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FOREWORD

Open information space, wide opportunities for mobility, and development of the internet have changed people's view on themselves and their place in the world. Since the connection between a person and place in the consciousness is very strong, the processes of globalization have caused a crisis of identification, resulting in the appearance of the so-called hybrid and unidentified identities. However human's desire to understand what he actually is, where he comes from and where he goes to is natural and unchangeable. Human's cultural identity which allows identifying oneself with some culture or group and thus preserve one's own national, religious and local identity is regarded as one of the most important. A person tries to identify oneself in different ways – by looking back on the past, comparing one's own culture with other cultures, trying to define features of one's own culture. Therefore, under the conditions of a contemporary cultural situation, when the processes of globalization, culture interaction, migration, hybridization etc. gain unprecedented topicality, the research done on the specific features of language, literature, public opinion, realm of ideas of different cultures provides the opportunity of analyzing and describing phenomena and processes going on in different cultures, and thus fix and preserve the most characteristic features of these cultures. Research papers included in this collection offer a critical vision of an individual, his identity and place in a contemporary world by analyzing effects on today's world produced by globalization, and by defining national and regional features of different cultures in a comparative perspective of synchronic and diachronic aspects.

In his paper "From Postmodernity to a Post-Truth Society?" Diego Han focuses on the analysis of the concept of the "post-truth" and attempts to prove the irreversible connection between postmodernism and "post-truth". The author inspects some of the specific social events that have brought the term "post-truth" to life – as, for example, the election of Donald Trump as the USA president and the Brexit referendum results. Although postmodernism does not

automatically mean “post-truth”, based on the research, it has given the birth to the “post-truth” condition that can be defined as a direct result of postmodernism and its relativization of the basic concepts of the human existence as the “truth”, the “morality”, “ethics”. “Subsequently, under the influence of new political characters, mostly spiced by populism, these unconventional truths gained the power not only to make their voices heard by the authorities, but also, in some cases, to replace them” (D. Han).

Graciela Susana Boruszko’s article “Living-in-between-languages@borderlands.global” discusses linguistic identities, translation, and bilingualism at the borderlands. The author studies the Basque case and tries to answer the questions how political views interact with the phenomenon of linguistic isolation and what the relation between the national identity and its expression in a translated format is. Although new translations from the minority Basque language have recently entered the international literary system and try to pursue global recognition, the linguistic borderline continues to divide two peoples and two languages that compete for attention, therefore “[l]iving between languages calls for a new global linguistic adventure” (G. S. Boruszko).

Translations have also been investigated in Tigran Simyan and Albert Makaryan’s article “On Functional-typological Plot of ‘Little Red Riding Hood’ in European and Armenian Contexts”. Initially, the source texts of the fairy-tale “Little Red Riding Hood” by Charles Perrault and Brothers Grimm’s were compared to later analysis of the target texts by the Armenian writers Ambrosius Kalfayan (1861) and Ambrosius Kalfayan (1876). The comparison of motifemes (Kenneth Pike’s term) and their “divergences” was presented.

A comparative aspect has been preserved in U. H. Ruhina Jesmin’s article “Narcissistic Personality in Arthur Miller’s ‘Death Of A Salesman’ And Saul Bellow’s ‘Seize The Day’: A Comparative Study” where the author uses relational content analysis method to explore different traits and degrees of characters’ narcissism – obsession with fostering a self-image, denial, preoccupation with unrealistic grand fantasies of success, the sense of superiority, feelings of specialness, and fear of inferiority.

Ilze Kačāne and Alina Romanovska discuss the benefits of comparative longitudinal children’s and young people’s well-being surveys and present “European Cohort Development project” supported by the European Union in the framework of Horizon 2020 Research and Innovation programme call “Development and Long-term Sustainability of New Pan-European Research Infrastructures”.

Rapid Policy Network Mapping (Bainbridge et al.), carried out in the framework of the project, revealed that it is an effective way for developing a communication platform with which to influence decision makers in Latvia for political and financial support of the first Europe wide birth cohort survey, named *EuroCohort*. The work (face-to-face interviews, telephone conversations, skype sessions, briefings, small group meetings, discussions a.o.) with politicians will be continued.

Editors of the collection:

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FROM POSTMODERNITY TO A POST-TRUTH SOCIETY?

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ABSTRACT

In the last few years, a new concept – the “post-truth” – has developed in the Western society. According to its definition, it describes a state, in which the truth ceases to play the usual role it had in our social life and gets replaced by alternative facts and truths. However, in order to discuss correctly the “post-truth” phenomenon, some conditions have to be fulfilled: the “post-truth” cannot be approached without questioning the veracity of its antithesis, the “truth society”; the “post-truth” can only exist in liberal democracies and only in the field of political communication; and lastly, the “post-truth” is the logical consequence of the postmodern relativization of the truth. Given these preconditions, the paper focuses on the analysis of these specific points in the attempt to prove the irreversible connection between postmodernism and “post-truth”.

Keywords: “truth-society”, “post-truth society”, postmodernism, emotions

INTRODUCTION

Is it, or is it not? The question has always been the same since almost the birth of philosophy and the thinking about the human condition, especially after the introduction of the term “postmodernity” in the contemporary scientific/humanistic context: is there an absolute truth? From the time when Jean-Francois Lyotard (Lyotard 2014) marked the beginning of a new intellectual era, many have struggled to answer to this apparently simple question. In reality, however, what was for centuries seen as almost a certainty of the human existence, the truth now seems like losing its meaning, blurring in a social milieu where there are no more safe havens for it, where everyone is right, as well as everyone is wrong and facts count only if they fit somebody’s specific worldview. The relativization of the truth is for sure not new anymore amongst intellectuals, scholars, and other thinkers, but it looks as lately this consciousness has spread far beyond the world of academics. In fact, while until recently modern actors had the strength and the social tools to keep the notion of the absolute truth well alive amid the majority of the population¹, now this force is starting to weaken. The result of this situation is the apparent birth of a new form of society that has newly been named the “post-truth” society. However, this label could be hazardous as it hides possible historical misconceptions and misinterpretations of past societies that could consequently make us slip in a state of “Retrotopia” as stated by the late Zygmunt Baumann (Bauman 2017). Given these short thoughts on the question of the absolute truth, the aim of this paper is to discuss and analyse the connection between postmodernity and the so-called “post-truth” society, in an explanatory try of demonstrating the logical link between these two concepts, and also, the biased and erroneous bases behind the latter. In order to do so, the focus will be put on the inspection of some specific social events that have brought the term “post-truth” to life – as, for example, the election of Donald Trump as the

¹ See, for example, what the Czech folklorist Jan Kajfosz calls “Authority of knowledge”. For “Authority”, Kajfosz intends the sources of knowledge that in the past had the power to expand what was going to be deemed by the masses as the (absolute) truth. Such fonts were, for instance, the Catholic Church, universities etc.

USA president and the Brexit referendum results – which will be then reassessed through an examination of their relationship with the society that had generated them. Such examination will be made also by using surveys, analysis and statistical data collected by different sources before, during and after those social events occurred. In the end, the conclusions will be addressed in a final recapitulating remark.

A “TRUTH-SOCIETY”?

Back in 2016, the word “post-truth” gained the title of international Word of the Year assigned by the Oxford Dictionaries. According to the team behind this decision, the reasons were hidden in the fact that the use of this construction “has seen a spike in frequency [...] in the context of the EU referendum in the United Kingdom and the presidential election in the United States”, and “it has also become associated with a particular noun, in the phrase *post-truth politics*” (Oxford Dictionaries 2016). Besides the formal motives that brought the Oxford Dictionaries to define this word as the most important one of that year, it is also interesting to note the further explanation of the construction itself, where it is said that “rather than simply referring to the time after a specified situation or event – as in post-war or post-match – the prefix “post-truth” has a meaning more like belonging to a time in which the specified concept has become unimportant or irrelevant (Ibid.). In the end, one last definition stated that the “post-truth” is a condition in which “objective facts are less influential in shaping public opinion than appeal to emotions and personal belief” (Oxforddictionaries.com). According to the Oxford Dictionaries team, the word was first used in 1992 in an essay by the playwright Steve Tesich, while in its current meaning “it has been in existence for the past decade” (Oxforddictionaries.com). Thus, the “post-truth”, and its derivative known as “the post-truth society”, is a state in which the truth itself loses its original meaning, creating a society where other different mechanisms play the crucial role in the specific field of the human interaction, transforming the truth in a less important factor. What are these mechanisms? Emotions. It is conceivable to claim so due to what actually defines a “post-truth society”, which is the focus of various social actors not on true – or at least plausible – facts, but rather exclusively on their emotional connection with the masses. The behaviour of the American president Donald Trump and the leader of the French National Front Marine Le Pen, suggest that nowadays it is not the truth that people

seek, but rather an emotional connection, simple words that can assure an unsecure person of a better future. Because of this almost desperate need shared by a large amount of citizens all around the world in a time of social insecurity, the truth loses ground to emotions (Haddad 2016). Obviously, this does not mean that emotions did not play a crucial role in the previous periods of human interaction; on the contrary, they were always essential, but not in the way they are today. The reason behind this change is connected to a phenomenon that we could define as the disillusion of the masses with the way they are approached and treated by the mass-media, established political actors and other traditional creators of public opinion. But, before we try to engage more directly with what lies around this problem, it is fundamental to explain one more thing that affects directly the question of the “post-truth society”, which is actually related to its antithesis: “the truth-society”. Logically, if there is a “post-truth society”, we should also be able to define a period in time when the social interaction was clearly describable as a “truth-society”. So, do we? In fact, no matter what historical time we take into consideration, it is rather impossible to characterize it as a “truth-society”, no matter whether we are talking about the Ancient era, the Middle Ages or the Modern ages. Indeed, was the period of the Roman Empire a time of truth? Undoubtedly, it is hard to study the society complex as the Roman from our time with the few means that we have at our disposal, but, knowing how the Roman kings and the Senate first, and the Roman emperors later, ruled their state, the truth seems as a quite unsafe word to use. In this case, the absolute truth was what the rulers of the State were saying, not what the people or the facts were suggesting. The same is valid also for the later periods, when other kings and emperors were essentially the human representations of truth, and as such, this canon was effective in any part of the world, from the Chinese dynasties to the African and South American ones. Even if we diminish the scale of our obviously superficial reflection on smaller communities of hunter and gatherers, the question of truth remains connected to the figure of the community leaders and his/her/their will. These short examples had the purpose to show once more the volatility and the relativity of the word truth, just as it is intended by postmodernism. As a consequence, we can affirm that from a historical and philosophical points of view, it is quite wrong to compare our contemporary society with the past using the binary “truth society” – “post-truth society”, as in fact it is not possible to find a specific period in time that can correctly and strongly be well-defined by the truth. Moreover, if we tried to delineate the truth in those periods, we would still probably

need to use the already mentioned construction of the “hierarchy of knowledge” in the way intended by Kajfosz, where the hierarchy was characterized by those that could implement amongst the masses their version of the truth, a version that because of the small percentage of well-educated people and the scarce sources of information was hard to challenge and enjoyed an absolute legitimation (Kajfosz 2017). This is, in fact, the biggest difference between the past societies and our own, in which the “hierarchy of knowledge” has lost its superiority, exclusivity, and as so, the majority has now the power to contest the truth that comes out of it. Nevertheless, so far I have mentioned only past times and compared them to our contemporary situation, leaving aside the period that begins in the middle of the nineteenth century and lasts till nowadays, when “the post-truth” became the buzzword we know today. This specific period is important because it marks the beginning of enormous social changes in the Western society, especially in the economic and educational systems. Once again, evidently, we have to ask ourselves what kind of society was the one that existed in the period we have just mentioned, and why the “post-truth” did not develop, for example, thirty or a hundred and thirty years ago. In fact, in part it did. For example, if we take into consideration some regimes from the twentieth century, like the ones created by Mussolini, Hitler, Mao, Stalin, Franco, Salazar, Pinochet etc., we clearly see that their states were in a complete condition of “post-truth” (or even “non-truth”), where everything that mattered were not facts, but mostly ideologies or personal truths. As Hannah Arendt has said for Nazism and Emilio Gentile for Fascism, those regimes were rather “shows” (Arendt 2015) or “spectacles” (Gentile 1995), not the image of truth as we intend it. However, as a consequence of these facts, we can make another crucial conclusion, that though it might seem apparent, it has not been presented as such to the public: the concept of the “post-truth society” is in reality valuable only if we are speaking about liberal democracies. The cause is evident, as in non-liberal and non-democratic states the truth is not something that belongs to everyone and it is not even supposed to be, but only to those who are ruling, i.e. the persons that can claim their absolute right to decide what will be considered to be true by the rest of the population. This element changes the way the concepts of “the truth society – post-truth society” should be approached, as it eliminates the question of comparison between historical periods and political systems. It means that these comparisons and concepts have an importance only in a specific form of a social organization: the liberal democracy. Thus, for our purposes, it makes no sense to discuss the question of

truth in societies that had a completely different way of “reaching it” in comparison to those used in the Western democracies today. Therefore also the question of the “post-truth” loses its meaning, leaving us the space for researching and thinking about this concept only under this one precise political condition – the liberal democracy.

A “POST-TRUTH SOCIETY”?

Now that we have been able to demonstrate that the duality “truth society – post-truth society” makes sense if only studied in the context of liberal democracies and its political discourse, it is time to closely approach the reasons due to which our society has been seen as the “post-truth”. First of all, as mentioned also in the Oxford Dictionaries definition, it is interesting to note that despite everything that has happened in the history of the liberal democracies so far, only after the Britons had voted in favour of leaving the EU and Donald Trump had been elected president of the United States, the concept of “post-truth” was introduced in the everyday social and political discourse. The fact that almost the entire political establishment and the majority of the most important mass media in the West were strongly against both of those two outcomes does not come as a surprise, as neither do the methods used by the Brexit and Trump supporters to achieve their goals. In the first case, everyone who endorsed Donald Trump or Nigel Farage, the leader of the Eurosceptic party the UK Independence Party (UKIP), was portrayed by the media as a usually older and intellectually inferior person, somebody who comes from the lower income families and areas, with a lower degree of education and social common sense. Although the statistics have mostly confirmed this data (Moore 2016), it is still important to notice that neither before nor immediately after the vote the media and the establishment focused on the reasons behind the decision of those voters, rather choosing to continue hitting on their pre-vote superficial presumptions. On the other hand, and that is the crucial point that has brought to life the question of the “post-truth” condition, the Trump and Brexit supporters found themselves in a situation where their ideas had to be defended and promoted via alternative ways of communication, those being either less known websites, TV stations and newspapers, or their strongest channel, the social media. Especially the latter, as Facebook and Twitter, became their main tool of political and social advertising, sources that granted them the possibility of reaching a huge number of people and share

with them their worldviews. However, those media represented also a sort of sword of Damocles, as on the one hand it gave them the possibility to talk directly to a lot of people, but, on the other hand, it also raised the question of the validity and veracity of what they were sharing and propagating, mostly because their information was hard to confirm and it took time to verify it. Furthermore, the language of the social media differs completely from the one used typically, for example, in the most important TV studios, the latter being characterized by a more formal way of expression and a higher degree of control over the sources of the information. On the contrary, in the social media world, the information usually does not pass through any kind of truth-check process, leading many to believe that just because something was reported by someone, it is presumably true. The benefit of this way of communicating is that it makes it easier and faster for anyone in search for a simple alternative point of view to find it, especially due to the presumed fact that if something is the opposite of what we do not consider to be true, then this something should be automatically correct. After all, it is well known that people tend to see what they want to see, therefore such way of approaching news and information is not surprising at all. Before we move on, it is needed to clear up that this short reasoning was not meant to claim that information is more likely to be true if presented in famous TV studios, in newspapers or on well-established websites, but rather that in those cases the chances that the information will undergo some kind of qualified verification are higher, at least because it will have to pass through more hands before being considered appropriate for public presentation. On the other hand, in the social media this process is not needed, amongst many reasons also because there are no serious direct consequences for those who share and post it due to the relatively easy way of doing it anonymously and without any career bond of work. Having said that, the aim of this paper is not to analyse in detail the differences between these two channels of communication, but just to pinpoint some of the ways through which they are articulated. We can now quite strongly affirm that those diversities in communication are actually the starting point from which the whole concept of “post-truth” developed. By using mostly unverified information and claims, which were later spread by social media and equally suspicious networks, the supporters of Brexit and Donald Trump gave the space for their opponents to assert that whatever they had said or proposed was a lie: the fake news era was born. Once again, it is necessary to remind the reader that we are not discussing whether somebody’s news were right or wrong, but rather how the whole “post-truth society” concept

developed as well as the sense of it. What came out of the struggle between these two sides was a figurative battle in which the truth was ironically gaining importance on the one hand, but on the other hand its real significance was quickly vanishing, leaving on the surface only its empty shell. As a result, both sides tried to convince the public that it was them to be carrying the real truth, while the others were just lying. One could say nothing new on the political arena, except for the thing that in this almost desperate search for the truth, the truth itself lost its meaning. It was not important anymore to say the truth, as long as it could have been presented so. What became more important than the truth were the emotions surrounding the person who was talking or presenting an idea to an audience, the feelings had a stronger impact than anything else. That is the exact moment when the Western world allegedly entered the “post-truth society”, a period when the truth became something that is presented as the paramount goal, but is often achieved and offered in the form of lies. Still, as explained above, if it is hard or impossible to claim that in the past we had a “truth-society”, can we at least say that there is a “post-truth society”? The answer is ambiguous. On the one hand, if there is no “truth-society”, than automatically there cannot be a “post-truth” society either. Furthermore, if Trump’s lies are the reason to define our society a “post-truth” one, the same can be claimed for the period of the G. W. Bush² presidency as well (Richards 2016). Also, ever since the birth of modern journalism and television, fake news is a constant in reporting information. On the other hand, however, it is possible to claim that the level of deliberate fake news, which has been hitting the world in the past few years, is something that should be seriously taken into consideration and considered unprecedented (see, for example, Subramanian 2017). To summarize, the concept of “post-truth” is rooted in recent events that have shaken the Western world and have been characterized by a new political rhetoric known mostly because of Donald Trump and the Brexit supporters. This rhetoric is based on the deliberate use of fake news, lies and unverified information on the level that has never been seen before, and is facilitated by the use of the social Media as a new launching platform. In such a context, reaching the truth remains the goal to achieve, but in fact, the methods used are made of deceptions, which in the end downgrade the real role of

² See the story of the arms of mass destruction allegedly hidden in Iraq by Saddam Hussein.

the truth to a secondary function. Thus, if theoretically, a “post-truth society” exists, are we then living in it? Once again, the answer is probably negative. It is possible to notice the change of attitude towards the truth perpetuated by some important social actors in the current liberal democracies, but at the same time this variation cannot be considered to have yet reached the level necessary to strongly affirm that the whole society has been swollen by the post-truth. At the present moment, such an affirmation would simply not represent the reality. Still, the fact that more and more influential subjects are consciously and unconsciously letting their activity be represented by alternative facts, news, and truths is seriously indicating the real possibility for the entire society to slip into a state of “post-truth”. However, so far we have not reached that point yet.

