Chapter Number:

Title: Children's engagement with intergenerational war stories

Authors: Dot Moss

Word count: 6199

INTRODUCTION

This chapter focuses on the intergenerational communication of memories of war, including those concerning children's need for shelter and protection, enemies and friends, domestic life and the different expectations of men, women and children. Research into childhood and war usually focuses on those directly caught up in events, considering the effects of trauma, children's perspectives and experiences, their agency and contribution (Boyden and Berry, 2004; Watson, 2008). However, in addition to this, it is important to explore how children relate to the war experiences of earlier generations because of the impact this has on their development and wellbeing. Children are affected by former wars and wars at a distance, whether or not they are directly involved. Intergenerational memories of war are selective and convey events associated with humour, fear, sadness, care and particular allegiances. This chapter analyses selective silences and uses of humour to understand how childhood memories of war are bound up in themes of nationalism, parenting and everyday life.

The original research on which the chapter is based explored how children in the latter half of the 20th Century engaged with wider social change (Moss, 2010). Echoing

Ansell (2009), this research arose from some frustration with approaches that focused on the micro relations of childhood but gave insufficient attention to the impact of wider social change. Watson (2006: 242) points out that research has been hampered by 'public-private' distinctions that have confined understanding of childhood to gendered and 'highly kindered' spaces. The aim was to broaden the canvas, including and moving beyond the spaces of home, school, day care, play and so forth. A number of aspects of social change were considered, including war, migration, religion, employment, technology and consumption. The 'war stories' discussed in this chapter are based on adult memories of significant social events in childhood (Moss, 2013). Some respondents had direct experiences of war, but all shared stories related to wars of which they had had no first-hand experience. Here, their direct and indirect experiences are drawn together in order to explore intergenerational influences. The wars referred to include the Second World War, 1939-1945; two Indo-Pakistani wars, 1965 and 1971; war in Northern Ireland, 1968-1998; the Nigerian Civil War, 1967-1970 and conflict related to Apartheid in South Africa.

Ideas from literature studies are drawn on to explore the sharing of war memories with children. These include 'Under the Shadow of War', (Goodenough and Immel, eds. 2008), a study of war writing for children where contributors discuss propaganda stories, stories that actively encourage children to think through the moral issues, and the 'minutely circumstantial realism,' horror and humour associated with war and childhood (Heberle, 2008: 135). The sociologies of social memory, time and space also provide different overlapping perspectives related to shared social memories. Halbwachs (1925/1992), a student of Durkheim, argued that collective memories

underpin societal organization and that experience can only be remembered through the social frameworks that exist at the time of remembering. Hobsbawm (1983) highlighted the bias in the production of social memory, including for example, the way powerful interests are reinforced and much is selectively forgotten. Ideas about children and families influence both the selection and the evaluation of memory. Thus memories of childhood involve dialogues between past/present and adult/child perspectives, 'Through memory, a new relation between the past and present is created' (Widerberg, 2011: 330; Brannen, 2004).

Particular theoretical perspectives on time enrich understanding of how former wars continue to inform everyday social relations, for example, drawing on biological concepts, Adam (1990: 66) conceptualizes human beings as '… practising centres of action rather than perpetrators of fixed behaviour'. Children must negotiate events from different time periods and distant places through their engagement with various forms of social memory, including those related to war. In a similar vein, the human geographer, Massey (2005: 119) argues that, 'Arriving in a new place means joining up with; somehow linking into, the collection of interwoven stories of which that place is made'. The passage of time and children's geographical movement inevitably involve them in engagement with different, sometimes conflicting war stories from different times and places.

These ideas are complex, overlapping and sometimes difficult to work with. Nevertheless they provide research opportunities to look both 'within and beyond' children's local environments and intimate relationships in order to reveal more of the

impact of war on children's lives (Ansell, 2009: 204). The former times of war should not be simply considered background to children's experience. Selective memories of war '… make their way into children's spaces,' becoming part of children's experience (ibid.). As well as generating continuities with the past, this intergenerational transmission involves silences, distortions and discontinuities. In this chapter I argue for the importance of locating indirect experiences of war alongside personal experience to fully understand children's social worlds. This involves widening the lens on childhood to explore the intergenerational narratives concerning war that children engage with and in particular the uses of silence and humour within these narratives.

