port Stanley, built specifically for veterans of the Falklands War of 1982, their families, the next of kin of those killed in action in 1982. It was built by the Falklands Veterans Foundation (FVF) which was the first UK-based charity for Falklands veterans and their immediate families.
3. Those who cited complaints from viewers and listeners included the *Guardian* (8 June 2012), *Daily Mail* (7 June 2012), *Daily Telegraph* (6 June 2012) and *Daily Express* (6 June 2012)
4. See BBC Strategic Objectives: http://www.bbc.co.uk/bbctrust/our_work/strategy/ accessed Jan. 2013
5. The referendum would ask Islanders whether or not they supported the continuation of their status as a British Overseas Territory in view of Argentina's continual call for negotiations on the Islands sovereignty.
6. The purpose of the G24 Intergovernmental Group is to coordinate the position of developing countries on monetary and development issues and to ensure their increased representation and participation in negotiations on the international monetary system.

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Conflicting Identities, Interpellation and Agency

I finish the book's empirical analysis with the Falkland Islanders' 'story' as those who have a unique history with regards to the ways they have been represented in media discourse, especially in the British media, and especially through the lens of the 1982 war. Even narratives of self-determination and sovereignty contestation—that have featured heavily in the media and which invite a different imagining of the Islanders—have been intricately linked to the war, as we have seen here. Consequently, war emerges as the primary mode through which the Islanders have been depicted, and it is here that I consider how this may impact upon and shape their negotiation and performance of identity as a result of their remembering *in* and *through* this media.

Remembering *through* media is distinguished here from remembering *in* and *with* media in so much as it refers to a collapse of being an object of, and subject 'to' media—that is, a process of subjugation as a consequence of interpellation with media texts and frames. Remembering *through* media therefore allows us to explore the complexities inherent in not only what Islanders want to remember and be remembered for in media, but also how they are *actually remembered* in media and how this intersects with their public and private rationalisations of identity. How, for example might 'being an object' inform a performance, projection or negotiation of remembering? What types of remembering are ignited and/or negated by this process? What might be the implications of being rememb*ered* in media, particularly in a manner not of their choosing?

Like the military story, the Islanders' story returns us to issues of how a private and public remembering is negotiated *in* and *through* media and how this impacts on articulations of identity. It also returns us to the tensions that result from an investment and belief in the media to leverage power but an investment that becomes articulated as simultaneously conferring and disrupting agency in the lived and the everyday. Finishing with the Islanders' story thus brings us full circle in the book's empirical journey because their story draws our attention to how those who engage in a remembering *in* media may also be affected by or implicated in a media remembering that is at odds with their identity—both public and private—and their everyday existence.

In the following then I consider how Islanders made (temporary and imagined) claims to agency in their articulations of being an *object of* (remembering *in* media) wherein they became active participants in the production of media texts about the Falklands, and through which they made claims to a particular identity. I then explore how they simultaneously articulated a disavowal of agency through their being *subject to* media representations wherein they experience the reproduction and reactivation of particular identities as a result of both object and subject simultaneously. It is this collapse of being both *object* and *subject*—a remembering *through* media—that I think we can better locate, and understand, the particular dynamics and power relations embedded within practices of media remembering. Questions regarding the authenticity of the Islanders' narrations of the Islands (and themselves), and the extent to which these are historically accurate are thus secondary to the ways in which these narrations become central to their identity formation, their claims to agency and how this intersects with their media remembering.

HISTORY AND REMEMBERING

With this in mind, it is important to first outline how those interviewed often made explicit connections between their sense of identity and the importance of their history, or more accurately the need 'not to forget' their history. As one interviewee claimed: 'It will be forgotten in history unless we document it'. Two key issues arose from these discussions that are pertinent to the ways in which they remembered collectively in a manner that resonates with the military story (see Chap. 3) and which frames the forthcoming analysis.

The first is that 'history' for the Islanders tended to be conceived as offering them agency and leverage in their assertions of identity. As one Islander stated: 'Yes, history is important to us. We have to use it as a political tool'. This quote may of course be speaking to the continual contestation of the Islands' sovereignty that derives from historically rooted claims to the Islands by Argentina (who state they were inherited from Spain in the early eighteenth century) and Britain (who state that explorer John Byron established the first British settlement in the mid-seventeenth century). History thus becomes important to the Islanders, not just in their articulations of a (private) identity through which allegiance to the British is performed, but also in their articulations of a public (and political) identity through which Argentinian sovereignty claims can be rebutted. This need to preserve, document and archive the past, however, has wider implications for the types of remembering the Islanders engage in. As Winter (2006:6) claims: 'In virtually all acts of remembrance, history and memory are braided together in the public domain, jointly informing our shifting and contested understandings of the past'.

The second issue is that, when referring to their 'history', Islanders were in fact, most often referring to a specific point in their history, namely the 1982 war. In this regard—and in the context of the 30th anniversary and the contested sovereignty claims—when Islanders emphasised the need 'not to forget' what they appeared to be articulating was the critical role that their (re)construction of an (imagined or otherwise) war past played in relation to the needs of their present socio-political environment (see also Halbwachs 1992; Schwartz 1982). This not necessarily an *authentic* version of their past that they were remembering then, but rather 'a' past that helped consolidate a perception (and indeed self-perception) of the Islands that would advance the community's leveraging of power in their changing socio-political situation (see Edy 1999).

As a result, war—as part of the Falklands history—becomes important to their remembering as a site through which they can develop and construct a sense of their present (and future). To draw on Sturken (2001:34), it becomes entangled with history rather than oppositional to it. This was especially evident in the way the war was utilised as a specific benchmark in the temporal configuration of a Falklands history, almost as a point of radical transformation.

This is what happened 30 years ago [1982 war] and this is what it has
allowed us to become, this is how we have developed, this is our future.
     Interviewee 6

The Falkland Islands are a very prosperous nation. For example, the
Government pays for kid's university education including accommodation
and some spending money, but pre-82 we only had a few scholarships a year.
     Interviewee 2

Before the war we lived on UK subsidy and our only income was from agricul-
ture, but after the war we licensed people to fish which kick started the economy.
     Interviewee 3

There are a number of things that we can take from these quotes.
The first is that there is an explicit delineation between a 'pre-war' and
'postwar' Falklands in a manner that overtly foregrounds progress in
the 'postwar' phase. In this sense, the quotes are expressive of a particu-
lar sense-making where the meaning is made evident through temporal
positioning and temporal logic (see Somers & Gibson 1994:59). Here,
the importance of the war as a marker of the past becomes directly rel-
evant to, and founded upon Islanders' understandings of—and assertions
about—the present as a relational marker of progress. But these quotes
also contain—in Ricoeur's (1984) terms—'directedness'. They are future
orientated, not only directing us to what is now, but also what lies ahead:
'This is what happened 30 years ago [1982 war] and this is how we have
developed, this is our future'. Again, this future orientation can be read in
light of the contested sovereignty of the Islands where the Islanders feel
the need to demonstrate good self-governance (and a non-reliance on UK
subsidy) both now and in the future. The meaning of the war for Islanders
is therefore located in the present and the future (not the past). The past
merely becomes the vehicle through which this can be expressed.

Critically however, whilst the war is positioned as fundamental to this
'future oriented' narrative it is *not* expressed as the cause of progress.
Indeed one interviewee was insistent that 'progress' pre-dated the war
and had, in fact, been generated by Edward Shackleton's (1976; see also
1982) recommendations that stated the Islands could secure self-suffi-
ciency and independence through the licensing of fisheries, the securing
of land ownership and the building of an international airport. War then
became a temporal marker that allowed Islanders to employ compara-
tives and narrative distinctions between *what was* and *what is now* that, in

turn, enabled them to assert the economic social, political progress of the Islands in both the present and the future *what will be*.[1]

This becomes important in relation to the Islanders' 'being an object' and remembering *in* media because the Islanders were unequivocal about the extent to which they came into public (and global) consciousness as a direct result of the war. As one interviewee stated: 'The war put us on the map'. Consequently, aware of the significance of the war as a historical event that resonates within the wider public and political sphere, Islanders appeared to use the war as temporal marker not just because it reverberates at a local level but because it is also a recognisable historical point among the wider public(s): a familiar signifier that—by virtue of media coverage—is, for some, where a particular Falklands history 'began'.

War, in this sense, serves a function in their remembering, as a site through which agency is claimed. It points to a well known moment of Falklands history that—through constant re-mediation—enables the Islanders to keep the Islands 'on the map' in broader public consciousness. This in part explains why Islanders articulated a need for a *continual* remembering of the war, as one Islander stated: 'We really need to keep the memories alive of what happened, keep remembering the war'. But, taken together——the continual remembering of the war and the use of war to generate comparative narratives of progress—we can see war has functionality in both the private and public remembering of the Islands' history. In short, there is a collapse of remembering *in* media with representing the Islands where private (community, individual memories) become conflated with public (media mnemonic memories) as much to keep the Falklands alive in public memory as to preserve a collective remembering at a local level. And it is in this context that we can best locate how and why Islanders make (temporary and imagined) claims to agency in their discussions about 'being an object.'

REMEMBERING IN THE MEDIA: BEING AN 'OBJECT'

To reiterate, being an 'object' of media is defined here as the activity that Islanders engage in when they become an information source and/or object of enquiry from which media texts are produced. By volunteering or being called upon by the media to remember, narrate or comment for the sole purpose of generating media coverage about the Falklands they become authors of their own past (and present) for a wider public audience. But, in order to appreciate what Islanders might be doing when they

act as a group to conjure up particular narratives of the past for the media, 'being an object' here is also understood in accordance with Winter's (2006) notion of remembering and remembrance. As stated in Chap. 1, memory is fluid, emotional, and often inherently personal. In contrast, remembrance and collective remembrance, as Winter (2006:3) suggests, stresses the processes by which people engage in remembering together in a manner where agency, motivation and context are emphasised:

> To privilege "remembrance" is to insist on specifying agency, on answering the question who remembers, when, where, and how? And on being aware of the transience of remembrance, so dependent on the frailties and commitments of the men and women who take the time and effort to engage in it.