HOW DID WE GET HERE?

It would be wrong to sustain that we live in a “post-truth” society. Nevertheless, after everything that has been said so far, we can quite clearly claim that the “post-truth” is not as much as of a state of our society, but rather a specific characteristic used and abused by some social actors in their communication with the masses in the liberal democracies, and as so it will be intended in the next pages. However, before we move on, it is also required to explain how the “post-truth” condition has lately become a convenient tool for political actors to achieve their goals. For example, if on the one hand the “post-truth” approach helped many dubious politicians to build their success on fabricated truths, on the other hand the establishment abused this phenomenon by automatically defining all of its opponents as representatives of the “post-truth”, avoiding thus engaging directly in the motives that brought the “post-truth” to life. Said that, we should now shift the focus of our reasoning on the receivers of the information in the time of “post-truth”. The receivers, in fact, trust and accept a message without any further interrogatives, but this does not mean that they differ from previous receivers in their basic logic of interaction; indeed, it is rather the influence of an unprecedented number of different unverified sources that can amplify this issue. In the end, everyone finds the exact information that he/she wants to hear, zapping from source to source until the wanted one is located. It is exactly because of this phenomenon that a “post-truth” communication can develop in the way described here, i.e. in the way in which it is not the truth that people seek, but rather the source that will fit the best their emotional status. In other words, as

noticed also by Matthew McLennan, “in climate of post-truth, if I feel that something is true, then it is true – irrespective, even, of my ability to articulate it” (McLennan 2018, 8). Mostly due to this reason, it is possible to shrink the field of our discussion on this specific aspect of the “post-truth” construction, concentrating our efforts on the attempt to explain how we eventually came to this point. First of all, it is essential to delineate the temporal borders delimitating the moment when we officially entered the “post-truth” communication era. The answer to this question is given to us by the Oxford Dictionaries in the definition cited above, i.e. with the Brexit referendum and the US presidential campaign that brought Donald Trump to power. Before these two events, the majority of people had never heard about the “post-truth” construction, nor had they ever considered themselves to be living in such a society. What happened? In fact, the results of these two very important tests for the Western liberal democracies turned out to be a nightmare for the political establishment. Nobody could have ever imagined that Donald Trump would be able to defeat a member of a well-established political dynasty as Hilary Clinton was, as well as the majority believed it was very unlikely that the Britons would chose to leave the EU. Both these illusions were soon to be destroyed. But, as long as this paper is concerned, the crucial things were the reactions to those two happenings. As a matter of fact, almost immediately after the results of the Referendum and the US vote, most of the major liberal TV stations, newspapers and websites started a crusade against how the Leave and Trump campaigns were conducted, accusing the supporters of those two factions, as well as their leaders, of being deliberate liars and demagogues who had deceived their voters. It quickly became clear that these two outcomes were not just “normal” losses for the establishment, but rather something politically unbearable. In an act of desperate retaliation, any means at their disposal became good to prove the stupidity and intellectual inferiority of those who had voted against what they had expected, so that major news became the statistics confirming the lower level of education of the Brexit and Trump supporters (Stone 2017; Weaver 2017; Silver 2016; Castillo and Schramm 2016). Despite the accuracy of the statistical data, it is necessary to note that not many tried to focus on the social and economic reasons that stood behind these results and motives that needed a deeper and more careful approach. Obviously, the less educated supported both Trump and the Brexit, but by sharing this kind of information without exploring its background, the Media simply created an atmosphere of collision between those who have a higher education and those who do not, something that actually

generates even stronger divisions in the society. The “us” vs. “them” tactic in this case was completely counterproductive, because in the end it gave a legitimation to everyone who had voted against the establishment in his/her anxious attempt to show fight against the “elites”. These people, often called the “losers of the globalization” (see, for example, Davies 2016; Bevins 2016), saw in Trump and Nigel Farage the figures who had promised them a liberation from the society in which they felt out of place, undesired, left alone, and forgotten. Instead of focusing on their problems and listening to their voices, the Media and the most important social actors of the establishment chose to play on the chords preferred by the new winners, rather condemning them of everything they could come up with than actually getting closer to the real source of “rebellion”. In the end, by using the statistics mentioned above, they tried to grab back the right of representing the real truth, while their opponents became the representatives of the “post-truth”. Unfortunately for them, by using this kind of attitude, they downplayed the intellectual capabilities of all those that expressed their feelings by supporting the “post-truth” side, directly contributing to raising their awareness of having done the right thing. Indeed, why was the victory of Donald Trump the ultimate symbol of a “post-truth” era, while the eventual success of Hilary Clinton would not have been so? Was Hilary Clinton that much better of an option just because she used a different rhetoric, even if she came from a real political dynasty that had shown many times its recklessness and a complete incompetency in understanding the common person? Also, even if probably under the influence of biased motivations, why did the decision of the British voters to leave the EU make us live in a “post-truth” society? The thing is that the world did not need to wait for the twenty-first century and Donald Trump to learn that politicians have a rather complicated relationship with the truth. It is quite clear that if the Britons had voted to remain in the EU despite all their discontent and personal anxiety, nobody would be talking about the disappearance of a supposed “truth era” right now. It is actually astonishing how fast the public interest switched to the desperate attempt of finding a simple reason that could explain why the establishment lost, concentrating on the real motives only after the dust had settled down and the results became irreversible. Once again, by doing so, the defeated side showed a complete lack of understanding of the desire for an intellectual emancipation amongst those layers of the Western society that had been feeling abandoned for a long time. By describing the consequences of their inaction as a result of a mere “post-truth” cataclysm, they only added more “gasoline” to the already gravely burning

fire. When those who felt unprivileged and betrayed saw that there is no comprehension for their issues and, ever worse, that despite their votes and their worldviews they were still represented as under intelligent people and negative elements, the “soup” flavoured with “post-truth” was ready to be served.

FROM POSTMODERNISM TO “POST-TRUTH”

Now that we have defined in which circumstances the term “post-truth” should be used in order to preserve its meaning, I will focus on its connection with postmodernism. First of all, the various definitions describing postmodernism make the link between these two phenomena quite evident. Take for example the work of one of the most prominent postmodernists like Jean Baudrillard and his concepts like *Simulacra* and *Simulation*, and we could easily agree with the Croatian sociologist Rade Kalanj’s conclusions that Baudrillard’s ideas represent the transition from the *industrial-commodity* society to the *Media-post-industrial* one, where in the latter comes a deconstruction of subjects like “meaning”, “truth”, “nature” etc. (Baudrillard 2013, 24). Under these circumstances, we can see that the “post-truth society” fits perfectly this blueprint, as it is a condition that exists exactly in a society swollen by the mass alternative Media that seem not to care much about facts, truth and meanings. The intrinsic relativism that characterizes postmodernism and postmodernists like Baudrillard and Lyotard was clearly noticed by one of their harshest critics, i.e. Ernst Gellner, who was afraid that such intellectual principle could lead to a cognitive nihilism (Gellner 2000, 88). Now, it would be hazardous to deem Gellner’s concerns as fulfilled predictions, but it would be wrong either to dismiss the fact that in a “post-truth society” the risk of the development of cognitive nihilism is a real possibility, especially considering the outcomes of the last most important political events. Thus, if for postmodernism one of the main problems of modernism was its attitude towards the absolute truth and rationalism, then the fact that a “post-truth” concept is directly connected to the deconstruction of notions like truth, ethics and morality, does not come as a surprise either. Indeed, as explained previously, the “post-truth” is a state, in which the truth gets rid of its significance, a condition, in which facts do not matter anymore, while the only thing that counts is the capability of channelling and exploiting the emotions prevailing in the disgruntled masses. Always having in mind the possible definitions of postmodernism, this approach seems the logical consequence of

postmodernist ideas. Of course, postmodernism does not promote the degradation of facts to a minor role, but it holds the potential to induce the masses in acting that way, and after all this is exactly what happened with the rise of the “post-truth” concept. With the fall of the “hierarchies of knowledge” mentioned before, the truth now belongs to everyone, but not everyone is ready to take the insidious road that promises to bring to it, preferring to take often deceitful shortcuts. We could define this process as a nuance of postmodernism in a world without stable and absolute sources of knowledge, in which the freedom of finding the personal truth gets abused and replaced by the alternative truth found as a result of social anger and disillusion, frequently based on alternative facts too. As Fromm (Fromm 1994) and other thinkers noted, being free of choosing does not always come easy, often making a person feel lost and insecure. Accordingly, concepts like “truth” and “freedom” lose their magical appeal amidst people and start to feel dangerous. If we take a look at the voters that supported Brexit and Donald Trump (Smith 2017), we will see that the majority was represented by people who wanted a stronger leadership to guide them in a time of apparent insecurity. This condition persisted even after the results of the two votes (White 2017) clearly proving the will of the people in the West and their political worldview. In times of supposed insecurity, the need of the people for a strong and reliable source of social stability does not come as a surprise, often translating into the search for an authoritarian figure that could provide it. However, in the case when such figure cannot be found in the context of a liberal democracy, the community could shift this search leaning towards unconventional sources that could be found thanks to alternative facts, news and truths. The fact that in many institutions, and often also in a broader public discourse, the postmodernist thesis of multiple truths or perspectives reigns, encourages people to begin a personal journey of intellectual exploration that will find its end only when their initial thesis has been confirmed in one way or another. To clarify, this does not mean that postmodernism is the negative spring that has created the “post-truth”, but rather a way of understanding knowledge and the truth that has the inner potential of causing the majority to believe in the unquestionable right of being “right”, whereas the basis of this belief is not supported by actual facts and appropriate methodologies. When this condition gets further bolded by the presence of social actors who can exploit that specific state of mind, the “post-truth” construction can emerge to the surface, creating an ostensible sensation of “truth-less”. However, as explained above, there has never existed a period in time

which can be classified as a “truth-society”, but only moments, in which the hierarchy of knowledge was strong enough to assert it preserved the universal truth. Once the concept shielding this hierarchy fell apart (modernism), the advent of its successor (postmodernism) laid the foundation for a world in which the relativization of the truth was expected to become one of its most important characteristics.

CONCLUSION

We can finally answer the question that lies behind this paper: did postmodernism give birth to the “post-truth” condition? The answer is mostly affirmative. Although obviously postmodernism does not automatically mean “post-truth”, it is undeniable that the relativization of such concepts as “truth”, “morality”, “ethics” etc. (Bauman 2009), was very likely to transcend outside the pure intellectual discussion, overflowing sooner or later the public discourse. This was an unconscious move amongst the masses that was initiated by a variety of different reasons. For example, the need for an intellectual emancipation existing in numerous groups of people in the Western societies that felt underestimated and misunderstood by the establishment, motivated many of them to grab for their own version of the truth out of often doubtful and ambiguous fonts. At that stage, the role of the so-called “alternative Media” became crucial, supporting the unsatisfied by publishing and sharing exactly the information they needed to hear. Subsequently, under the influence of new political characters, mostly spiced by populism, these unconventional truths gained the power not only to make their voices heard by the authorities, but also, in some cases, to replace them. The legitimation of such process lies also in the postmodernist idea of the truth as a non-absolute and relative notion, a belief that can be very easily misinterpreted in the everyday social life. At this point, it is necessary to note how in the world characterized by a strong propaganda of individualism and self-success, everyone is spurred into its own search for the truth, without however been given the instructions to do it properly. Logically, this last issue that comes alongside postmodernism augments the risk of turning the truth into an uncatchable concept. However, it is necessary to make a clear distinction between the truth as intended by postmodernism and the truth in the “post-truth” construction. In the first case, the fact that the truth can be approached from different angles or deconstructed does not mean that it should be built on fake and unverified bases; in the second case, the question, on whose basis the supposed truth is constructed,

does not matter at all. In fact, the principle behind these two ways of approaching the truth is opposite; as postmodernism denies the possibility of an absolute truth, while the “post-truth” mostly supports that notion and acts also as the truth is somehow hidden from the public by the establishment. Furthermore, an important role in the rise of the “post-truth” concept was played by the definitive fall of the “hierarchy of knowledge”, that is those institutions and sources of knowledge and truth that could be previously deemed trustable. Nowadays, thanks also to postmodernism, these hierarchies do not count as they did in the past, which is not necessarily a negative aspect of postmodernism, but it can be counterproductive. Probably, the most fascinating example of this problem is the struggle that thousands of scientists have in their attempt to convince the climate change deniers of the extremely dangerous consequences that are awaiting the human kind, if we do not change some patterns in our energy producing and exploiting habits. In this specific case, the scientists represent the hierarchy of knowledge, i.e. those that are highly qualified and specialized in the research of man-made climate change. However, their already proved expertise³ in the world of “post-truth” communication counts way less than what their knowledge suggests, as their theses are often rejected and mocked by social actors who prefer to base their own opinions on pure short-term emotions and goals. Due to this reason, when the US president Donald Trump in the midst of a severe winter storm tweets that “Perhaps we could use a little bit of that good old Global Warming that our Country, but not other countries, was going to pay TRILLIONS OF DOLLARS to protect against” (Trump 2017) the short-range emotions prevail in his supporters over well-documented research conducted during decades. Despite the facts confirming that the last ten to fifteen years saw an astonishing and concerning rise in the world temperatures (Nuccitelli 2018), twenty days of cold in a specific area can become the previously mentioned short-term “emotional truth” characterizing the “post-truth” condition. In a society like the postmodern one – where many essential social concepts get strongly relativized – the logical consequence is the degradation of the truth to a secondary role due to its inability to maintain its necessity. In other words, notions like “being right” or “speak the

³ Proved expertise: before becoming a scientist and being able to draw a conclusion, a researcher must pass through a standardized process (university, peer reviews, commissions, etc.) that should prove his/her ability, credibility, quality etc.

truth" do not need any more to be founded on any kind of fact to guarantee the validity of somebody's opinion; what matters in the postmodern time of "post-truth", is the way the emotions are portrayed and exploited.

Nevertheless, as discussed in this paper, it would be wrong to deem the hypothetical "post-truth society" as something natural that can be compared to a supposed "truth-society" from our past. In fact, if according to some authors phenomena like the rise of the totalitarian regimes in the twentieth century and the Holocaust can be seen as the consequence of the development of Modernism (Baumann 2017), then it might be correct to claim that the "post-truth" condition is the direct result of postmodernism and its relativization of the basic concepts of the human existence as the "truth", the "morality", "ethics" and so on. In a time where the "hierarchies of knowledge" have definitely been deprived of their status, the truth gets thrown into a sort of wild prairie where it can be hunted without rules. Still, that prairie is not affecting the complete society, but only the aspect tied to the field of the political interaction. As shown by the Donald Trump example cited earlier, usually the "post-truth" condition is abused by political actors in order to gain the support of the masses, mostly by adding an important dose of populism to this process. If we take a closer look at how it spread in the Western liberal democracies, we will notice that it usually starts from the "outsiders", i.e. those who feel left apart by the society. For them, the truth is always hidden by the establishment in order to subjugate the people and literally enslave them. In this twilight zone, the truth becomes a volatile idea that can be moulded at everybody's will, and that is the precise moment when these voices and dissatisfactions get collected by specific political subjects who then openly misuse them. The outcome is a political interaction, in which, as stated before, the concept of truth gets overflowed by short-term emotions. At this point, it is important to note that although it might seem like the "post-truth" is affecting the whole society, it still remains confined to the political arena, as it is quite evident that the "post-truth" was not able to fully infiltrate for example the scientific space, but yet it is contaminating the area outside of it. Therefore, when a conspiracy theory gets mainstream, we are still talking about political communication, as we will always find a minimum common denominator behind it: a fictional, dark, lying, and negative political force.