RESEARCHING MEMORIES OF WAR AND CHILDHOOD

The research features sixteen respondents born between 1950 and 1978; their childhood spanned the second half of the Twentieth Century. Potential respondents were initially approached from within the researcher's professional networks, using a snowball sample. These were people who worked in fields related to childhood and youth who might be willing to share some quite personal childhood experiences in order to deepen understanding of children and social change. The sample was developed to enable a rich tapestry of childhood experiences to be explored, while also attending to sensitivities to do with the subject matter. This involved ensuring there were respondents who as children had different experiences of social class, ethnicity, faith, disability, sexual orientation and gender. It is not the aim of this research to generalize about the experiences of other children growing up in the same

period; instead this study offers insight into some of the complex ways children experienced events such as war, and to explore their engagement with memories of war passed through generations.

Three research tools were used. The first was a semi-structured interview where respondents shared memories of wider social change and childhood, including war. Questions were not typical of those asked about childhood and stretched the parameters for remembering, the assumption being that all children have experience, whether or not they are directly caught up in events. Respondents were told they could share first or second hand experience that stood out in memory. In a second interview, respondents shared recollections of daily life, including play, learning, journeys, relationships, domestic routines and so forth. The third research tool was a questionnaire where they were asked about social position, social transitions and heritage (going back three generations). These three tools facilitated triangulation and issues related to war and conflict were significant in all of them but only explicitly asked for in the first.

When analysing memories in research it is important to explore the role of emotion, the uses of humour, the selectivity of memory and the links between personal and social memory. Personal memories are drawn from clusters of events and there are aspects that are faulty. Events associated with strong emotion may be recalled easily - or may be buried (Misztal, 2003). The emotion related to war may involve dark humour. This may be a distancing mechanism, for example, turning '... violence into slapstick ...' (Higonnet 2008: 16). However, humour is more than protective; Heberle

(2008) argues it involves surrealism, absurdity, parody and irony which particularly arise when juxtaposing ideas and experience from the spheres of childhood and war. Swart (2010) argues that humour helps in the management of incongruous experience and the formation of group identity. The selectivity in all forms of memory means there are silences to consider. In the case of communications between Kinder Transport children and their own children there was considerable silence, 'Both parents and children had feared that such discussion might set off feelings in the other that would be unbearable, so they avoided the subject' (Harris, 2008: 228). Family memory is transmitted orally and also contained in archives, photographs, film, letters and other memorabilia which anchor events and people in particular ways (Misztal, 2003). Sometimes it is hard for research respondents to disentangle their own personal from familial memories. Such memories are '... not only of a series of individual images of the past. They are at the same time models, examples, and elements of teaching', (Halbwachs, 1925/1992: 59). The links between personal, familial and social memory are complex, reflecting the complex relationship between everyday human experience, intergenerational relations and wider social change. Ericsson and Simonsen (2008) explore the role of national memory in relation to the experiences of children born to Norwegian mothers and German occupier fathers in the Second World War. They discuss national shame, efforts to forget, social and personal silences and the impact on children. They argue that anxiety and depression are transmitted through silences, 'Silence speaks of the unspeakable and carries powerful emotions ... insecurity, inferiority, guilt, and above all shame' (ibid: 398). Selective memories of war are institutionalized in many forms within children's organizations, such as schools. Preparation for war informs the formal transitions to adulthood in

most societies and a thread within war writing involves the explicit mobilization of children's allegiance. Higonnet (2008: 121) argues that this is achieved by constructing 'heroic models of national childhood' and 'social archetypes of vulnerable children'.