Winter's notion of remembrance helps directs our attention to a collective development and sharing of a sense of the past, particularly a past to which there may not be a direct experiential connection. This allows us to better understand the agency, commitment and motivation of Islanders when they engage in collective remembering when being an object and how they want to be remembered *in* the media. By virtue of their remembering 'together'—in Winter's terms—Islanders are not just authoring for themselves but on behalf of all Islanders in order to define their identity in particular ways. This allows them to bestow the Islands, and themselves, with meanings that resonate within their own community but also beyond, particularly in Argentina and the UK. In short, as suggested above, the act of remembering becomes conflated with the act of representing themselves and the Islands in ways from which they hope to benefit.

The Claiming of Agency: The 'Perfect Storm'

With this in mind, I now want to discuss how the Islanders discussed their role of 'being an object'. It is here in particular that we can see how they construct themselves as having agency and power in their ability to harness the power of media for their own gain. The first point to note in this regard is that these articulations of 'power' were initially evident in the Islanders' claims of a long-standing familiarity with the media, courtesy of the continual media interest in the Islands since 1982. Some of the interviewees suggested that the wider community acquaintance

with the media was, in part, related to its size and location: approximately 3,000 people most of who are based in Port Stanley. Consequently, they suggested that most Islanders were known to each other (in some capacity) and are often cognisant of, and come into contact with, those who visit the Islands, including media representatives. Of course, within the community there were some Islanders who were more pro-actively engaged with the media than others. Nonetheless, overall, and by virtue of the community's visibility in such a small geographical space they suggested that most of them were aware of a potential to be recruited as—or simply 'become'—an object of media and were therefore mindful of what this might entail.

The cumulative effect of all of these factors was that, according to the Islanders, they had, over time, developed the knowledge and skills required to engage in 'being an object' (both individually or collectively), which were being expressly utilised that year (2012) because of high media interest in the 30th anniversary and the contested sovereignty claims. As one Islander stated:

> Yes, Islanders are media savvy, especially this year, we have had media from all over the world courtesy of Argentina but it gave us an opportunity to put our point acros s.
> Interviewee 9

Here then we see agential expressions regarding their possession of the aptitude and competence required to 'be an object' ('Yes, Islanders are media savvy') through which the power of the media could be harnessed for the benefit of the community ('…it gave us an opportunity to put our point across'). Alongside this, some Islanders suggested that the unprecedented media interest bestowed upon them in 2012 had created a fortuitous platform in which they could 'tell' the progressive narrative of the Islands' current and future economic sustainability and prosperity with relative ease:

> We have just walked into a perfect storm really... What it has done for us is got the world talking about us and that has generated interest which has given us the opportunity to start saying some of the things that we want to be saying about us and that we want people to understand about us. So it's actually gone quite well for us in that respect because we haven't actually had to be particularly proactive in trying to get our messages out because

these opportunities have just been coming at us and we have been jumping on them.
    Interviewee 8

In these dual articulations of being 'media savvy' and encountering the 'perfect storm' then there is a direct correlation made between media frames (what the media wanted to report) and their own 'messages' (what the Islanders were seeking to convey). Engaging in 'being an object' was thus simultaneously articulated as an opportunity ('to say some of the things that we want to be saying') and a conscious, deliberate and rational act to assert a future-oriented narrative of Falklands ('opportunities have just been coming at us and we have been jumping on them'). This involved—as suggested above—projecting an image of the Falklands that would move beyond the—otherwise dominating—media frame of war. We see this in the quote below where the desirability of the Islands is foregrounded as one of the main reasons for the high levels of media attention, despite the war also being a predictable topic of media coverage:

> I have worked with 90 different television crews, it's not all about the war but why Argentina are so interested in us and why are the Falklands so desirable.
>   Interviewee 4

Here then, the interviewee attempts to legitimate the Islands' 'desirability' through his own narration of why others find them so. But he does this in a manner that is revealing of his own investment in the claim that the Islands are desirable in which he distances himself from the claims that he suggests were made by '90 different television crews.' To put another way, whilst he is not overtly claiming the Islands are desirable, he is implicitly claiming they are through *his* representation of the television crew's interests. In this sense he is tacitly expressing the interconnections of his remembering ambitions as both an object of media *and* a member of the Islands community who believe in, and want to assert, the progressive, desirability of the Islands. The result is that the 'desirability' of the Islands becomes positioned as a media frame rather than something that originates from the interviewee. We see something similar in the next quote, where the supposed convergence of the media's information needs and the Islander's motivation to represent a 'progressive' Falklands is signified through the 'wheeling out' (to be an object) of next generation Islanders and those responsible for the present and future economic prosperity of the Islands:

We have been wheeling people out all year—school kids, university students, private fishing companies, etc. —and not a single person has had to be pre-scripted or put a foot wrong, we are just talking.
    Interviewee 1

There is a claim to agency and success here, one that implies those who were 'wheeled' out were also those who were of interest to the media. But more than this, 'being an object' is articulated as a natural, spontaneous and honest activity for the Islanders ('not a single person has had to be pre-scripted….we are just talking'), as though a 'true' and progressive Falklands (and its community) was simply 'there', waiting to be represented in and by the media. This is especially evident in the citing of school children as those who successfully adopted the role of being an object, which by implication suggests that even very young Islanders are naturally pre-disposed to represent the Islands in a manner that will not be compromising because there is nothing that *can* be compromising when 'we are just talking'. It is in this latter quote in particular then that we see how the Islanders construct their (public) identity as one that is unified, naturally occurring and inherently reflecting the progressiveness of life on the Islands.

Taken together, what we see across all of these extracts is a simultaneous collapse of, firstly how the Islanders want to remember—and be remember*ed*—in the media: as active and agential participants in the construction of their own history and future. But, secondly we see how they believe this to be achievable when adopting the role of 'being an object'. Within this collapse there are claims to agency expressed in a number of different, but converging, ways.

First, claims to agency are expressed through the suggestion that they have a clear, committed and unfaltering sense of collective identity that results in a cohered approach to their remembering when 'being an object'. Second, they are expressed through the suggestion that the power to author narratives about the Falklands in the media resides as much in their (natural, honest, spontaneous) commitment to 'being an object' as it does with the media themselves. And third, they are expressed through the suggestion that their motivation and ability to remember *and* represent the Islands and themselves as progressive, self-sustaining and economically prosperous is uncompromised and uncompromising when 'being an object'. In other words, they articulate a particular sense of identity and agency through the perceived (and potentially imagined) convergence of media frames *and* their ability to remember in, and be remembered (and

thus understood) in the media on their own terms because they believe the media bestow them with relative power.

Yet, as we saw in Chap. 4, there is a dual authoring process when Islanders engage in 'being an object', one in which the media become the ultimate determinant of the final, mediated, and public narrative. For whilst the media perceive (and often present) themselves as authoritative voices of neutrality and objectivity, they operate within competitive commercial and institutional environments that have a decisive impact on how they produce remembering texts, often in a manner that legitimates their professional, commercial and public status (Neiger et al. 2011; Meyers 2007; Zandberg 2010). Consequently, when Islanders engage in 'being an object' in order to harness the power of the media, they are actually entering a relationship that is defined by an unequal distribution of power in which they may be remember*ed*, but not necessarily on their own terms. In turn, their agential expressions—and the extent to which 'being an object' is uncompromised and uncompromising—become questionable.

The Disavowal of Agency: Predetermined Media Frames

In light of the unequal power relations that inform the Islanders being an object, it is perhaps unsurprising that despite their (temporary and imagined) claims to agency, they concurrently argued that their 'being an object' was *only* possible if they could speak to (and through) dominant media frames of the war and the past. As one interviewee stated:

> The majority [journalists] only want to cover the war stuff… I think the Falkland Islands is synonymous with the war for them.
>   Interviewee 5

This quote is illustrative of how the Islanders' assertions regarding the (imagined) convergence of media frames and progressive narratives –through which they make claims to agency—were undermined at different points of the research interview. Indeed, in contrast to the scenario depicted above, this quote reveals the extent to which the Islanders were denied power and agency through which to remember *in* the media on their own terms. This became further evidenced when they suggested that the dominant media frames (focused on war) were also predictable and anticipated. Whilst the interviewee above suggests this through their claim that the Islands are 'synonymous with war for them [the media]', others were more explicit, stating that they felt the media focus on war was

predetermined, set in advance of any visit to the Islands, and palpable in the type of correspondent sent to report from the Islands:

> The people who are being sent down to report are usually defence correspondents, Allan Little, Deborah Hayes, Carolyn Wyatt… That sets the agenda in advance. The *Sun* [newspaper] sent down Simon Weston [Falklands veteran] which reflects the obsession with the conflict, recollections of the conflict and the 'how did you feel' approach.
>   Interviewee 2

There are a couple of points to note in this quote above, which I will return to later in the chapter. The first is that inherent within their recognition of the 'pre-determined' media frame there also appears to be a resentment of this frame articulated through the phrase 'which reflects an obsession with the conflict'. This is not only suggestive of an acknowledgement of the subjectivity in which the Islander feels they are located, but also an expressed hostility towards it. The second, and related point, is that the media frame is described here as 'obsessed' with a past that is only made possible through the remembering of others ('recollections of the conflict'), particularly the Falklands veteran ('sent down Simon Weston') and in a manner that foregrounds emotion ('the "how did you feel" approach'). Other interviewees made similar points, suggesting that the media focus on the veteran was both predictable and normative. This generated particular tensions for some who stated that they were rarely—if at all—recruited by the media and only then if they could remember or speak to experiences of the war in relation (or response) to veterans:

> The media are really only talking to the 'vets', or if they are talking to locals it is only those who remember the war or who remember the night of the invasion.
>   Interviewee 8

This quote is especially indicative of the ways Islanders described their remembering *in* the media as compromised by virtue of their being framed and constrained by an emphasis on the war, but especially the veteran and *his* experience. This is important because it resonates with observations made in previous chapters of this book in which I suggest the veteran has become critical to a particular media remembering of the Falklands, especially in British media and particularly in relation to trauma and the myth of redemption (see Chap. 2). In the BBC story, for example,

I suggested that the living memories of veteran were (in part) used in the coverage of the 30th anniversary precisely because they resonated with the themes of victory, nationalism and sacrifice through which a particular BBC identity could be asserted. Similarly, in the military story I suggested that the Falklands veteran was central to a negotiation of identity, not least because of ways in which 'he' has become associated with notions of trauma and war sacrifice in media discourse. When the Islanders draw upon the significance of the veteran to their remembering *in* the media, they do so in a context in which the media focus on the veteran is not only enduring but also has implications for others' remembering and identity practices.