To conclude, one may claim that the "post-truth" construction is, in fact, a condition existing in today's society, but it can be deemed so only if studied in the context of the political interaction. Outside

this exact milieu, it is not possible to talk about a world characterized by a state in which, according to the Oxford dictionaries definition, the truth lost its importance, as it was exactly the desperate need for an absolute and alternative truth present in large groups of the population that brought to life the “post-truth” concept. Historically, there has never been a period in time that could be considered to be a “truth society”, and if so, it is impossible to assert that nowadays we live in the opposite of something that has never even existed. Furthermore, it seems quite evident that the “post-truth” cannot be explored without engaging in its often contradictory relationship with postmodernism, as, on the one hand, it draws from it the legitimation for its reconsideration of the accepted truth, but, on the other hand, it is doing so only to reach a new unequivocal answer.

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LIVING-IN-BETWEEN- LANGUAGES@ BORDERLANDS.GLOBAL

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ABSTRACT

The voices of the “literary periphery” escape the suppression of invisibility by translating themselves into more “universal languages.” The literary system acting as one of the repositories of cultural memory is in this way forced to reshape, conform or reinvent itself into new literary expressions.

I will study the Basque case as it has been placed at the peripheries of Spanish cultural life but in the last decades jumped into the international literary system by translating what had only belonged to the intimate Basque collectivity. Is this exposure an attempt to validate themselves after decades of linguistic isolation? How do political views interact with this linguistic phenomenon? What is the relation between the national identity and the expression of such in a translated format? Does the “I” that writes represent the Basque author or a mirrored image of him or her? How do we cross linguistic barriers without losing identities? This is not a new scenario in the global literary system but we are finding new ways to overcome it. This literary projection of the Basque culture is supported by other cultural initiatives that accompany the literary event. Although the linguistic isolation was partly due to the linguistic challenges of the Basque language itself, it is interesting to see how the Spanish and the global literary community receives these new translations that are contextualized in a political and militant decision not to pursue global recognition through violent venues.

Keywords: bilingualism, borderlands, Basque, glocal, linguistic minority

INTRODUCTION

Postcolonial theories have proposed concepts such as centre and periphery, borderlands, national cultures, or national language. Nowadays, globalization has taken over the stage and the linguistic maps were reconfigured again. Minority languages found a new stage to compete for global attention, thus liberating them from the peripheral linguistic ghettos within a national linguistic and cultural dominance. This is the case of the Basque language and literature that is taking the global stage with the aid of bridge languages that do not convey the traditional and historical painful stigma that centuries of linguistic dominance imposed on them. The Basque population has used Spanish and sometimes French as a second language to communicate within the Basque community and with outside communities. This imposed bilingualism created for the Basques a schizophrenic expression. In this article, I will analyse how some communications or dialogues conducted in the mother tongue contrast with the majority that use a m(other) tongue. There has always been the need to translate it because someone in the audience does not speak Basque or because the source of information or story originated in a second language. This use of constant translation creates the illusion of invisibility, which is contrary to the process of identity formation. The need for translation is not only oral but also in written form.

TRANSLATION PROCESSES AT THE BASQUE "BORDERLAND" LEADING TO THE CONCEPTION OF A TRANSNATIONAL SPACE

In the translation process there is an interlocutor that is an active participant in the communicational transaction retaining some of the presence of the speaker. Lawrence Venuti expressed it this way, "A translated text [...] is judged acceptable by most publishers, reviewers, and reader when it reads fluently, when the absence of any linguistic or stylistic peculiarities makes it seem transparent, giving the appearance that it reflects the foreign writer's personality or intention or the essential meaning of the foreign text-the disap-

pearance, in other words, that the translation is not in fact a translation, but the “original” (Lawrence 1995, 1).

Translation has been the main tool in the linguistic transactions between the Basques and the rest of the world given the difficulties inherent in the language and, to some extent, the geographical isolation on the linguistic map. The linguistic borderland between the mother tongue and the “other foreign tongue” has always constituted a challenge for the Basques and Spanish alike. With the recognition of the Basque language as one of the national languages we could be led to believe that an inclusion and recognition took place. This was not the case; the linguistic borderline continues to divide two peoples and two languages that compete for attention. The Basque people had to face their own challenges that change from one linguistic community to another. Joseph explains the Case of Scotland indicating that “In the case of Scotland, where two separate national languages emerged (Gaelic and Scots, of Celtic and Germanic provenance respectively), their coexistence has not favoured the development of linguistic nationalism, but has impeded it, as partisans of the two languages have focused much of their energies on combating the rival claims of the other, rather than the hegemony of English” (Joseph 2004, 94).

In our transnational world as two individuals come close and desire communication it is inevitable that the speaker of the minority language will yield to the use of a “more universal” language. A national competition is not present but the authoritarian rule of one over the other is still in place. The borderland space is the new territory where languages meet and the communication event could be peaceful or violent given a very delicate balance in the contexts and the circumstances of the borderland. Each individual living in the borderlands is very aware of the risks of living in between languages. Languages are still the arms of the political powers.

In the case of the Basque country the concept of a subordinate culture was not modified with the political decision to recognize the language as one of the national languages, as the main publishing houses were mainly concerned with publications in Spanish given the restrictive audience of the Basque language. “A fluent translation would thus give the impression that the reader is given direct access to the original work, and therefore the impression that nothing is missed, (or gained), by reading the translation. The implications of the ideal of invisibility for the understanding of cultural otherness in a multilingual world divided by power relations are obvious: dominant majority languages are conspicuously present and proficiency in them is often regarded as an emblem of cosmopolitanism – they are

highly visible and recognizable –, while minority languages fade into the background (or, for some, the backlands) and “attachment” to them may even be seen as an obstacle to universal communication” (Olaziregi 2009, 214).

The use of translation while living in between languages offers a double value; on the one hand, two parties can communicate while before it was impossible. On the other hand, the speaker is impregnated by certain invisibility as he is trying to put forth a thought that needs to be modified and shaped so that the listener can not only understand but also accept the message shared. The cultural and social life at this translational borderland unavoidably follows the pendulum between being explained or even modified, or misunderstood.

The Basque Country as a geographical borderland of the Spanish political map constituted itself as an ironic “self-linguistic borderland” of the Basque language. The Basque country itself was “the borderland” where a cultural and linguistic identity was trying to emerge. At the same time the Basque people were translating the process through the filter of other languages and settings such as the literary setting. The political misconceptions and stereotypes permeated many of the images conveyed but a connection was established between the Basque voice and the global scene.

THE BASQUE CASE

The presence of terrorist activities imprinted a violent connotation on the cultural pains that this people were trying to sort out. The Basque language was the contested space where the culture could flourish and establish itself as a mark of identity.

The Basque people followed the change from nationalistic assertions to a global world scenario, which operates in a transnational framework, deciding to open up to the world using English and French as bridge languages in order to manifest their identity and their voice. Similarly, to the Basque-Spanish relationship, the Basque-English and the Basque-French relationships constituted unique constructions of an identity that is, by nature, dual at least. The idea of in-between testifies to this linguistic borderland that needs constantly to be redefined and to be explained. Mari Jose Olaziregi affirms that “One could say that practically all the current 800,000 Basque-speakers or *euskaldunak* who live on both sides of the Pyrenees in Spain and France are bilingual. And that this bilingualism is formed in conjunction with such widely spoken languages

as Spanish and such prestigious languages in literary circles as French; languages that, in turn, have been displaced by the enormously central and legitimizing place that English occupies in the current global framework" (Olaziregi 2009, 19–20).

Following the political fight for the construction and the representation of a unique identity of a people, the literary production in the Basque country in the Basque language worked hard to authenticate a voice of their own. As the dialogues were established with the outside world, which did not have access to the Basque language, a translation was the only road to connect linguistically the "other" with the "m(other)" tongue. The linguistically contested space of the Basque borderland had to open up to a linguistic transaction that taxed the minority language by forcing a translated voice to convey the "words of the land".

Pascale Casanova commented about this phenomenon, "[...] in a market where intellectual and publishing logic have grown apart, it is clear from the outset that an author who already writes in a "universal" language can avoid having to be validated by translation when competing for a place in the world rankings" (Casanova 2004).

As we start to understand the intricate space of linguistic borderlands, especially of languages of minorities, we discover that in each attempt to reach out to the "other" there is a need to die, at least partially, to have the right to be simply understood. The transaction of reaching out is a fragile exchange where the violence of misunderstandings lurks at every corner of the road. Nonetheless, the alternative of isolation is impossible to consider in our transnational world. As much as we distrust translations, there is a generous act of an honest "self" that risks, once again, to be heard that matches the generous act of the "other" that is interested and fascinated by the speaker. When these poles of attraction are based on honesty and authenticity then we can dream of a valid exchange, nonetheless, this dialogue can also be perverted by the lack of sincerity and the desire to take advantage over the other.

THE "BORDERLAND" ACCESSES THE TRANSNATIONAL LINGUISTIC SPACE HOSTING THE BASQUE LANGUAGE

Borderlands have the potential to create spaces of danger, of transition, of exchanges that are charged with real and imaginary dangers as well as promises of connection. The positive aspect of

this scenario is that the more frequently we cross into different borderlands, even while staying in the same neighborhood, the more familiar we become with the position and posture of being the "other". There is a great potential for distrust as well as for compassion. The linguistic borderland is no different from any geographical borderland. Somehow, these speakers have been forced to leave the comfort of their mother tongue to venture to the linguistic space of the "other."

In our globalized world, within our transnational migration of peoples, the identification of a m(other) tongue is becoming rarer. There is a group of people that travel and live in between languages trying not to lose themselves in the myriad linguistic transactions. Each communication conveys not only the real, but also the imaginary community of the speaker. In this way, the understanding of "the outsider" of the community is influenced by the real as well as by the imaginary universes. More knowledge of the other is not the key to bridging these linguistic borderlands, as it is not in the intellect where rejection and violence towards the other occurs. Multiculturalism, as a philosophy of life, did not open the doors of borderland spaces. It all rests in a much deeper cause, the willingness to accept the other even when it is not easy or fair. Inclusion will become a reality when the fact of being human will be the connecting factor, then languages will be able to act as bridges. Until this happens, we can all engage in the fantasy of open borderlands where languages can be used as connecting lines.

By recognizing the configurations of linguistic maps we can project towards a "transnational linguistic borderland" that is closer than we expect. These borderlands are not only associated with nations, but they are a part of the geography of families and other close relationships. "Although rhetorically effective in arguing for a central dialect as the basis of the national language, the strategy of marginalising the periphery is quite the opposite of what political nation-building entails. The Spanish (or Italian, or whatever) people is a construct based upon political boundaries, which are arbitrary in the sense that they are historically contingent, having lain elsewhere at other times. The political-cultural goal becomes that of fixing the boundaries to prevent them moving again (unless it is to expand). To do this, it is necessary to convince those living on the frontiers of the nation, near the borders, that they are one people with those in the centre, and not one with their neighbours just across the border. It is necessary as well to persuade those in the centre of the same thing, if they are to be motivated to pay for war to keep the nation's boundaries intact" (Joseph 2004, 105).

In the nation forming stages political powers and linguistic choices and dominances went hand in hand. As we open the national borders to a transnational world where borderlands are not so strictly defined and observed, the linguistic imposition becomes more flexible, more adaptable to these new spaces that are created in the borderlands. That is why it does not surprise us anymore to find people living between languages as, for many, geographical borders become a reference more than a restriction. Each day there are more and more ways to cross national borders without physically crossing them. Social media, journalistic reports, literature and arts in general have been the engines that created these borderland spaces that are transnational in essence. The dilemma of the choice of language occurred again. The selection of a language is unavoidable but it is still not clear what will be the parameters of the choice, the contexts of those exchanges, the ethics of the communications in the transnational borderlands as loyalties are not defined; it is my opinion that a stronger sense of being human and sharing in that commonality is the essence. We can create a new vision of interrelations when ethical principles of respect for all peoples giving value to each individual as such will replace the selfish nationalistic parameters.

Although this is still an ideal, I believe that the conditions are given, since we already have the linguistic spaces to practice old ethics in a new environment. Linguistic choices are bound to be respected since they touch the essence of each individual. We cannot avoid translating, but practicing it within an ethical environment loses the dark side while allowing for new settings to express each person's voice in freedom and respect.

LINGUISTIC IDENTITIES, TRANSLATION, AND BILINGUALISM AT THE BORDERLANDS

The process of shaping identities takes time as it is developed slowly in time starting with the evolution of the expression of a culture until it is concluded in the formation of a culture. In this way, language is simultaneously a by-product of culture as well as an essential component of it. The acquisition of a linguistic identity is a gradual process that starts when we are unable to communicate until we feel comfortable using a certain learned code of communication within a certain community.

Repetition and memory are the foundations where the linguistic “home” of an individual is constructed. The process of repetition is broken, as more and more translations are needed for each exchange of words. Constant translation creates insecurity and undermines the formation of a robust identity. “[...] any body of people considering themselves a ‘nation’ claimed the right to self-determination [...] In consequence of this multiplication of potential ‘unhistorical’ nations, ethnicity and language became the central, increasingly the decisive or even the only criterion of potential nationhood” (Hobsbawm 1991, 102).

Hobsbawm, in this citation confirms the fact that borderlands need to be kept only temporarily as they do not constitute the fertile land necessary to grow roots of identity.

As populations are closer and closer, the tension of the need of translation is more frequent. The concept of an “organic language” is very attractive, as we need to know how to cultivate it without the intrusion of foreign elements. Language and nature are close to the human experience, the “humus” of our origin. They both partake in the “individual universe” where identities are formed and constructed.

An individual needs to spend a long time in contact with the “mother tongue” in order to layer his experience into many layers of culture, history, tradition, innovation, camaraderie, fellowship, etc. Translation not only interrupts this process but also makes it even more difficult as in a split second the individual is expected to go through all the layers, analyze and interpret the outlook of the whole, which took considerable time to be elaborated. The process of translation brings the individual outside this natural process demanding that the individual shows the same kind of deep knowledge (which is the product of time spent in contact with the language) in the bridge language. Bilingualism is a valid attempt to bring both languages to the same level, although allegiance to one more than the other is a frequent result of it. Biculturalism is a bit deeper than bilingualism as it requires many more layers of instruction and cultural references. I would not place bilingualism and biculturalism in the linguistic borderland of each culture. I think that both concepts, fully developed and sufficiently exercised, indicate a familiarity and flexibility of the individual to go from one “motherland” to another “motherland.”

Unfortunately, there is a modern trend to identify bilingualism and biculturalism while it is in a premature stage thus allowing for a borderland space in each one of them. True bilingualism and biculturalism

turalism do not include borderlands, as it is a natural process of passage between the two cultures and the two languages. In Joa Maragall's words, "Philology is this loving relationship with the word, or more exactly, with meaning captured *in status nascens*, in the very moment when sound breathes a "soul" into things." [...] "Every region of the planet and every language evokes and shapes a universal truth that can only be accessed by participating ontologically-lovingly, -in the immediate surroundings. Because every land endows the most substantial words, of its people with subtle meaning that cannot be explained by any dictionary or taught by any grammar book" (Maragall 1912, 10–11).

CONCLUSION

In a fast-paced world, we have demonized the natural gradual process of shaping the identity of each individual, as the self needs to get the nutrients out of "the ground" that the person inhabits. As in psychology, the fact of having multiple personalities is considered a disorder in linguistic terms; it could be a talent. There is a fine line between a "disorder" and a "talent." The "talent" works for the individual, it is an asset while the "disorder" is uncontrollable and does not define the healthy individual but the "disorder." Living between languages calls for a new global linguistic adventure. It constitutes a new opportunity to communicate respecting the "other tongue" as much as our "mother tongue." The borderlands territory is here and it needs new rules and new ways of conducting "business" in this new land. As we have witnessed the failure of past authoritarian and repressive measures, we can choose again new ways to communicate. It is not a futuristic choice, but it is imposed on us as new media is, continuously, coming into existence, as distances are shortened, as "the other" is closer than ever and communication is unavoidable when living in such close proximity.

The case of the Basque country, a linguistic "minority" in Spain, is an example of the many linguistic groups that are finding, for the first time, a platform to stand side by side with other more "universal languages" in order to be heard and to express themselves in their own words even if they are translated. Living in between languages is one of the many new scenarios that the twenty-first century is bringing to our shore.

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ON FUNCTIONAL- TYPOLOGICAL PLOT OF “LITTLE RED RIDING HOOD” IN EUROPEAN AND ARMENIAN CONTEXTS

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ABSTRACT

The article takes into theoretical findings by Vladimir Propp, Alan Dundes, Yuri Lotman, as well as considers the material in a semiotic and typological key. In typological terms, the motifeme (Kenneth Pike's term) is the "divergence" between the primary European "invariants" (Perrault, the Brothers Grimm), as well as, their transpositions, "emanations" in Armenian translations and transpositions.