I now move on to discuss the research findings, drawing together direct memories of war as well as those transmitted through the generations. I consider the relationship between different forms of memory and the complex tapestry of war related experience that is generated in children's lives.

REMEMBERING WAR, CHILDHOOD AND RELATED STORIES

This part of the chapter examines respondents' first and second hand memories of war and childhood, considering how events are altered in the memory with the passage of time. Selective silences are examined, as well as the uses of emotion, in particular humour. Wider social memories of war may be highly selective and emotive. This includes 'national' memories that are institutionalised in everyday practices related to childhood, such as holidays and schooling. Selectivity and humour inform the transmission of familial war memories, including the remembered roles of mothers and fathers in war. Silence and emotion influence the ways that children engage with different threads of war memory in their everyday lives.

Only three of the sixteen respondents remember direct experience of war. Rehana twice experienced the shelling of her home in Pakistan; James grew up during war in

Northern Ireland and Richard lived in Apartheid South Africa between the ages of 3 and 16. Although Apara experienced some of the Nigerian civil war (1967-1970) whilst a baby; she had not yet learned to talk and most of her 'memories' come from her mother. However, all sixteen respondents, when asked about war and childhood, spoke with feeling about indirect experiences including family experiences that had been shared with them and what they had learned through media and school.

Nationalism, childhood and war

Wider social memories of war and childhood inform children's everyday lives. Nationalist stories that mobilize children intensify as war approaches (Johnson, 2008). In the face of war, the enemy is constructed as evil. During the Indo-Pakistani wars 1965 and 1971, Rehana said there were, 'National songs, chanting, slogans against the enemy force … "They are bad, because they are the enemy, they'll come and take us away or kill us."'   For James, in Northern Ireland in the midst of conflict, there were many long established militarized practices, 'Uniforms ... allegiances to things like the boys brigade ... badges and emblems associated with certain things, which had enormous potency ... signalled a particular allegiance to one side of the divide.' James had to tread carefully; when you met strangers, you needed to 'be aware of the cues' that signalled which half of the divide they were on, for your own safety. Leonard (2007: 492) points out that schooling in Northern Ireland at this time involved 'fictitious images', presenting 'Irish history through the lens of British colonialism'.

The impact of struggles related to Ireland informed the experience of many generations living in the UK and Ireland. George, whose family had been settled in England for three generations, recounts a repeated tale about his Irish Great Grandmother. She, '... used to have to be boarded into her room ... would go out and do violence against the Catholics ... emptied the Chamber pot over the crowd when they came past'. Such family stories about his departed kin entertained him but also introduced ideas about where he socially belonged, '... the family group is accustomed to retrieving or reconstructing all its other memories following a logic of its own' (Halbwachs, 1925: 52).

Prior to the Second World War, Nazi texts used ABCs, rhymes and illustrations to teach fascism, racial hierarchy and hatred of Jews to children (Johnson, 2008). During and after the war, in the UK, Germans were portrayed with contempt (O'Sullivan, 2008). One respondent, Claudia had to deal with the social hierarchies related to the Second World War, even though she was born in England nine years after it ended. Her father was Romanian and her mother German. They had come to England as Prisoners of War. She remembered hearing stories of an uncle who had been sent to Siberia and of soldiers in her father's unit who had been shot by the Russian army, 'There was a very negative vibe around what communism was all about and how cruel it was and unjust'. Claudia's mother also shared ideas about 'race' and country heritage that her she had been taught many years before in Nazi Germany, for example, she considered Claudia's father's nationality as inferior, 'Coming from Romania and being lazy'. Claudia's understanding of war was also informed by silences, '... sort of indirect things round the fringes of life, you didn't have to hear.'

She remembered as a very little girl, 'Being conscious of being different, and people calling me names'. Later, 'I was certainly teased about being German, and having lost the war'. At home, 'there were anxieties about things … concerns about family'. Claudia's parents clearly sought to spare her the brutal details of war, 'You're hearing from under the table, so to speak. It's hidden by the table cloth…' She had to tread carefully the conflicting versions of war in home and school. The silences and inconsistencies in the different threads of social memory transmitted family anxiety, some shame and exclusion. Claudia grew to avoid discussion which she found upsetting.