For the Islanders, these implications were evident in their compromised ability to foreground progressive narratives of the Falklands because of the media's imposition of a particular version of history on their remembering, one that was tied to a sustained and shared reading of a political, social and ideological (war) past precisely because it might have cultural resonance (see also Neiger, et al. 2011; Meyers 2007; Kitch 2008; Zelizer 1992; Schwartz 1982; Connerton 1989; Berkowitz 2011; Robinson 2009; Edy & Daradanova 2006; Tuchman 1973). Consequently, the Islanders remembering *in* the media become positioned within (and constricted by) dominant media frames that emphasised war, British sacrifice and the veteran experience. Those who were called upon by the media to 'remember' were therefore only those who reiterated these frames either through their own recollections of war experience or through expressions of gratitude to the British soldiers who had 'liberated' them.

Moreover, this was especially evident in the resulting media texts (see also Chaps. 2 and 4) in which the Islander was rarely represented, and only then when speaking to, and through, a remembering of the war that foregrounded their gratitude to the veteran. If we revisit some of the extracts discussed in Chap. 4, for example, we can see how the Islanders are positioned and framed as those who are—or indeed should be—grateful for the sacrifices incurred during the war. The following extract taken from the BBC news is indicative of this:

> Islanders have approached them [veterans] very often simply to say 'Thank you,' and express their gratitude for the sacrifices made for the freedom of these Islands.

Commentary from Carolyn Wyatt at remembrance service in Port San Carlos, *BBC Television News*, 13 June 2012

…for the Falkland Islanders it is an important day and a vital ceremony to mark the freedom and liberation for which they still feel undying gratitude towards the men who came from 8,000 miles to end the Argentine occupation after 74 days, 30 years ago today and that gratitude is still felt very strongly.

Commentary from Carolyn Wyatt, *BBC Television News*, 14 June 2012

Similarly, if we return to another example, taken from BBC Radio 5Live's panel discussion between Islanders and a Falklands veteran (Martin), we see presenter Tony Livesey implicitly frame the Islander as someone who *would* or *should* be grateful for the sacrifices of British soldiers (alive and dead) in an emotionally resonant way:

Tony Livesey: When you meet people like Martin [a Falklands veteran] what can you say to them, what do you say to the veterans who fought for you?

Islander: We say thank you, what they have done for us is very hard to describe…they fought for us, they freed us.

Tony Livesey Show, BBC Radio 5Live, 14 June 2012

What we see across all of these textual abstracts then is an indication of how the Islanders are *being remembered* in and by the media in ways that run contrary to how they want to remember and be remembered: as active participations in the progress of the Islands with a generative and optimistic future. In this sense, despite their (temporary and imagined) claims to agency described above, their remembering is compromised when they act as being an object because they become framed as (relatively passive) recipients of opportunities only bestowed upon them by the sacrifices of British military veterans. But so too might it be *compromising* in terms of the potential repercussions this may have on their sense of identity as they become subject to narratives that only assert their (necessary) debt of gratitude to the sacrifices of others.

Obligated Remembrance: Compromising Engagements

In order to interrogate the implications this may be having for Islanders I want to draw again upon Riceour's notions of obligated memory and 'duty of memory'. Whilst I discussed these in Chap. 4 in relation to the

how and why the BBC framed their coverage of the 30th anniversary in particular ways, here I use them to discuss how Islanders may become implicated in, and identify with these frames. The ideas behind 'obligated remembrance' are thus worth rehearsing here in order to tease out their relevance for the Islanders' 'story'. As stated in Chap. 4, for Ricoeur remembering (and memory) is fundamentally tied to a debt to the past for the sake of the future and a responsibility *to* the past for one's very identity: a moral duty to uphold continued remembering because of the debt incurred by the actions of those in the past—to whom we owe a large part of our identity to give back, or transmit, whatever it is we have received (see also Misztal 2010; Hannoum 2005; Bienenstock 2010). Riceour's understanding of remembrance is thus obligatory, honorable, and necessary. But it is also functional, conciliatory and performative: a means through which to realign that debt.

The notion of obligated memory—or what I term here 'obligated remembrance'—is useful because, as stated in Chap. 4, it provides us with a framework through which we can understand what is being asserted through the dominant media frame, seen above, that foregrounds debt, gratitude, justice, and a homage to the past for one's identity; what we might term the 'obligated remembrance media frame'. This frame, and the texts that result, offer some indication as to how the Islanders' public (and possibly private) private identity becomes wholly located in a remembering that emphasises their being beneficiaries of the debt incurred. To put another way, the obligated media frame invites a necessary positioning of the Islanders as those who *have* to perform obligated remembrance precisely because it is their duty.

But my primary concern here is not necessarily how the Islanders come to be represented in the text, but, rather how this may have implications for their wider sense of identity in the everyday. As Zelizer (1992) and Schudson (1992) have argued, mediated representations of the past can have distinct repercussions on how communities and individuals subsequently relate to their past, and the relevance of the past to the present and future, and it is here that we can consider how textual mediations of 'obligated remembrance', or the constraints of the obligated remembrance media frame may be impacting on the Islanders in different ways.

With this in mind, let us consider the following media extracts in which Islanders are explicitly adopting the role of 'being an object'.

I think of all the families whose loved ones haven't returned. Yep [starts to become tearful] and for that we will always be grateful.
    Trudi McPhee interviewed for *BBC News*, 14 June 2012

We are proud of how much this country has changed since the war. We are a country that has its own industry, we are a beautiful country…what we want to be is something that makes the whole war worthwhile and the fact that men died for this country, and dies for us, and we are incredibly grateful for that. And that's part of the reason that we've worked hard to develop the Falkland Islands—it's a sense of obligation. And I mean that really sincerely. There is even a small degree of guilt I think but what we want is to be worth something, we want to be worth what happened.
    Lisa Watson interviewed for *Return to the Falklands,* ITV 1, March 2012

Jenny Luxdon: It's great that we can share it with other people now. You know tourism has taken off since after the war.
    Simon Weston: Do you think the war benefitted the Islands?
    Jenny Luxdon: Well it's a terrible thing to say but it has. We hope that because of all the loss of life that we have done something with the Islands and therefore it wasn't a waste of life. People who have lost won't think that of course but we hope that we have done something to the Islands to show that we do care in that way.
    Jenny Luxdon interviewed by Simon Weston for *Return to the Falklands,* ITV 1, March 2012

What we see in the above is an explicit assertion of a debt of gratitude to the sacrifice of those who fought during the 1982 war: '…we will always be grateful', 'that men died for this country, and died for us, and we are incredibly grateful for that' (see also Fig. 5.1), 'we have done something with the Islands and therefore it wasn't a waste of life' (see also Fig. 5.2). These then are performances of an identity and remembering that resonate with the obligated remembrance media frame. In this sense, through their declaration of gratitude—and in Lisa Watson's case an accompanying obligation to remember and honor the debt incurred by others: 'that's part of the reason that we've worked hard to develop the Falkland Islands—it's a sense of obligation'—Lisa Jenny and Trudi appear to be responding to the demands of the (predictable and normative) obligated remembrance media frame. This is especially the case with Lisa and Jenny's 'performance' of obligated remembrance that stresses the beauty, progressive economy and self-sufficiency of the Islands (ideas that we would associate with the progressive narrative

Fig. 5.1 Screen shot of interview with Lisa Watson in *Return to the Falklands* ITV 1, March 2012

discussed earlier) as exemplars of why and how the Islands are worthy of the debt incurred.

But there is also another way we might interpret these extracts, although not necessarily at odds with the first. This is that in their interpellation with media texts (and the obligated remembrance media frame) Trudi, Lisa and Jenny are in fact reinforcing or identifying with a particular subject positions that emphasize a *need* to perform obligated remembrance. To put another way, they may be identifying with and reproducing particular identities as those who engage in obligated remembrance as a result of the accumulation and culmination of previous historical (media) positionings and identifications in which they get 'caught' (see Gray 1987). In this sense, they assume the subjectivities of obligated remembrance because they are historically, and continually, wholly located within it. It is in this (potential) identification and investment in subject positions of obligated remembrance that we

Fig. 5.2   Screen shot of Simon Weston interview with Jenny Luxdon in *Return to the Falklands,* ITV 1, March 2012

can best locate how Islanders might be 'subject to' the media and how this may be having repercussions on their sense of identity.

Remembering Through Media: Being 'Subject to'

Being 'subject to' media is understood here to mean the process of subjugation as a consequence of interpellation with media texts and media frames. With regard to the Falkland Islanders, it is an attempt to conceptualise how the media may have a distinct impact on how they understand who they are in relation to their remembering and everyday experiences. Being an 'object of' and being 'subject to' are not distinct activities in this regard, nor distinct categories of 'being'. They have only been disaggregated here for the sake of analytical clarity. In reality, as I have suggested above, they become collapsed when Islanders remember *through* media: remembering and being remembered.

In this final discussion then, I want to explore the ways in which being 'subject to' may be having a profound impact on the formulation of identity for the Islanders through the real, lived tensions and contradictions that result. These tensions become expressed by Islanders in a number of ways that indicate the extent to which they feel continually contained and constrained as a consequence of their investment in, and response to, subject positions in the media that emphasise obligated remembrance.