The motifeme and typological analysis of the empirical material showed that the version of "Little Red Riding Hood" by Perrault was addressed to the adult recipient while the version of the same tale by the Brothers Grimm is addressed to the children. Recipients and cultural context (Enlightenment, Romanticism) played an important role in the processing of folklore material. The motifeme and functions of the fairy tale played a significant role in the construction of the author's narration.

Functional (or motiphemic) and typological analysis of texts shows that both the version of Perrault and that of the Brothers Grimm have many motifemes taken from the fairy tale. However, the textological difference between the tales lies in the fact that high didacticism and the presentation of cognitive motifeme in the version of the Brothers Grimm indicate a relatively high authorial interference into the language of the narration of the fairy tale.

In the nineteenth century West Armenian Literature, the theme of "Little Red Riding Hood" was touched upon twice. In 1861, Ambrosius Kalfayan published in Paris not the translation but the retelling of the fairy tale of "Little Red Riding Hood". If the translation was in some sense a "tracing-paper" of the primary text (Perrault), then, in comparison with the "literal" translation, the "retelling" of the plot moved the correlated text much more further from the European "primary sources". The author of the second version of the plot of "Little Red Riding Hood" was the Armenian satirist Hakob Paronyan (1843–1891), who published the text under the title "Red Rose" (1876), which is actually the hybrid version of European "primary" texts. Typological analysis has shown that for the Armenian versions the version of Perrault is the one that has mostly

played the role of the primary source, as in the nineteenth century West Armenian writers were mostly French speaking, and for this reason the reception of French literature is more apparent.

Keywords: literary fairy tale, fairy tale typology, fairy tale text transformation, function, motif, motifeme

INTRODUCTION

It is well known that the theme of the tale “Little Red Riding Hood” (LRRH) has repeatedly undergone various possible cultural artistic revisions. Based on oral versions of “LRRH” (Giambattista Basile), this plot¹ was revised in France by Charles Perrault (1628–1703), who published the tale² in 1697 in the collection “Mother Goose Tales or Stories on Tales from Times Past with Morals” entitled “Le Petit Chaperon Rouge” (literally “The Little Red Chaperone”).

The original source for the given revision was the material taken from the collection of tales entitled “The Tale of Tales, or Entertainment for Little Ones” (1634–1636) by the Italian writer Giambattista Basile (about 1575–1632). Perrault’s reference to “grassroots’ genre”, to “despicable art” was made in the context of “Quarrels of the Ancients and the Modern” (Fattakhova 2006, 63)³.

The tale about LRRH was fixed a century later after the French version in the context of German Enlightenment and the Brothers Grimm’s⁴ romanticism. The informant for the Brothers Grimm was Dorothea Viehmann from Huguenots’ family and had grown up in the world of French tales. The Brothers Grimm elaborated and refined the old theme in a novel way, so some of the tales were interpreted in an arbitrarily new way (Maar 2010, 7). In this article, we will illustrate the above statement on the example of the “LRRH”.

Armenian culture also is not an exception, as the plot of “LRRH” was translated into and interpreted according to the Armenian manner. The purpose of this article is to show in detail the motifeme⁵

¹ Plot is considered as paradigm of actions (Silant’ev 2014, 3).

² On history of genre in context of French literature, see (Andreev 1936b, IX–XX).

³ About the dispute, see also (Bloomenfeld 1936, 3–16; Simyan / Kačane 2018, 1–33).

⁴ In the context of German romanticism, the given plot was artistically revised by Ludwig Tieck (Zotova, 2012).

⁵ This is Kenneth Pike’s term. Instead of the term used by Propp, Pike suggested the function of motifeme. Alan Dundes explains Pike’s suggested term by the fact that “the term “function”” is not widespread among the folklorists, and the term “motifeme” is suggested to be used instead of it (Dundes 2003, 24). In the course of the empirical material’s description,

“divergences” from European “invariants” (Perrault, Brothers Grimm) in Armenian translations and transpositions. It should be noted that the authors’ (Perrault, Brothers Grimm) artistic revisions of “LRRH” will be considered as the tale’s “primary versions” with respect to all subsequent textual interpretations, as the latter are the “emanations” of the former.

But before we can proceed to the main task of comparing the European and Armenian versions or modifications of the tale “LRRH”, we should pause to consider the motifemic peculiarities of “primary” European texts of “LRRH”.

Note that myths, just like tales, were cognitive matrices of ancient, archaic societies where syntagmas were encoded in collective codes for maintaining their homeostasis: the only difference is that the tales carry out the literary-aesthetic function of the language (Jakobson 1960) in contrast to the referential function of the myths. As for the authorial revision of the tale “LRRH” by Perrault and Brothers Grimm, the social-cognitive codes of the age were added and refracted into the archaic motifemes.

For instance, Perrault’s tale primarily functioned in the context of the French literary salons of the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries, and the main message to the reader is enclosed in to act on the reader with great pleasantness, both by teaching and entertaining (Perro 1991, 7), i.e. the reader had to learn new things and get aesthetic pleasure from aesthetic communication. As aptly noted by Blumenfeld (1936, 17), tales as a “low” genre could manage to appear on the table of the social “top” (i.e. the educated genteel elite) only through humor, where a storyteller was Mother Goose.

we will observe the terms “function” and “motifeme” as synonyms. We will also point out that in the given context motifs (Universe) can be observed as paradigmatic units, and motifemes (functions suggested by Propp) can be perceived as syntagmatic ones. The given opposition motif vs. motifeme (function) coincides with Pike’s opposition of etic vs. emic: etic units are suitable for comparative cross-cultural studies, but emic attitudes are preferable for mono-contextual studies (Dundes 2003, 23). Thus, the analysis and description of etic units will, in essence, bring to a paradigmatic description of the motifs, while the emic one will lead to syntagmatic one on the level of separate texts. That is, the emic analysis of syntagma generates classical structural investigation, while the etic one is beyond the framework of traditional structuralism towards the typology of cultures, literatures (in Lotman’s perception).

Perrault's concept of typology was not a novelty for the European context as Perrault's approach is nearly a literal repetition of Boccaccio's artistic concept in "Decameron":

"The ladies who read them may find delight in the pleasant things therein displayed; and they may also obtain useful advice, since they may learn what things to avoid and what to seek. No can all this happen without some soothing of their melancholy" (Boccaccio 1930, 26–27).

It follows from the quote that the narrated novels should give the female reader first of all intellectual and aesthetic pleasure in order to avoid melancholy.

Perrault admitted that he could have given his texts a greater "pleasantness", had he allowed himself other liberties that usually enliven them. Yet, he confessed, the desire to please the readers never tempted him to the degree that he would decide to break the rule, which he had set for himself, i.e. never to write anything that would have offended chastity or decency (Perro 1991, 9). Thus, the author of the tales didn't carnivalize and eroticize the material for greater attractiveness as that would have crossed the demarcation line between ethical and unethical. By taking into account the author's intention and historical context, we will focus our subsequent analysis on the social-cognitive codes of the texts. An analysis of the empirical material will be carried out from a typological, semiotic, and functional perspectives.

ON TYPOLOGICAL CORRELATION OF THE TALE "LITTLE RED RIDING HOOD" BY PERRAULT AND BROTHERS GRIMM

We will begin by discerning some of the correlations between Perrault's and Brothers Grimm's versions that transpire from their texts (Perrault 1697; Perro 1991; Brothers Grimm 1812; Brothers Grimm 2010). From these texts, the main social-cognitive motifeme-codes relevant for the socialization of the younger generation will be singled out.⁶ In relation to Perrault's version Brothers Grimm's tale is a peculiar modification of the French "original source".

For brevity of the description, let us represent the socialization, didactic, and cognitive codes of the "primary" texts (Table 1).

⁶ These motifeme-codes are both cognitive and value reminders for the younger generation and adult world.

Table 1

	Charles Perrault	Brothers Grimm
1	Mother is madly in love with LRRH	N/A
2	Grandmother is more madly in love with LRRH	Grandmother loves LRRH
3	Grandmother gives her granddaughter a red hat as a gift	Grandmother gives LRRH a red velvet hat as a gift
4	LRRH goes to visit her sick grandmother and carries a flat cake and a pot of butter for her	LRRH carries a piece of cake and a bottle of wine for her sick and weak grandmother ⁷
5	N/A	<u>Mother's Instructions:</u> LRRH goes out before it gets hot outside LRRH must not turn off the road If LRRH turns off the road, she'll fall down and break the bottle LRRH must greet the grandmother and not peek into all corners
6	<u>The Wolf solicits and misleads LRRH:</u> The Wolf learns about the location of the grandmother's house (the first house in the village behind the mill) The Wolf leads LRRH into a competitive state and offers her to go by one road while he goes by the other	<u>The wicked Wolf solicits and misleads LRRH:</u> The Wolf learns about the location of the grandmother's house (in the forest, a quarter of an hour far off from the meeting place of LRRH and the Wolf "under three large oak trees", next to the hazel) The Wolf draws LRRH's attention to nice birds, flowers, and LRRH decides to give the grandmother a fresh bouquet of the beautiful flowers to please her
7	The Wolf goes by the short road, while LRRH takes the long one	The Wolf runs straight to the grandmother's hut
8	LRRH gathers nuts, runs after butterflies, and gathers bouquets of little flowers	LRRH gathers flowers into a large bouquet
9	Sociolects: N/A	Sociolects: LRRH greets the grandmother – "Good day"

⁷ In original text the word "Kuchen" (cake).

	Charles Perrault	Brothers Grimm
10	<u>LRRH and the Wolf's dialogue in grandmother's bed:</u> A. Big hands for a strong hug B. Big feet to run well C. Big ears to hear well D. Big eyes to see well E. Big teeth for eating	<u>LRRH and the Wolf's dialogue in grandmother's house:</u> A. Big ears to hear well B. Big eyes to see well C. Big hands for easy embrace D. Scary big mouth for swallowing
11	<u>The Wolf swallows LRRH</u>	<u>The Wolf swallows the poor LRRH</u>
12	<u>Wolf's punishment:</u> N/A	<u>Wolf's punishment:</u> Disembowelment of Wolf's belly with scissors LRRH pulls stones and stuffs Wolf's belly Wolf's death
13	N/A	Narrator: setting free LRRH and the grandmother from the Wolf's belly
14	<u>The Moral of the Tale</u> "Children, especially attractive, well-bred young ladies, should never talk to strangers, for if they should do so, they may well provide dinner for a Wolf. I say 'Wolf', but there are various kinds of wolves. There are also those who are charming, quiet, polite, unassuming, complacent, and sweet, who pursue young women at home and in the streets. And unfortunately, it is these gentle wolves who are the most dangerous ones of all" (Perrault 1697). ⁸	<u>The Moral of the Tale</u> The hunter skins the Wolf and takes the pelt home. The grandmother is refreshed and recovered LRRH thinks: "As long as I live, I will never leave the path and run off into the woods by myself if mother tells me not to." (Brothers Grimm 1812)
15	<u>Editing of the tale</u> N/A	<u>Editing of the tale</u> Seduction of LRRH by another Wolf "Correction" of granddaughter's and grandmother's mistakes The Wolf's indirect punishment (he drowns in water) And no one is sorry for the Wolf

⁸ The same passage edited by M. Petrovsky: Moral "From this saying it is clear // It's dangerous for children to listen to evil men // Especially for maiden // And slim, and pretty ones // It's not a miracle or marvel // To be the wolf's third dish // For wolves [...] but not all they // Are frank in their nature // Ones are affable, respectful // Not showing their claws // As if are innocent

It is evident from Table 1 that Perrault didn't underline the love for the mother. The Brothers Grimm emphasized what exactly the hat was made of (velvet, or German "Sammet") (Grimm 2010, 181), which in its turn underlines the value of the gift as a sign of love. Interestingly, in Perrault's text edited by Samuil Marshak an additional social code of the Soviet period is introduced: the grandmother gave to her granddaughter the red hat as a gift on her *birthday* (Perro 1982, 27), which goes on to emphasize that presents are gifted on special occasions only.

LRRH's grandmother's food is "Germanized": flatbread (Perrault) vs. cake (Brothers Grimm), a pot of butter (Perrault) vs. wine (Brothers Grimm). In Perrault's version, granddaughter carries only solid food, while Brothers Grimm's heroine carries both solid food and some liquid. Wine must not be perceived as a spirit but as a substitute for water. Brothers Grimm's text (Point 5) is explicitly moralizing and includes detailed prescriptions, e.g. to go out before the heat, not to turn off the road, to greet the grandmother; such prescriptions are not found in Perrault's text. In Brothers Grimm's version LRRH's good breeding is indicated by the motifeme of greeting (Point 9) which is absent in Perrault's version. However, in Marshak's (soviet) version of LRRH it is present: "She greeted the Wolf and spoke" (Perro 1982, 29).

According to Propp, the function of *trick* is present in Perrault's version. The wolf suggests taking different roads and thus creates a competition between himself and LRRH. This point is also emphasized in the German version (the Wolf points to flowers and birds) (Point 6), but it is absent in Marshak's version (Perro 1982, 29). The function-motifeme of *trick, nosing about*, which is normally found in fairy tales, is also present in the authored tales of Perrault's and Brothers Grimm's versions (the Wolf finds out Grandmother's location) (Point 6).

and calm // While after a young maiden // On his heels up to the porch are striving // But who's not witty and not to point // That of all wolves most dangerous is the smarmy wolf" (Perro 1936, 28). Compare with another translation: "To little children not with reason (And especially to maiden, Beauties and little spoiled brat) // While meeting any men on roads // Do not adhere to cunny speech // Or else the wolf may swallow you // I said: a wolf! Wolves are countless // But there are such ones in them // Crooks so crafty // That by sweetly streaming flattery // They guard the maidens' honor // Accompanying to their walk till home // Are leading them to sleep in gloomy nooks [...] // But, alas, how modest the wolf seems // In as much cunny and terrible is he!" (Perro 1991, 29).

Since literary tales were recorded in different cultural contexts, Brothers Grimm “edited” the setting of the dialogue between LRRH and the Wolf in the spirit of the Enlightenment. While in Perrault’s version, the dialogue about big hands, feet, ears, eyes and teeth takes place in the grandmother’s bed, in the German version of Brothers Grimm it takes place in the grandmother’s house without any tactile contact or erotic accentuation (bed vs. house).

The typological study of the two texts shows that there are more didactic, pragmatic-utilitarian motifeme-codes (Points 5, 6, 9) in Brothers Grimm’s version of the tale than in Perrault’s version. The motifeme of metaphoric death is found in both Perrault’s and Brothers Grimm’s texts (Point 11). In Perrault’s version it is death by swallowing,⁹ while in Brothers Grimm’s version there is LRRH’s terror because of “darkness in Wolf’s body”.¹⁰ Perrault’s version has a terrible ending, whereas in Brothers Grimm’s tale the misfortune is avoided and the enemy is punished (Points 12 and 13).¹¹

In Brothers Grimm’s tale LRRH is “aggressive”, as she herself punishes Wolf-the-wrecker by stuffing his belly with stones. Notably, when Marshak was “translating” his version, he took some liberties, specifically at the “end” of the tale. Notably, he included a few details concerning the Wolf’s punishment which are absent in Perrault’s version, i.e. swallowing of the grandmother’s clogs and the LRRH’s red hat, woodcutters with axes accidentally passing by the grandmother’s house and killing the Wolf, and freeing the grandmother from the Wolf’s belly. In addition, in the dialogue of LRRH and the Wolf, Marshak “omitted” the explanation of why the Wolf’s feet are so big (Perro 1982, 30). In his “translation” Marshak essentially synthesized the endings of the tale given by two authors.

It should be noted that essentially the narration of the tale has all the motifemes or functions of a fairy tale:

⁹ In French and Italian folklore versions in the “end” of the tale “Little Red Riding Hood” there are numerous archaic motifemes of cannibalism: “The Wolf makes LRRH eat her grandmother’s body and drink her blood” (as a wine) (Andreev 1936b, 366).

¹⁰ After setting free the grandmother and granddaughter from the Wolf’s belly LRRH utters: “Oh, how scared I was, How dark it was in the wolf’s belly” (“Ach, wie war ich erschrocken, was war’s so dunkel in dem Wolf seinem Leib”) (Grimm 2010, 183).

¹¹ These correspond to functions 19 and 30 according to Propp.

- LRRH is away from her mother (the departure of any member of the family, the hero is leaving home, function 1 and 11 according to Propp);
- LRRH doesn't obey her mother (violation of the prohibition, Propp's function 3), which is more accentuated in Brothers Grimm's version (Point 5);
- The wolf learns from LRRH the grandmother's location (nosing about, Points 6 and 9),
- Wolf's nosing about as a precondition of a *trick* (according to Propp function 6);
- The Wolf is revealed when he eats LRRH (the false hero or antagonist is exposed, Propp's function 28);
- The Wolf is killed (the antagonist is defeated, Propp's functions 18 and 26);
- The hunters or LRRH punish the Wolf (the enemy is punished, Propp's function 30).¹²

Notably, Brothers Grimm's tale doesn't end with the Wolf's punishment, but is "replayed" (see Point 15). This time LRRH reaches her grandmother without making any mistake, i.e. without turning off the road. The grandmother, too, corrects her mistake. They both are locked together and they don't open the door to the Wolf who pretends to be bringing pastry as a gift. The Wolf's plan also works: he lurks on the roof of the grandmother's house and waits for LRRH to devour her on her way back at dusk ("wollt's in der Dunkelheit fressen") (Grimm 2010, 184). The Wolf acts in the dark and is unable to commit evil at daytime. LRRH explains why the Wolf didn't eat her up at their first meeting: "Had we not met in the open street he would have eaten me" ("Wenn's nicht auf off'ner Straße gewesen wäre, er hätte mich gefressen") (Grimm 2010, 184).