Long social memories of war transmitted to children involve coupling child and adult worlds, they caricature events in very selective ways and particular archetypes inform their construction. These include the innocence of the child in the face of war, the child as brave martyr, rather than combatant, and the call to arms to protect the child (Higgonet, 2008). In South Africa, during apartheid, 'In school text books, the themes of White-Black conflict and Black barbarism were pervasive' (Dawes and Finchilescu, 2002: 148). From age eleven, one respondent, Richard, who was White, of English heritage and growing up in South Africa, had to join the cadets at school and wear a uniform, 'We were taught to shoot guns… The phantom enemy that we were supposed to be shooting at were always what were called the 'Kafers' which was the derogatory word for Black people'. The mobilization of White pro-apartheid forces involved the celebration of stories of Boer child martyrs from over a century before. Richard remembered two such stories that informed his schooling during Apartheid,

Rachel De Beer ... this little girl... found herself with a younger brother ... this is supposed to be a true story, and it was freezing cold, and to protect her little brother, she shed most of her clothes, wrapped him up and then put her own body over him, and of course she perished, but he lived ... Dirky Uys ... he sacrificed himself to the Zulus ... there was a strong theme of sacrifice...that was a very powerful message.

These stories conceal the colonization of South Africa by North Europeans, the violence against the Black indigenous communities and their resistance. Here we can see how children caught up in war must navigate both direct and inter-generationally transmitted versions of war. In this case, these national, selective memories transmit constructs of heroic and vulnerable Boer children to new generations of white children in order to win their allegiance to the Apartheid regime (Higgonet, 2008). However, Richard had alternative versions of war to draw on. He remembered watching a film at school when he was six or seven, about a White family living in the countryside and being attacked by some Black people, and the teacher saying at the end of the film 'That film was obviously made by a bunch of Nationalists'. At secondary school, there were also a few teachers who would openly share similar views, 'Not many, but some would'. At home there was criticism of apartheid, and his sister 'started to develop friendships with quite a radical Whites who were really working and putting their lives in danger, to change the system.' Richard had many different stories about apartheid to 'think with' and question the dominant narrative (Tatar, 2008: 242, citing Harries, 2000). The very juxtaposition of competing stories involved thinking things

through carefully, 'this was only one version of the truth … you have to question what's put in front of you' (Richard).

Fathers and mothers at war

The selectivity of memory in relation to combat is very evident in familial memories about fathers transmitted to children. These lacked detail and sometimes felt contradictory. The very juxtaposition of fathering and war seemed to generate particular silences. MacCallum (2011: 137) points out that silences concerning combat are both official and private. During the Second World War, men were 'discouraged from discussing wartime experiences and wives were advised not to probe'. Martin's father was a military doctor in the Second World War. Martin said, ' I don't think he had a particularly harsh war'. However later in the interview he seemed to contradict this and said that his father, '... was actually quite lucky to survive because the boat he was travelling on back from Africa was torpedoed.' Julie's stories of her father contained a similar ambiguity. Julie said, 'My father was away for seven years during the war and he had a really good war. Apparently he had a really nice time.' But later in the interview she remembered being poorly as a child and her father comforting her, 'Stroking my brow … he was saying that when he was really ill with this fever [in SE Asia] … thought he was going to die'. These intergenerational memories convey the father's 'good' war as well as their evident near-death experiences. However Cottee (2011) points out that pleasure and pain are not binary opposites in the experience of combat, but part of a spectrum of experience. A selectively edited account of combat is inter-generationally transmitted. Although there is some truth in the narrative of

father's good war, in war memories shared with children the archetype of masculinity and the 'good war' is reinforced. It is no coincidence that this informs campaigns to recruit young people into armies. Memories of fathers' roles in war were therefore quite tentative but also significant. Widerberg (2011: 334) argues in relation to her own research into remembering fathers, it is important to re-read stories, '...to grasp this father figure, I was particularly struck by the presence of his absence'.

