

Power and old age. The stories and their policies

El poder y la vejez. Los relatos y sus políticas

Poder e velhice. Os relatos e suas políticas

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ABSTRACT: This article identifies and critically analyzes three metanarratives and their central representations of aging and old age: life course and its decline; temporality, the end of life, prejudice and ageism. We will analyze the interconnection between the levels of the narratives and how great narratives help in the building of policies for the elderly, social practices and conceptual metaphors. Finally, the concept of "alternative narratives" that questions and promotes differences in the production of stories and metaphors will be proposed.

Keywords: Narratives; Metanarratives; Metaphors.

RESUMEN: *En este artículo se identificarán y analizarán críticamente tres metanarrativas y sus representaciones centrales sobre el envejecimiento y la vejez: el transcurso vital y la declinación; la temporalidad y el final de la vida y el prejuicio y el viejismo. Se analizará la interconexión entre los niveles de los relatos y de qué modo los grandes relatos construyen políticas de edades, prácticas sociales y metáforas conceptuales. Finalmente se propondrá el concepto de "narrativas alternativas" que cuestionan y promueven diferencias en la producción de relatos y metáforas.*

Palabras claves: *Narrativas; Metanarrativas; Metáforas.*

RESUMO: *Este artigo identifica e analisa criticamente três metanarrativas e suas representações centrais do envelhecimento e da velhice: curso de vida e seu declínio; temporalidade, fim da vida, preconceito e idade. Analisaremos a interconexão entre os níveis das narrativas e como as grandes narrativas ajudam na construção de políticas para idosos, práticas sociais e metáforas conceituais. Finalmente, será proposto o conceito de "Narrativas alternativas" que questiona e promove diferenças na produção de histórias e metáforas.*

Palavras-chave: *Narrativas; Metanarrativas; Metáforas.*

Introduction

The aim of this article is to identify, critically analyze and establish levels of interaction in three metanarratives (Lyotard, 1979), together with their central representations and the organization of meaning, perspective and sense in aging and old age narratives. These functions build and influence, implicitly or explicitly, the positions of power that the concepts of aging and old age adopt; the aged subject and elderly group behaving as social control mechanisms that lead to the consideration of policies.

In this case, we will analyze metanarratives (Lyotard, 1979) and central representations that function as metaphors for aging and old age. These narratives have hegemonic levels, certain levels of contradiction among them and are hierarchically organized in relation to the available argumentation in the current social context. Lyotard (1979) called them *metanarratives* or *grand narratives* as they try to give argumentative basis or ideological principles that clarify and give credibility to the whole narrative.

Here, we will describe the lifespan narrative, the "decline", old age temporality, the "end of life", and prejudice on aging and "ageism".

The critical-narrative analysis on these narratives enables us to recognize their cultural basis as well as the transformation strategies that are promoted from the alternative narratives.

The power of narratives and their gerontological interpretations

Critical gerontology faces gerontological traditional views (Moody, 1988a, 1988b; 1993) by recovering the tradition of critical theory of the Frankfurt School (Adorno, and Horkheimer, 1944; Habermas, 1981, 1984) and approaches to Marxist political economy and of post-structuralism. Thus, currently, it includes the political economy of aging, feminist theories, theories of diversity and humanistic gerontology (Minkler, and Estes, 1991-9; Phillipson, 1987).

These perspectives have led many to investigate issues related to the construction of aging and gerontology itself, their research methods and ways to deal with the issue. In particular, we will question the available narratives by bringing critical gerontology and narrative together (Ruth, 1994; Ruth, and Kenyon, 1996a).

The 'narrative gerontology' wondered about the role of the stories in the context of aging, allowing new mechanisms to understand the dynamics of meanings attributed to this vital stage of life and the way social and individual narratives operate. This helps us to understand how opposing narratives emerge or are able to modify the original meanings - such as alternative narratives. Thus, the narrative can be seen as a heuristic guide to learn about aging critically (Kenyon, and Randall, 2001). Certain narratives contain metaphors that are particularly influential in certain cultural contexts.

Narratives and metanarratives

The notion of narrative is defined as a means of communication in which a story has an organized sequence of events. It consists of a meaning structure, which gives understandability to the experience, and it is held in cultural values that enable us to interpret, structure and organize everyday life through meaningful order (Fischer, 1987). For this reason, the stories influence personal actions and shape identities.

Each of the stories is located within a repertoire of linked stories, based on projections, expectations and memories derived from multiple and, in turn, limited repertoire of available social and cultural narratives (Somers, 1994).

