

A CRITICAL EXAMINATION OF ANTI-AGING DISCOURSE:
THE RELEVANCE OF THE WORKS OF
MICHEL FOUCAULT AND SUSAN SONTAG

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ABSTRACT

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The main objective of this thesis is to develop a critical approach to the recent anti-aging discourse which has become popular after the 1990's. Anti-aging movement is concerned with certain implementations which aspire to make individuals live longer and healthier by controlling and disciplining their bodily conditions and lifestyle choices. This study attempts to examine certain perceptions and assumptions of anti-aging discourse about body, living and keeping alive peculiar to late modern times by taking into consideration three popular emblematic anti-aging books. For this aim, the techniques, recommendations, suggestions and basic premises of popular anti-aging books are examined in terms of the question whether anti-aging discourse presents a new project concerning body and lifestyle, or not. In order to answer this question, Foucauldian theory on "the power over life" and Sontag's approach to "the metaphorical representation of illness in late modern times" are employed for

constructing the theoretical basis of this thesis. The examination of anti-aging discourse reveals that, this discourse redefines the meaning of age and reinterprets human temporality by narrating aging process with certain metaphors. Moreover, it is seen that anti-aging discourse transforms the aging process into a performative sphere by representing the aging as a merely biological and controllable situation.

Keywords: Anti-aging discourse, Foucault, Sontag, bio-power, age as a metaphor, controllable age, practical immortality, performative aging, gerontology, politics of body

ÖZ

ANTİ-AGİNG SÖYLEMİNİN ELEŞTİREL BİR DEĞERLENDİRMESİ: MİCHEL FOUCAULT VE SUSAN SONTAG'IN ÇALIŞMALARININ UYGUNLUĞU

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Bu tezin temel amacı 1990'lardan sonra popülerleşen anti-aging söylemenine ilişkin eleştirel bir bakış açısı geliştirmektir. Anti-aging akımı, bireylerin bedensel durumları ve hayat tarzı tercihlerini kontrol altına alarak ve discipline ederek, onları daha uzun ve sağlıklı yaşatmayı amaçlayan belirli uygulamalarla ilgilidir. Bu çalışma, üç popüler, tematik anti-aging kitabını göz önünde tutarak, anti-aging söyleminin beden, yaşam ve yaşatma ile ilgili modern zamanlara özgü algı ve varsayımlarını inceleme girişinde bulunmaktadır. Bu amaçla, popüler anti-aging kitaplarının öğütleri, önerileri, temel terimleri anti-aging söyleminin yeni bir beden ve hayat tarzı projesi önerisinde bulunup bulunmadığı sorusu bağlamında incelenmiştir. Bu soruyu yanıtlamak için Foucaultcu “yaşam üzerinde iktidar” teorisi ve Sontag’ın “geç modern zamanlarda hastlığın metaforik olarak temsil edilmesi”ne ilişkin bakış açısı tezin teorik temellerini oluşturmak amacıyla kullanılmıştır. Anti-aging söyleminin incelenmesi şunu ortaya çıkarmıştır ki, bu söylem belirli

metaforlar aracılığı ile yaşılanmanın anlamını yeniden tanımlar ve insanın geçiciliğini yeniden yorumlar. Bununla birlikte, anti-aging söyleminin yaşılanmayı sadece biyolojik ve kontrol edilebilir bir durum olarak göstererek, yaşılanma sürecini bir performans alanına dönüştürdüğü görülmüştür.

Anahtar Sözcükler: Anti-aging söylemi, Foucault, Sontag, biyo-iktidar, metafor olarak yaş, kontrol edilebilir yaşılanma, tatbik edilebilir ölümsüzlük, performatif yaşılanma, gerontoloji, beden politikaları

to my mother and father

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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

In the modern world, the body does not only provide an innocent biological shelter to the existence of human being. Today, the body expresses more than biological entity in which we live. Many different dynamics regulate and dominate the body. The representation of the body and individual's relation with her body are being shaped under the effect of power relations, metaphors, symbols, fantasies, and beliefs which are attached to the body. In this way, the borders of body are being determined not only by the rules of nature and the individual by herself, but also within the knowledge-power relations and social processes at the level of everyday practices. By the deployment of body into a series of external regulative practices in modern times, the body and the biological processes peculiar to it have not been anymore regarded as merely biological. Thus, today the body of human and phenomenon peculiar to body such as health, illness, and aging are not being considered as simply uncontrollable. In this context, the main subject of this thesis is to develop a critical approach from a political perspective to the discursive involvement in the aging process of human being, which is a natural part of life course. In connection with this I will focus on specific regulatory discourse, namely anti-aging. In this thesis, anti-aging represents a current popular discourse which seems to aspire to make individuals live longer and healthier by controlling and disciplining their bodily conditions and lifestyle choices.

Human beings have long sought for the secrets of longevity. The fountain of youth has not been found yet, human's dream of immortality maintains its current interest. In the recent years the rejuvenation endeavors of human beings reoccur around a specific popular topic. This new topic which is about the explanation of the secrets of stopping and reversing the aging process and the creation of the new patterns of the so-called "good life" are constituted around the issue of anti-aging. The essential point here is that, although the history of the endeavor of human for longevity without demise may be regarded as old as the history of human existence, it can be argued that recent anti-aging discourse includes certain perceptions and assumptions about living and keeping alive which are peculiar to late modern times.

Anti-aging movement has boomed after 1990's. From its inception, anti-aging has been mentioned with the words such as practitioner, medicine, cure, industry, solution, formulation, revolution, elixir, therapy, cosmetics, hormone, vitamin, pill, drug, intervention, prescriptions, diet, exercise, test, technique, strategy, activity, program, association and so on. There has recently been a sharp increase in the popularity of anti-aging. In this manner, there occur many channels through which this popular discourse pervades such as, popular books, magazines, web sites, organizations, experts, practitioners and so on. It might be argued that, the rise of the anti-aging discourse and the predominance of neo-liberalism in post 80's competition fit the relation between the market and its resonances on the sphere of health and body. It is already known that there is an advanced anti-aging industry which produces and sells various anti-aging products and there is a great number of anti-aging consumers. Although there is an apparent aspect of commerciality in the

issue of anti-aging, I do not focus on the commercial aspects of anti-aging. Rather, I will mainly deal with the discursive patterns of anti-aging and their potential relations with the modern version of power.

At first glance, through referring to the body of human and several aspects of life, anti-aging discourse mainly tries to explain people how their lives will be better if they accomplish to drive away the effects of old age from their bodies. At this point, such invitation seems to suggest a series of innocent rules, such as “quit smoking”, “drop alcohol” or “take an aspirin daily”, in order to make individuals to slow down their aging processes and attain better life conditions. Although the notion of anti-aging seems to suggest a group of simple and innocent rules for a better life, it can be claimed that it constitutes a discourse operating directly on the regulation of body. Because, such discourse considers the body of individual as the ‘creator of aging’ and focuses every detail of this body in order to make the practitioners postpone their aging processes. Moreover, this discourse redefines the meaning of age by referring to certain bodily properties of individual and through its recast meaning and metaphorical narration; aging is reduced to its biological dimension in the anti-aging discourse. In other words, moral, social or psychological dimensions of aging are rendered to be secondary or irrelevant. In this context, the specific strategies and suggestions of popular anti-aging books can be read from an approach that enables us to interpret them as if they are trying to control, regulate and shape the body of individual and reproduce the meaning of age and aging. To freeze the appearance of the body in a certain age and to protect its performance in its ideal form can be considered as a direct intervention human body. While aging is reduced to a mere biological phenomenon, interestingly, the body is detached from its biological

conditions and reconstructed as a platform of performance for the practitioner.

In addition to this interventionism, because of the emphasis on the suggestions about living, rather than dying, it is difficult for the individuals to resist this discourse. The regulatory character of anti-aging is masked by the suggestions of anti-aging which seem merely to concern healthier and longer life. In this manner, individuals implement anti-aging voluntarily because anti-aging speaks permanently from the language of living. It does not say anything about the inevitable consequence of aging process, namely death. It speaks about the ways of remaining eternally young and it presents the eternal youth as if it is a choice of matter. All these imply that there may not be anyone who wishes to get old.

At this point, it can be claimed that the relations of power which are peculiar to modern times can be derived from the deployment of the body of human into a life-death dichotomy in anti-aging discourse. In other words, like the discourse of anti-aging, modern power constitutes its impact by keeping individuals alive by focusing on their bodies. Thus, the examination of the discourse of anti-aging will serve to understand the relationship between individual, life, body and power in modern times. Examining the issue from a political perspective is important because the discursive patterns of anti-aging give the opportunity of pursuing the modern power relations which concentrate on the body of the individuals. To put the same argument in another context, the theoretical importance of the issue of anti-aging stems from its potential in serving vital examples for understanding the logic immanent to the modern power which makes individual part of power mechanism by reference to her body. In addition, by examining such discourse, the ways in which aging has

been organized, shaped, regulated, reconstructed, and positioned into power-knowledge relations can be identified.

In order to evaluate anti-aging fashion from a critical perspective in this thesis, I will try to construct a theoretical framework which will be helpful to examine the aging discourse. The essential points here, on the one hand, there has not been developed a comprehensive theoretical literature in social sciences concerning anti-aging discourse. On the other hand, although there are diverse theoretical approaches which focus on aging, anti-aging discourse has its own specificity and it is difficult to examine this discourse under the aging studies already done. Thus, I attempt here to develop a theoretical path in which anti-aging can be examined.