"The open street" indicates the phenomenon of a town, the space of the fairy tale is "socialized". There's also a change of the first meeting place of LRRH and the Wolf, i.e. the forest is replaced by a street. This indicates the evil's sociality and increases the didactic nature of the tale's "replay".

¹² It must be pointed out that N. P. Andreev in his article "Charles Perrault" indicates only one element of the fairy tale. It is the dialogue between LRRH and the Wolf (Andreev 1936b, XXI). If we consider it due to Propp's functions, then the dialogue between a human and a Wolf cannot be considered as a function of the fairy tale but is rather a "product" of an artistic convention.

In the first “act”, LRRH takes an active role in punishing the Wolf by stuffing the Wolf’s belly with stones, whereas in the tale’s second “act”, the Wolf feels the smell of a sausage (“Würst”), stretches, and by losing his balance, falls from the roof through the chimney into a large trough, and gets drowned. In fact, the Wolf is “punished” accidentally when satisfying his biological needs (i.e. hunger), and no one is suffering for him, while LRRH returns home (Grimm 2010, 184). The second “act” is, in essence, the author’s reinterpretation of the first “act” so that the recipients of the text could see the heroes’ right behavior in order to avoid misfortune, evil, and death. Another fundamental difference between the two European variants is Perrault’s playful morality with erotic overtones. This is the author’s main interpretation from the social point of view in a jokingly poetic form of the tale: maidens, beauties, brats vs. seducer male-wolf. The same semantic load in the Brothers Grimm’s version is seen in Points 14 and 15 of Table 1. Point 14 is the heroine’s inner deduction, while the “replay” of the tale becomes a visual representation of the correct behavior in the tale’s language.

Functional (or motifemic) and typological analysis of the texts shows that both Perrault’s and the Brothers Grimm’s versions have numerous motifemes of the fairy tale. But the textual difference between these two tales is the high didacticism and presentation of cognitive motifemes in Brother Grimm’s version. This indicates relatively high authorial interference in the narrative language of the fairy tale. The folklorist Andre Julie was right to directly mention “Grimm’s genre” in his book titled “Small Forms” (1930) (Schede 2004, 55). Functional-typological analysis of LRRH’s plot showed that Wilhelm Grimm’s approach failed as it couldn’t defend its position and approximate the plot’s authentic form. The conception of romantics exemplified in Jacob Grimm’s version of the plot becomes triumphant.

ARMENIAN VERSIONS OF “LITTLE RED RIDING HOOD”: KALFAYAN AND PARONYAN

In Western-Armenian literature of the nineteenth century, the theme of LRRH was revisited twice, by Kalfayan and Paronyan. In the nineteenth century, Western Armenian writers were mainly French speaking which explains the particular influence exerted by French literature. Thus, for both Kalfayan’s and Paronyan’s versions, the role of the main primary source was Perrault’s text.

In 1861 in Paris, Ambrosius Kalfayan publishes “A Compilation” (“Reader”) for schoolchildren, which is essentially not a translation, but a retelling of “Little Red Riding Hood” (“Red Hat”). While a “word for word” translation should ideally be a close reproduction of the primary text with a minimal distortion, a “retelling” can further distance itself from the primary text. In this sense, Kalfayan’s version is even more removed from its European “primary sources”.

The same tale was artistically revised by the Armenian humorist-writer Hakob Paronyan (1843–1891). His revision, titled “Red Rosie” (1876)¹³, is in essence the hybrid version of the European “primary texts” adapted to the Armenian context. Let us schematically represent the (cognitive) motifs of the two Armenian texts (Table 2).

Table 2

	Ambrosius Kalfayan	Hakob Paronyan
1	LRRH is a country girl	RR ¹⁴ is a country girl
2	Mother is madly in love with LRRH	Mother is madly in love with RR
3	Grandmother also loves LRRH	Grandmother also loves RR
4	LRRH gets a red hat as a gift from her grandmother, thus the name Red Hat	RR likes to wear a red rose in her hair, thus the name Red Rosie
5	LRRH visits her grandmother with pastry with butter	RR visits her grandmother with porridge (Armenian “khavits”, sweet porridge made of fried flour)
6	N/A	Mother instructs her to kiss the grandmother’s hand when she meets her
7	N/A	Narrator: “The girl didn’t know how myopic and dangerous it was to stop and speak with Wolf” (Paronyan 1876, 41)
8	N/A	The wolf with the help of a ball of yarn quickly gets to grandmother’s house by a straight and short road
9	LRRH gathers acorns, flowers, and chases butterflies	RR makes a bouquet of flowers, and changes the roses in her hair for a thousand times

¹³ For the historical-comparative analysis of this text see Makaryan, Soghoyan 2017, 123–139.

¹⁴ In Paronyan’s text, Little Red Riding Hood (LRRH) is turned into Red Rosie (RR).

	Ambrosius Kalfayan	Hakob Paronyan
10	<u>Dialogue of the Wolf with grandmother</u> Grandmother's naivety (opens the door)	<u>Dialogue of the Wolf with grandmother</u> Grandmother's naivety (opens the door)
11	The wolf suggests LRRH to lie in bed with him	The wolf suggests LRRH to lie in bed with him in order to "dispel the grief" / ("to slake his yearning"), "to enjoy the smell" ("to be filled with odor")
12	<u>LRRH and Wolf's dialogue in grandmother's bed:</u> A. Big hands for strong hug B. Big feet for quick run C. Big ears for better hearing D. Big eyes for better sight E. Big <i>teeth</i> for eating	<u>RR and Wolf's dialogue in grandmother's bed:</u> A. Big hands for strong hug E. Big <i>mouth</i> for eating F. Big nose for smelling G. Hair on body for keeping warm
13	<u>The Moral of the tale</u> <u>Instruction to children:</u> "Don't tell strangers about your actions and plans as not all men are kind" (Kalfayan 1861)	<u>The Moral of the tale</u> <u>Instruction to children:</u> "Don't tell anything to strangers, where are you coming from, what is in your hands, sweet porridge or khORIZ (sweet stuffing in puff pastry) as not all men are kind" "May be one day you'll meet a man who like the wicked wolf with flattery of sweet tongue lures into a trap" (Paronyan 1876, 42).
14	<u>Wolf's punishment</u> N/A	<u>Wolf's punishment</u> N/A

Both Kalfayan's and Paronyan's LRRH is a country girl (Point 1), while Perrault's heroine simply *lives* in a country (Perrault 1697), meaning that the latter may or may not bear the typical characteristics of a country girl. One of Kalfayan's liberties is that LRRH gathers acorns and chases butterflies (Point 9) that is absent in both the European versions and Paronyan's Armenian version. Note that Perrault speaks about nuts (Perrault 1697): the substitution of acorns for nuts is a regional adaptation similar to the replacement of the fig with an apple in the Old Testament. Just as apples are found in more regions than figs, acorns are local to the Armenian landscape and thus are more understandable to children. From the perspective of the text's inner logic, the introduction of the acorn falls out of the hypernym of food.

In Point 12, Paronyan has an “innovative” detail. The functions of the hands, ears, eyes and teeth/mouth are mostly found in the Perrault’s, Grimm’s, and Kalfayan’s versions, while Paronyan explains the functions of the mouth, nose, and bodily hair. The difference between Paronyan’s and Grimm’s versions lies in their respective explanation of the functions of the mouth. In the Brothers Grimm’s version, the Wolf needs the mouth for swallowing (Table 1, Point 10) while in Paronyan’s version it is needed for eating (Table 2, Point 12).

For clarity, let us present the functions of bodily parts in a table (Table 3):

Table 3

	Hands	Ears	Eyes	Teeth	Mouth	Nose	Feet	Bodily Hair
Perrault	+	+	+	+	-	-	+ ¹⁵	-
Grimm	+	+	+	-	+	-	-	-
Kalfayan	+	+	+	+	-	-	+	-
Paronyan	+	-	-	-	+	+	-	+

As for the moral of the tale, it is notable that both Kalfayan’s and Paronyan’s tales are addressed directly to children, and the playful-erotic modus of morality is omitted (compare Table 1, Point 14 with Table 2, Point 13). It is evident from Table 3 that Paronyan’s version of the tale is the farthest from the European “primary sources”. At the same time, in other motifs it is mostly based on Kalfayan’s translation (see Table 2, Point 13).

Another innovation in Paronyan’s version is the tale’s title: “Little Red Riding Hood” becomes “Red Rosie”, due to the fact that the country girl always wears a rose in her hair. She brings her grandmother sweet porridge (in Armenian, khavits) rather than flatbread with a pot of butter (Perrault) or a piece of cake with wine (Brothers Grimm). Thus, the Armenian writer localizes the food and introduces a national code of the Armenians of the nineteenth century. The narrator also inserts his own comment on Red Rosie’s wrong behavior (Table 2, Point 7). He also adds an interesting detail: the Wolf goes to the grandmother with the help of a ball of yarn by the shortest road; this is an allusion to a maxim that any straight line is shorter than a curved one. In Paronyan’s version the Wolf is implicitly modeled as an educated “cultured hero”.

¹⁵ In “Marshak’s version” of Perrault’s tale, the explanation on the function of feet is omitted.

In Paronyan's version, the episode of the Wolf's dialogue with Red Rosie in grandmother's bed is implicitly eroticized as the Wolf wants to dispel the grief and enjoy her smell. This is exactly how the function of the nose is explained (Table 2, Point 12). From an adult perspective, the explanation of the function of the Wolf's bodily hair greatly contributes to the erotization of the episode. The episode is further eroticized by the indication of the location (the grandmother's bed), as well as olfactory (enjoyment of the smell) and tactile (to dispel the grief, hands for hug, etc.) details. Naturally, this eroticization targets only the adult audience, while remaining completely inactive for children.

CONCLUSION

We may conclude that the two European versions of "LRRH" are notably different. The authors were greatly influenced by the tales' respective cultural contexts and target audiences. Perrault's version is addressed only to adults, while the Brothers Grimm's version is addressed primarily to children. The purported audiences as well as the respective cultural contexts (Enlightenment, romanticism) played a significant role in the revisions of the folklore material. Both Perrault and the Brothers Grimm heavily relied on the motifs and functions of a fairy tale when constructing their texts. As Perrault's version didn't have a positive ending, in the Soviet era Marshak created his own version of "LRRH" which was, in essence, a mixture of its two European primary sources. For the two Armenian versions – those of Paronyan and Kalfayan – the role of the main primary source was played by Perrault's version. In a sense, Kalfayan's version is much closer to that of Perrault, while that of Paronyan is further removed from its French source.

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NARCISSISTIC
PERSONALITY IN
ARTHUR MILLER'S
"DEATH OF A SALESMAN"
AND SAUL BELLOW'S
"SEIZE THE DAY":
A COMPARATIVE STUDY

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ABSTRACT

The paper is a comparative study on narcissistic personalities and consequences of their actions in Arthur Miller's play "Death of a Salesman" (1949) and Saul Bellow's novella "Seize the Day" (1956). Relational content analysis method is used to explore different degrees of narcissism in the characters – the subject of this paper. The research aims at analyzing narcissistic traits, such as obsession with fostering a self-image, denial, preoccupation with unrealistic grand fantasies of success, obsession with superiority and fear of inferiority, and feelings of specialness in connection with the characters of Willy Loman and his sons in Miller's play and Dr. Adler and his son in Bellow's novella. Their desperate and excessive attempts to attain their desired image and to get approval of self-worth in society detach them from their true identity and make them lead a life of failure, alienation, and helplessness as well as suffer from an existential crisis.

The narcissistic characters lack empathy and capability of establishing healthy relationships with others they are associated with even as regards parental and conjugal bonding. Instead of healing them, such bonding actually turns out to be a form of bondages that victimizes them. A materialistic and capitalistic society like that of the twentieth century New York was no less for their suffering on both the personal and professional levels. Their fallacious perception of the American Dream is also associated with their narcissist vision of denying their poor status, which was in perpetual conflict with their make-believe images.

Keywords: Narcissism, American dream, capitalism, denial, fantasy, obsession

INTRODUCTION

Both the texts "Death of a Salesman" by Arthur Miller and "Seize the Day" by Saul Bellow have been separately explored from different perspectives, but this qualitative research, based on relational content analysis method, within the theoretical framework of narcissism, aims at drawing a comparison as regards narcissist personalities in two selected texts. In the result of this study, a new vision will be opened in the field of American literature from comparative lens of narcissism.

The paper offers a comprehensive background on narcissism, narcissistic traits, narcissistic personality, and narcissistic personality disorder, and it also shows how these concepts have been used to explore narcissistic personalities in two texts. The study investigates father-son relationships, conjugal bonding, grandiose feelings of the chosen characters, their false notion of the American Dreams, denial of fact, and indifference to human sensibility to uncover their narcissistic personalities in "Death of a Salesman" by Miller and "Seize the Day" by Bellow.

THEORETICAL OVERVIEW OF NARCISSISM

Sigmund Freud's essay entitled "On Narcissism" discusses the "ego ideal" (Rivkin and Ryan 2004, 415). Ego ideal signifies "the part of the personality which comprises the aims and goals for the self" (Werner 1984, 35). Narcissism, as Valerie Raoul proposes, designates self-centered and self-indulgent types of behavior or attitude (Raoul 1993). This concept was first coined by Havelock Ellis in 1898 and later Freud mentioned it in 1905. Initially Freud associated it with auto-erotic fixation related to homosexuality, but he did not develop the concept further until 1914 in his seminal paper entitled "On Narcissism: An Introduction". Freud's use of the term evolved, shifted and various Freudian schools had developed divergent theories related to the concept (Raoul 1993). There is distinction between primary and secondary narcissism (Raoul 1993).

In addition to the concept of narcissism, according to Karen Horney, a German psychoanalyst and neo-Freudian, it is essentially self-inflation or psychic inflation. It means, the person loves and admires himself for values for which there is no adequate foundation.

Similarly, it means that he expects love and admiration from others for qualities that he does not possess or does not possess to as large extent as he supposes (Horney 1939). By creating a fantasy world of his own in which he is the hero, he consoles himself for not being loved and appreciated. He may feel that though others reject him, look down on him, do not love for what he really is, it is because he is too far above their understanding (Horney 1939).

Moreover, Horney in her book, "New Ways in Psychoanalysis" (1939), argued that narcissism signifies an alienation from self and does not signify self-love. A person clings to illusion because he has lost himself. She disagreed with Freud's idea about narcissists' self-love (being too much in love with themselves incapacitated them to love others) and postulated that narcissists were alienated from themselves and others and hence they were incapable of loving either themselves or anyone else (Horney 1939).

NARCISSISTIC PERSONALITY TRAITS

Otto F. Kernberg's book entitled "Severe Personality Disorders: Psychotherapeutic Strategies" (1984), containing the chapter "Narcissistic Personalities: Clinical Theory and Treatment", reveals the following as regards narcissistic personalities: they display an excessive need to be loved and admired, and a curious contradiction between a very inflated concept of themselves and occasional feelings of extreme inferiority. In addition, they have an inordinate need for tribute from others. Their emotional life is shallow and they usually present some integration of their conscious self-experience that differentiates them from the typical patient borderline personality organization (Kernberg 1984, 193).

The aforementioned traits, as Kernberg emphasized, fit the characteristics of Willy, his sons, namely, Biff Loman, Happy Loman, Dr. Adler and his son Wilhelm in the selected texts. These kind of "[p]eople with narcissistic personalities tend to be inordinately envious of other people, to idealize some people, from whom they expect narcissistic supplies, and to depreciate and treat with contempt those from whom they do not expect anything" (Kernberg 1984, 193).

In addition, the following traits in the book entitled "Malignant Self Love – Narcissism Revisited" are symptomatic of Narcissistic Personality Disorder (NPD):

"A narcissist, as explored by Vaknin, feels grandiose and self-important and demands to be recognized as superior without com-

mensurate achievements. He or she is obsessed with fantasies of unlimited success, fame, fearsome power or omnipotence, unequalled brilliance (the cerebral narcissist), bodily beauty or sexual performance (the somatic narcissist), or ideal, everlasting, all-conquering love or passion. He or she is firmly convinced that he/she is unique and, being special, can only be understood by, should only be treated by, or associate with, other special or unique, or high-status people. A narcissist is devoid of empathy and is unable or unwilling to identify with, acknowledge, or accept the feelings, needs, preferences, priorities, and choices of others. He/she is constantly envious of others and seeks to hurt or destroy the objects of his or her frustration" (Vaknin 2007, 31).

Based on Vaknin's ideas about Narcissistic Personality Disorder (NPD), it might be said that Willy along with his sons in "Death of a Salesman" and Dr. Adler along with his son Wilhelm in "Seize the Day" display (NPD) through their obsession with fantasies of unlimited success, specialness, lack of empathy, denial of feelings, and true selves. Willy, unlike other characters, committed suicide and thus neurotically secured the desired success and image at the cost of his life. It clearly signals his Narcissistic Personality Disorder (NPD) in its pathological state.