Bruner (2002) states that the story reaches its "sense" when you can explain deviations from the ordinary in an understandable way, allowing to contain the uncontrollable, the extraordinary and the sinister.

Thus, the narrative has a functional value as it provides a structure for organizing the subject's natural ambiguity of life, and thereby it increases his/her coherence and internal consistency (Iacub, 2011). However, to make sense, the narrative legitimates power or authority. In this way, the narrative affects inclusion levels, and thus the comfort or discomfort that certain social groups can wield.

A metanarrative or grand narrative is a term developed by Lyotard (1979) to conceptualize an all-encompassing theory, which aims to show a variety of events and phenomena socially and culturally, based upon the appeal to assumed universal values and truths that can organize expectations and vital horizons.

De Medeiros defines great narratives or fragments of such as ways in which a culture communicates "values, expectations and attitudes of that culture" (De Medeiros, 2005, p. 2) and provides a repository, both for forms of narrative as well as for content which allows modeling and contrasting life stories.

A meta-narrative seeks to explain a multitude of scattered events and phenomena by providing meaning that connects some kind of knowledge or universal scheme. This claim of totality tends to generate a meaning reduction and teleological interpretation, including global or totalizing narrative schemes that organize and explain knowledge and experience.

The importance of this term, or any other, that refers to the organization of the argumentations and their submissions to others that give sense to them, makes it easy to understand – fundamentally, to become more understandable and credible - different levels of compound meanings from various levels of complexity and space.

This argumentation order is central in understanding the hegemony that the stories can achieve as – according to Gullette's (2004) notes - they become virtual realities from which certain values, interpretations and cultural norms are approved and reinforced.

Hegemony is held at very different levels, and it is in confrontation with other narratives that are struggling to hold predominance on the meaning of old age.

The degree of credibility that a story may find in a receiver of messages – it may be a society, group or individual - depend on the levels of influence that this one has reached in the various contexts in which it is present and in the feelings it may produce.

For Kenyon, and Randall (2001), narratives occur in different dimensions ranging from the *structural* ones, referring to the power relationships, social policies, socio-economic realities given in a society; the *sociocultural* ones which reflect on the social meanings related to aging and lifetime in a specific cultural context; the *interpersonal* ones that become evident in the interconnections between tales and life stories; and finally the *personal* and *intrapersonal* ones which refer to the development of meaning and coherence at the individual's level in relation to the parts of his/her life.

The interconnection of these dimensions shows how each individual story is set in narrative frames with diverse levels of hegemony, taking into account the specific characteristics of the differential contexts that distinguish them.

Cultural narratives about aging interact with economic, institutional and political factors that may influence policies on aging and impose its "systemic" narratives and perspectives on the individuals' lifetime world (Baars, 2012).

In addition, interpersonal and individual stories mediate between the interpretations, modifications and applications of the general rules and their own specific circumstances (Marsiglio, and Greer, 1994).

The narratives have a central role in the creation of meaning as well as in the influence of identity shaping. To Butler (2003), identities are fictions resulting from speeches and social practices that function as regulatory ideals. Hence, the age expectations stabilize these ideals and demand internal coherence in the adjustment between data, bodies and identity. This implies that gaining or losing that coherence threatens the intelligibility and legitimacy of the bodies and identities (Dos Santos, and Coelho, 2013). Likewise, when these narratives are internalized they become a preparation of the individual's aging experience and at the same time, a limit to the type of stories that he/she can develop. They can, therefore, enable or disable, stimulate or impede, obstruct or generate meaning.

We are aged by culture, Gullette (2004) points out, as we are subjects that embody cultural values on aging and these are the ones that shape the expectations and opportunities we perceive as feasible (Andrews, 2012).

Nelson (2001, p. 24) calls "infiltrated consciousness" to the "deprivation of opportunities" that the internalization of certain stories produces at an identity level.

The referential frameworks

Mentally, we find a correlation of these stories with the formation of conceptual systems that provide language and life through "frames" with a structural coherence (Fillmore, 2006). The notion of cognitive frameworks or knowledge schemes explains that the meaning of a word can only be understood with reference to previously structured experiences, beliefs or practices, which are a kind of conceptual prerequisite for understanding the meaning (Fillmore, and Atkins, 1992, p. 76).

Fillmore (2006) defines "frame" as a system of concepts that are related in such a way that in order to understand each of its parts we must understand the whole first. The words are related or connected to a certain pattern of knowledge where they only become understood in a broader context (Wendland, 2010, p. 30). Frames are sets of concepts, ideas and values that remain in the unconscious and from there they emerge as reasoning. Lakoff (2007) holds that "most of our conceptual framing is unconscious and we cannot be aware of our own metaphorical thinking" (p. 59).