The theory of Michel Foucault and the views of Susan Sontag will constitute this theoretical basis of this framework. I will try to apply Foucauldian theory and Sontag's argument to the examination of anti-aging discourse. The critical point here is that it is already known that Foucault and Sontag have not written on aging and anti-aging directly. However, certain themes of the works of Sontag and Foucault may be related with anti-aging discourse. In addition to this, employing their theoretical inquiry and conceptual categories will enable us to see how the aging process of anti-aging practitioner is governed by the discourse of anti-aging and the meaning of aging is redefined by metaphoric narration of it. Thus, although they did not comment on anti-aging directly, Foucault's and Sontag's theoretical insights shed light on the examination of anti-aging.

By evaluating recent anti-aging discourse from this theoretical approach I will try to

discuss the role of this discourse in following themes: construction of the ideal way of aging, government of aging by external knowledge, reduction of aging process to merely its biological dimension, endowment of aging with modern medical discourse, narration of it through metaphors, formation of the content of the one's own relation with her own aging, individualization of aging and the transformation of aging into a meaningful subjectivity practice, reconstruction body as a performance sphere. The consideration of these points is assumed to enable to see how the power relations pervade into our lives not through coercion, violent or exercise of authorities, but through an innocent-looking popular discourse which we welcome voluntarily. In line with this assumption the specific question of this thesis come into focus: By examining anti-aging discourse can we pursue the modern characteristics of power in which the life of human fell under the calculations of power via the regulation of body? In order to discuss this question, this thesis is composed of three main chapters.

The second chapter tries to draw a theoretical framework which is necessary for the examination of anti-aging and introduces the conceptual apparatuses of the thesis. In the first part of this chapter I will discuss the relevant aspects of Foucauldian theory. Firstly, in order to see how the power over life is constituted, the Foucauldian conceptualization of bio-power will be discussed. Then, the “transformation of human beings into subjects” will be evaluated by referring to other Foucauldian themes like pastoral power and the technologies of the self (Foucault, 1982, p. 208). The final point will be the evaluation of the Foucauldian approach to the role of modern medical discourse in the formation of modern representation of body (Dumas and Turner, 2006, p. 147). In the second part of this chapter an alternative reading

of discourse on illness will be introduced. Sontag's book *Illness as Metaphor and AIDS and Its Metaphors* (1991) will be discussed. Her remarks on the illness in modern times will be detailed by focusing on the responsibility of patient and metaphoric narration of illness. Sontag's thought-provoking approach to the relation between the patient and her specific illness in modern times will carry us in this study to the relation between anti-aging practitioner and her own aging.

The third chapter tries to map out what anti-aging offers in order to reverse one's aging process. In this chapter, I will try to decipher the slogans, metaphors, suggestions, rules, implementations and requirements of anti-aging. By focusing on specific discursive patterns of anti-aging, I will try to introduce the general ideology of anti-aging. The topics which come into prominence in this discourse such as calculation of realage, narration of aging process, anti-aging life style, anti-aging eating and exercising and finally the health conception of anti-aging will be examined in terms of the question: Does anti-aging present a certain body project? Anti-aging discourse works properly with components such as market, media, changing inter-personal relations, education and so forth. However, in order to put general discursive content of anti-aging, I will draw source upon from mainly three popular anti-aging books: *The New Anti-Aging Revolution: Stopping the Clock for a Younger, Sexier, Happier You!* (2003) written by Ronald Klatz and Robert Goldman, *The RealAge Makeover* (2004) written by Michael F. Roizen and *The Anti-Aging Solution* (2004) written by Vincent Giampapa, Ronald Pero, Marcia Zimmerman. Although there are many popular anti-aging books which have published in the last decades and have gained a widespread interest, these three best-seller books include almost all topics which anti-aging deals with. Moreover, they are adequate in

presenting the age conceptualization, health apprehension, and body understanding peculiar to anti-aging.

The fourth chapter tries to locate anti-aging discourse into the theoretical framework which is drawn by considering Foucauldian theory of power over life and Sontag's views on illness in late the modern times. In this chapter, I will try to interpret the discourse of anti-aging with proper reflections to the theoretical themes which is introduced in the second chapter. In the first part of this chapter, I will touch upon the aging studies which have been pursued under the discipline of gerontology which mainly focuses on the elderly people's social problems and considers elderly people as a social problem. Then, I will explain why gerontological studies are not adequate for the examination of anti-aging discourse. In the second part, I will try to develop a Foucauldian approach to anti-aging discourse. Finally, in the third part I will try to demonstrate the parallelism between Sontag's argument on illness and the conception of aging assumed in the anti-aging discourse.

CHAPTER 2

THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

It may be argued that, in modern times, the life of human fell under the calculations of power and the body of human is removed away from being a simple biological entity. The borders of life are determined through power relations. The meaning of body and the phenomena peculiar to body such as age, sex, death, health and illness are reproduced by certain discourses. My pivotal concern in this chapter is to examine how the life of human is being located within the relations of power through the regulation of body, and more specifically the place of anti-aging discourse in this context. The theoretical importance of anti-aging here stems from its potential for providing vital examples for understanding the logic which makes individuals a part of power mechanism through their bodies. In this chapter, a theoretical framework will be drawn, because such framework is necessary for developing a critical approach to anti-aging. Upon this framework certain conceptual apparatuses that will be employed in examining anti-aging will be introduced. First, the relevant aspects of Foucault's work will be examined, especially his thesis concerning the power over life. Then, Sontag's views on illness in modern times will be presented and discussed.

2.1. Foucault's Work: The Power over Life

Foucault's views on power over life presents the outline of set of intricate relations

between power, knowledge, body and subject in modern times. In general, from a historical perspective he elucidates the encompassment of human life and body by power relations. The question which is central to his analysis is: through which mechanisms the life and body of human is controlled, regulated, disciplined, deciphered and reinterpreted. For answering this question, Foucault takes into consideration the events and tendencies took place in the different strata of history. Although Foucault did not focus on anti-aging directly, certain themes in his work may be related to anti-aging discourse. For this reason, I will discuss below Foucault's theory of bio-power, the pastoral power in Christian tradition which is the archetype of individualizing power, the technologies of self through which the self was constituted in ancient Greek and Roman times and finally the formation of modern medicine which produced modern representation of body.

Now let me first discuss the Foucauldian theory of bio-power and its role in transforming human beings into subjects. Then, in order to understand the individualization tendency of modern power, I will examine an older form of power, namely pastoral power which is a specific type of individualizing power. After outlining bio-power in terms of its relation with transforming human beings into subjects and pastoral power, I will introduce Foucault's conceptualization of the technologies of self which is critical in understanding how an individual creates her own way of being in the world. Finally, I will present Foucault's approach to modern medicine in order to see its discursive role in problematisation of aging. Foucauldian reading of modern medicine will also enable us to understand how health fell under the continuous scrutiny of human beings through which the suggestion of "one's becoming her own doctor" has been made.

2.1.1. Foucauldian Conceptualization of Bio-Power

As Foucault claims the characteristics of power began to transform in the 17th century Europe. A new form of power that is different both from power in the classical age and from the sovereign power emerged. According to its Foucauldian conceptualization, the name of this new kind of power is bio-power. Bio-power is the term Foucault uses to describe the new mechanisms and tactics of power focused on the life of human. Different from the earlier forms of power, bio-power constitutes itself on controlling the population by exercising certain techniques on the conditions of life and well-being of individuals. The major aim of bio-power is to control social body, together with the purpose of attaining the knowledge of each individual. Thus, bio-power functions via both totalizing procedures and individualizing techniques.

Foucault elaborated his theory of bio-power in the last chapter of first volume of *The History of Sexuality* (1990). The central question of this work is in what ways certain kinds of knowledge, power, discourse and techniques which control and produce human body have emerged in modern times. In this work, Foucault challenges the simplistic interpretations of power which reduce it to mere repression and banning. According to him, power, is not a thing that one can have or not have; rather it is always being exercised from all points of relations. Power is inside the relationships of economics, knowledge or sex, and it determines their internal structure. Power does not simply come down from above, rather it is exercised from incalculable points, and it can be seen at all levels of relations (Foucault, 1990, p. 94). In the light of this kind understanding of power, Foucault's interrogation concerning how and why the body of human became the object of power leads him to examine bio-power.

For Foucault, before the emergence of bio-power, the meaning and function of citizens' death was more important than the lives of citizens for the calculations of power. The main determining characteristic of sovereign power was holding the right of death and the right of life of people. The power exercised by the sovereign was a matter of deciding whether or not a person would be killed. If the subsistence of sovereign was in danger; he could demand his subject's death in a direct manner. In addition to this, starting a war was legitimate for sovereign with the condition that there was a threat from external enemies. By sending his people to fight in defense of his country, sovereign could use his authority of the right to kill in indirect way. These implementations demonstrate that, the sovereign can use the right of death in certain conditions which were determined by him. Sovereign was protecting his citizen's right of life by holding their right of death. Thus, the right of life was determined through the right of death (p.135).

From the 17th century onwards the meaning of the people's life and death for power has changed. With the rise of this new form of power, life became an issue which needs to be understood, regulated, normalized and controlled. According to Foucault, the major role of this new power is "to ensure, sustain and multiply life and to put this life in order" (p. 138). Hereafter, managing the lives of citizens has become the major task of power relations. Holding the right of death of citizen has become secondary and complementary element of power mechanism. Giving life to its subjects constitutes the basis of this new form of power and in order to control these lives of people in the totality of population, power produces new techniques to normalize, improve, maintain, secure, and surveil of the lives of its subjects.