A Traumatic 'Perpetual Holding Back'

Perhaps the first and most significant way in which Islanders expressed the constraints of media subjectivity was through what we might term temporal stasis; a sense of being 'pulled back' into the past, and the past being 'pulled forward' into the present in a manner that disabled them the opportunity to move beyond being located within the subject of war. They specifically related this feeling of temporal stasis, a being 'stuck' in the past, to result from media coverage, and especially media coverage of veterans:

> The problem is not with the returning vets but the fact that the media want to come over and make something of it.
>   Interviewee 10

> Every day we get people coming to visit us to lay their ghosts to rest but the Islanders have never had an opportunity to put it behind them. There has been a perpetual holding back for 30 years because we are reminded of it all the time by the media.
> Interviewee 1

With this latter quote in mind, it is perhaps noteworthy that beyond their engagement with the media there are a number of ways that Islanders might be located in a temporal stasis (sovereignty contestation, an emphasis on history, etc.). But perhaps the most significant relates to the many returning veterans and their families who (re)visit the Islands to pay homage to those who died in the war. As a community, the Islanders take great pride in their efforts to welcome, host and share experiences with these visitors and in doing so cannot help but become complicit in a (re)visiting of the war in their daily lives, individually and communally. Yet, none of the Islanders interviewed here suggested these visitors were problematic, or responsible for 'holding them back'. For them, it was the media coverage of returning visitors that was the most significant contributor to their experiences of temporal stasis.

We see this in both of the above quotes where returning visitors—and in the case of Interviewee 10 returning veterans—only become problematic when 'the media want to make something of it'. The issue is not therefore being reminded of the past per se, but rather being reminded of the past *by* the media that emphasises obligated remembrance. As one interviewee stated:

> All this media attention….One girl told me the other day that for 30 days this is all she has ever known, that one day in the year she goes from that day to feeling people were killed giving her freedom, be thankful and all that. Then she gets over it and a year goes by and it's 'people died for you and your freedom'. It's almost a guilt thing.
>   Interviewee 7

It is thus the media and the texts they produce that emphasise obligated remembrance that are constructed by the Islanders as the most powerful site for the reactivation of past events (see Hoskins 2004). This is important because it implies an awareness and recognition of their subjectivity within and by media among the Islanders; a denial of the power they otherwise, at different times, suggest they can and do harness. In turn, their identification of the media as those responsible for 'holding them back' is suggestive of an hostility towards, and rallying against this subjectivity, an attempt to re-claim the agency that they—at once—suggest they possess (as seen previously) but are also denied. These dual, simultaneous positions go some way to unveil the tensions that may exist in their attempts to remember *in* the media, whilst concurrently being remember*ed* by the media in terms not of their making.

The second way in which the Islanders expressed anxieties regarding their engagement with the media was through the emergence of disruptive and unsettling tensions within the community—a form of existential community introspection—as a consequence of their subjective and moral positioning within the text:

> A lot of people here—because of this constant drip feed from the media—are asking questions of themselves or others in the community.
>   Interviewee 6

> The more you isolate off what an individual did under certain conditions [in media coverage] the more, I think, people are asking the same questions of 'what did I do under those circumstances' and once you ask those questions of yourself you have to be very confident of the answer in terms of did I do the right thing.
>   Interviewee 3

Here we can see the extent to which the media are explicitly identified as the primary reason for these community tensions, not just because they intervene and reactivate, but because they 'single out' particular people—or the particular actions of people during the war—that ignite wider, and potentially irreconcilable moral, ethical and social questions within the community. And it is perhaps here that the ability of the media to disrupt and disempower at a localised, community and individual level becomes more explicitly linked to issues of identity in the Islanders' articulations (who am I, who are we?) and obligated remembrance ('did I do the right thing?').

The third and perhaps related way in which Islanders articulated the real and lived tensions of a media 'reactivation' was through their citing of increasing incidences of trauma emerging within the community. Whilst their descriptions of 'trauma' varied, they were all argued to relate to, or be founded upon, a particular remembering of the war as a result of media reactivations. Some, for example described others' feelings of guilt for the loss and sacrifice incurred by those who fought in the war as a manifestation of trauma. Indeed, we see this in Interviewee 7's quote above where it is claimed that the 'girl's' feelings of guilt were the consequence of her being reminded, every year, of the people who 'died for you and your freedom'. Others spoke of trauma in terms of a generic remembering of a traumatic war experience as a result of media reactivations:

> There are a lot of people here—ordinary farmers—who, when this dramatic, traumatic thing happened [the war] they have been able to put it behind them and compartmentalise it in their heads. But as time goes on, all this media attention, we are seeing more and more PTSD if that's what you want to call it.
>   Interviewee 9

For others, manifestations of trauma were an outcome of a media-induced remembering and literal (re)living of a specific traumatic war experience. These examples of trauma were most often cited as occurring in response to media enquiries around particular sites of battle, especially Goose Green in which over 100 Islanders had been held captive by Argentinian forces during the war. Indeed, a number of interviewees cited that those involved in the original Goose Green captivity were those who were disproportionately involved in being an 'object of', and 'subject to' the media, with the effect of having to relive their trauma again and again:

> People are not allowed to forget the trauma they went through. If you look at what happened in Goose Green and people locked in the community

hall, every year they go back through the same thing. They are almost not allowed to get over it because, dare I say it, of the media.
    Interviewee 8

Throughout all the interviews, what emerged most was the extent to which the Islanders anticipated annual media reactivations by virtue of the predictability of the obligated remembrance frame. This, in turn served to further perpetuate feelings of trauma and guilt. Cumulatively then, it was not just media reactivation that was identified as constraining and containing, but the repetitiousness and 'perpetual-ness' of it that was felt as cumulative, long-lasting and future oriented: 'But as time goes on….. we are seeing more and more PTSD'.

Now, there are a number of things that relate to the Islanders' citing of trauma as a direct response to media activations that are worthy of discussion here because they offer a broader context in which these quotes can be situated, and which become revealing of the interconnections between a remembering *through* media and the manifestation of trauma. The first is that it became apparent in both the interviews and fieldwork that a discourse of trauma was especially evident within the community. For example, some Islanders highlighted a growing formal recognition of trauma within the community including the Falklands Islands Government which was in the process of setting up an externally facilitated trauma helpline (with Cable and Wireless) for the Islanders. This helpline was to substitute a previous incarnation that had been managed and manned by the Islanders who, by virtue of the closely-knit community, felt unable to adequately protect the anonymity and confidentiality of those who used it. The point to note here then is that war-trauma is an acknowledged and recognised issue within the community, but one that was only articulated in the interviews through the lens of a media remembering.

The second, and related, issue is that it is noteworthy that in the interviews Islanders rarely referred to their own experiences of trauma. Instead, they tended to talk about the emergence of trauma in the third person, referring to 'others' within the community who were known to them as having experienced trauma. This may of course be based on the inhibitions or risks associated with disclosing one's own trauma as much as it was that they had not directly experienced trauma themselves. But, there was one exception to this, a young Islander who did not take part in a formal recorded interview but who relayed his experiences of trauma to me during a fieldwork trip. His is an important example because it is potentially revealing of the inherent complexities apparent in the Islanders'

negotiations with and responses to a reactivated (media) remembering that they believe to be partly responsible for the (re)emergence of trauma. In his descriptions of trauma, he firstly relayed symptoms that resonated with those described by veterans, and veteran testimony in the media, including, for example an anxious sensitivity to loud noises, an amplification of fear at particular times of the year such as the marked start and end of the war. But more than this, he acknowledged that he had no living memory of the war because he had not been born when the war took place.

With no 'literal' memory of the war, how are we to understand this young Islander's experience of a traumatic remembering? One possible explanation is that his trauma is a manifestation of 'post-memory' in which memories, and often traumatic ones, are transmitted to the second generation so deeply that they seem to constitute memories in their own right (Hirsch 2008, 2012). This would tally with the emergence of a trauma discourse in the community through which post-memories may be transmitted. But by understanding this Islander's trauma as a 'post-memory' we fail to pay due credence to the context in which his remembering is situated, specifically the centrality of media in the Islanders' articulations of traumatic remembering.

Alternatively, then, and perhaps more convincingly, we might explain it through what Alison Landsberg (2004) terms 'prosthetic memory' where memories that originate outside of lived experience become taken on through mass cultural technologies of memory. In other words, this Islander's traumatic remembering may derive from his exposure to a mass-mediated experience of the past that he subsequently feels at the level of his own individual experience. This would resound, as noted earlier, with the ways in which the Falkland Islands have been continually associated with sacrifice, trauma and the myth of redemption in media discourse—particularly through the veteran experience—and within which the Islander's experience becomes located. Trauma has tended to receive the most media attention as one of the most prominent and serious outcomes of the war in this regard, and one that perhaps reverberates with this young Islander in ways that impact upon his own lived experience. Given the foregrounding of the media as a site for activation and reactivation of traumatic remembering among Islanders, it is this explanation that I would suggest resonates most with the ways in which the Islanders articulate their own lived experience.

It is also perhaps this explanation that was most evident in some of the 30th anniversary media outputs. In the ITV documentary *Return to the Falklands*, for example, among the few Islanders interviewed was Neil Watson (see Fig. 5.3) who, the narrator tells us, was a leading member of the Islanders' resistance movement during the war and 'like many Islanders, was deeply affected by the war':

> *Neil*: My wife Glenda said to me, several years after the war, that they had suddenly discovered PTSD, and she said 'you had that'…it's the change, every time I come into April you know she reckoned I had a change, I used to change. I didn't realise it did I? But she did. 2nd of April. Yep. I used to lay in bed some nights and I just felt like I did in the war, just angry about it all.
> *Interviewee*: And it still aggravates you doesn't it?
> *Neil*: It does, it really does.

Fig. 5.3 Screen shot of interview with Neil Watson, *Return to the Falklands,* ITV 1, March 2012

Interviewee: That, plus the memories.
Neil: Yes. Yes [wipes away tear from his eye].
Neil Watson interviewed for *Return to the Falklands* ITV 1, March 2012

Of course, like Lisa and Trudi in the extracts above, Neil may indeed be responding to the demands of a media frame that emphasises trauma. But, he may also be reinforcing and identifying with the subject position of the text and thus assuming the subjectivities of a media-generated trauma discourse because of the investments it may reap both within, but also beyond the media.

The wider point here then is that a media -induced traumatic remembering may be a phenomenon that is continually reinforced in and through community discourse as much as it is media reactivations. This being the case, there may also be something else occurring in Islanders' articulations of a media-induced traumatic remembering, which is that 'trauma' becomes the very subject through which they feel they can make a claim to, and harness agency. This may sound counter intuitive, but what I am suggesting is that maybe they are using the subject of their *own* trauma in order to be heard, recognised, acknowledged as those whose memories and experiences are also valuable and valid in a remembering of the war. As I have suggested previously, to identify the media as those responsible for (re)activations that generate trauma may be as much suggestive of a frustration with, and rallying against the subjectivities of being a (denied and invisible) media subject framed by a duty and need to remember others through the obligated remembrance frame.