NARCISSISTIC PERSONALITIES IN MILLER'S AND BELLOW'S WORKS

Narcissism is one of the personality traits of human beings and thus inextricably linked with human behavior and endeavor. In writing literary pieces, authors manifest a cluster of narcissistic symptoms and thus characters portrayed by them naturally exhibit such traits. Willy and Wilhelm are no exceptions in displaying traits of narcissistic personalities as regards their elevated sense of self-importance.

To the narcissist, his uniqueness is bestowed upon him not by virtue of his achievements, but merely because he exists (Vaknin 2007, 42). Willy's narcissistic personality is worth mentioning here. Willy was preoccupied with unrealistic fantasies about himself and his two unstable, inefficient, and lazy sons, and one of them (Biff) also turned out to be a liar, thief and narcissistic just like their father. He believed he was a well-liked salesman among many in Wagner Company for three years. Though he found out how people "laugh[ed] at" (Miller 1998, 29) behind his back and that he was not "noticed" (Miller 1998, 28), his narcissistic nature still made him deny the truth outright for fear of inferiority. In Act I of "Death of a Salesman", he

boasted of his business to his wife Linda: "Oh. I'll knock 'em dead next week. I'll go to Hartford. I'm very well liked in Hartford" (Miller 1998, 28).

Willy was aware of the fact that "people don't seem to take" (Miller 1998, 28) him, because he was fat, foolish, and misfit to handle such a business, particularly in his old days in a capitalist and materialistic society like New York after World War II. But his heightened narcissism served as a shield from admitting the fact. He used Denial as his defense to feel superior in fear of inferiority: "[D]enial is a defense against perceptions; unlike all other defenses, it is directed outward rather than inward" (Greenberg 1983, 55).

In the conversation with Charley, an old neighbor, about business, Willy lied that he "got important contacts" (Miller 1998, 40) when he was losing ground. He talked about the prevalent condition of the business market to convince Charley that his make-believe words are true: "Business is bad, it's murderous. But not for me, of course" (Miller 1998, 40). He believed that "greatest things can happen!" (Miller 1998, 37) through the charm of his personality and the values that he injected in the veins of the Loman Brothers who "together could absolutely lick the civilized world." (Miller 1998, 50). Likewise, in "Seize the Day", Wilhelm, who is in his mid-forties, was under the same fantasy that he could be a Hollywood actor, and the degree of his unrealistic hope was laughably so high that before his screen test he changed his name from Tommy Adler to Tommy Wilhelm. His "changed name was a mistake, and he would admit it as freely as you liked" (Bellow 1996, 25). The definition of fantasy is important to understand Wilhelm's fantasy. It is a defense mechanism, as Greenberg maintains in the essay "Alternatives": "Freud had described fantasy as a specific mental process which emerges as a consequence of frustration. In his system, fantasy and direct gratification are alternative channels" (Greenberg 1983, 124).

The fact that he left his college education midway to secure a position of an actor in Hollywood, despite his "speech difficulty" (Bellow 1996, 23), ludicrous body movements, "bearlike" (Bellow 1996, 23) walking, and several other peculiarities, was even more narcissistic and catastrophic. To spoil his education along with his career and family bonding, to pursue such an unrealistic fantasy was his biggest blunder. Willy's and Wilhelm's grand fantasies of success itself were misleading and fallacious, and that was why they were unable to lead normal healthy lives. It also left marks on their close family members. Influenced by Willy's false notion, – that "personality always wins the day" (Miller 1998, 51), the Loman brothers started developing narcissist traits.

NARCISSISTIC FAÇADE OF SPECIALNESS

Regarding the meaning of specialness, Lowen argues that “the promise of specialness is the seductive lure put forward in the parents’ effort to mold the child into his/her image of what the child should be. The promise, in most cases, is not explicit rather implicit in the parents’ attitude towards the child” (Lowen 1985, 105). In “Death of a Salesman”, Willy’s elder son Biff was thought to be the gateway to the fulfillment of Willy’s dreams and success. He was ready to deny reality and to occupy the “parental fantastic space” as Horney pointed out (Vaknin 2007).

The whole Loman family surprisingly started to believe that Biff’s meeting with Bill Oliver will be fruitful, and thus he will secure a good position in Oliver’s company and the family’s troubles will be over for good. A shocking revelation for them was the fact that Biff was not noticed there, and he returned home after having stolen Oliver’s pen from his office. At this point, to the shock of the Lomans Biff disclosed that he had never worked for Oliver. In fact, he was a shipping clerk. In Act II, he confessed that he had been in jail for three months on a charge to steal a suit in Kansas City. It became his habit to steal something “out of every good job since high school” (Miller 1998, 104).

Eventually, Biff discovered the obstacles to his career, and these were his father’s exceedingly high hopes for him, however they did not conform to his potential and actions. Willy made Biff feel to be a kind of specialness probably to compensate for his own sense of failures. Willy identifies himself with his son Biff and wants to fulfill his unfulfilled longings through his son. The core of a father-son relationship and psychological legacy that had been handed down by the father to Biff is evident from this: “And I never got anywhere because you blew me so full of hot air I could never stand taking orders from anybody! That’s whose fault it is” (Miller 1998, 104). Alexander Lowen, an American psychotherapist, asserts that “parents literally hold the power of life and death over children” and their narcissism is projected onto their children: “I’m special and therefore my child is special” (Lowen 1985, 13).

THE ROLE OF NARCISSIST FATHERS TO SHAPE THEIR SONS' PERSONALITIES

The role of parents to mold their children's personality is undeniable. Narcissist fathers are driven by their narcissistic need to shape their sons' personality in narcissist fashion. In "Death of a Salesman", Willy's narcissistic personality came strikingly to light when he got engaged in an excessive investment in his own image at the cost of the self. It therefore signaled his denial of true self. He transmitted such characteristic traits and fragile defenses to Biff. In "Seize the Day", Dr. Adler's own sense of self-importance, need for superiority and perfection, dread of inferiority, and lack of empathy constituted his narcissistic personality that had a huge impact on his son. But the paradox lied in the fact that his profundity refused to allow his son at the cost of his education to step in Hollywood for his false perception that he could make a glamorous future in California. He seemingly disapproved Wilhelm's narcissistic action to pursue such a career, as he was well aware about the limitations/reality of his son. Dr. Adler played the role of a catalyst in molding his son's personality. The following arguments illustrate the aforesaid claim:

"Dr. Adler's narcissism is another factor that forms his son's character. Dr. Adler is depicted as a narcissist who does not care for either of his children. His father's self-appreciation is so great and he cares about no one else that he shuffles the protagonist back to the obscurity of oscillating in his inner world. As Richmond purports, Dr. Adler's vampiristic role and the complexity and machinery of New York City are the sources of the failed son's 'congested' emotional condition. On the one hand, Tommy's perspective feelings turn into repugnance and hatred in the novel. In fact, the reason why Dr. Adler is not interested in his son's problems is his narcissism and it causes an abyss between them" (Kalay 2015, 3).

NARCISSISTIC CHARACTERS' FALSE PRIDE AND DENIAL OF REALITY

Narcissistic characters are impelled by their false image and pride, which suggests their denial of reality. They are in love with their make-believe images rather than with their real selves. In this connection, Lowen states that "[n]arcissism develops from denial of feeling" (Lowen 1985, 75). Willy's idea to convince Howard to find a place for himself in New York, and mostly his confrontation with

Company boss clearly displayed his narcissistic personality. In his conversation with the boss, he failed to resist himself and showed his exhaustion, low spirits with poor empathy, lack of adaptability and sales efficiency, hollowness, aggression and imbalanced ego, false pride, and denial of reality. A salesman having such characteristics and limitations was no longer required in Wagner Company. Here lie his big talks with Linda before meeting the boss: "I'm gonna knock Howard for a loop, kid. I'll get an advance, and I'll come home with a New York job. Goddammit, now I'm gonna do it" (Miller 1998, 57).

Willy violated the employer-employee relationship. He vexed his boss by saying that he "can't eat the orange and throw the peel away" (Miller 1998, 64) and felt himself completely lost and proved to be useless and even extremely neurotic and narcissistic. He failed to realize that no emotions, as Willy tried to infuse, matter more than the existing principles of business that is "business is business" (Miller 1998, 63). As the boss expressed in clear terms: "I don't want you to represent us. I've been meaning to tell you for a long time now" (Miller 1998, 65).

The reasons behind Willy's losing job, his incapability to build a sustainable relationship with his boss do not differ much from those of Wilhelm with his father. Their ego was dominated by false hope, illusion, and pride. They were under a sarcastic illusion that despite their limitations they would be given importance and emotional support when they had hard times.

LACK OF EMPATHY

A person, as Lynch postulates, experiencing empathic failures is likely to develop a disorder of the self structure and the most frequently occurring self disorder is that of the narcissistic personality disturbance (Jackson 1991). "Wilhelm was beginning to lose himself" (Bellow 1996, 53) but his father "intended to say that he had a right to be left in peace" (Bellow 1996, 54). Dr. Adler's lack of empathy for Wilhelm made him suffer all the more and it impelled the latter to choose Dr. Tamkin, doctor by profession, as his surrogate father. He realized his mistakes as he admitted it to his father: "Let's suppose that all my life I have had wrong ideas about myself and wasn't even careful to take a few precautions, as most people do – like a woodchuck has a few exits to his tunnel. But what shall I do now? More than half my life is over. More than half. And now you tell me I'm not even normal" (Bellow 1996, 54).

However, Dr. Tamkin, as previously mentioned, played a significant role in Wilhelm's life. Apparently, he gave emotional support. Actually, he was an oppressor. He used the weaknesses in father-son relationships with ill motives. Here worth pondering is just Wilhelm's attitude. The biological father was least bothered about his son's sufferings, just like Dr. Tamkin. Wilhelm committed another blunder to befriend Tamkin. For sympathy and support, he chose another father figure who lacked empathy just like his father. Even to a greater extent, an impostor like Tamkin beguiled him and snatched his last hope for fraudulent gain. The blunder might be termed a situational irony and was provoked by his narcissist vision of his being in need of a father's affection as well as protection.

"When Wilhelm deprives from his father's love and affection, he then sets himself in quest of an understanding, loving heart, father-figure for which he becomes an easy victim of Tamkin. Tamkin can conceive the heartiest agony of Wilhelm and lacking of his life, he shows love and affection for Wilhelm to make him trustworthy. Tamkin becomes Tommy Wilhelm's spiritual father. Tommy looks on him as an ideal Father, who understands the relationship of fathers and sons though later on he discovers that he is both narcissistic and materialistic (as cited in Shukla, S. and Shukla, A., 2006, 168)" (Qtd. in Deb 2014, 61).

GRAND FANTASY OF SUCCESS AND FAILURE OF FATHER-SON RELATIONSHIPS

A narcissist defends himself against failures and powerlessness by creating a grand fantasy of success. Such fantasy could provide temporary escape from reality and support a make-believe image of success. As per the summary of relational content analysis of two texts, father-son relationships that prove to be failures can be even compared to nightmares, especially in the case of Wilhelm. Owing to the strains created by materialism and narcissism, everyone was engaged in a ruthless pursuit of making money at the cost of denying reciprocal feelings for one another. Failure of Willy and his sons was highlighted by the dissimilar and simultaneously successful father-son relationship between Charley and Bernard in "Death of a Salesman", and so is another foil to another pair of father-son relation between Wilhelm and Dr. Adler in "Seize the Day". Charley and Bernard believed in hard work as the key to success, which was a truly reality-oriented approach. It stands in sharp contrast to

that of Willy and his sons, who were motivated by the false ideas of being “well liked” and the charm of personality.

Looked at from narcissistic point of view, as Vaknin proposes, narcissists are obsessed with delusions of fantastic grandeur and superiority (Vaknin 2007). Willy’s activities and vision of life could best be understood in the light of this view. His grand fantasy of success, “that a man can end with diamonds here on the basis of being liked!” (Miller 1998, 68) remained his life’s biggest flaw and he transmitted it to his sons as his legacy. That was why Biff, at the age of 34, “[i]n the greatest country in the world a young man with such – personal attractiveness, gets lost” (Miller 1998, 11). Willy’s American Dream or rather wrong dreams destroyed him and his sons.

The concept of the American Dream implies an improbable, unconvincing, and questionable dream. The basis of it as follows:

The “American Dream” is based on the “Declaration of Independence”:

“We believe that all men are born with these inalienable rights – life, liberty and pursuit of happiness” (Thomas Jefferson 1776). This “dream” consists of a genuine and determined belief that in America, all things are possible to all men, regardless of birth or wealth; if you work hard enough you will achieve anything. However, Miller believes that people have been “ultimately misguided” and Miller’s play, “Death of a Salesman”, is a moving destruction of the whole myth” (Juan 2010, 124).

As already analyzed, “Willy Loman is “caught-up” in this American Dream. It causes business to develop in the world. Capitalism and also the profit motive and competitive instinct, makes Willy have a weakness in his personality. This weakness is caused by a combination of business pressures” (Juan 2010, 124).

FROM NARCISSISTIC FASCINATION TO REALITY-ORIENTED THINKING

The narcissist is preoccupied with narcissistic fascination for inflated sense of the self that blocks the path of realizing reality. In “Death of a Salesman”, the Loman brothers were entangled in the epic fantasies of their father. With airs and graces Willy pretended to be a successful salesman, “vital in New England” (Miller 1998, 10). He was used to interpreting the weaknesses of his sons with bragging and pomposity. This distracted his sons from realizing their mistakes.

Unlike Happy, Biff eventually realized his mistakes and pleaded his father to “take that phony dream and burn it” (Miller 1998, 106).

In “Seize the Day”, Wilhelm pursued his narcissistic fascination for Hollywood, marital bonding with Margaret, and connection with Tamkin despite his intuition and oscillating apprehension: “He had decided that it would be a bad *mistake to go to Hollywood*, and then he *went*. He had made up his mind not to marry his wife, but ran off and got married. He had resolved not to invest money with Tamkin, and then had given him a check” (Bellow 1996, 23). Instead of running for the fanciful and impractical things, Wilhelm reflected that he “should have done hard labor” (Bellow 1996, 7) to get at his desired goal to make his materialistic, practical, yet narcissist father even prouder. Just to assert superiority, Wilhelm’s father took a moment to swagger about his son before an old man in Hotel Gloriana. Dr. Adler endeavored to introduce his son as a perfect person among his milieu. Tommy had heard the old man bragging to another old man and saying, “My son is a sales executive. He didn’t have the patience to finish school” (Bellow 1996, 14). The reason why he behaves like this is the fact that he believes his son must be a distinguished person like himself. This pressure damages the protagonist’s personality. On the other hand, Dr. Adler despises his own child. By ignoring him, Dr. Adler dominates Tommy’s inner world. Tommy succumbs to his father’s hegemony and his desire to be appreciated turns into a vicious circle” (Kalay 2015, 3).

The study indicates that the sons, namely Biff in “Death of a Salesman” and Wilhelm in “Seize the Day”, realized that they were living under illusion. They decided to leave the world of fantasy and live in reality, thereby breaking the shackles of their fathers’ invisible dominance over their psychological state.

NARCISSISTIC NEED FOR SUPERIORITY AND DREAD FOR INFERIORITY

Narcissism denotes a “personality disturbance” (Lowen 1985) characterized by excessive feelings of superiority and dread for inferiority. The study reveals father-son’s narcissistic need for superiority and dread for inferiority which are worth mentioning here. Wilhelm’s denial of his poor education contradicted with his obsession to foster self-respect and make-believe image. As a result, he used denial as his defense to hide the truth behind his education/failures. He proudly claimed to be one of the alumni of Penn State and this facade became

the reality he started to believe. In a similar fashion, Biff claimed to be a former reputed sales executive of Bill Oliver, but, in fact, he was merely a shipping clerk. Since Willy was exceedingly obsessed with Biff's greatness. He compared his son with "Hercules", "star", "magnificent", that he could not see him "fade away!" (Miller 1998, 54). He could not afford to see Biff sink in any way/sense and this drive motivated him to commit suicide for securing a bright future for his precious son.

OBSESSION WITH SELF-WORTH

The narcissist, as Vaknin maintains, wittingly or not utilizes people to buttress his self-image and to regulate his sense of self-worth. As long and in as much as they are instrumental in achieving these goals, he holds them in high regard, they are valuable to him (Vaknin 2007). Willy was obsessed with finding his self-worth, which urged him get external indicators, such as an approval from his family and boss. Linda and his mistress served as indicators of his self worth approval. Whether blinded by illusion or pretention, they kept on praising Willy's personality. He referred to Ben, as he proudly mentioned Singleman's connection before his boss, most often to imply that Willy could reach Ben's place, if he then had joined the latter. He also attempted to seek Howard's approval of himself. For this, he proudly emphasized that he had been a favorite of Howard's father and requested his boss to give him New York job or to restore his job in Boston.