After this turning point, bio-power began to develop in two ways: First, the *anatomo-politics of human life*: In this form of politics, human body was treated like a machine and certain techniques were developed by power aiming to improve the skills, productiveness and obedience of human beings. This politics seeks to create more disciplined and effective population and appeared in the military, education, workplace etc. Second, the *bio-politics of human body*: this form of politics appeared in the middle of the 18th century and the body of human was begun to be described via its biological processes. This type of power focused on the productive capacity of human body. By taking into consideration the issues like fertility, demography, wealth analysis and living conditions, power was begun to be exercised in the context of bio-politics seeking to control the population on the level of statistical knowledge (p. 139).

An important point about the emergence of bio-politics is that there is a close relationship between the birth of bio-power and the development of capitalist system in the 18th century. The characteristics of bio-power are inseparable from the requirements of capitalism. Optimizing and normalizing the conditions of citizens' lives raise the efficiency of the work force which was needed for capitalism. Making investment on the body of human, valorizing the body and managing forces of the body are the main implementations of bio-politics which serve directly or indirectly to the capitalist mode of production (p. 141). Because the capitalist mode of production necessitates the transformation of body force into labour power, new form of power aimed to enhance, organize and control the biological forces of body. Power ceased to deal with threatening, destroying and restricting the forces of body; rather, it began to aim sustaining human body in order to introduce it to the

production mechanism in a controlled way and shaping the population in favour of production processes. However, the concern of power about human body can not be reduced into the management of labour-power, because bio-power includes many elements about human body and population which can have long term political effects. Thus, bio-power intervenes into the processes like birth, death, well being, health, old age, accidents and develops insurance implementations in order to acquire the possibility of transforming human life in favour of calculations of power (Genel, 2006, p. 46).

With this new logic of power, the features which are peculiar to biological existence of human beings like propagation, birth and mortality, level of health, life expectancy and longevity and the conditions which can affect all of these have gained importance for the aims of power (Foucault, 1990, p. 139). In other words, the biological processes of human life have become the object of knowledge and power. Following Foucauldian theory of bio-power, it can be claimed that, the biological processes of body and the life of human began to fall under the charge of politics. Through determining the borders of life, bio-power aims to rationalize the possible problems that governments may encounter. These possible problems are the phenomena peculiar to the population of human species like birth, death, health, protection of health, longevity, etc. (Foucault, 2003, p. 109). With the rise of bio-power, power's major task becomes controlling the population through controlling each individual. For the first time in the history, with the logic of bio-politics, the fact of living and having a body directly reflected themselves on to the calculations of politics. In modern times, the power began to aim controlling uncertain and unforeseen characteristics of the body. In other words, it presents a life whose

measures are determined by the power relations. The entrance of the life of human species into the political strategies of power is explained by Foucault as the “threshold of modernity” and according to him, “modern man is an animal whose politics places his existence as a living being in question” (Foucault, 1990, p. 143).

2.1.2. Transformation of Human Beings into Subjects

It is seen that with the logic of bio-power the biological processes of the body and life of human fell under the calculations of the power mechanism. An important point about this statement is that state's control of the population through attaining the knowledge of lives of individuals and bodies is not a one way process. Rather, it carries two tendencies. With the task of bio-power in labeling each human as a unique individual in order to attain knowledge specific to her, this designated individual tries to constitute herself as a unique and inimitable subject. That is to say, subjective individualization techniques are integrated to the totalizing strategies of power. In this way, power governs the divided whole more easily. In other words, the fact that power controls each individual facilitates governing the whole easier. Thus, within the process of bio-power, power relations and the life of human beings determine each other. As a result, bio-power combines “political structures of individualization techniques” and “totalization procedures” so; it functions both in an individualizing and a totalizing way (Foucault, 1982, p. 213).

At this point, when we turn our focus on the “political structures of individualization techniques”, Foucault's theory carries us to the specific form of power which is pastoral power. He calls pastorship as individualizing power and, examines it as the first form of power which developed certain power techniques for the aim of

ruling individual in a continuous and permanent manner (Foucault, 1979). The importance of pastoral power here stems from its being the archetype of individualizing power. In order to understand how and why power relations attempt to produce and attain the knowledge of individual in modern times, I will examine Foucault's examinations on pastoral power below, in detail.

2.1.2.1 Pastoral Power

According to Foucault, the individualization techniques of power are the heritage of the logic of pastoral power which has originated from Christian practices. Foucault depicts that the state is the political form of centralizing power and pastorship is the political form of individualizing power. In modernity pastoral power is integrated to the power of state (Foucault, 1979). Thus, for Foucault, in order to understand the individualization tendency of modern power, it is necessary to look at this much older version of power.

The word of pastor is used here with its double meaning, namely, it means both a religious figure and a shepherd. In Christianity the pastor is a sacred man who takes care of his flock. The pastoral power shaped with the metaphors of pastor and flock is a specific type of individualizing power. According to the shepherd-flock metaphor, shepherd exercises his power on the flock, not on a specific territory. Shepherd takes care and feeds each sheep one by one. Moreover, the shepherd recognizes his flock both totally and particularly. He knows special demands of his each sheep. The shepherd constitutes his power on the whole flock through knowing each unique sheep. When it is put with the help of shepherd-flock metaphor, the duty of pastor is “to supply his cattle with food; to care for them when they are

sick; to play them music to get them together, and guide them; to arrange their intercourse with a view to the finest offspring” (Foucault, 1979). His constant concern is doing everything for the well being of his flock.

These characteristic aspects of the metaphor of flock and their pastor carry us to the pastoral essence of power. The pastoral aim of pastoral power is mainly religious: to assure individual salvation in the other world. If it is necessary for the life and salvation of the flock, pastoral power can sacrifice itself. This kind of power does not look after the whole community; on the contrary, it deals with each individual in particular, during her entire life and it is exercised through knowing the inside of people’s minds, penetrating their souls and makes the individuals to confess their innermost secrets for enabling them to produce their own truths (Foucault, 1982, p. 214). It is obvious that, pastoral power has an individualizing impact, because it takes a strong interest in the life of each singular individual.

Foucault suggests seeing the power of modern state as a new kind of pastorship because of its advanced individualization techniques. With the rise of new pastoral power in modern times, traditional pastorship lost its religious attributes. Thus, it does not aim anymore the salvation of individual in the next world. The meaning of salvation has changed with the modern version of pastorship. According to its new deployment, health, well being, security, protection against accidents are the new duties of power which bring salvation to the individuals in this world. When the new form of pastorship tries to achieve its new duties, its officials increased. Besides the state; police, medicine, private ventures, some public institutions and charitable organizations have become the agents of new pastoral power. With its mundane

salvation approach and increasing number of agents, new pastoral power, disposed its focus on the knowledge of individual in two ways. One of them is the globalizing and quantitative knowledge of the population and the other is analytical knowledge of each unique individual (Foucault, 1982, p. 215).

In consequence, Foucault's examination concerning pastoral power shed light on individualization tendency of modern state's power. Because power aims to govern the whole, it tries to attain the knowledge of each individual. In order to attain the knowledge of this unique individual, power makes people to produce their own specific knowledge. Thus, individualizing power; on one hand tries to obtain the knowledge which is specific to a single individual on the other hand makes individuals construct their unique selves and produce specific knowledge of this self. The matters of construction of self and production of its knowledge necessitate here take into consideration Foucault's examination of 'technologies of the self', because by examining technologies of self Foucault focuses on the activities through which human being act upon her self. According to him without a circumspect reflection of technologies of self, it is difficult to understand how people become as they are (Foucault, 1988, p. 17). On account of this, I will detail Foucault's examinations on technologies of the self below.

2.1.2.2. Technologies of the Self

Foucault describes the main focus of his studies as creating the history of different modes by which "human beings are made subjects" in the Western history and he adds that contrary to general impression, he does not intent to examine the phenomenon of power (Foucault, 1982, p. 208). He analyses the specific form of

power which transforms human beings into subjects through categorizing the individual, determining her individuality, attributing her a specific identity and enabling her to produce her own identity which will distinguish her from other individuals. As a result, Foucault describes this form of power as something “which makes individuals subjects”. The double meaning of the word of subject is critical in his approach, because it means both subjecting to someone through control and dependence and attaching to one’s own identity through conscience and self-knowledge. Both meanings of the word subject present a power relation which both subjugates and makes subject to (p. 212). In this context, while Foucault attempts to create the history of different modes by which “human beings are made subjects”, he focuses in his studies on the history of practices of subjectivity (Foucault, 2005, p. XX) and examines specific techniques through which human beings develop knowledge about themselves and understand themselves (Foucault, 1988, p. 18)

Foucault categorizes the technologies which train and modify individuals congruously and produce knowledge of individual under four titles:

(I) technologies of production, which permit us to produce, transform or manipulate things; (2) technologies of sign systems, which permit us use signs, meanings, symbols or signification; (3) technologies of power, which determine the conduct of individuals and submit them to certain ends or domination, an objectivizing of the subject; (4) technologies of the self, which permit individuals to effect by their own means or with the help of others a certain number of operations on their own bodies and souls, thoughts, conduct, and way of being so as to transform themselves in order to attain a certain state of happiness, purity, wisdom, perfection, or immorality (Foucault, 1988, p. 18).

When these technologies are considered in terms of their roles in the process of individualization, the technologies which differentiate one individual from others can be distinguished as the technologies of the self, because the manner of the contact between the individual and her own self varies from one individual to another. While the individual is producing her own knowledge of self, she consistently

cultivates an interest in her self and develops practices in her daily life concerning these activities. The activities which individuals implement in order to take care of their selves and to produce their own truths about their selves are located by Foucault into the discursive context of the ‘technologies of the self’ in general.