The juxtaposition of mothering and war generates another kind of war story, also selectively edited but containing dark humour. Official propaganda stories during the Second World War in the UK emphasized women's ordinary suffering, their valour in supporting brave men, their important role in the work force and their creativity in keeping the children safe, fed and clothed throughout rationing (British Pathe, 1940). Family memories related to women and war contain similar themes, but with a different slant and some grim humour. They convey some of the realities of war, the social expectations of women in relation to children and maternal guilt. During the Nigerian civil war, when Apara was a baby, 'The only thing that would send me to sleep was being driven round in [mum's] car …despite ... a curfew and you'd be shot on sight, she would just put me in the car and drive round Lagos.' Cathy was told that during the Blitz, 'My Gran couldn't be bothered to get [the children] out of bed! So they were just left there... always there was the noise, and they could hear it coming down, but it was fatalistic by then, "Oh well whatever"'. Pamela was told that during the Blitz her mother was evacuated and her Grandmother, 'Made the decision to bring all the children back … If they were going to get bombed, then they might as well get bombed at home'. These intergenerational memories convey a hint of criticism at

maternal negligence, mothers' carelessness in war. Segal (2008) discusses the very real difficulties of protecting children in life threatening situations and these intergenerational memories also convey fatigue and fatalism. They are recounted with humour and caricatures of mothers' 'extreme' behaviour. When the stories are transmitted outside of the contexts of war, the (self) perceived failures of mothers are perhaps reinforced.

War in children's everyday lives

Memories of war and childhood, whether first or second hand, involve the juxtaposition of the paraphernalia of childhood with the paraphernalia of war. Lara recalled a three day trip to Northern Ireland to Catholic relatives where she mistook army tanks for ice cream vans, 'You didn't get ice cream vans hanging around, because we saw a tank go past, and I thought it was an ice cream van'. She draws on the familiar furniture of childhood which provided benchmarks for her to remember and understand events. This incongruous juxtaposition generates humour and pathos. Rehana's memory of being shelled, involves a similar coupling of childhood and war, but generates no humour and is more intense. The Indo-Pakistani War of 1965, lasted five weeks and she was four or five,

> Dad had an army background … took over precaution measures … taken
> into … the store room … eat by the candle … Dad would say, "It's coming"
> … Grandma, my Dad … my second Mum ... we'd bury our heads in their
> laps and we'd hear this big cannon going off and then there'd be silence … I

think my Dad could see a reflection of light before it happened ... He'd say "It's coming" and then the burying of the head, and then we'd hear this big cannon ... That continued all night … I just remember being petrified.

This memory conveys her fear at the time and the detailed domestic scene – represented by the protective roles of adult relatives (saving the children's hearing). Lara's and Rehana's direct experiences, albeit selectively remembered and reconstructed in stories, give some visibility to children's social worlds at the time and in the place remembered. They provide a lens on the intimate relations of childhood (the lay-out of homes, the relationships, the food and treats) and the effects of war. This is the minute realism of childhood and war that Herbele (2008) refers to.

In addition to such direct experiences, the intergenerational transmission of war stories means that earlier wars continue to inform children's everyday lives. Children hear many repeated selective tales, for example, Pamela was born ten years after the Second World War ended, yet vividly 'remembers' her mother's story of sheltering during the Blitz in London,

An L shaped Anderson type shelter … teachers standing in the corner … one class down one side and another class down the other… huge wide piping with duck boarding … knitting … spelling bees … mental arithmetic … Dropping things down through the duck boarding and not being able to get them back 'cause it was all wet and muddy and the darkness and the smell.