The Paradox of Obligated Remembrance

In accordance with this line of thinking, what also emerged from the interviews was the Islanders' simultaneous identification with but rallying against the constraints of obligated remembrance. Here in particular, Islanders were overt about the tensions and contradictions resulting from their remembering *through* the media (being subject to) in which they were both the remember*ing* and the remember*ed*. From this it was apparent that Islanders understood and negotiated obligated remembrance in quite paradoxical terms; on the one hand privately wanting to move beyond it because the moral duty to continually remember becomes constraining, whilst on the other hand wanting to be publically seen as those

who will not, and cannot it, move beyond it because of the moral implications *and* the power it might confer:

> We can't not be grateful because it's only right and proper but people are so terrified of seeming disloyal or disrespectful to what happened 30 years ago that it is holding us back in a way.
>   Interviewee 7

What appeared to result was a confused sense of identity among Islanders that was recursively shaped through interpellation, and also sedimented through their being both 'object' and subject'. Here, the public and private identities of Islanders seem to become fused with the subject and object positionings of the media but in a manner that has implications beyond their engagement with the media. As one Islander stated:

> The [media] focus is always on the troops but I think that cuts across the psyche of the community in terms of everything. There is this debt of gratitude that is so overwhelming that it is a causing a bit of an identity crisis because, you know? Do we fly a British flag or a Falkland's flag? Is it a bit disloyal not to fly a British flag? I don't know how you get round that.
>   Interviewee 2

There are a number of things we might take from this last quote. The first is that it implicitly conveys how Islanders become located within the constraints of the obligated remembrance media frame—articulated above as the constant media focus on 'the troops'—not just because of the existence of the frame, but because the frame resonates with, or perhaps generates, a sense of identity within the community that is founded upon obligated remembrance: 'There is this debt of gratitude that is so overwhelming'.

The second, and related point is that identity—and indeed the crisis of it—is articulated here through the material and crucially visible: the flags (Falklands and British). Inherent within this conceptualisation of identity then is the potential convergence of remembering and *representing* noted earlier, where the private (community, individual memories) become conflated with the public and mediated (media mnemonic memories) precisely because it will be (or has in the past been) mediated. The implies consideration in the formulation of identity, one that assesses its public-ness informed by the knowledge that it may be mediated as a statement of Islander intent and allegiance: 'Is it a bit disloyal not to fly the British flag'. Indeed, the emphasis on the flag,

as a manifestation, symbol and negotiation of public and private identity, is particularly noteworthy in this regard because it was the Union Jack flag that was especially visible and prominent during the commemorative week on the Islands not just at sites of commemoration (memorial statues, etc.) that would undoubtedly be re-mediated, but also in the more private community spaces of cafes, pubs, front gardens (see Figs. 5.4, 5.5, 5.6, 5.7 and 5.8). Here then the flag appeared to be a community-wide expression of a commitment to, and alignment with, a British identity that was at once tangible and public.

The third observation that we can take from the quote above is that when we combine these factors, we can see how, in turn, they may feed into a necessary and functional performance and/or representation of 'mediated' obligated remembrance (gratitude to the 'troops', gratitude for UK intervention, gratitude to the British) because of the relative power that this may confer at a wider diplomatic, political, social and economic level. But more critically, the quote also implies that engagement in obligated remembrance extends beyond Islanders being both an object and subject of media in manner that 'cuts across the psyche of the community in terms of everything'.

Fig. 5.4   Union Jack flags at the Café in Goose Green. Author's own photograph.

Fig. 5.5 Union Jack flag at the Goose Green Community Centre. Author's own photograph.

It is perhaps here then, in this final quote, that we can most vividly see the critical role the media may play in the tensions and negotiations of a public identity—considered necessary to harness political power—that may be extending to inform an internal, more private identity within the community.

The point to note here is that obligated remembrance, as a pointer of Falkland Islanders' identity, may be recursively shaped in and through the practice of remembering *through* media texts that consistently (and historically) have emphasised the duty to remember the debt incurred by war and sacrifice. In other words, in their attempts to escape from and reshape the constraining subjectivity of dominant media frames (as both object and subject), Islanders might actually become part of the reproduction of particular identities resulting from—as noted earlier—positionings and identifications in which they get 'caught'. This being the case, as Henriques et al. (1984) suggest, there may be an investment in such identifications—despite the tensions (trauma, guilt, introspection)—because of the relative power that is conferred as a result: to sustain a presence 'on the (global media) map' as a progressive and generative nation worthy of independence. Indeed, in the context of continued political contestation and a potentially unstable future

Fig. 5.6 Union Jack flags alongside Falklands flag (central) in front garden at Port Stanley. Author's own photograph.

there is benefit and power to be gained from asserting a particular identity that reinforces gratitude for previous (and continuing) British involvement.

Consequently, Islanders may be complicit in the constructions and reproductions of their own identity as fundamentally tied to a war history and obligated remembrance precisely because of the resulting investment and engagement; what De Lauretis (1987:9) terms the 'product and process of representation and self-representation'. This investment and engagement is not necessarily rational, nor conscious. Instead, it contains contradictory tensions that are empowering in one context—for example on the wider, mediated, geo-political stage—whilst disempowering in another—for example in a local, individualised context.

CONCLUDING REMARKS

I started this chapter by suggesting that at the intersection of media and remembering (as an act, text, process) are critical issues of agency, identity and power that are important areas for interrogation because of the implications for the remember*ing*, the remember*ed*, and the particular

Fig. 5.7   Union Jack flags on the ceiling of the Globe Tavern Pub in Port Stanley. Author's own photograph.

power dynamics that are embedded in these practices. It is through the Islanders' story that I believe we can locate these implications, not least the extent to which the media– or the power believed to be conferred by the media—becomes central to the processes of remembering in the competition to privilege one's own remembering publicly (see Sturken 1997). But perhaps the most important issue that emanates from the Islanders' story is how a culmination of the above processes intersects with, and has profound implications for, a wider sense of identity and power among those remember*ing*. By virtue of an investment in a remembering *in* media, there is greater likelihood that those remembering become contained within and are unable to escape from the subjectivity imposed upon them by their engagements with the media (as object or subject).

   The result, as we have seen with the Islanders, becomes played out in real and lived tensions, particularly in relation to the negotiation of (private and public) identity. If, as Hoskins (2015) states, our sense of self is dependent on our ability to *forget* as much as it is to remember, it is perhaps unsurprising that those who are remember*ed*, or implicated in a particular type of remember*ing*, develop a confused sense of identity in response to the influ-

Fig. 5.8   Union Jack flags flying from a lamppost in Port Stanley. Author's own photograph.

ences and intrusions of media subjectivity. In short, and precisely because media enter into the production of remembrance activities, they have the potential to generate recourse to dominant narratives that constrain and restrict identities at both a collective/individual, public/private level.

NOTE

1. This narrative resonates with the wider one promoted by the Falkland Islands Government (FIG) in which the Islands were constructed as having undergone significant economic, political and cultural development since 1982 with particular emphasis on economic self-sufficiency and the Islanders' right to political self-determination. Here the Islanders were represented as 'Proud, resourceful and self-sufficient' (Falkland Islands Government website: http://www.falklands.gov.fk/ accessed May 2012).

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Media-Remembering: Power, Identity and Agency

At the centre of this book's analysis were a series of questions that spoke to the complexities of media-remembering and the implications for all involved. Whose remembering is remembered and/or denied in the media? What does a remembering in the media reveal about a performance of identity? Similarly, how might the media ignite remembering, what type of remembering results, and what does this reveal about the negotiation of identity? And, critically, where is the agency of those remember*ing* and remember*ed* within all of these processes? In this concluding chapter, I attempt to address these questions by drawing together all of the empirical stories for whilst each story differs—by virtue of emanating from different (groups of) actors in different circumstances—they are all similar in their ability to tell us something about what happens when the practice of remembering and the practices of the media converge. In the following then I rehearse the parameters at the core of all the stories—remembering *in*, *with* and *through* media—not only to remind the reader of the starting point for the book's enquiry, but also to move the discussion beyond singularly focused studies of media and memory (text-based, practice-based, participant-based) and existing understandings of media and memory (journalism and memory, memory work, memory and identity) to develop a broader conceptual framework through which we can interrogate the interconnectedness and interdependence of media and remembering in relation to the production, interpretation and negotiation of remembering in the media ecology.

As part of this endeavour I also want to extend the discussion to include another form of remembering that emerged out of all our (groups of) actors remembering *in*, *with* and *through* media that is: vicarious remembering. When I use the term vicarious remembering I am referring to a remembering that is enacted through the subject of an 'other' in the narrative of remembering. Through the notion of vicarious remembering I specifically draw attention to the ways in which the veteran as a vicarious 'other' (dead and living) became central to the remembering of the military, the BBC and the Islanders and through which they engaged in a particular narrative sense-making (and sense-giving) of their own identity. What emerged from this vicarious remembering of the veteran was some insight into how the veteran experience was responded to in divergent and complex ways in a manner that was suggestive of how 'he' had become increasingly significant and symbolically resonant to the media-remembering of others and to their claims to agency.

This vicarious remembering of the veteran becomes important not only to our understanding of the military's, the BBC's and the Islanders' remembering however, but also to that of the veterans. As I indicated in the introduction, the veterans I encountered in the Falklands experienced intense complexities with regard to how they situated, negotiated and responded to their own remembering and identity as those returning to the Islands with memories of war. Whilst on the one hand they suggested dissatisfaction with the processes by which they are/were remember*ed* (primarily by the media, but also by the military and Islanders), they simultaneously aligned themselves to these same modes and representations of others' (and their own) remembering in media texts. This observation alone was suggestive of the complex interdependence they too negotiate in their private and public remembering (*in*, *with* and *through* media). But it was also suggestive of the extent to which they were cognisant of their appropriation in the remembering practices of others.So, whilst the veteran's story is absent from the empirical stories contained here—for reasons outlined in the introduction—'he' nonetheless becomes visible through the storying of others, not as a verifiable, accurate portrayal of his experience but as a vicarious subject through which the convergence and negotiation of remembering, identity and agency among others becomes more evident.