One major theme constituting the center of these technologies is the care of self. It appeared in the fifth century B.C. and permeated into all Greek, Hellenistic Roman philosophy and also Christian spirituality up to the fourth and fifth centuries A.D. Care of self designates a series of practices through which a human being determines her standpoint in the world, her peculiar way of considering things, her attitudes towards own self and other people. According to Foucault, the history of care of self is extremely important in understanding the history of practices of subjectivity (Foucault, 2005, p. 11). In other words, the constitution of a discourse of caring oneself can be considered as the first step in the history of subjectivity. According to Foucault, the principle of taking care of oneself which is a cultural phenomenon peculiar to Hellenistic and Roman times is still a significant ingredient of our modern mode of being subjects (p. XX). Thus, in order to conceive the formation of modern subject today, Foucault focuses on the development of techniques for caring oneself.

In the cultures of ancient Greek and Roman times it can be seen that there were techniques applied which paved the way of constituting the self. These techniques were independent from social and political repression and the restrictions of laws. That is to say, they were about life styles, choices about forms of existence, adopting certain attitudes towards life and the certain purposes concerning the conduct of life. This kind of attitude about reflecting on life had a major importance for the

philosophical activity in ancient times. Foucault depicts the most important principle in ancient philosophy as the Delphic principle which tells people “know yourself”. Ancient philosophers advised people to develop an interest towards concerning their selves in order to know themselves truly. In other words, the indispensable condition of knowing oneself was the duty of taking care of oneself (Foucault, 1988, p. 19). In this sense, the activity of taking care of self was considered as a duty, a technique, a responsibility and an entirely regular procedure about life. It was not a temporary activity which prepares people to life; on the contrary, it was a life style as a whole (Foucault, 2005, p. 492). The techniques applied on self were not determined by institutional constraints and offers, rather, by the manner of relationship which one conducted with oneself. The aim of the activities about the self was to achieve mastering one’s own life self-sufficiently. The activity of philosophizing for making one’s own existence the focus of care was considered an ethical effort which was necessary for arrangement and stylization of life. If a person did not want to abandon her life to her fate, she must cultivate her life through taking care her life, soul and body (Nilson, 1998, p. 38).

For the doctors and philosophers of Hellenistic and Roman antiquity, the activity of care of self was not a total of general principles which were advisable and valid for everybody (p. 38). Although there were not standard principles about the activity of caring oneself, the practice itself was opened to everybody without any prior condition or status and without any technical, professional and social aim (Foucault, 2005, p. 126). It was not only a form of simple care that man oriented to himself or any awareness attitude about the self, but also a regular occupation and included a specified goal about the life of human (p. 493). The activity of care of self included

caring both body and the soul. Concentrating on the soul and trying to discover what soul consists of, took the most important place in these activities. In Plato's *Alcibiades*, from which Foucault draws clues for seeing the importance of care of self in ancient Greece, Socrates advises *Alcibiades* that he must worry about his soul, because worrying about the soul is the main principle activity of caring for oneself. He continues that merely taking care of body does not mean taking care of self rather, caring the body is the complementary element of contemplation on soul and trying to discover it. If one can achieve to discover the content and the rules of her soul through contemplation about soul, she will find the proper way of her life (Foucault, 1988, p. 25). Thus, it can be said that soul was more important in these times for the practices of taking care of oneself.

The activities oriented to take care of self are called by Foucault as a kind of "soul service". Their aim did not refer to a decipherment of one's thoughts, representations and desires. Rather, they searched one's relation with the world, place in natural order and possible attitudes in the face of events that occur. Thus, a person who applied these activities could not find a truth which is immanent to herself or a hidden truth deep within her, but could internalize the truths which are appropriated by her from outside. Foucault describes the purpose of these techniques as:

... to link together the truth and the subject. But it should be clearly understood that it is not a matter of discovering a truth in the subject or of making the soul the place where truth dwells through an essential kinship or original law; nor is it a matter of making the soul the object of a true discourse (2005, p. 501)

With these activities, a quasi-subject was achieved through teaching her a learned and memorized truth which he did not know. Thus, Foucault depicts that his considerations about the care of self activity in ancient philosophy and early

Christianity are far from being the hermeneutics of subject (Foucault, 2005, pp. 490-501).

2.1.3. Foucault's Work on Disease in the Modern Medicine Age

Foucault's works on bio-politics, pastoral power and technologies of self present a detailed examination about power over life. Formation of medicine in modern times intersects these three axes. According to the logic of bio-power, the life and body of human has become an issue which must be understood, controlled, disciplined and regulated. Foucault's theory of bio-power shows that in order to achieve its targets, power takes into consideration the body of human as a source of knowledge of the individual. Through this relation between body and power, body is reproduced by specific sets of practices and discourse. Such an approach to the body was also reflected into the terrain of medicine and modern medicine created a sphere in which the knowledge of individual can be attained. Thus, with the emergence of modern medicine, the conditions and borders of healthy and ill body and the meanings of life and death have been determined by a new medical discourse (Bunton and Petersen, 1997, p. 5). Because the emergence of modern medicine has a key role in the formation of modern representation of bodies, Foucauldian theory of modern medicine will be discussed below.

The processes of dislocation of disease from its natural home, namely, the body of the patient, the subjectification of it to a scientific gaze, endowment of it with scientific discourse and reconstruction of it as an object of knowledge of individual are evaluated by Foucault simultaneously with the birth of modern medicine in his work of *The Birth of the Clinic: An Archeology of Medical Perception*

(2003). Deriving its source from Foucault's confirmations of disease about its circumscription, isolation, division and distribution, this idea will be considered in the following chapters that whether the process of aging is objected to similar implementations with the logic of anti-aging. At this point, Foucault's work on perception of health and disease in the terrain of modern medicine in terms of the reconstruction of singular knowledge of sick individual enable us to understand the logic behind modern medicine.

In Foucault's work on clinic, it is asserted that with the development of modern medicine in the 18th century, the methods of medicine for analyzing the patient and disease have changed. Disease was detached from metaphysics which had been immediately called upon in order to explain diseases for centuries. The methods which were considered as scientific and positive began to develop. According to Foucault, the positive medicine is not a kind of medicine which employs objective explanations about diseases. Rather than this, positive medicine imprisons the patient to her own disease's uniqueness and evaluates the 'subjective symptoms' which are peculiar to a specific patient as a source of knowledge of this patient. In order to separate these subjective symptoms, the entirety of body of patient is demounted. With this logic the question which is posed to the patient by doctor "what is the matter with you?" was transformed into the question "where does it hurt?" (Foucault, 2003, p. XXI). That is to say, the organs, nerves or tissues in the diseased body are analyzed as parts if they were independent from the body. In this way, diseases and their symptoms are located in an objective discourse and submitted to the positive gaze of doctors (p. XI). In this way, the concrete exhibitions of diseases transformed to abstract concepts and categories in the discourse of literature of medicine. Thus,

it can be said that, modern medicine's implementations of decomposing the diseased body to its components and treating each component as an object of knowledge are paved the way of constructing the scientific discourse of diseased individual.

Another work of modern medicine is displacing the space of disease which occurs in two spaces. That is to say, disease is driven away from both the body of patient and from the private sphere or family life. The first displacement is that disease is dislocated from human body in which the disease originates and outspreads. According to this displacement, although the disease exists in the body of patient, the space in which the disease is diagnosed and cured is not the body of patient. Modern medicine makes a distinction between the body of given patient and body of the disease (p. 9). Through making classifications about symptoms and cures, modern medicine reaches its maps in which it can control and regulate the disease. In other words, rather than perceiving disease in the body of patient, modern medicine, carries the disease to an abstract space which is 'scientifically' created in medicine literature. The second displacement is about the sphere in which the disease is experienced. The habitat in which the disease used to be experienced and cured was the family life (p. 19). However, with the tendency of understanding and regulating disease through the medical investigations, disease was banished from the family life and distributed throughout privileged regions like hospitals or cure centers. Before the exclusive possession of it, medical knowledge was open to everyone's usage without distinction. Moreover, each person was sharing her experiences about diseases with everyone and this kind of knowledge about medicine was handing down (p. 65). However the rise of hospitals, as artificial spaces, where the displaced disease is experienced, enabled to producing the knowledge of patients as a

privilege which can only be obtained by doctors (p. 45).

Another important point about the hospitals is that since their early establishment, they have functioned as protection mechanisms. That is to say, some of the duties of hospitals in modern medicine age are protecting healthy people against the diseases, protecting ill against quack doctors and protecting people from their own errors (p. 49). It can be deduced from this protective duty of modern medicine, that the borders of disease is enlarged towards the terrain of health. To this extent, with this enlargement of terrain of medicine, modern discourse on health began attain not only the knowledge of the ill people, but also the knowledge of the healthy and normal.

The emphasis on health in modern medicine should be examined here with its relationship with the duties of modern pastoral power. With modern version of pastoral power, the function of medicine for the power has changed. The pastoral power abandoned its otherworldly references which promise people their salvation. According to this transformation the new duties of modern pastorship are determined as to sustain and protect well being, security and health of people. In this way, the officials of modern pastoral power spread into the whole social body and found support in multitude institutions. In this process, medicine has become an apparatus of modern pastorship in terms of its contributions to the health of human (Nettleton, 1997, p. 211). Moreover, modern medicine functions as a technique of individualization, because it produces the knowledge of each individual through subjugating her to medical gaze. As a result, it can be said that the relation between modern medicine and modern pastorship has two axes. First, modern medicine enables modern pastorship to attain the knowledge of individual. Second,

modern medicine functions as an apparatus of modern pastorship because it assists modern medicine in protecting the health of individuals.