This indirect memory contains convincing descriptive details and retains the multisensory/emotional quality of a direct experience. Some of the emotional significance has been transmitted through the generations, albeit in an edited version of events. In the analysis of data, it became increasingly apparent that many such intergenerational war stories contained humour, as did the tales of mothers in war situations discussed previously. Cathy repeats a family story from the Second World War about a gas mask, generated nearly twenty years before her birth,

> He came round ... hammered on the door and, I don't know how many times I heard this tale. My Gran opened the front door, and saw him standing there with his gas mask and everything and said something like "Jesus, Joseph and Mary, they've landed!"

George, born 13 years after the war ended, repeats family stories about a nose and a mouse,

> [Mum] would go down to the munitions factory … She used to feed the mouse that used to come out through the grill … After the munitions factory, she'd have to walk back in blackout and there was a phone box at the start of the alleyway and she walked into the phone box and broke her nose!

The humour arises from the incongruity of war in the 'ordinary' domestic, street and work settings (Swart, 2010). The juxtaposition of gas masks, black outs, care for a mouse and a grandmother's curses involves the surrealism, absurdity, parody and

irony that Heberle (2008) refers to. Not only is humour a means of enduring war, the interruptions of war, challenge the normative social relations of peace, turning things on their head in an almost burlesque way. The humour, generated in the times of war in order to manage and understand difficult events, has created playful war stories, shareable with children across the generations. Such stories link children to particular kin, amuse them, soften war a little and involve family self-parody. They also inform children of some of what war involves. The chaos, fear and other complex emotions of the times of war are less directly visible in these transmitted memories but these stories have now become important parts of the family archives, to be transmitted on in the future; as Cathy says, 'I don't know how many times I heard this tale'.

Richard and Claudia (discussed previously) provide good examples of the continuing influence of former conflict in children's everyday lives, whether they are caught up in war themselves or not. In Richard's case the apartheid struggle and associated wars continued through his childhood, '...we were aware of things like the changing mood, things like the murder of Biko ...' The archetypal stories of Boer martyr children from an earlier conflict, were juxtaposed with many conflicting narratives, '... that was something else we used to do as a family, talk.' For Claudia, the Second World War was over long before her birth. Nevertheless, she had to navigate contradictory war stories at home and school. This influenced her feelings about her own family heritage, 'I suppose deep down, I find it very difficult to believe that people didn't know what was going on ... I do find it hard, and I don't want to know what they think really.'

The repetition of selective, humorous and sad war tales from earlier times and distant places has a significant influence on the everyday lives of children, '...the present generation becomes conscious of itself in counter posing its present to its own constructed past' (Coser in Halbwachs, 1925/1992: 24). Such tales teach them about other childhoods, tie them to particular places and communities, and position them at a distance from others. They challenge and reinforce expectations about gender and family role. As is the case with written war stories for children (Myers, 2008), stories shared with children in family and community may soften the brutalities war, may help to prepare children for future war and may accentuate, sustain and contest conflict. These stories are threads of social, familial and personal memory from different times, people and places. They contain significant silences and strong emotion and their juxtaposition raises moral questions that children must navigate.

CONCLUSION

The chapter has drawn on research based on memories to explore war and childhood. It has drawn together direct and indirect experiences, focusing in particular on the intergenerational transmission of memory. The priority for research must be the experience of those children directly caught up in war. However it is also important to examine additional layers of experience generated by wars in previous generations. This informs the lives of children, whether they are directly caught up or not. Analysis of memories deepens understanding of social practices related to war and childhood at the time remembered and the time of remembering. Consideration of the connections between personal, familial and social memory demonstrates how the

intergenerational transmission of memory may lock children, such as James, into particular solidarities, 'You're either one or the other... and there's a security in that'. The transmission of memory may reproduce war related hierarchies, but also contest them. As they navigate competing perspectives on war, participants such as Claudia and Richard question and relate what they learn to their everyday childhood. Events at the time of remembering shape the selection of memory. Where conflicts continue over many generations, selective social memory serves partisan interests. The story of the Boer martyr children, which Richard shared, '… is supposed to be a true story'. It was transmitted at a time of active civil opposition to Apartheid, building the allegiances of White children, whilst concealing the deaths of Black people whose homelands had been invaded.