According to Karen Horney, a narcissist "felt that he should have been recognized as a genius without having to give evidence of it by actual work" (Horney 1939, 95). Drawing on Horney in connection with Willy's peculiar expectation, it could be surmised that Willy Loman's lack of originality, initiative of his own to obtain glory pushed him towards high self-esteem. It had paralyzed his inner activity. Such failures occurred due to his "fear of people", as Horney emphasizes (95).

In "Seize the Day", Wilhelm's obsession to foster his self-worth is discernible in connection with his father, wife Margaret, and mistress Olive. He knew that his father felt ashamed of him because of his failures in life. To get his father's approval for his self-respect, he left no stone unturned to be successful from a materialistic point of view. He was fired from Rojax Corporation just like Willy was from Wagner Company. He had to start afresh from somewhere

through someone. In the first place, he wanted support from his own father but being frustrated he went to Tamkin and started a joint venture. He unfortunately ended up losing his last 700 dollars. Unlike Willy's suicide, Wilhelm lived and suddenly underwent a rebirth of hope but still nothing was left for him in the city. To restore his self-respect or that of his father's, he was determined to pay the hotel even by selling his car: "As for Dad – As for Dad – I'll have to sell the car for junk and pay the hotel" (Bellow 1996, 115).

To get rid of the neurotic and simultaneously unendurable father-son relationship, he used the denial of fact about Tamkin as a weapon for his defense. To heal his disturbed psyche, he took a cheat as his surrogate father. It effectively signaled the degree of his despair that compelled him to take such a man as his defense. Faruk Kalay in "A Complicated Personality in 'Seize the Day' by Saul Bellow" has argued:

"[T]he protagonist considers himself healed by Dr. Tamkin. However, Fishman goes further and charges Dr. Tamkin of Machiavellianism: rather than being a Machiavellian, it is more important to use pseudoscientific jargon as a pretext to steal Tommy Wilhelm's last thousand dollars (Fishman 1983, 620). Tommy prefers Dr. Tamkin as a father to Dr. Adler. In fact, although he knows that Dr. Tamkin is a charlatan and a swindler, Tommy settles on Dr. Tamkin who to Tommy's mind is more indulgent and apprehensive. However, in desperation, Tommy turns to Dr. Tamkin (their names link their destinies), though his father has warned him, and Tommy knows, that Tamkin is a charlatan and a fraud. Tamkin offers him a way out of his financial impasse by persuading him to bet his last seven hundred dollars on lard futures in the commodity market, though Tommy knows absolutely nothing about them. When Tommy loses his money, Tamkin suddenly disappears. But Tamkin does represent a powerful life force (Meyers 2009, 165) (Qtd. in Kalay 2015, 4).

At the end of the novella, he failed to sustain all his relationships, except his last dream to live his life with his beloved Olive. But his fantasy raises a lot of questions. Will he be able to make his bond with Olive healthy and sustainable? Will he be able to divorce his wife and start with Olive anew? How will he manage a job / capital to lead a better life ahead? Does he not look like Paul Morel in D. H. Lawrence's "Sons and Lovers"? Paul was fixated to his mother even after her death (mercy killing). Besides, neither could he detach himself from Clara nor from Miriam and got stuck in between. In a similar fashion, Wilhelm got fixated on fostering his self-worth and pathetically failed to separate himself from Margaret

and Olive. Just like Willy and sons, Wilhelm along with his father will remain lonely may be in different places of the world, but their narcissist traits will always incapacitate them to live a healthy life with family.

UNREALISTIC FANTASY OF SUCCESS

The perspective that “the narcissist suffers from a chronic lack of confidence and is fundamentally dissatisfied” (Vaknin 2007, 45) could be applied to Willy. Willy’s narcissistic frustration drove him to take his rich brother Ben Loman and 84 years old successful travelling salesman Dave Singleman as his role models and the representatives of his unrealistic fantasy. His distorted and faulty vision made him visualize their actions along with factors behind their success from his own perspectives. Singleman’s achievement as a salesman in legendary proportions and description of his spectacular funeral were Willy’s subjective and make-believe views:

“When Dave Singleman was mentioned by Willy when he was trying to tell Howard what being a salesman used to be like, we only have Willy’s evidence, as all we know, this man maybe made up in Willy’s head. But this man is a huge icon for Willy to look up to. He was eight-four years old, and he’d drummed merchandise in thirty-one states. Also Willy desperately wants a funeral similar to Dave’s. When he died, hundreds of salesmen and buyers were at his funeral. This is because Dave was greatly valued, whereas Willy isn’t, nor is he loved as much” (Juan 2010, 125).

Willy again inappropriately took Singleman, bachelor as the name suggests, as an example, as his shoulder was not burdened with familial responsibility and overall the latter was exceptional and conspicuously different from Willy. In this connection, William Delaney in “What did Dave Singleman represent for Willy in ‘Death of a Salesman’?” states: “Singleman was homeless. He was undoubtedly buried in Boston because that was where he died. If he had died in Philadelphia, he would have buried in Philadelphia. Willy thinks there is something glamorous and even heroic about being a travelling salesman but he himself is an example of the grim reality” (Delaney 2014).

Willy was under a false impression that he would never have to retire as he was successful, and that the greatest thing was yet to happen miraculously. Singleman achieved his status because of his hard work and “he did not have any competition” (Delaney 2014). Again he mistakenly thought that Ben achieved success overnight,

however that was also his impaired vision. It was Ben's hard work that was supported by luck as the background story behind his success in Africa. In connection with Ben, images of "diamonds" came across Willy's mind frequently but he failed to realize that achieving such precious diamond symbolizing success was beyond his reach especially when he had a lot of limitations and drawbacks.

NARCISSISTIC PERSONALITY DISORDER (NPD)

The narcissist, as Vaknin postulates, "[...] does not suffer from a faulty sense of causation. He is not oblivious to the likely outcomes of his actions and to the price he may have to pay. But he doesn't care" (Vaknin 2007, 43). Unlike other narcissist characters from the two texts, Willy at the cost of his own life achieved his goal. He sacrificed his life for excessive investment in making his own image in a post-war American materialistic society which took only capital into account. Such extremity of his thoughts, implemented into actions, clearly uncovered his mental illness called Narcissistic Personality Disorder (NPD).

NPD constitutes grandiosity, as Baron puts it, in fantasy and behavior, coupled with need for admiration and lack of empathy. A grandiose sense of self-importance and preoccupation with fantasies of unlimited success, brilliance, or beauty (Baron 1999, 571). From the chosen characters, only Willy's narcissism was diagnosed pathological as regards his committing suicide. The Narcissistic Personality Disorder (NPD), as postulated by Vaknin, is a form of pathological narcissism (Vaknin 2007, 30) which was also called "egotism" or "megalomania" in previous centuries (Vaknin 2007, 31).

CONCLUSION

Narcissism denotes a personality disturbance characterized by exaggerated sense of the self and also loss of true values of the self. Apart from functioning as self-love for the narcissist, narcissism played its vital role of concomitant self-defense from the stress and strains prevailing in society. Their grandiose image, along with the display of such an image, is a relatively effective self-defense against depression, as postulated by Alexander Lowen, and thus the façade of superiority becomes difficult to break down (Lowen 1985). Their self-love, on another level, leading to self-defense can be identified

with their lack of humanness and loss of moral and cultural values. On the basis of the theory of narcissism, the comparative nature of the study reveals that father-sons relationships from both Miller's and Bellow's texts share many things in common, such as their narcissistic attitude to life, desperate loneliness, failure of sustaining relationships with family, longing for establishing self-worth. Failures of sustaining a good parental and conjugal bonding of Willy and Wilhelm placed them close and so were their loneliness. Unlike Dr. Adler, Willy sacrificed his life to attain his objective of securing a bright future for his sons. Both the fathers unrealistically longed for their sons' unlimited success in their lifetime but ended up destroying their sons' potential for their narcissist influences on them.

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MEASURING CHILD AND YOUTH WELL-BEING FOR ENHANCING POLITICAL COMMITMENT AND DECISION-MAKING PROCESSES: THE CASE OF LATVIA

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ABSTRACT

European Cohort Development Project is striving for the improvement of the quality of life for children and young people. To enhance a long-term improvement of children's and young people's well-being in European countries, it is necessary to carry out a longitudinal research which would (1) help to understand transitions in young peoples' lives, i.e. the step from education to the labour market; (2) enable researchers to identify patterns of change, i.e. the dynamics and the factors associated with children and young people being satisfied with their lives; (3) be used retrospectively to identify the circumstances and experiences in earlier life that impact a given outcome later; (4) be applied prospectively to make predictions about the outcomes of particular circumstances and experiences in life occurring at particular points in time. European Cohort Development project proposes activities to advance the understanding of a wider community and policy-makers about the nature and necessity of longitudinal research. To succeed in organizing work with policy-makers, different contemporary methods are employed. One of such methods is *Rapid Policy Network Mapping* (Bainbridge et al., 2011), which allows identifying the policy network the organizations are involved in and define their roles. Policy network Mapping is a lasting process which begins with determining the possible important network of the respective field, it continues with interviewing organization representatives involved in the network and drawing the bounds of the network, as well as defining the roles of organizations involved in the network (Influencer, Owner / Decision Maker, Influencer / Deliverer, Deliverer). When the main organizations involved in the network are established, work with most important policy makers begins.

In order to map policy networks and to develop a communication platform with which to influence decision makers in Latvia for political and financial support for *EuroCohort*, the policy network "Improving the Quality of Education" was chosen as the most important and widespread in the country. At the same time, this network is also the most problematic one because of permanent changes in

the education system at all levels of pre-school education institutions, basic and secondary schools, higher education establishments. The paper offered here describes the above mentioned *policy network mapping* process and its specific features.

Keywords: child and youth well-being, comparative longitudinal survey, H2020, policy network mapping, *EuroCohort*

INTRODUCTION

In contemporary Europe, along with significant child well-being inequalities there also exists a desire of providing children with a better support. At present, there is no equivalent data source available to researchers to comparatively analyse the well-being of children as they grow up and therefore to develop policies to improve their well-being. Policies must be evidence based – therefore, there is a need for high quality data upon which to base an intervention. Comparative longitudinal surveys, able to observe processes and policy interventions in different national contexts, and the data, collected from birth, allow us to see how individuals change over time. Longitudinal surveys are used retrospectively to identify the circumstances and experiences in earlier life that impact a given outcome later; also they are applied prospectively to make predictions about the outcomes of particular circumstances and experiences in life occurring at particular points in time. Cohort surveys have long existed in national and sub-national contexts, but a Europe-wide survey on children and young people's well-being has not been carried out. The gap in knowledge will be filled in and the ability of policymakers in different countries and contexts to learn and share good practice for child development will be strengthened by the first Europe-wide survey, therefore "European Cohort Development" project supported by the European Union in the framework of Horizon 2020 Research and Innovation programme call "Development and long-term sustainability of new pan-European research Infrastructures" will have a fundamental impact on child well-being policies across the whole of Europe.

EUROPE WIDE COMPARATIVE LONGITUDINAL SURVEY ON CHILD AND YOUTH WELL-BEING

The European Cohort Development (ECDP) project brings much needed attention to the reality that policy makers do not have access to the type of data that is needed to address complex social problems which often have a negative impact on children and adolescents' well-being. It is a Design Study, the aim of which is to create the

specification and business case for a European Research Infrastructure that will provide, over the next twenty-five years, comparative longitudinal survey data on child and young adult well-being. The infrastructure developed by ECDP will subsequently coordinate the first Europe wide birth cohort survey, named *EuroCohort*. Guided by a child-centred approach, the survey will provide data for enhancing decision-making processes at European institutions to guarantee child and youth well-being. ECDP has been built on the seventh Framework project for research, technological development and demonstration titled “Measuring Youth Well-Being” (MYWeB), which, included under the topic “Towards a European longitudinal childhood and youth survey”, has provided the proof of concept for the development of a Europe wide longitudinal survey of child and youth well-being in regard to the following: desirability among stakeholder groups, technical do-ability in relation to questionnaire surveys of children; policy relevance in regard to the evidence needs for policy development in the area of children, families and education; policy benefits weighed against the infrastructural costs. The MYWeB project, launched in 2014 and completed in 2016, provided the first level ‘proof of concept’, which allowed us to proceed to this project representing the design phase and which strengthens the business case by providing realistic costs, detailing the policy gains and building political support, as well as finalising the survey design requirements.

The MYWeB project Consortium was a dynamic and functional team that demonstrated the appropriate experience, expertise and leadership to take forward the development of a European longitudinal survey of children’s well-being. It was being implemented by a consortium of 14 research institutions from 11 countries. The Consortium continues also in ECDP largely as before but strengthened by new strategic partners selected to facilitate the next steps in research infrastructure development. Consortium includes 16 partners from 13 EU countries, such as Croatia, Estonia, Germany, Spain, Greece, Hungary, Slovakia, Latvia, Portugal, Finland, Italy, the Netherlands, the United Kingdom. The Coordinator of the project is Manchester Metropolitan University.

BENEFITS OF LONGITUDINAL WELL-BEING SURVEYS

The birth cohort will provide comparative data collected systematically over time on subjective well-being defined by solid theoretical and conceptual grounds by taking into account the views of children and young people. Although objective indicator-based measures (household income, the proportion of children in education, educational attainment etc.) provide useful information on well-being, subjective measures draw on human perception such that the individual themselves decide what is crucial in assessing their lives. Objective and subjective indicators can complement each other. Thus, when used together, they measure well-being robustly by providing a rounded picture of the concept.

Through a better understanding of patterns and causation in children and youth well-being, longitudinal studies become a powerful tool for policy makers. The project is alerting policy-makers and funding bodies to the strategic and funding needs of the scientific community. The project contributes towards the achievement of sustainable development goals as it would offer a greater insight into topics such as poverty, health and well-being, and education, for example, the obtained data is crucial in exploring the enduring effects of living in poverty during childhood or long-term effects of bullying at school, and much more.

Knowledge exchange within and beyond the Consortium will contribute to European capacity building and strengthen cross-border links. Beyond providing high quality well-being data, this infrastructure will bring together a network of people, expertise, information, knowledge, content, methods, tools and technologies from countries across Europe. Longitudinal well-being surveys will:

- help to understand transitions in young peoples' lives, i.e. the step from education to the labour market;
- enable researchers to identify patterns of change, i.e. the dynamics and the factors associated with children and young people being satisfied with their lives.

In developing the infrastructure for *EuroCohort*, ECDP will contribute to the EU's 'three O' priorities (Open innovation, Open science, Open to the world), which will promote science without boundaries and will facilitate not just good science in and of itself, but will also provide a resource and evidence base from which policy makers are able to take informed decisions. A direct impact on young people and their environment will be made.

ENGAGING WITH POLICY MAKERS FOR ENHANCING POLITICAL COMMITMENT AND DECISION-MAKING PROCESSES

Among the main tasks of the project such as establishing the key concepts to be covered by *EuroCohort* and realistic costs for the survey, developing the legal, management, scientific, and operational infrastructure, determining *EuroCohort's* survey design and the requirements for a pilot survey a.o., the project is also aimed at building a broad network of key stakeholders across Europe and raising *EuroCohort's* profile. The project is the creation of an infrastructural platform with a commitment from key stakeholders across Europe and from which the next stages in finalising *EuroCohort* can be effected. Stakeholders will include national, European and international level policy-makers, funding bodies and academics who currently are or who might in the future be involved in implementing policies and programmes to measure child well-being. The specific objectives for building relationships and engaging with policy actors, policy and funding networks are as follows:

- 1) mapping the organisation and individual actors involved in relevant policy networks (both real and virtual) at the European Member State level, and mapping these policy networks, in particular those involved in the ESFRI roadmap;
- 2) engaging with policy makers and funding bodies by:
 - identifying the policy objectives, levers and future needs of actors involved in policy networks, drawing on insights gained through the Delphi study undertaken in MYWeb;
 - developing policy focused briefings on the uses and benefits of *EuroCohort*, drawing on the policy objectives, levers and future needs and relevant at the policy network level;
 - utilising interpersonal interaction (face to face and via email) with policy actors and national funding bodies to further evidence exchange around the uses and benefits of longitudinal surveys on children's and young people's well-being, and thereby inform decisions around *EuroCohort*.

Closely linked to Objective 1) is the policy-mapping exercise in the countries where partners are located. As policy makers engage in policy decisions, they pursue shared interests, exchange resources

and build interpersonal relationships through policy networks, which are sets of relatively stable, non-hierarchical and interdependent relationships (Borzal 1997) between policy actors, both organisations and individuals, government and non-government, who share interests and exchange resources (Bainbridge et al. 2011). Policy networks are formal institutional and informal linkages between interdependent policy actors, where policy emerges from or is influenced by interactions between these policy actors (Rhodes 2007, Lewis 2011, Marsh 2011). Although the policy networks can operate at different levels (international, European, national, sub-national and local), the aim of this paper is to focus on the national network as being the one to likely have the influence and resource to support *EuroCohort*. According to Schneider, policy network analysis is a valuable analytical tool to support the identification and description of the relations between actors, and to understand 'structural relationships, interdependencies and dynamics between actors in politics and policy making' (Schneider 1988).