It should be admitted that human desire for being healthy has not emerged with modern medicine; rather the concern of healthy body was also important in practices of technologies of self. The place of health in the modern medicine carries similarities and differences when it is compared to the perception of health in Greco-Roman cultures related to the technologies of the self. In the cultures of ancient Greek and Roman times medicine was very far from the hospital industry and it was a practice oriented to life as such. Taking care one's own health was a necessary rule in the practices of care of self. It was a kind of relation which one constitutes with her own body without the outside help of an expert. Through the aid of dietetics and her own reason guiding in terms of temperance, a person could succeed in being healthy. The susceptibility of the body and the preservation of its health took important place in an ethics of self concern (Nilson, 1998, p. 47). With the emergence of modern medicine, one's relation constituted with her own health has changed. Modern medicine determines the conditions of illness and health through a certain discourse enriched by scientific claim. It describes the orientation of healthiness and determines the role model of healthiness. Moreover, it presents the knowledge and solutions of certain diseases and suggests people always to monitor themselves for not to contact a disease. Thus, modern medicine relates with the phenomenon which are assumed necessary in order to protect the health like regimen, diet, exercise, nutrition. It attempts to present the rule of life which can be implemented by the individual her self (Foucault, 2003, p. 40). It can be said that with its relationship with health, modern medicine opened people to the way of

‘being ones own doctor’. According to Foucault, with the developments in modern medicine, the health in this world is replaced with the other worldly salvation (p. 245).

2.1.4. Concluding Remarks on Foucault

Although it is known that Foucault did not write on the discourse and practices concerning aging directly in his studies, his theory presents a framework for understanding and examining the issue of anti aging. In his examinations on bio-power, he explices that how the borders of the life of human are being determined by power relations and certain discourses. The importance of the conceptualization of bio-power for examining anti-aging is that it helps us to understand the logic which makes individuals a part of power mechanism through their bodies. The possible linkage and similarity between the logic of power in managing the life of human through controlling her body and the popular appeal of applying anti-aging strategies can be understood in the light of Foucault’s theory of bio-power.

Moreover, Foucault also shows how the individuals became part of external power when they are trying to constitute themselves as subjects. Power makes people to produce their specific knowledge. In the following step, power tries to attain the knowledge which specific to each individual. The critical point here is that power does not enforce the individuals in the individualization process. In other words, power over life has an affirmative role in general. Such kind of individualization tendency of modern power is the heritage of pastoral power which has been an old form of power originated from Christian practices and Foucault adds that the power of modern state is indeed a new kind of pastorship for the most part. The

question that arises at this point is whether anti-aging practices of people can be considered one of the apparatuses of new pastorship of modern power. I will discuss this issue after presenting and documenting basic premises of anti-aging discourse.

In addition to this, Foucault, in his studies on the technologies of the self, describes us the individual's acting upon her own soul, thoughts, conduct and body through which an individual creates her own way of being in the world (Foucault, 1988, p. 18). If it is thought at this point that, anti-aging discourse attempts to make practitioners to create their own aging patterns by considering their bodily needs and life styles, a question arises: Does the practitioner's implementation of anti-aging constitute a certain kind of technology of self? However, in order to evaluate anti-aging practices as a terrain in which an individual produces her specific knowledge and tries to constitute herself, the possible linkage between anti-aging practices and technologies of the self must be constructed. Thus, I will examine whether anti-aging practices are tied to a certain type of technology of the self with the help of Foucault's studies on the issue of transforming human beings into subjects. These will be pursued in the last chapter of my thesis.

Another work of Foucault which is on medicine is also examined above, because Foucault demonstrates the role of modern medicine in fostering the production of the knowledge of individual and population in his work *The Birth of the Clinic: An Archeology of Medical Perception* (2003). In this work, he focuses the on emergence of modern medical discourse and its relation with modern representations of bodies (Dumans and Turner, 2006, p. 147). He examines the history of exposition of sick body to medical gaze and in parallel with this the objectification of sick body.

With the emergence of modern medicine, disease is dislocated from the body of patient and it is circumscribed, isolated, divided and distributed. In this way, modern medicine has begun to promote the production of the singular knowledge of each patient and enclosed the body of patient with a certain medical discourse. It is seen from Foucault's examinations on the discourse of modern medicine that this kind of discourse has a certain role in individualizing practices of human beings because, modern medical discourse plays a central role in the construction of certain conditions and meaning of health, illness, vitality and death of human being. As a consequence, the healthy, young, good looking and dynamic body of human being is normalized. In addition to this, conceptualizations pertaining to aging, being old, senescence and looking elderly carry negative associations in this discourse. Thus, even at this point it can be said that, the existing definition, knowledge and borders of aging process and elderly body are produced by modern medical discourse although Foucault has not directly comment on such a link. At this point our topic and Foucauldian examination on modern medical discourse intersect. This kind of construction of aging in modern medical discourse makes me employ Foucauldian approach to medicine and examine it in terms of its possible relation between anti-aging implementations. In ongoing chapters I will to discuss the emphasis on health in anti-aging strategies by employing Foucault's remarks on modern medicine.

2.2. Metaphorical Representations of Illness in Late Modern Times and Inevitable Responsibility of the Patient: Sontag's Remarks

Susan Sontag in her book, *Illness as Metaphor and AIDS and Its Metaphors* (1991) discusses the illness in late modern times and its metaphorical representations. The

argument of the work offers a new perspective about the relationship between the illness and responsibility of the person who suffers from this illness. According to Sontag there is a widespread tendency in society for blaming the patient for causing her own illness (1991). Generally patient is thought to have been contracted a disease because of her delinquency. Although the character and psychology of the patient are blamed as being responsible for the illness, indeed, the illnesses that like tuberculosis, cancer, AIDS are the ones whose causes have been discovered and explained by medical science. The biological causes of these diseases can be diagnosed by the doctors. Most of these causes can not be obviated by the patient because they occurred in the biological processes of human body. In other words, the character or lifestyle of patient of the patient can not be the determining elements of these illnesses. At this point, our research topic and Susan Sontag's argument intersect. Like the causes of certain illnesses, the aging process is an irrepressible biological fact. However, similar to the tendency of pointing out the patient as responsible for her own illness, in the discourse of anti-aging individuals are thought to be responsible of their own old ages, or looking old.

Another important point which Sontag discusses in her work pertains to the metaphorical representation of illness. She argues that the meaning of illness is reconstructed through certain metaphors through which the illness becomes more than a biological condition and illness is used for implying several cases. Thus, illness itself is transformed into a metaphor. In her study, Sontag, illustrates metaphorical usage of illness by giving the example of employment of illness in warfare terminology. This terminology is also used in clinical course of disease and its medical treatment also indicates how illness is explained through certain

metaphors like ‘combating’, ‘fight’ or ‘crusade’ against cancer, considering cancer as a ‘killer’ disease or labeling people who have cancer as ‘cancer victims’ (Sontag, 1991, p. 59) At this point it can be argued that, similar to the announcement of illness with warfare terms, the discourse of anti-aging also gives place to warfare terminology when the ways of coping with aging is described. The relationship between warfare terminology and metaphorical representation of illness will be detailed below, because it is illustrative in understanding the metaphorical usage of age in the anti-aging literature.

Now let me first discuss how the inevitable responsibility of patient emerged in modern times through which the character of patient has become more important in the illness process. Next, I will expound the way through which illness has been individualized. Then, I will discuss the metaphors about illness and metaphorical usage of illness by reference to warfare terminology and illness. Finally, I will try to establish a connection between Sontag’s remarks about illness and anti-aging. Although it is known that Sontag did not write on anti-aging directly, her insights about illness in modern times can be inspirational in examining the discourse of anti-aging.

2.2.1. Inevitable Responsibility of the Patient: Individualization of Illness

By examining the literary works in which the characters suffer from tuberculosis, Sontag tries to show how this disease is separated from its medical symptoms and is regarded suitable for the people who have certain psychological characteristics. For example, during the 19th century tuberculosis was thought to be an illness which is peculiar to artists or creative people. According to this common conviction, an

individual who contracted tuberculosis was a melancholic person who's sensitive, delicate emotional world call upon the disease to her body. To put it differently, it was believed that a person could be the cause of her own illness because of her emotional features. According to Sontag, this kind of romanticization of tuberculosis presents a good example about how certain images have been constructed about illness and patient in modern times (Sontag, 1991, p. 29).

Similar to romantic melancholic image of tuberculosis, cancer is attributed to the depressive self who is not romantic. Cancer is thought to be a disease which traps people who are repressed, incapable of expressing their emotions and handling their anger. The images which are employed in the discourse on cancer are more retributive than the ones about tuberculosis. The images about cancer convict the patient and associate it with the loneliness, desperation, isolation of the self of patient. By such reference to the accusatory metaphors, the patient of cancer feels herself shameful, terrifying and delinquent (p. 49). It may be claimed that, the tendencies of associating illness with the character of patient and pointing out the character as the cause of illness opened the way of individualization of illness.

Before the development of modern mentality about the illnesses, the character of patient was seen important only after the occurrence of the illness (p. 41). However with the modern illnesses like tuberculosis, cancer or AIDS, the idea that illness originated from the character of patient became widespread. In other words the character of patient is labeled as being the most important cause of the illness of this patient. In this way, illness is imprisoned within the confines of one's character. Although there is accumulated and generalized knowledge about certain

diseases in medicine literature which is applicable to each patient, the self of the patient is adduced as being a responsible element of the disease. The illnesses endowed with modern fantasia are perceived as a penalty which patient imposed to her own self. All of these assumptions created discursive connections between the illness and the character of the patients (p. 31).