Remembering *In* the Media: Flows of Power

Let me start then with remembering *in* the media. This form of remembering has been understood here in accordance with Winter's (2006) notion of collective remembrance through which we can better understand what groups of actors are doing when they act together to remember in public. For Winter, this process implies agency, purpose and context which helps direct our attention to the collective development and sharing of a sense of the past and in a manner that informs the construction of a public identity. In other words, by considering who is attempting to remember *in* the media, what and why, we can begin to unearth what these actors want to be remembered for and how claims to agency and power intersect with their remembering practices.

Collective Claims to Power

Perhaps the first observation that we can make in this regard is that for all our (groups of) actors (military, BBC and Islanders) the act of remembering *in* the media was conflated with the act of representing the collective (national, institutional, social). At the centre of all their remembering then were public identity management efforts that became evident through their motivation and commitment to remember in specific ways from which they might collectively benefit. These included, for example, a *not* remembering for the military, a particular remembering of mythical British history for the BBC, and a remembering of the war only in relation to the progression of the Falklands for the Islanders.

In this sense, not only was the content and the act of remembering *in* the media conscious, rational and purposeful for all our actors, it was also defined and negotiated in relation to particular socio-political contexts in which the (group of) actors were situated (see also Edy 2011). These contexts were multi-layered, illustrated by their iterative construction of a remembering that spoke to both a broad meta-context (history, commemoration, diplomacy) and the specific context of their own collective (institutional, commercial, social). For example, whilst the Islanders and the military both negotiated their remembering *in* the media in relation to the wider geo-political and diplomatic context of contested sovereignty, they also did so in relation to the needs of their own collective. For the Islanders this involved a performance of active, agential participants in the construction of their own future, for the military it involved a performance

of political deference in accordance with an institutionally defined mandate. The BBC on the other hand negotiated their remembering *in* the media in relation to a wider commercial and institutional media culture which involved a performance of a particular BBC identity through which they could differentiate themselves from other media agencies.

All of these rememberings were revealing of how each respective (group of) actors conceived of and negotiated their public identity through the act of remembering *in* the media as a means through which to advance their own collective goals. This is suggestive of how the motivation and commitment to remember *in* media becomes determined by how members of a group believe they can claim agency by publicly defining themselves in contextually specific ways. Identity and remembering become critically intertwined in this process, drawing our attention to the ways in which remembering *in* the media—as a form of representation and agency claiming—is both instrumental and fluid.

The second point to note is that for all the (groups) of actors represented here, the act of remembering *in* the media was fundamentally informed by a belief and investment in the (imagined) power of the media to confer or deny relative agency. This investment in media power was articulated in number of different ways by all our actors. First, through their alignment to taken-for-granted assumptions about the media as a locus of power. This was evident, for example in the military's alignment to the principles of strategic communications and media influence, through the BBC's investment in the media's ability to guide tangible and mass public behaviour, and through the significant weight the Islanders' attached to their mediated history as a site of geo-political tension. Second, it was articulated through the ways in which, across all of these examples, they implicitly constructed the media as critical to realisation of power for their respective collective. This was perhaps most evident in the military story where the interviewees positioned the media as especially influential in the wider public acknowledgement of the need to resource and support serving personnel with physical and emotional battle scars. And third, it was articulated through the ways that each (group of) actors discursively situated themselves within wider media discourses, for example: PTSD with the military, historical BBC criticism with the BBC, and contested sovereignty with the Islanders. This latter point was suggestive of how they also assimilated imaginary media power into their formulation of a collective identity.

Consequently, when the military, the BBC and the Islanders engaged in a remembering *in* the media, their remembering was formulated not just in

relation to a pre-defined, taken-for-granted assumption of, and investment in, the imagined media power, but also how they felt already implicated in this power and, in turn, how they—as a collective—might claim some of it by defining themselves in particular ways. Their remembering *in* the media thus became inherently complex not least because all of these considerations—an imagined power in which one is already implicated and the ability to (re)claim it through the purposeful construction of the collective—did not necessarily or easily coalesce in the act of remembering, especially in multi-layered contexts. What resulted was that some things were *not* remembered—or could not be remembered—*in* the media that otherwise might have been and vice versa. There was a notable absence, for example, of the veteran in the military's and Islanders' articulations of their remembering *in* the media. Instead, in the context of the wider geo-political and diplomatic issue of contested sovereignty their remembering *in* the media centred upon narratives of progression and self-determination. The veteran served no function in this remembering, nor would he have contributed to the imagined identity that was being constructed and performed through it. Rather, as we saw explicitly in the military story, the Falklands veteran was antagonistic to these efforts and as a result relegated to a past that was either rarely referred to or only referred to as a means through which to demonstrate how the present had been arrived at. Thus in their decisive attempts to avoid evocations of a war past, the veteran was deliberately and consciously forgotten, an act that lies in stark contrast to the ways in which the veteran emerged from the military and Islanders' remembering *with* and *through* media; a point I return to later in this chapter.

When remembering occurs *in* the media then, and in a rational and purposeful manner so as to assert or claim the power that is believed to flow through or from it, it is apparent that what constitutes remembering is fundamentally prejudiced by the media entering into the process in multiple and complex ways. This is not to suggest that remembering *in* the media is not authentic, but rather to highlight the extent to which it is deliberate and conscious in its incompleteness which, in itself, becomes a claim to agency and a political act.

Authoring and Power

Such an orientation to the imagined power of media in the collective act of remembering then raises critical questions as to the extent to which this power is realised, which, in turn, brings us to issues of authorship. This

is because, inherent in the act of remembering *in* the media is an aspirational (and similarly imagined) position of media authorship where the remembering text will be determined by those remembering, and through which power can be claimed. This position of aspirational authorship was apparent in both the military's and the Islanders' stories where there was suggestion that the power to author resided as much in their collective motivation and commitment to remember *in* the media as with the media themselves. Yet, of the three (groups of) actors, it was only in fact the BBC who were able to autonomously author and secure their own remembering in the final media text. I would suggest that it is here then, in the explicit ability to media-author (both by the BBC and the media more generally) that we can locate where power is actually realised in the process of remembering *in* media for all involved. For, whilst a motivation and commitment to collectively remember *in* media implies the possibility of agency—as articulated by the military and the Islanders—it is in fact in the conflation of remembering, identity management and the imagined power of authorship that agency is most likely to be denied.

Thus whilst the BBC *were* able to realise their own collective remembering *in* the media text on their own terms, this process was infinitely more complex for the military and the Islanders, replete with contradictions and tensions around their agential expressions of how they believed they would/could be remember*ed* in media and the realities of how they actually are/were. This draws our attention to how, in the simultaneous investment in and disavowal of media power, remembering *in* the media becomes constrained by the wider (institutional, commercial, social, political) parameters of the media and the need to operate within them. To rally against these parameters becomes counter-productive for those remembering if they want to attain (or sustain) a public presence and have their remembering acknowledged. As Plummer (1995:26) tell us: 'The power to tell a story, or indeed not tell a story, under the conditions of one's own choosing, is part of a political process'. Consequently, those who remember *in* the media are forced to engage in a far more explicit political form of remembering than they would perhaps have done otherwise, precisely because they must concede to the subjectivities of media power and all that it entails.

This then takes us back to the starting point of this discussion where, in the conflation of remembering and representing the collective and the corresponding investment in media power, the act of remembering is directly informed and transformed by the media's entry into the process of remembering. The remembering that results is only ever partial, never complete,

precisely because it is informed by a desire to leverage (imagined) media power for and by those remembering. This is important because whilst remembering *in* the media is revealing of how and why actors wish to collectively and publicly define themselves, it concurrently masks the conflicts (of identity and remembering) that may be felt in the everyday but which are not intended for public consumption. In this sense, when actors engage in a remembering *in* the media they are also theoretically engaging in a flattening of difference (of both remembering and identity) that may seem empowering in one context, but may in fact be compromising in another. Cumulatively then, remembering *in* the media has the potential to become itself a process of identity transformation as a direct result of the negotiations and confrontations that materialise from attempts to harness imagined media power and an imagined position of authorship. We have seen this throughout this book, where there are clear contradictions inherent in actors' agential aspirations of a public identity in terms of how they want to remember and be remembered when remembering *in* media, and the lived, embodied realities of their private identity(ies) that remain undisclosed and unresolved in media.

REMEMBERING *WITH* MEDIA: IDENTITY AND IMAGINING

In contrast to remembering *in* the media, remembering *with* the media refers to the content and form of remembering that results from encounters and negotiations with media products, specifically news reports, and in a manner that is revealing of conceptualisations and negotiations of identity beyond those that are intended to be public (or remembered *in* the media). Throughout the book, when I have referred to remembering *with* media I have drawn upon Kuhn's (2010, 2002, 2000) concept of 'memory work' to examine not only the function of media as a mnemonic aid in the process of remembering *with*, but also the ways in which media becomes appropriated and negotiated for deeper, personal meaning. For Kuhn, these negotiations are a performance of memory, enacted and re-enacted *with* media in a manner that embodies, expresses, works through and even unpicks interconnections between the private, the public, and the personal. Media is thus used in a variety of ways through these enactments; as legitimating evidence, as reflexive practice, as reconciliation work, but crucially for the purposes of this book as a means through which to express identity. With regard to the stories contained here, remembering *with* the media was most prominent in the military and BBC stories.