Intergenerational war stories contain elements of silence, fear, sadness, humour and horror. Such stories may express the emotional complexities of war through caricature and parody. The images of an alien in a gas mask, a mother making munitions and feeding a mouse, and a nose broken by a lamp post in the Blackout are examples. Humour is a means of enduring war and is generated directly from the incongruous aspects of war and childhood. The passage of time may also change some of the horror to humour, particularly in stories shared with children. The uses of humour and caricature and the ways children navigate different stories of war are both fruitful areas of analysis.

Personal, familial and wider social memories all have multisensory elements and contain intimate details from childhood. Rehana's personal memory of being shelled

and burying her head in someone's lap; Pamela's familial memory of her mother 'dropping things down through the duck boarding' in the Anderson Shelter and Richard's social memory of two Boer children in the freezing cold. The passage of time and the power of selectivity alter events and the silences are revealing. Attempts by adults to conceal what is considered inappropriate for children may be thwarted by children such as Claudia. Silences generate selective distortion related to fathering, mothering, childhood, ethnicity, nationality and place. Some of the memories discussed here conveyed the respondents struggle to remember accurately but also perhaps their confusions from childhood. Their expectations of parents sit uneasily in the memory when violence may be required behaviour (of fathers in particular) or when there is a failure to protect children (by mothers in particular). The caricatures of the slightly negligent mothers and fathers' 'good' wars stand out.

The research discussed in this chapter has been strengthened by themes from the study of war writing for children and by ideas from the sociologies of social memory, space and time. The overlap between personal, familial and social memory generates research difficulties, for example, in relation to childhood, it is difficult to disentangle different forms of memory, past/present and adult/child perspectives. These challenges become acute for forensic research which requires accurate evidence of events (for example, for litigation). Nevertheless, such challenges also generate research opportunities. Richard's memories of schooling during apartheid reveal allegedly 'true' war stories from a century earlier that were transmitted to white children in order to harness their emotions to the apartheid 'cause'. Examining the overlap between personal and social memory it is possible to see how events are selectively

altered with the passage of time and how collective memory becomes selectively institutionalized in different childhood settings.

Ansell (2009: 198) argues that children's geographers have difficulties in, 'looking beyond children's immediate environments to things that affect children's lives'. Research into the intergenerational transmission of memory is one way forward. In this approach, former wars are not considered merely background to understanding childhood; children's everyday engagement involves navigating multiple time spans and this includes many different threads of memory and experience related to war (Adam, 1990). Rather than viewing the overlap between personal, family and social memory as an impediment to research, MacCallum (2011: 131, citing Thomson, 2010) argues that 'the process of remembering could be a *key* to exploring the personal or subjective meanings of lived experience.' In the feminist memory work developed by Haug (1992) and later, Widerberg (2011: 331) to explore the 'doings of gender', '... the aim was not to look for personal explanations but rather to look for social explanations (social relations and patterns) of what the stories could teach us…' Following from this, it is argued here, that the analysis of social as well as personal memories should add to understanding of the 'doings' of childhood.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Adam, B. (1990). T*ime and Social Theory,* Cambridge: Polity.

Ansell, N. (2009) 'Childhood and the politics of scale: descaling children's geographies?' *Progress in Human Geography*, 32: 190-209.

Boyden, J. and Berry, J de, (2004) *Children and Youth on the Front Line: Ethnography, Armed Conflict and Displacement,* Studies in Forced Migration, Oxford: Berghahn Books.

Brannen, J. (2004) 'Childhoods across the generations storied from women in four-generation English families', *Childhood*, 11, 4: 409-428.

British Pathe (1940) *Women and the War* http://www.britishpathe.com/video/women-and-the-war accessed 13th May 2013.

Cottee, S. (2011) 'Fear, boredom and joy: Sebastian Junger's piercing phenomenology of war', *Studies in Conflict and Terrorism*, 34: 439-459.