When the patient is told her illness, in general, the popular question that the patient poses herself is ‘why am I ill?’. This question is the first step of the individualization of illness. Beginning with this question, even at this each stage the patient begins to see herself as the cause. She tries to find her delinquency and irresponsibility in the process of contacting. Right along with the patient, medicine man also searches the causes of illness within the character and lifestyle of patient. Thus, although the cure of illness takes its place in medicine literature, with the individualization of illnesses, the causes, symptoms, process, cure of the illness are all considered to be specific to each patient. In this way, with the individualization of illnesses, the general medical rules can not function independent from individual conditions of patients.

In addition to these, the individualization of illness also reinforced the tendency of explaining illness at the psychological level which is peculiar to late modern times (p. 57). From the angle of this explanation, the illness traps a certain person who wants to be ill in her subconscious. Thus, if this person wants to improve in health, she can achieve this by deciding to be healthy in her psychic world. Following this approach, many doctors advise their patients that they can choose getting rid of their illnesses’ by deciding this in their minds, and in this way, they might rescue themselves from the illness they suffer from (p. 58). With the attempt of

explaining diseases at psychological level, the patient's moral capacity has begun to be perceived more important than the biological condition of patient. Thus, the choices and the will power of patient have gained important role in the process of illness. In this manner, the categories of illness and health have been transformed into the terrains which enable human being to produce herself and experience her subjectivity (Greco, 1993, p. 358).

2.2.2. Warfare Terminology: Metaphoric Narration of Illness and Illness as Metaphor

Sontag describes her main object in her work (1991) in her own words:

My subject is not physical illness itself but the uses of illness as figure or metaphor. My point is that illness is *not* a metaphor, and that the most truthful way of regarding illness – and the healthiest way of being ill – is one must purified of, most resistant to, metaphoric thinking (Sontag, 1991, p. 3).

She underlines two aspects of the metaphors about diseases which are particularly disquieted her. First, she is disturbed by the way that metaphors, symbols and analogies attach themselves to disease through which human fantasies are projected onto the disease and disease gains a given meaning, rather than being ascribed to a specific pathogenic cause. Second, she depicted that the disease itself becomes a metaphor and turns adjectival. With the transformation of illness into a metaphor itself, illness expresses more than something wrong with the body (Baehr, 2006, p. 45). When Sontag elaborates these two points about metaphoric thinking and illness, she underlines the point that disease imaginary is shaped under the sway of warfare terminology and even medical terminology reflects itself in this warfare language.

In order to clarify the first point of discussion which is about metaphoric narration of illness, Sontag remarks that the controlling metaphors in description of

cancer are inspired from the language of warfare. In other words, cancer is clothed in the language of war. Such association is seen in both clinical course of disease and medical treatment. For example, the cancer cells are labeled as ‘invasive’, the body of patient is considered under the tumor’s ‘invasion’, or the body’s ‘defense’ collapses due to the cancer. Treatment process of disease also includes similar terms, in such way, that radiotherapy for instance is called ‘bombardment’ of toxic rays, the aim of treatment is described as ‘killing’ cancer cells and finally all this effort is summarized with the slogan of ‘the war on cancer’(Sontag, 1991, pp. 65-67).

When we focus on the second point of view of her analysis this time we witness that the illnesses have become adjectival in warfare terminology. For instance, National Socialists depicted Jews as ‘syphilis’ and as radical ‘tuberculosis’ among nations; or Trotsky dubbed Stalinism as the ‘cancer’ of Marxism (Baehr, 2006, p. 45). Interestingly, it is possible to encounter similar examples in Turkey like media’s calling the situation of the Kurdish people in Turkey as ‘an open sore’ of Turkey or expressing problems about the Kurdish conflict with expressions such as ‘gangrenous’. As it is seen here, illness evokes negative meanings in the warfare terminology. At the same time such associations invariably include a punitive tone. The individual or group with which the disease is compared is conceived as demolisher and destructive, like the disease itself.

2.2.3 Concluding Remarks on Susan Sontag

The views of Sontag about the illness and its metaphors show that the meaning of illness is always reconstructed through a certain discourse. In this way, illness is dislocated from its natural biological process and it is drown away from the

body of patient which is the natural home of illness. With the production of myths, fantasies, metaphors and given meanings peculiar to illness, it is moved to another level. In this manner, with its attached meanings, new images and metaphors, illness represents something much more than being only a pathological phenomenon. This kind of perspective provides a new angle which can be helpful in understanding anti-aging. Again like in the case of Foucault, although Sontag did not write directly on the issue of anti aging, her inferences on illness present a line of vision in a critical elaboration of anti-aging.

Especially her views on the responsibility of patient for her illness, the metaphoric narration of the process of illness and the illness itself as a metaphor and the incorporation of warfare language seem to be relevant remarks that we may employ in examining anti-aging discourse. The logic that the anti-aging books transpose is that the individual must feel responsible for her old age, unless she adapts anti-aging strategies into her life. Although, it can be obviously known that the aging process can not be stopped by the own effort of human, such books suggest strategies for “stopping the age clock”. A strong commonish can be found in the theme of responsibility: like Sontag’s patients, aging persons are treated as the cause of their old age. Another intersection point is that similar to the metaphorical construction of illness, it is possible to see metaphorical presentation of age in anti-aging literature. The conceptualizations such as, ‘real age’, ‘successful age’ or ‘well age’ are the ones which exemplify the construction of age metaphorically and they offer different meanings of age from the one written on our birth certificates. At this point, Sontag’s conceptualization of ‘illness as a metaphor’ should carry us to the notion of ‘age as a metaphor’ in this study. In addition to this, suffusion of warfare language in

illness narration will be taken into consideration because warfare terms are also seen in anti-aging literature. Thus, in the following chapters I will deliberate how the language of war is also permeated into the anti-aging discourse.

CHAPTER 3

AN EXAMINATION OF RECENT ANTI-AGING TECHNIQUES AND STRATEGIES

Anti-aging as a popular theme has boomed after 1990's with the ensuing words like industry, medicine, cosmetics, pills, movement, therapy, life style, revolution, secret, nutrition, solution, supplements, and treatment. The discourse of anti-aging is permeated through a great number of anti-aging experts and practitioners, companies selling anti-aging products, anti-aging medicine, gerontological researches, organizations devoted to well being of the aged and books, magazines, television programs, web sites giving secrets of not to age. The major aim of anti-aging has been proclaimed as preventing people from aging by offering a life style in which the process of aging should be organized, shaped and regulated with the help of disciplining the body of individual. Thus, a natural part of the life-course, aging, is reconstructed by recent popular anti-aging discourse by producing new truths peculiar to it. In this manner, the discourse of anti-aging is sustaining human the quest for youth. Although the history of the desire of human beings for not aging may be regarded as old as the history of human existence, it can be claimed that recent popular anti-aging strategies include certain perceptions and assumptions about living and keeping alive which are peculiar to late modern times. In order to understand the meaning of aging implied in recent anti-aging discourse and for developing a critical approach to anti- aging, I will examine relevant documents

with the help of conceptual categories introduced in the first chapter. Before applying the theoretical approach drawn in the first chapter, general information concerning popular anti-aging implementations will be given. Following this, for understanding what anti-aging suggests people for not to age and provide a perspective about anti-aging, in this chapter, I will examine in detail three emblematic popular anti-aging books in terms of their common categories which are going to provide a general opinion about the logic, suggestions, requirements and implementations of anti aging.

3.1. Three Anti-Aging Books: The Age Reversing Recommendations and the Revolution of “Back to Great Health”

The books which suggest strategies to prevent people from aging and promise protecting their bodies and life energies in their ideal forms became very popular in recent years, especially after 1990's. Especially, popular books which try to explain the secrets of not to age and create the new patterns of so called “good life” have gained a widespread interest. In general, such books give the secrets of the life style through which people can look, feel and act younger. The secrets of anti-aging depend on the medical knowledge which has been formed within the anti-aging literature. The common message of popular anti-aging books is that “we don't have to age like our parents. We can hold on to our vitality and look well into our later years” (Giampapa et al., 2004, p. vii). It is plain that anti-aging of 1990s develops a new approach towards age and aging.

In the general mentality of anti-aging books and their strategies, the process of aging and having an old body is described as an undesirable fact of human life. The

signs of aging are characterized by ascribing to the appearance and performance of the body. The portrayal of aged body does not have positive connotations. In these books aging is stereotyped negatively through the bodily signs such as, skin wrinkling, hair graying, various aches and pains, low energy, fatigue, reduced stress adaptation, lowered immune response, decreased muscle mass, hearing loss and vision problems (p. 19). Contrary to the unattractive portray of senescence, anti-aging aspires a body which remains in its ideal, young and completed form. According to the advocates of anti-aging, through this form individuals are considered to attain perfect lives. Thus, it can be said that aging is launched as a problem which is caused from body of human and can be solved by controlling the body of human. It can be claimed that, by regarding the aging as a resolvable problem, anti-aging carries the tendency of blaming people who do not protect themselves from the effects of aging. In the popular anti-aging books, this results in constructing prejudice against people who do not make effort to control their aging processes. This theme of “making feel guilty” is indeed very close to Sontag’s comments about illness presented in the previous chapter.