The development of conceptual metaphors is one way of thinking cognitive frames structure (Wendland, 2010) as they help us to understand how a concept can be structured based on another one. By the use of such metaphors, individuals structure and give rise to thoughts and reasoning. The correspondence (mapping) between two ideas that are related is critical to understand how conceptual metaphors are formed (Grady, 2007, p. 190).

The language framework in a narrative structure creates an aid to activate unconscious mental structures motivating emotions, thoughts and behaviors (Lakoff, and Johnson, 1980, 2004).

This line of analysis allows us to understand how the hegemonic narratives emerge as conceptual high value metaphors or metaphors within a culture creating a mental conditioning that naturalizes and activates certain ways of thoughts, feelings and actions.

The argumentative basis of narratives and metaphors

Narratives and their central representations about aging and old age refer to grand narratives or meta-narratives that are often not explicit but that work as cognitive as well as argumentative frameworks (Wendland, 2010) providing understanding, a sense of reality, structure and giving rise to thoughts and reasoning.

In this case, the meta-narrative, as a scheme of argumentation, is differentiated from its central representations, which give rise to conceptual metaphors.

The value of considering these narrative forms aims to explain the various and contradictory ideological frameworks where current knowledge on the subject is constructed, and make the ways of thinking and acting in aging and old age easy to understand.

This line of analysis allows us to understand how the hegemonic narratives emerge as conceptual metaphors or make high value metaphors within a culture creating a mental conditioning that naturalizes and activates certain ways of thinking, feelings and actions.

The meta-narrative of a life course and the representation of the decline

Gullete (2004) argues that decline is a representation so difficult to contain as dye, since it not only colors future expectations with risks, but also experience, visions, explanatory systems and even retrospective judgments.

The nineteenth century traced a life course from closed and time-limited life trajectories, which followed the evolution-involution arc, based on the biological and transposed to other dimensions, with cyclical and repetitive forms. Thus, old age would be associated with decline - included in an allegorical figure, the rainbow - which served as a visual reference for representing the curve of life.

This explanation of the life stages is held in a biomedical model that reduced the set of life circumstances to an explanatory framework, with a clear dominance over other discourse. One of its central representations was body and sexual energy as a key metaphor. Its "dynamic" model is expressed in terms of profit or loss of such energy, which reverberated on many levels, be it libidinal, intellectual or physical (Cole, 1985; Katz, 1996; Iacub, 2006).

This model is based on an economy of scarce resources, which had implications in the quantum of energy, strength, or power as production axes of biology or psychology (see Freud and libidinal model, Iacub, 2006).

If progress can envision certain levels of achievement and projection, which facilitates certain degree of ontological security (Giddens, 1991), that Bauman associates with essential self-survival qualities (Gullete, 2004), decline will describe this stage as a progressive, intrinsic and inevitable loss.

This loss will generate a lack of motivation on the subject and from the society to him. Not only will the individual experience a sense of loss but also a progressive chaos, having few individual or social level resources at hand.

The decline metaphor describes the loss of not only a chance to reach that safety and survival position, but also the permanent confrontation with the vital chaos. Therefore, it promotes ways of mental conditioning that trigger certain thoughts and feelings related to increased uncertainty, risk and fear, which can determine that the identity or the self become a useless construct (Gullele, 2004).

The lifetime meta-narrative and the "end of life" representation

This narrative defines aging as a final moment associated with death, while centralizing and modifying the axis reference of this stage of life. Aging is placed in a liminal place between life and death, shifting everyday aspects that prevent confrontation with the existential aspect of human beings.

This temporary change of perspective leads to change the position of the subject's and society expectations. The future is shown as essentially short and near; the past becomes more important, as it may be the space for orientation in self-search. On the other hand, the present is established in relation to production of socially established endings. Thus, aging can become associated with conclusive forms of getting a post mortem vital projection closure.

Social roles tend to be oriented according to this social and personal expectation facing what culturally involves a life closure; taking diverse forms as retirement, transcendence or a strong vitality to live fully, among others, but always associated with a near end.

One consequence of this narrative is what Freeman (2000) called "narrative foreclosure" defined as a premature conviction that one's life story is over. This closure means that the end of the story is predictable and scheduled from previous notions.

The narrative foreclosure (Freeman, 2000) expresses a conviction that new experiences, understandings and commitments that can change the stories and meanings of life - as it was told so far - is no longer possible. Closure would establish a process of stopping the subjectivity (Bohlmeijer, and others, 2011).