Policy mapping was done by using a qualitative approach, designed to identify types of actors involved, types of ties (unilateral or reciprocal contacts between actors), governance level, and types of goals pursued (loosely based on the Rapid Policy Network Mapping method outlined by Bainbridge et al. (2011)). It was developed to allow non-specialists to quickly establish an understanding of the policy context within which they are working and to create a useful 'working tool'. The method adopted an 'egocentric approach', where an 'ego' is a policy actor or instrument linked to other relevant policy actors and instruments in a policy community and where the 'centrality' of the instrument or actor is a function of its importance within that network (ibid.). Out of such sectors as education, health, social care, youth work, childcare or welfare benefits relevant to *EuroCohort*, the policy-network for improving the quality of education was identified of crucial importance in Latvia. Policy reports, policy statements and organisation websites of key organisations building a network were reviewed and semi-structured interviews were carried out. The outputs for the policy network were mapped as a narrative summary, an actor map, a policy map, an influence and support matrix.

POLICY NETWORK “IMPROVING THE QUALITY OF EDUCATION” IN LATVIA: THE MAIN FINDINGS

In order to map policy networks and to develop communication platform with which to influence decision makers in Latvia for political and financial support for *EuroCohort*, the policy network “Improving the Quality of Education” was chosen as the most important and widespread in the country. At the same time, this network is also the most problematic one because of permanent changes in the education system at all levels of pre-school education institutions, basic and secondary schools, higher education establishments.

Bainbridge et al. (2011) in the policy network mapping propose such levels of organizations (actors): international, European, national, ‘devolved’ and local / subnational. At creating the network “Improving the Quality of Education” mapping in Latvia, we decided to search for organizations at three levels, which is essential for achieving project goals and stems from the administrative-territorial division of Latvia.

ACTOR MAP

Different actors as defined by Bainbridge et al. (2011) include

- Influencer

An organization, entity or individual which is legally, morally or practically required, invited or obliged to be involved in the official policy development process. It is assumed that Influencers can affect the outcome of the policy process using legitimate means based on their opinions and views.

- Owner / Decision Maker

An organization, entity or individual which has the authority to make a decision which can affect the policy outcome as concerns intellectual or practical components or which owns all, or component parts, of the policy development process within a specified boundary. The majority of these actors are responsible and accountable for the successful delivery of intellectual and/or practical objectives which may include reporting, data, legislation etc.

- Influencer / Deliverer

An organisation, entity or individual which is legally, morally or practically required, invited or obliged to be involved in the official policy development process. They can affect the outcome of the

policy process using legitimate channels based on their opinions and views and are also engaged in delivering an action, process, or report which facilitates the interpretation, transposition and/or implementation of the policy.

○ Deliverer

An organization, entity or individual which is legally, morally or practically required, invited or obliged to be involved in the official policy development process. They can affect the outcome of the policy process based on their delivery of actions, processes or reporting which facilitate the interpretation, transposition and/or implementation of the policy. They cannot, in principle, affect the outcome of the policy process based on their opinions and views.

Figure 1 presents the list of the most important organizations at all levels mentioned by the respondents. The network also includes other organizations (indicated in the policy documents), but they were not mentioned by the respondents.

In Latvia, the most influential and widespread organizations are the national ones, in its turn voluntary and private organizations are less common and less influential. The respondents indicate that voluntary and private sector should be developed in Latvia.

POLICY MAP

The vertical columns in Figure 2 delineate the level at which the policy-network exists: European, National, and Local Government. The rows represent policy areas by topic or sector, which are indicative. The figure presents the European-level instruments referred to by the respondents, however, these are not the most important political documents that regulate the field of children's and young people's well-being in Latvia. The figure shows only those documents which are important for the network "Improving the Quality of Education" activities, as indicated by the respondents involved in the network.

We retained all the proposed policy areas as strategically important, however, in the youth policy implemented today in Latvia the focus is on education and social care. The respondents note that other areas do not receive due attention and their development needs to be promoted. The proposed policy areas are mentioned in the general strategic policy documents, e.g. "Sustainable Development Strategy of Latvia until 2030", "The National Development Plan 2014–2020", "The National Reform Programme for the Implementation of the EU2020 Strategy" etc.

	European	National Government	Local Government
Influencer	European Parliament European Council Council of Europe European Commission Education, Youth, Culture & Sport Council World Bank Vision and Strategy around the Baltic Sea Foreign Investors' Council in Latvia (FICIL) (<i>Voluntary or third sector</i>)	Cabinet of Ministers (<i>National government</i>) National Development Council (<i>National government</i>) Latvian Trade Union of Education and Science Employees (<i>Voluntary or third sector</i>) The National Youth Council of Latvia (<i>National government</i>) Ombudsman of the Republic of Latvia (<i>National government</i>)	City Councils (e.g. Daugavpils City Council) (<i>Local / regional government</i>)
Owner / Decision maker		Saeima (Parliament) (<i>National government</i>) Ministry of Education and Science (<i>National government</i>) Ministry of Environmental protection and Regional Development (<i>National government</i>)	Planning Regions (e.g. Latgale Planning Region) (<i>Local / regional government</i>) City Education Departments (e.g. Daugavpils City Education Department) (<i>Local / regional government</i>)
Influencer / Deliverer			City Youth Departments (Daugavpils City Youth Department) (<i>Local / regional government</i>)
Deliverer		State Education Development Agency (<i>National government</i>)	Educational institutions (pre-school educational institutions, schools, high schools) (<i>National / local / regional government or private sectors</i>)

Figure 1: Policy actors in Latvia

	European	National Government	Local Government
Health	<p>Europe 2020 Strategy</p> <p>EU Sustainable Development Strategy</p> <p>EU Strategy for the Baltic Sea Region</p> <p>EU Youth Strategy</p> <p>The Convention on the Rights of the Child</p> <p>Resolution of the Council and the Representatives of the Governments of the Member States, meeting within the Council of 20 November 2008 on the health and well-being of young people</p>	<p>The conceptual document – Model for Long-term Growth of Latvia: Human Being in the First Place Sustainable Development Strategy of Latvia until 2030</p> <p>The National Development Plan 2014–2020</p> <p>The National Reform Programme for the Implementation of the EU2020 Strategy</p> <p>Latvia’s Stability programme for 2017–2020</p> <p>The Youth Law</p> <p>The Youth Policy Guidelines 2009–2018 (long-term document)</p> <p>The Youth Policy Guidelines 2015–2020 (mid-term document)</p> <p>Youth Policy Implementation Plan 2016–2020</p> <p>The National Youth Policy Programme</p> <p>Healthcare Financing Law</p> <p>Medical Treatment Law</p> <p>Health Care Organization and Financing Procedure</p> <p>Public Health Policy Guidelines 2014–2020</p>	<p>Regional programmes (e.g. Latgale programme)</p> <p>Regional strategies (e.g. Latgale strategy 2030)</p> <p>Regional programmes, e.g. Latgale Planning Region Social Services Development Programme 2010–2017)</p>
Social Care	<p>Europe 2020 strategy</p> <p>EU Sustainable Development Strategy</p> <p>EU Strategy for the Baltic Sea Region</p> <p>EU Youth Strategy</p>	<p>The conceptual document – Model for Long-term Growth of Latvia: Human Being in the First Place Sustainable Development Strategy of Latvia until 2030</p> <p>The National Development Plan 2014–2020</p> <p>The National Reform Programme for the Implementation of the EU2020 Strategy</p>	<p>Regional programmes (e.g. Latgale programme)</p> <p>Regional strategies (e.g. Latgale strategy 2030)</p>

	European	National Government	Local Government
	<p>The Convention on the Rights of the Child</p> <p>European Social Charter</p> <p>Directive 2011/92/EU, Directive 2013/33/EU, Directive 2011/93/EU, of the European Parliament and of the Council</p> <p>Council Directive 2003/109/EC Regulation (EC) No 883/2004, No 988/2009 of the European Parliament and of the Council</p>	<p>Latvia's Stability programme for 2017–2020</p> <p>The Youth Law</p> <p>The Youth Policy Guidelines 2009–2018 (longterm document)</p> <p>The Youth Policy Guidelines 2015–2020 (mid-term document)</p> <p>Youth Policy Implementation Plan 2016–2020</p> <p>The National Youth Policy Programme</p> <p>Protection of the Rights of the Child Law</p> <p>Law On Social Services and Social Assistance</p> <p>Social Services Development Guidelines in Latvia 2014–2020</p> <p>Inclusive Employment Guidelines 2015–2020 Improvement of Career Development Support System</p>	<p>Regional programmes (e.g. Latgale Planning Region Social Services Development Programme 2010–2017)</p>
Education	<p>Europe 2020 Strategy</p> <p>EU Sustainable Development Strategy</p> <p>EU Strategy for the Baltic Sea Region</p> <p>EU Youth Strategy</p> <p>The Convention on the Rights of the Child</p> <p>EU Work Plan for Youth 2016–2018</p>	<p>The conceptual document – Model for Long-term Growth of Latvia: Human Being in the First Place Sustainable Development Strategy of Latvia until 2030</p> <p>The National Development Plan 2014–2020</p> <p>The National Reform Programme for the Implementation of the EU2020 Strategy</p> <p>Latvia's Stability programme for 2017–2020</p> <p>The Youth Law</p> <p>The Youth Policy Guidelines 2009–2018 (long-term document)</p>	<p>Regional programmes (e.g. Latgale Programme)</p> <p>Regional strategies (e.g. Latgale Strategy 2030)</p> <p>City policies, rules and regulations related to education development (e.g. Development Conception of General education institution network for 2013–2017)</p>

	European	National Government	Local Government
	Council Resolution on a renewed framework for European cooperation in the youth field (2010–2018) The World Bank Group Education Sector Strategy 2020	The Youth Policy Guidelines 2015–2020 (mid-term document) Youth Policy Implementation Plan 2016–2020 The National Youth Policy Programme Guidelines for the Development of Education for 2014–2020 Guidelines for the Development of Science, Technology and Innovation for 2014–2020 The National Concept for the Development of Higher Education and Institutions of Higher Education of Latvia for 2013–2020	
Family	Europe 2020 Strategy EU Sustainable Development Strategy EU Strategy for the Baltic Sea Region EU Youth Strategy The Convention on the Rights of the Child	The conceptual document – Model for Long-term Growth of Latvia: Human Being in the First Place Sustainable Development Strategy of Latvia until 2030 The National Development Plan 2014–2020 The National Reform Programme for the Implementation of the EU2020 Strategy Latvia’s Stability programme for 2017–2020 The Youth Law The Youth Policy Guidelines 2009–2018 (longterm document) The Youth Policy Guidelines 2015–2020 (mid-term document) Youth Policy Implementation Plan 2016–2020	Regional programmes (e.g. Latgale programme) Regional strategies (e.g. Latgale strategy 2030)

	European	National Government	Local Government
		The National Youth Policy Programme State Family Policy Guidelines for 2011–2017	
Benefits	Europe 2020 Strategy EU Sustainable Development Strategy EU Strategy for the Baltic Sea Region EU Youth Strategy The Convention on the Rights of the Child Regulation (EC) No 883/2004 of the European Parliament and of the Council	The conceptual document – Model for Long-term Growth of Latvia: Human Being in the First Place Sustainable Development Strategy of Latvia until 2030 The National Development Plan 2014–2020 The National Reform Programme for the Implementation of the EU2020 Strategy Latvia’s Stability programme for 2017–2020 The Youth Law The Youth Policy Guidelines 2009–2018 (long-term document) The Youth Policy Guidelines 2015–2020 (mid-term document) Youth Policy Implementation Plan 2016–2020 The National Youth Policy Programme Law On Social Services and Social Assistance Social Services Development Guidelines in Latvia 2014–2020 Inclusive Employment Guidelines 2015–2020	Regional programmes (e.g. Latgale Programme) Regional strategies (e.g. Latgale Strategy 2030) Local government documents (e.g. Daugavpils City Municipality’s Social Benefits)

Figure 2. Policy instruments in Latvia

INFLUENCE AND SUPPORT MATRIX

While interviewing the policy actors it was important to assess their relative influence and level of support for *EuroCohort*, however this element of the mapping process will be developed further as we embark on sustained engagement with the policy network over the coming year. Currently Figure 3 is incomplete due to the on-going interviewing and policy mapping process. The higher the level of responsibility and impact, the more difficult is it to establish contacts with the representative. In 2019, sustainable contact opportunities will be established with the responsible organizations.

On the whole, at analysing the information obtained when creating policy network mapping and summed up in the above mentioned three figures, we have to maintain that European actors and policies are to be treated mainly as Influencers. At the European level, the most influential actor or Influencer is the World Bank. The respondents indicate that the reports by the World Bank form the basis for changes in national and regional policies in the educational system. Other European level organizations mentioned in Figure 1 also play an important role as Influencers. The key policy actor at the national government level is the Ministry of Education (Influencer / Deliverer), the key policy actors at the local government level are the city councils and their education departments (Influencer / Deliverer). At the final stage of the policy distribution, education institutions – pre-school education institutions, schools and higher education institutions (public, private and voluntary sectors) – function as Deliverers. Representatives of all above mentioned key policy actors at the national and local levels were interviewed during the policy mapping process and informed on the content of MYWeb, ECDP and *EuroCohort*. Although the network “Improving the Quality of Education” works at many levels, it can be defined mainly as a national network. It is influenced by the European organizations but the key decisions are made by national level organizations like the Ministry of Education, the Ministry Cabinet and the Ministry of Environmental Protection and Regional Development.

All above mentioned institutions at the national and regional government levels, which act as Influencer or Owner / Decision maker, have their key policy instruments which are largely legally binding for the Deliverers. All documents approved in the state and in the region – laws, strategies, guidelines etc. – are absolutely legally binding for the public sectors education institutions. The private and voluntary sectors have more freedom to comply with policy documents but the basic requirements are binding on every educational organization in Latvia.

	Active opponent	Passive opponent	Ambivalent	Passive supporter	Active supporter
Influence	High		Representative of Ministry of Education and Science		
	Medium			Representative of Latgale Planning Region	Leader of Latvian Trade Union of Education and Science Employees
	Low			Representative of Daugavpils City Council	Representative of the National Youth Council of Latvia Representative of Daugavpils City Youth Department Representative of School Sector

Figure 3: Influence and support matrix

In the selected policy network, national-level documents are the most important; in some cases local-level documents are also significant. Documents at European level exist to a greater extent only at the official level, they are used less for introducing concrete actions, but they are referred to as an important normative which needs to be respected, the most commonly mentioned are: "Europe 2020 strategy", "EU Sustainable Development Strategy", "EU Strategy for the Baltic Sea Region", "EU Youth Strategy".

Most of the national policy instruments listed in Figure 2 below are of a general nature. These are the most important Latvian policy documents which constitute the strategy for the further development of the state, e.g. "Sustainable Development Strategy of Latvia until 2030", "The National Development Plan 2014–2020", the most important youth policy document is "The Youth Law". Policies of the specific areas (health, social care, benefits etc.) are less developed – the highest number of youth policy normative and strategic documents in Latvia is in the education area, the most important for them is "Guidelines for the Development of Education for 2014–2020".

Regional policies are dependent on and linked to the policies developed and approved at the national level; references to national policies are always featured in regional policy documents. The most important regional level instruments are Regional programmes (e.g. "Latgale Programme") and Regional strategies (e.g. "Latgale Strategy 2030"), as well as the city administrations which have the right to develop their policies in a particular area e.g. "The Development Conception of the General Education Institution Network for 2013–2017", "Daugavpils City Municipality's Social Benefits" etc.

The interviewed respondents generally acknowledge that at the socio-political level in Latvia, there is a lack of awareness of the priority role of children and youth policy for the further development of the country: this social group in Latvia is not regarded as the most important human resource. No studies have been provided to make it possible to understand what changes are taking place in the youth population in Latvia, what the level of youth well-being is. Youth policy should be based, first and foremost, on the analysis of social conditions of children and young people. But there is no exact data on this subject.

The network is concentrated in more organizations, which mainly are public organizations, e.g. schools, professional schools, higher education organizations. In Latvia there are only a few private pre-school education institutions and schools, but a relatively high number of private higher education institutions. This network exists

mainly at the national and regional levels but is coordinated at the national level, it is concentrated in many organizations which are mainly public, frequently private or voluntary organizations. Thinking about the three dimensions of stability, insularity and resource dependence this network is as a tightly integrated policy community.

CONCLUSION

Understanding the relationships and dependencies in the development and implementation of educational policy and understanding the structure of policy network “Improving the Quality of Education” activities are essential to the effective management of the children’s and young people’s well-being. Therefore, Rapid Policy network mapping method is to be considered an effective way for starting work with policy makers and convincing them about the necessity to support further longitudinal research in Latvia and Europe. By continuing work with politicians i.e. by organizing face-to-face interviews, telephone conversations, skype sessions, briefings, small group meetings, discussions, etc., it is possible to obtain additional information about how the networks function and about the specific features of producing political documents important for the field of children’s and young people’s well-being. In the course of work, this additional information is fixed in figures and is later analysed. Rapid Policy network mapping method allows determining the importance of the role of different organisations involved in the network, and also tell which organizations are responsible for producing and accepting political documents and which organizations can influence policy-makers’ opinion. Thus, Rapid Policy network mapping creates the basis and provides the opportunity for influencing policy makers to adopt decisions to support further longitudinal research in the field of children’s and young people’s well-being.

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