The central aim of anti-aging is described as a search for an answer to the question: “how can you be one of those people who show almost no decline over time, as young at eighty as you were thirty five?” (Roizen, 2004, p. 19). Obviously, the age reversing strategies do not aim to serve the opportunity of turning back to the childhood; rather they attempt to stop “the aging clock” at the age in which the performance of body is at its ideal level, the health condition of individual is absolute, the appearance of body is in its completed form and individual really feels young. Thus it is underlined that the aim of anti-aging is “not just to live longer,

but to live better, suffering less illness and disability” (p. 19). The ideal body image which is prescribed by anti-aging here is healthy, active, completed and young looking. Contrary to negative associations of old body, this ideal young body form is generally associated with the notions of happiness, sexiness, success, decisiveness, attractiveness, self-confidence, social acceptability, high morality, strong-will, personal adequacy and self-discipline (Grogan, 1999, p. 6). Thus, it can be argued that anti-aging not only speaks about old age but also endeavours to determine the direction and borders of the so called “good life”.

The secrets of so called “good life” constitute the basis of anti-aging strategies. The experts offer certain strategies to anti-aging practitioners in order to solve the problem of aging. These strategies consist of various elements like regimes of exercise, dietary supplements, nutrition programs, hormone injections, cosmetics, rules for positive ways of thinking in order to develop positive attitudes towards life. The formulation and presentation of anti aging strategies carry basically two tendencies. Firstly, anti-aging gives the personal secrets of longevity (Klatz and Goldman, 2003, p. 491). It is always emphasized in popular books that anti-aging practitioners should choose the strategies which are proper to their body and life style. In this way, it is assumed that the practitioner can shoulder the responsibility of her own health and aging. (Giampapa et al., 2004, p. 1). Secondly, anti-aging discourse produces general information about aging process. Upon such information the experts speak about the general rules of longevity. When the experts present recommendations to anti-aging practitioners they say “doing this is good” rather than “not doing this is bad” (Roizen, 2004, p. 17). By employing persuasive and guiding approach the readers, the experts limit the boundaries of the normal conditions

of aging and it really becomes difficult to resist or ignore the knowledge and guideline presented for people. Moreover, with the help of popular medical knowledge which is employed by anti-aging experts, these books present the general and popular medical rules of not to age. In this way, on the one hand anti-aging declares that it presents strategies which are specific to individual; yet on the other hand, anti-aging promotes the feeling that it is necessary for everybody to implement anti-aging because it is assumed anti-aging presents the normal way of aging. Thus, anti-aging strategies include both individualizing and totalizing tendencies as demarcated by Foucault in his reflections on bio-power.

Consequently, with its new approach to age and aging, recent anti-aging discourse redefines the meaning of age and aging, determines the borders of healthy life and body, presents a certain lifestyle in which the body of anti-aging practitioner is regulated with the rules of longevity, individualizes the process of aging and considers the individual responsible for her aging. Thus it can be said that the new truths about aging are claimed through the discourse of anti-aging and even a new morality of aging is constructed within the anti-aging literature. These points will be further clarified below. In order to draw a general framework of commonalities found in these popular books, three texts will be examined by focusing on the suggestions made for people not to age. The emblematic books I have chosen are *The New Anti-Aging Revolution: Stopping the Clock for a Younger, Sexier, Happier You!* (2003) written by Ronald Klatz and Robert Goldman, *The RealAge Makeover* (2004) written by Michael F. Roizen and *The Anti-Aging Solution* (2004) written by Vincent Giampapa, Ronald Pero, Marcia Zimmerman.

The New Anti-Aging Revolution: Stopping the Clock for a Younger, Sexier, Happier You! is chosen because it includes detail information about anti-aging medicine. The writers of this popular text are the experts who coin the term of “anti-aging medicine”. *The RealAge Makeover* is employed in this study because this text explains in detail the specific age calculation technique of anti-aging: realage. *The Anti-Aging Solution* offers five “simple” steps for rejuvenation. Because of the contents, solutions, tactics, narrations and recommendations represent the common themes of anti-aging discourse this popular text is used in this study.

Deriving source from these books, I will first present the reconstruction of the concept of age. Second, the examples from the metaphorical language of anti-aging will be presented. Third, the importance attributed to health in the anti-aging strategies and the production of popular medical knowledge by experts will be discussed. Fourth, the themes of anti-aging eating and anti-aging exercise will be focused on. Following these, I will evaluate the emphasis on the notion of life style in these books. Finally, the approach towards the body of human will be delineated.

3.1.1. Recasting the Meaning of Age in the Anti-Aging Literature

Popular anti-aging books includes some slogans on their cover pages such as “reverse the aging process”, “take years off your looks and add them to your life”, “stopping the clock for younger, sexier happier you”, “growing older without aging”, “ending aging”, “resetting the clock”, “double your vital years”. These slogans give the first clues of the logic immanent to anti-aging which states that aging is not an inevitable part of human life. Rather than regarding aging as a fateful matter, with the help of these slogans, it is implied that it is possible to determine the age

and to control the aging process. In order to demonstrate the anti-aging's approach to the concept of age which allows changing the numbers peculiar to one's age, we should first look the way the meaning of age is redefined.

Anti-aging experts assert that with the rise of anti-aging "aging gains a new definition" and "the very definition of old is changing daily" (Klatz and Goldman, 2003, p. 10). Amazingly, provocative innovation of this new definition relies on the statement that "aging is not inevitable" (p. 2). Bernard Strehler who is a gerontologist says "aging and death do seem to be nature has planned for us. But if we have other plans?" (Cranton, Frayer, 2007) As a common theme of this literature, it is believed that there are always some options which enable individual to control her own aging process. These options which provide the regulation of the aging process are transmitted to anti-aging practitioner through strategies of anti-aging. At this point, it can be said that the anti-aging slogans touched upon above tell to the practitioners that they can determine their own ages by applying anti-aging strategies. Thus, these slogans imply that the age is a controllable matter. In order to persuade practitioners that they can control their aging processes, popular books reconstruct the meaning of age in the first instance. In other words, at the very beginning of such books the description of age is renewed by anti-aging experts. This recast meaning of age makes it easier to persuade the reader who is considered to be a potential practitioner that it is completely possible to control her own aging process. Most interesting aspect of this new meaning of age involves numerical novelty in calculating one's age.

In this literature, the answer of the question "how old are you?" is not

simply equal to the number of years that have passed since a person was born. The number of the years that have passed since a person was born signifies the calendar age of a person. However, according to the anti-aging experts the calendar age does not give enough information about the life style and the condition of the body of individual. A quotation from Tyrone Edwards which takes place in the book *Anti-Aging Solution* is good example: “age does not depend upon years, but upon temperament and health. Some men are born old, and some never grow so.” (Giampapa et al., 2004, p. 19). In this manner, anti-aging experts assert that if an anti-aging practitioner wants to control her aging process in a correct manner with the help of certain strategies, she has to know the real numbers about her age which give comprehensive information about her biological, physiological and psychological conditions (p. 18). Learning *realage* is the first step in anti-aging. This is because, calendar age is insufficient in presenting the age of person with its all respects since different people of the same calendar age may actually appear older or younger than they are. Therefore, it is stated that it is necessary to calculate the age which will truly reflect how much the body of person has aged. To find the proper age which the body of practitioner really feels and experiences, it is suggested that the age of person has to be calculated with the help of specific technique. This technique depends on the evaluation of detailed knowledge concerning individual. In this way, the *realage* of the potential practitioner can be calculated. Roizen describes the benefits of *realage* for the practitioner such as “instead of the one-size-fits all nature of calendar age, reflects *realage* you as a unique individual, and the choices you’ve made yourself” (Roizen, 2004, p. 3).

Calculation of the *realage* is considered as the first step of anti-aging programs

because it is assumed that in this way the practitioner can determine the anti-aging strategies which proper to her body and life style. *Realage* calculations necessitate exhaustive exploration of body of anti-aging practitioner. It is calculated through a standard test which is regarded in the anti-aging books as a “subjective questionnaire” (Giampapa et al., 2004, p. 21). The *realage* test poses questions about the practitioner’s current body condition and life style. These questions concern elements of information such as wrinkles, weight, posture, facial expression, heart rate, cholesterol level, blood pressure, immunization status, eating habits, exercise capacity, smoking frequency, orgasms per year, age of grandparents at time of death, pet ownership, divorce of parents, education level of spouse, choice of chocolate, map of experienced diseases and so on (Roizen, 2004, pp. 28-59). By considering these points, the test calculates the *realage* of practitioner. The meaning of the result of is that if the *realage* of practitioner is younger than her calendar age that means the practitioner is aging more slowly than most of her peers because of her lifestyle choices and if it is older than her calendar age that means the practitioner is aging faster than her peers (p. 27).

The important point about such kind of calculation, anti-aging experts assert is that, the *realage* is “uniquely descriptive” of practitioner (p. 14). It can be said that the popular anti-aging literature carries the tendency of individualizing the notion of age. Through diversifying the content of age and presenting age as biological phenomenon, anti- aging experts redefine the meaning of age. The properties implied in this new meaning of age which are about the lifestyle and body of person are regarded as convertible elements. For example, the points like hearth rate, exercise capacity or chocolate choice which take place in these calculations are regarded

under the control of individual. Thus, it is implied that if an anti-aging practitioner enlarges her exercise capacity, changes her chocolate change or controls her hearth rate, she can control her own age. It is always stressed by these experts that “how fast you age is largely controlled by you” (p. 15). At this point, it can be said that such controllable age conceptualization is constituted by the help of the reconstruction of the meaning of age. In this way, it becomes possible to satisfy anti-aging practitioners about the possibility of determining one’s own age and aging process by controlling her body and lifestyle choices. As a result, converting the content of concept of age prepares the step for making in a consistent manner suggestions of anti-aging.