While Brockmeier (2000) introduced the static narrative where life tends towards some kind of movement or process, Morson (1994) mentioned the "time of epilogue" which means that "no present action can make any real or true difference since the central story is finished and nothing essential can change" (p. 365).

It is important to consider that the narrative foreclosure process is the result of a personal interpretation of life. The role that occupies the "end of life" metanarrative helps to explain the influence in the closure – with short and meaningless stories - in the shaping of life stories (Randall, & McKim, 2008). The death of the central character appears as one of the axes in old age literature or film works, where the resolution of the story is when life ends, showing certain aesthetic, associated with heroism, as in Clint Eastwood's films.

A metanarrative however appears as a relatively open structure that may have different meanings. Even facing the same closing scene, the ways of solving it can be markedly different. From the Augustinian retreat where old age became a moment of life closure and an opening in the hereafter; to closures where past worlds and memories became a central axis; whereas in the new post-modernity, the end may prove to be an act of vital inauguration, capable of giving new meaning to life as a whole.

These features define a central vector linked to the presence of the end as closure or opening, becoming a central organizer of aging.

The metanarrative of gerontology and the representation of prejudice

One of the narratives that took greater hegemony in gerontology is the one that is critical of a society that represents aging and old age negatively, determining a certain position of the subject, thus modifying previous narratives where biology appeared as the cause of this position.

The creation of a specific "prejudice" as ageism (Butler, 1969), works as a criterion to question all previous evidence and divides all knowledge in different orders. On the one hand, it hides the ideological judgments from which the new gerontology starts from, and on the other hand, it denies an argument between judgments and their ideological basis.

The narrative that defined previous knowledge as mythical, prejudiced or stereotyped makes sense in a society where the metanarrative that organizes the order of credibility and understanding becomes essentially political. This particular narrative considers old age as a minority and discriminated group, which requires of social science knowledge.

Scientific constructions from the nineteenth century, where individuals were classified either by age or gender, from biological categories affecting the psyche or from their relationships with the environment, resulted in groups with high specificity levels, who were defined according to their "imperfections, disorders or problems".

As from the mid-twentieth century, these same classifications started to be considered strict and were seen as rigid, reductionist and discriminatory, thought of as part of a sum of knowledge generated by irrational reasons as diverse as neurosis or cultural and political dominance, which helped in the production of prejudices.

Post-modern society maximizes this narrative and proposes an undifferentiated age group, as it was for gender, what Meyrowitz (1984) called a *uniage* society where the boundaries between ages become blurred or fluid (Katz, 1996) reaching to irrelevant (Neugarten, 1984) biological determinations.

The metanarrative of gerontology and the representation of prejudice led to a binary opposition and interpretation between knowledge that was intended to be rational and scientific and one deprived of such support (Iacub, 2011, 2013).

Thus, the central statement was taken as an error of judgment rather than as a new concept of the subject in Western culture.

Beyond mythical, prejudiced or stereotyped knowledge, what occurred was a cultural change, which is expressed in metanarratives (Lyotard, 1979) where autonomy and equal rights became the hub from which to think every human being. This required of new narratives from which to start the argumentation.

Consideration of a scientific perspective appears insufficient to explain the depth of the conceptual changes. Not only because of the lack of important scientific evidence produced from this change of readings, but because stories took greater hegemony and provided critical reflection of the other big narratives from where certain old age perspectives were founded so far.

The alternative narratives

Thinking of diverse narratives, with different degrees of hegemony according to the historical moment, enables us to consider the crosswise stories that strive for meaning, which, they themselves can be read in different ways in different times and situations.

The importance of this theoretical model assumes the deconstruction of narrative from which alternative proposals could be drawn from the dominant ones, without denying what it was prejudged but challenging them for new basis of meaning. Thus, resistance appears in a place of criticism based on an ideological position.

Not only should alternative narratives; critical or counter narratives generate a deliberate change in the cultural understanding of a particular group, but also restore damaged identities resulting from previous judgments and release new actions that are meaningful to the person (Nelson, 2001).

This strategic thinking promotes alternative and popular stories capable of generating confrontation and criticism as well as mobilizing and causing the denaturation of metanarratives.

The goal is to politicize the narratives and its metaphors in order to criticize, propose and implement new meanings. This is where frameworks should be able to question even though at times these cannot be seen or heard.

Changing the framework is changing the way of seeing the world, generating a mental conditioning that naturalizes and triggers certain ways of expressing thoughts, feelings and actions. It is therefore important to take clear positions from where gerontological knowledge should be built.

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