Imagining Identity

What emerged from these stories was a distinct and clear sense of an imagined institutional identity articulated through an enacted narrativity when remembering *with* media and meta-narratives, often in a manner where the two became indistinct but cumulatively guided and directed identity formation in particular ways (see also Somers & Gibson 1994). For example, both the military and the BBC articulated a sense of identity through the re-evoking of wider political or institutional narratives and statements (for example, institutional capability and public service broadcasting respectively) but critically in and through a remembering *with* media (Wootton Basset, Help for Heroes, the Queen's Diamond Jubilee). In their choosing of specific media coverage *with* which to remember and narratively make sense of their identity, however, they concurrently revealed where disempowerment and identity conflicts were most felt in the everyday. What emanated from the military's remembering of the war dead and injured *with* Wootton Bassett and Help for Heroes, for example, were the various subjectivities of military work that were at once assumed and resisted but from which an imagined institutional identity emerged. Similarly, what emanated from the BBC's remembering *with* Wootton Bassett and the Diamond Jubilee were the various subjectivities of media work within the wider, competitive (and critical) media environment in which the BBC are situated. These too were assumed and resisted but from this remembering an imagined BBC ideal emerged, articulated at once in both celebratory and anxious terms.

And it is here that we see the divergence in their remembering *with* and remembering *in* media, as a direct consequence of the latter being predicated on public identity management. For the military, this was apparent in the disjuncture between what they wanted to remember in the media but were not able to, namely the Falklands War, the fight, the sacrifice, the bravery and, crucially, the veteran. For the BBC this was apparent in the disjuncture between what they aspired to be remembered for—namely honouring and respecting the traumatised and war dead—and the realities of their newsgathering processes wherein the potential for veteran anxiety and trauma was all but dismissed. The point to note here then is that when actors engage in a remembering *with* media they are not only—in Kuhn's terms—unpicking the interconnections between the private and the public in their identity negotiation, through which to legitimate a particular identity position, they are also engaging in a reflexive practice in

which narrative sense-making and identity negotiation intersect with the processes of remembering in a manner that exposes the tensions and contradictions apparent between the private, lived, embodied identity (and remembering) and the public, mediated one.

Imagining History

The second point to note is the extent to which the imagined identities that are articulated through a remembering *with* media—alongside the accompanying tensions—are also revealing of how historical, collective, institutional remembering(s) inform and are informed by a relationship to and understanding of identity in the present. If we concur with Halbwach that remembering is always a reconstruction of the past that builds upon previous pasts but always in relation to the social group, then—once again—the choice of texts to remember *with*, and the ways in which this remembering is enacted offers some indication as to the antecedents of particular identity formations, and how these become understood in more contemporary contexts through the act of remembering. Both the British military and BBC had their own collective institutional memories that were at once contentious and difficult (for example, a history of PTSD, a history of war dead, a history of criticism, a history of public service) some of which converged with their articulations of their respective imagined identities as expressed through their remembering *with* media. Once again, by choosing contemporary events *with* which to remember (Wootton Bassett, Afghanistan, the Queen's Diamond Jubilee, etc.) they drew attention to the extent to which, combined, these historical remembering(s), imaginings and challenges were particularly resonant in the present. In Schwartz's (1982) terms, it is in their selection of these (media) events over others that both (groups of) actors reveal the master narratives in which they situate their collective remembering, which in turn guides and directs their remembering in the present and future. In other words, in their selection of particular media *with* which to remember, the military and the BBC were not just indicating how they have arrived at their sense of imagined institutional identity, but also how they were continuing to negotiate the historical challenges that inform(ed) this identity in the present (i.e. institutional suffering for the military; institutional criticism for the BBC). In short, there was a 'braiding' of history and memory in this act of remembering (see also Winter 2006:6) that appeared ongoing and 'live'; a continual convergence of

remembering historical institutional positionings alongside current institutional challenges, that are sought for and remembered *with* the media as a point of negotiation.

Imagining Power

If we extend these aspects of remembering *with* media—the articulation of an imagined identity as both historical, challenged and historically challenged—to notions of power, we can see how power and identity become intertwined and traverse the process of remembering *with* media in a number of ways. As Kuhn (2010) would note, remembering *with* media can be a reflexive exercise; a means through which to make sense of and substantiate one's own identity position in relation to where power is perhaps least felt. Consequently, remembering *with* the media can be seen as a claim to agency, expressed through the mining of the text for alternative meanings in order to substantiate a particular position. In other words, when actors spontaneously choose particular media texts to remember *with*—what they are doing is indicating how they identify with particular subject positions that might confer them relative power. In this sense, the military and BBCs choice of the Wootton Bassett coverage was particularly revealing of where and how they both felt power was located and how, in turn, this might legitimate their own imagined, more private identity. I would suggest there were two 'loci' of power in this regard. The first emerged through the military's and the BBC's imagining of identity as fundamentally relational; that is, understood and negotiated through 'others', in this case the UK public. Here their construction of the imagined 'other' was revealing of a particular (sense-making) narrative of how they conceptualise their own identity in imaginary terms based on where they felt power could be best harnessed. Thus in the military and the BBC's enactments with the Wootton Bassett texts, and their consequent imagining of the UK public—as those who respectively embrace the military or who engage in civic nationalism—they were able to construct an imagined agential identity that might otherwise have been unrealised. The second, and related, 'loci' of power was that through this process they also—once again—suggested an imagining of identity in relation to media per se, not just because their understanding of the UK public was based on public responses to media coverage, but because their understanding resonated with other, mediated constructions of the UK public and indeed the veteran.

And it is perhaps here that the military and BBC's vicarious remembering of the veteran became especially functional to the construction of sense-making and sense-giving narratives. In the military's remembering of the veteran *with* Help for Heroes and Wootton Bassett for example, and articulated through the specific temporal and socio-political context of the recent wars in Iraq and Afghanistan, there was a convergence of historical *and* contemporary institutional challenges including the political subjectivities of military work. From this they expressed concerns not only relating to the mental and physical well-being of those returning from war, but the extent to which these are publicly constrained by the power relations in which the military institution is situated. Their choosing to remember the veteran *with* the Help for Heroes charity was especially important in this regard because whilst Help for Heroes claims to be—like the military—explicitly acritical and apolitical, it also embodies the injustices felt regarding the lack of government resourcing to satisfy their duty of care for those returning from war (see also Drake 2012). Moreover, by remembering the veteran *with* Wootton Bassett and Help for Heroes, these institutionally contentious and historically informed concerns were situated within a distinctly contemporary understanding of military-civil relations that associates the war dead and war suffering with personal, rather than national sacrifice. Thus it was the vicarious veteran body (dead and alive, injured and traumatised) that was at the centre of their remembering *with* both Help for Heroes and Wootton Basset as a celebrated, apolitical subject through which a negotiation of conflicting identities and political subjectivities could be played out.

But whilst the military unearthed political meanings and possibilities in their vicarious remembering *with* Wootton Bassett, the BBC found in Wootton Bassett a resonant site of the (historical and contemporary) remembered veteran that became central to their own remembering and narrative sense-giving. In their choosing of the Wootton Bassett war dead they were not only claiming a particular identity position, as both ideal and celebratory, through the cultural resonance of Wootton Bassett as a site of collective mourning and public fascination—what Woodward (2009) suggests was an impulse to follow the dead (see also Walklate et al. 2011)—they were also appropriating the veteran body as a means through which to realise their imagined identity in future outputs. The specificity of Wootton Bassett was not important in this regard—although the bodies it contained were—but, rather, it was one of many commemorative, ritualistic spaces of war through which the BBC both institutionally

imagine and perform their ideal identity. The veteran that was subsequently remembered in their coverage of the 30th anniversary thus became symbolic of veterans from World War I to Wootton Bassett, something that is further suggestive of a convergence in their remembering *with* media and their remembering *in* media in a manner that is reinforcing and continually imagined.

This issue of imagined power—made more evident through their vicarious remembering of the veteran—becomes even more important when we consider it in relation to the issue of authorship. For, if the agential expressions that emerge from a remembering *with* are concurrently revealing of where disempowerment and identity conflict is most felt, and how—in turn—identity conflict also intersects with an imagined media power, then the BBC are uniquely positioned to reconcile these tensions. As those with explicit power of authorship they can attempt to reclaim power through a subsequent remembering *in* media but in a manner that may be constraining of the remembering of others. This then returns us to the point made earlier with regard to the media's ability to realise the power that is being sought in and through media, and offers some insight into the parameters that inform the production of remembering texts. For whilst many have recognised how the professional, commercial and public status of media organisations and their journalistic practices contribute to the shaping of collective remembering (see for example, Zelizer 1992, 2008, 2011, 2014; Schudson 1992; Edy 1999, 2011; Edy & Daradanova 2006; Kitch 2005, 2008; Lang & Lang 1989; Teer-Tomaselli 2006; Blumler 1993; Neiger et al. 2011; Meyers 2007; Zandberg 2010; Zandberg et al., 2012) the BBC's remembering *with* media suggests something more complex is at play, where the construction of remembering texts is also inflected with a process of remembering and identity negotiation by the media themselves. In other words, the remembering texts that the media produce are as much a manifestation of their own remembering and identity management efforts as they are of a remembering of history itself. This convergence of remembering *with* and *in* media—and the resulting imagined resonance with an imagined public—is not only suggestive of how identity and remembering is understood and constituted (institutionally, politically, socially and personally) in relation to media, but also how and why these processes may contribute to the formation and sustaining of particular types of media-remembering that are both cyclical and cumulative.

Remembering *through* Media: Interpellation and Subjugation

Finally, there is remembering *through* media which is essentially when remembering *in* media and being remembered *by* the media collapse and those remembering become subjugated as a consequence of interpellation with media texts and frames. It is in a remembering *through* media that which we can best conceptualise how the tensions and negotiations of a public identity manifest in a remembering *in* media—and considered necessary to harness media power—extend into an internal, more private sense of identity among those remembering. We saw this most prominently in the Islanders' story where their simultaneous engagement in remembering *in* and being remembered *by* appeared to be reinforcing particular identity positions that were conflicting, unsettling, disruptive, and, critically, cyclical and irreconcilable. Here then we find a number of possible answers to the questions posed above regarding the implications of media-remembering practices for those remember*ing*, the remember*ed*, and the particular power dynamics that are embedded in these processes.