Dawes, A. and Finchilescu, G. (2002) 'What's changed? the racial orientations of South African adolescents during rapid political change', *Childhood,* 9, 2: 147-165.

Ericsson, K. and Simonsen, E. (2008) 'On the border: the contested children of the Second World War', *Childhood* 15, 3: 397-414.

Goodenough, E. and Immel, A. (eds) (2008) *Under Fire: Childhood in the Shadow of War,* Detroit: Wayne State University Press.

Halbwachs, M. (1925/1992) In L. Coser (ed) *On Collective Memory,* Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Harris, M.J. (2008) 'Breaking the cycle', in E. Goodenough and A. Immel (eds) *Under Fire. Childhood in the Shadow of War*, Detroit: Wayne State University Press, 227-230.

Haug, F. (1992) *Beyond Female Masochism: Memory-work and Politics*, London: Verso.

Heberle, M. (2008) 'The shadow of war: Tolkien, trauma, childhood, fantasy', in E. Goodenough and A. Immel (eds) *Under Fire. Childhood in the Shadow of War*, Detroit: Wayne State University Press, 129-142.

Higonnet, M.R. (2008) 'Picturing trauma in the Great War', in E. Goodenough and A. Immel (eds) *Under Fire. Childhood in the Shadow of War*, Detroit: Wayne State University Press. 115-128.

Hobsbawm, E. (1983), 'Introduction: inventing traditions', in E. Hobsbawm and T. Ranger (eds) *The Invention of Tradition,* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1-14.

Johnson, E. (2008) 'Under ideological fire: illustrated wartime propaganda for children', in E. Goodenough and A. Immel (eds) *Under Fire. Childhood in the Shadow of War*, Detroit: Wayne State University Press. 59 -76.

Leonard, M. (2007) 'Children's citizenship education in politically sensitive societies', *Childhood* 14, 4: 487-503.

MacCallum, A. (2011) 'The Australian children of servicemen from World War Two: An intergenerational study', *The Intergenerational Journal of Interdisciplinary Studies.* 5, 9: 129-143.

Massey, D. (2005). *For Space,* London: Sage.

Misztal, B.A. (2003) *Theories of Social Remembering,* Maidenhead: Open University Press.

Moss, D. (2010) 'Memory, space and time: researching children's lives', *Childhood,* 17, 4: 530–544.

Moss, D. (2013) *Children and Social Change: Memories of Diverse Childhoods*, London: Bloomsbury Academic.

Myers, M. (2008) 'Storying war: An overview', in E. Goodenough and A. Immel (eds) *Under Fire. Childhood in the Shadow of War*, Detroit: Wayne State University Press, 19-28.

O'Sullivan, E. (2008) 'Shifting images: Germans in post war British children's fiction', in E. Goodenough and A. Immel (eds) *Under Fire. Childhood in the Shadow of War*, Detroit: Wayne State University Press 77-89.

Segal, L. (2008) 'Baby terrors', in E. Goodenough and A. Immel (eds) *Under Fire. Childhood in the Shadow of War*, Detroit: Wayne State University Press, 93-96.

Swart, S. (2010) 'The terrible laughter of the Afrikaner: towards a social history of humour', *Journal of Social History,* 42, 4: 861-887.

Tatar, M. (2008) 'Appointed journeys: growing up with war stories', in E. Goodenough and A. Immel (eds) *Under Fire. Childhood in the Shadow of War*, Detroit: Wayne State University Press, 237-250.

Watson, A. (2006) 'Children and international relations: a new site of knowledge', *Review of International Studies,* 32: 237-250.

Watson, A. (2008) 'Can there be a kindered peace?' *Ethics and International Affairs*, 22, 1: 35-42.

Widerberg, K. (2011) 'Memory work: exploring family life and expanding the scope of family research', *Journal of Comparative Family Studies*, 2011, 42, 3: 329-337.