Firstly, the Islanders' story allows us to think through the ramifications of those who are denied a remembering presence in the media, either because their remembering is omitted, negated and undermined or because it is framed within dominant, static and culturally familiar narratives of remembrance. We saw this with the consistent framing and constraining of the Islanders remembering through obligated remembrance; a frame that they found impossible to move beyond. As a result, despite their investment in media power when remembering *in*, and because of the unequal power relations that exist between those remembering and the media, rarely could they harness power at a local level. Instead, on entering the flows of media, their remembering lost its locality, internal variation, nuance and peculiarity, precisely because it became accommodated within the wider institutional and commercial frameworks (and of course remembering) of media. In Zelizer's (2011:28) words, it became 'squashed'. And it is here that we can see how those remember*ing* become transformed into those who are remember*ed* in ways that locate, constrain and implicate them in a wider 'remembering' context not of their own making, and where their agency and power is undermined.

Secondly, and related, the Islanders' story allows us scope to think through the implications of these processes for those remembering that extend far beyond misrepresentation and unrealised ambitions. As we saw

in Chap. 5 there were significantly more, complex repercussions where those remembering—by virtue of their continual investment in a remembering *in* the media—assumed the subjectivities of a remembering media with critical implications for both their sense of identity and lived experience. Not only did they feel located and fixed within the subject of war as a result of media (re)activations, but they also cited the emergence of disruptive and unsettling tensions within the community as a consequence of their subjective and moral positioning within media, particularly in relation to the incidences of guilt and trauma. Indeed, the centrality of media to the Islanders' articulations of traumatic remembering appeared to be suggestive of how they at once identify with and reinforce meta-narratives of trauma that are subsequently felt at a community and individual level, but simultaneously utilise the subject of trauma to rally against the subjectivities of the media, to be heard, acknowledged and recognised as those with memories that are also valid and valuable.

Critical to this reinforcement of trauma I would suggest was the symbolic resonance of the traumatised veteran, as both a lived, embodied character and a mediated one. Indeed the Islanders' engagement in a vicarious remembering of the traumatised veteran seemed especially prominent in ways that were resonant for their lived, everyday experience. It was notable, for example, from my ethnographic observation of, and conversations with, veterans and Islanders in private, non-mediated settings that some Islanders appeared to be 'living out' their own traumatic experiences through their interactions with veterans. Here there was outward acknowledgement of the possibility of veteran trauma—not necessarily among veterans themselves but among Islanders in the company of veterans—that extended into subtle attempts to legitimate the potential for Islander trauma through engagement in a dual remembering of the war as a shared experience. In turn, this suggested that the Falklands veteran was symbolically significant and functional to the Islanders' remembering in a manner that traversed their accounts of remembering *through* media.

When therefore Islanders attributed their (re)activation of trauma to the media, they may indeed have been articulating the consequences of (continual) exposure to mass-mediated experiences of war-trauma that they subsequently feel at an everyday level (see also Landsberg 2004; Chapter 5). But, critical to these experiences, and the media to which they referred—was the traumatised veteran who, as the ultimate reminder of the fighting, victories and losses of 1982 is not only at the centre of the shared, ritualised media-remembering and celebration of the Falklands War

(see also Ashplant et al. 2013) but recognised as being disproportionately traumatised by his experiences of war. There are clear claims to agency articulated through the Islanders' identification with the subject position of the veteran in this regard, as those who—once again—should also be celebrated and recognised through their own experiences of war that are resonant in the everyday. But in their vicarious remembering of the veteran the Islanders also locate themselves directly within obligated remembrance because it is the veteran (dead and alive) who becomes the central focus through which the moral duty to remember is articulated. In this sense, the Islanders' vicarious remembering *through* the veteran—much like their remembering *through* obligated remembrance—is negotiated in quite paradoxical terms that become especially evident in the material and tangible ways in which they outwardly represent their remembering of 'him'. We see this, for example, in Fig. 6.1, which was a sticker posted on the window of the Globe Tavern in Port Stanley during the 30th anniversary. I include it here because it epitomises the confused identity that emerges from the Islanders' vicarious remembering through the veteran. For whilst the representation of the veteran (as romantic hero, as symbol of past British glories) reinforces or identifies with existing, constraining media frames (obligated remembrance, Help for Heroes, myth of redemption, etc.) 'he' is shown alongside the Falklands Islands 'Desire the Right' motif (top right) that speaks directly to issues of self-determination and a progressive identity. In other words, this image alone is suggestive of how Islanders become part of the reproduction of particular identities in which they get 'caught' despite their attempts to escape them.

What emerges from the Islanders' remembering *through* media then (including the veteran) is the Islanders' simultaneous and complex investment in and rallying against media subject positions that produce a confused sense of identity, both public and private, that is recursively and continually shaped through interpellation. And it is here that the critical tensions in a collapse of remembering *in* and remembering *through* media lie. For, whilst those remembering may demonstrate awareness and recognition of their subjectivity within and by media—as the Islanders did through articulations of temporal stasis, community introspection, and of trauma—they were nonetheless 'caught' in a cyclical process of identification with and reinforcement of these subject positions because of the relative power they may confer. In short, there is an investment in these identifications despite the tensions because they enable a media presence but in a manner that penetrates the everyday lived experience of the actors involved.

Fig. 6.1 'Heroes Welcome in the Falklands' sticker, posted on the window of the Globe Tavern Pub in Port Stanley. Author's own photograph.

IMAGINING AND REMEMBERING

Taken together, what we see from all these 'forms' of remembering (*in, with, through* and vicarious) is the extent to which media can not only shape who we are and how we remember, but also how we understand our 'selves' institutionally, politically, socially and personally. This of course emanates from an environment saturated by media, where individual and social remembering becomes fundamentally intertwined with and reliant on media data (Hoskins 2001), part of what others have suggested, more broadly, is the mediatisation of everyday life (Hepp 2012; Livingstone 2009; Hjarvard 2008; Lundby 2008). This being the case, the media also *become* the context for the participation and celebration of remembering and the negotiation of identity and power as a result. At the same time, it is important to acknowledge that the observations made in the empirical stories told here emanate from a specific context of

remembering and commemorating war. It was the 30th anniversary and its inherent focus on remembrance that created the social circumstances in which all of the (groups of) actors represented engaged in remembering. It was also the 30th anniversary that initiated the media's involvement which, in turn, created the complex and interdependent negotiations of remembering, identity and agency that we have understood here to be enacted through media-remembering practices. But, it was the combination of these circumstances—the 30th anniversary and media involvement in it—that generated the circumstances for this research and for these stories of remembering, identity management, claims to power, reflexivity, deliberation and insight to emerge. For some this meant an opportunity to contest, resist and intervene in the remember*ing* of their identity by others (or indeed themselves in other situations).

Consequently, it is in the context specific nature of all of these insights and remembering(s)——namely the 30th anniversary—that we should ask critical questions about the function of remembrance as a collective ceremony and enterprise, especially one that is performed through and with the media. For to commemorate is at once to celebrate, observe and honor through the act of remembering, yet all the stories contained here suggest that remembrance can be as much disruptive as it is celebratory, neither confirming nor consolidating experience, identity or power. Indeed, the key theme that emerges from this book is the extent to which media-remembering is a continual process of identity formation, negotiation and performance in which power is claimed, conferred and denied in a manner that both transforms, and is transformative. But more than this, what uniquely materialises from these stories of remembering is the extent to which imagining and imaginaries also enter into the practices of media-remembering as points of contestation, negotiation and performance. We have seen for example how identity and power are imagined through the act of remembering (*in*, *with* and *through*) but also how remembering is itself at times imagined, for example in relation to an imagined context, an imagined remembering of others, an imagined unarticulated remembering, or a conscious, voiced, imagined remembering. When we talk then of collective media-remembering—of its fluidity, its partialness, its instrumentality, it agential expressiveness and its political nature—we are also talking of further imaginaries (of collective, of remembering, of politics) that are fundamentally intertwined with notions of identity and power in a manner that is as worthy of investigation as the process of remembering itself.

Beyond Media-Remembering

There is one final point to be made in relation to the stories of remembering discussed here and one that feels fitting to end on. This point moves us beyond a remembering *in, with* and *through* media, and instead focuses on remembering in the research context. For whilst the military and Islanders suggested an impossible subjective positioning in relation to their remembering *in, with* and *through* media – in a manner that was both cyclical and irreconcilable – their discussion of these positionings in the research interview was also suggestive of reflexivity, insightfulness and a potential for intervention. I note this here because like all stories, the military and Islanders' stories were contextual, emerging from the physical, temporal and socio-cultural specificity that was not only relevant at the point of storying but critical to the expressions of resistance articulated. And it was in the context of the research interview – perhaps by virtue of its focus on subjective experience that attempts to facilitate space for reflexivity – that these articulations of resistance emerged.

What this suggests then is that recourse to familiar positions (of obligated remembrance for the Islanders, and politically designed narratives for the military), is especially located within, and generated by, the quotidian, routinised constraints of the media interview that is at once familiar but restricting. In contrast, the research interview invites a very different positioning. Hence, when removed from the media interview and permitted the opportunity to narrate outside of it both the military and the Islanders were able to construct quite different narratives of identity that evoked reflexivity, agency, resistance and a desire to intervene in the subjectivities in which they were located. In this sense, and through an ability to explore, remember and narrate their world differently in the research interview, both the military and the Islanders were perhaps demonstrating a deeper and more critical understanding of their own position that relates directly back to their social or institutional identity. As Somers and Gibson argue, narrativity is both temporal and generative: 'it is through narrativity that we come to know, understand and make sense of the social world, and it is through narratives that we constitute our social identities' (1994:58–9). The reflexivity and understanding that emerged during the research interviews then implies a far more complex relation to media-remembering than is immediately obvious.

It suggests that agency, and the modification and reproduction of identities, is in fact contextual, based on the interconnections of personal

investment, social circumstances and available discourses in specific situations that are contingent and fluid (Ang & Hermes 1991). This being the case, neither the military nor the Islanders—nor anyone who engages in media-remembering—are ever (or ever will be) wholly constrained within a fixed identity despite media intervention, not least because there are multiple (although not always mutually exclusive) identities in which they locate themselves. Even then, it would be almost impossible for them to be consistently and immediately conscious of these multiple identities in the everyday, because each identity is/will not always be relevant to how they feel or experience life in the moment. Rather, there is a temporality and malleability to these identities that is challenged, contested but was specifically reproduced here in a very present 'present'; namely the 30th anniversary of the 1982 war.

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INDEX