Now, let me to look at the metaphoric discursive elements of this literature. The consideration of metaphoric themes here will present more detail information about the language of anti-aging. As it is hold in the previous chapter, Sontag examines the representation of illness in modern times in terms of metaphoric narration of it. Following Sontag’s way, for demonstrating the metaphoric narrations of age and aging I will focus certain metaphors employed in the anti-aging discourse below.

3.1.2. Metaphorical Language of Anti-Aging

The Secret Method for Growing Younger¹, Ending Aging: The Rejuvenation Breakthroughs That Could Reverse Human Aging in Our Lifetime², The Life Extension Revolution: The New Science of Growing Older Without Aging³, Resetting the Clock: Five Anti-Aging Hormones That Improve and Extend Life⁴, Ultimate Anti-

¹ Wood (2007)

² Grey, Rae (2007)

³ Miller, Reinger (2007)

⁴ Cranton, Frayer (2007)

*Aging Secrets*⁵, *Stopping the Clock: Dramatic Breakthroughs in Anti-Aging and Age Reversal Techniques*⁶, *Tripping the Clock: A Practical Guide to Anti-Aging and Rejuvenation*⁷, *7 Secrets of Anti-Aging*⁸, *The New Anti-Aging Revolution*⁹, *The RealAge Makeover*¹⁰, *The Anti-Aging Solution*¹¹ are the names of some popular anti-aging books. Even only these titles give us clues for peculiarities of the discourse of anti-aging. It can be argued that anti-aging does not speak in a simple manner; rather it speaks with the help of slogans and metaphors. Clock, secret, revolution, rejuvenation, reverse and solution are the words which are often cited in this literature. Indeed by employing these words anti-aging develops a metaphorical narration of aging. In order to demonstrate this metaphorical aspect of the discourse, I will examine the metaphor of clock and certain concepts and symbols which are indeed borrowed from warfare terminology.

The most frequently seen metaphor in the narration of age is that the process of aging is associated with the operation of clock. The word of clock is used in literature in place of aging process. In other words, the process of aging is resembled to a “ticking clock” (Klatz and Goldman, 2003, p. 33). Anti-aging experts state that “our biological clock starts ticking when we are born” (Giampapa et al., 2004, p. 19). The slogan which takes place in the cover page of *Anti-Aging Revolution* is “stopping the clock for a younger, sexier, happier you!” (Klatz and Goldman, 2003). By reference to this central metaphor of clock, certain radical suggestions are deployed: stopping the clock, resetting the clock, winding the clock or putting the clock back. The most

⁵ Lamas (2003)

⁶ Klatz, Goldman (1993)

⁷ Kugler (1993)

⁸ Lenhart (2001)

⁹ Klatz, Goldman (2003)

¹⁰ Roizen (2004)

¹¹ Giampapa,Pero, Zimmerman (2004)

important impression created by the metaphor of clock is that, for an individual setting her own clock right is in her own hand. In this way, anti-aging gives the initial message that like the clock, determining the numbers of age is also of one's own account. The clock metaphor in these popular books encourages anti-aging practitioners to believe that they can intervene into their own aging processes. In brief this allows one to regard aging. In this way, it becomes possible to conceive age something controllable.

Another crucial aspect of the metaphor of clock concerns the fact that it reveals with conception of time articulated in the discourse of anti-aging. This conception is different from the time that we already know. Time in the anti-aging is regarded as a phenomenon which can be arranged by the individual. It is assumed that in this arranged time individual can determine her own life span. For example, Klatz and Goldman divide aging into two different categories. These are "chronological age" and "biological age". (p. 2). According to them in our birthdays we celebrate our chronological ages. On the other hand, performance of an individual's body system which can be better or worse when it is compared with the individual's peers shows the biological age of her. It can be said that conception of time which is prioritized by anti-aging is biological age. In other words the clock of anti-aging shows the biological time of individual. In this sense the biological characteristics of individual govern the individual's own time.

When the clock metaphor and *realage* calculations considered here together it can be argued that the numbers of age clock depend on the calculations of *realage*. The numbers which represent the years, months or days do not mean much in

finding individual's *realage*. As it was mentioned above, in the calculation of *realage*, rather than the numbers of years one has lived, the numbers of cholesterol level, blood pressure, heart rate or orgasms per a year are employed. Thus, it is assumed that the biological properties of individual determine the own time of individual. To put it another way, individual can determine her own time through determining her bodily conditions. Here one more interesting novelty can be found: biological *realage* also surpasses the older, conventional comparisons people used to make between calendarical age and the age the look. As expert Roizen depicts:

Perhaps you've met a new employee at your company who you thought was in her early thirties, only to discover later that she is actually in her mid-forties. Or perhaps you assumed your postal carrier was in his sixties, nearing retirement, and then were surprised to learn he's only fifty five (2004, p. 3).

Rather than the appearance of individual, only the numbers tell the truth in anti-aging. That is one may look quite younger than she is but this kind of visual impressions mean anything. One's wearing her years well can be an accomplishment if her biological *realage* is also younger than her calendarical age. According to this logic, sculpting a more youthful body contour is not enough for looking younger; rather it has to be verified with the calculations of *realage*. In this way, anti-aging discourse goes beyond the conventional indicators of aging which can be seen from the appearance of individual such as wrinkles or gray hair. Moreover, by prioritizing the numbers of *realage* such as body mass index or average sleep time per day, this discourse endows the concept of age with detail knowledge peculiar to bodily condition of individual (C. Deveci, personal communication, January 17, 2008).

The other theme which occurs frequently in the popular anti-aging books contains the metaphoric narrative of anti-aging founded upon a language of struggle or warfare against anti-aging. At many passages one may notice that aging is

presented as the enemy. In this new metaphorical war the anti-aging practitioners are represented as fighting for the sake of anti-aging “revolution”. For instance, it is decelerated that this is a “revolution back to great health” (Roizen, 2004, p. 1). The official slogan of American Academy of Anti-Aging Medicine which is founded in 1993 is “aging is not inevitable! The war on aging has begun!” (Klatz and Goldman, 2003, p. 9). The mission of anti-aging books in this warfare is described as they specializing in various aspects of “fighting” aging. It is told to practitioners that they have to be “armed” with the information which anti-aging presents about aging (Giampapa et al., 2004, p. vii). Another example of employing warfare terminology is that Nicolas Perricone who is an anti-aging expert declared that his recommendations about anti-aging have become a “rallying cry” of a new generation of adults (p. vii). Similarly, Michael Roizen describes the tomato sauce as a “powerful weapon” in the anti-aging “arsenal” (Roizen, 2004, p. 127). The use of warfare terminology reflects the logic which is immanent to anti-aging and unleashes the main aim further. Anti-aging regards the aging process as the enemy of body and the life of human. Only upon such kind of war declaration principles and tactics of success are presented in a legitimate manner. In other words, it becomes plausible to teach how people will be better in this struggle.

These metaphoric representations which occur in the narration of age and aging reflect certain discursive properties of anti-aging. Thanks to this discourse, anti-aging movement creates new patterns of aging. In this context, the aging process is displaced from its natural course which inevitably a part of human life and it is placed under the regulation of a special knowledge which articulated mostly by anti-aging experts. Anti-aging presents secrets for stopping, reversing, resetting

the ticking clock. With the different time perception created by clock metaphor, the concept of age encompasses the bodily properties of individual, rather than simply referring to the number of the years that have passed since a person was born.

3.1.3. Health under Continuous Scrutiny

As one might expect, health is the pivotal theme of popular anti-aging books. The opening sentence of the first chapter of the book *Anti-aging Revolution* apparently supports this idea because it begins with the words of Henri Amiel which says “health is the first of all liberties” (Klatz and Goldman, 2003, p. 6). It would not be exaggeration to say that anti-aging experts promise miracles not only about longevity, but also about healthy life. The themes of longevity and health are always mentioned together in these implementations. From beginning to end in these books, anti-aging practitioners are informed about the requirements of the healthy life. It is stressed that it is necessary to be healthy in order to live longer because health automatically promotes the longevity. Here the main argument concerning health is that “a younger body means a healthier body” (Roizen, 2004, p. 7). It is also overemphasized that the best way of safeguarding one’s health is slowing or reversing aging process. Anti-aging experts often remind that “your future health is not in the hands of fate: it is in your own hands (p. xvi). In addition to this, it is told that through arming with the medical information which is presented by anti-aging experts “you can take charge of your life and extend your healthy and productive years” (Giampapa et al., 2004, p. 2). At this point it can be said that health is regarded as the most important priority in human life. The attachment of this kind of importance to the notion of being healthy, cause to see the terms of healthy and unhealthy as the signifiers of normal and abnormal identity; of one’s moral worth

(Petersen, 1997, p. 198). In this manner, having a healthy body has become “the mark of distinction that separates those who deserve to succeed from those who will fail” (Crawford in Petersen, 1997, p. 198). In a nutshell, the notions of being healthy and investing on health are presented in anti-aging discourse as if they are duties related to practitioner’s moral worth. Thus, it can be asserted here that, practitioner’s being disregarded about her health conditions can be linked to personal inadequacy, low morality and lack of self- esteem. On the other hand, to implement health-enhancing techniques of anti-aging means for practitioner to fulfill her duties in order to improve her self- esteem.

The centrality given to the concern for health in the popular anti-aging books appears in two levels. First, with the emergence and development of anti-aging medicine, aging itself becomes a symptom. Thus aging is regarded as a treatable medical condition. It is often repeated by the anti-aging experts that finding the cure for old age is possible with the help of anti-aging medicine. Second, anti-aging holds the individual responsible for her own health condition. In this way, it can be argued, individualization of ageing process is completed. In order to examine the place, importance and function of health in anti-aging, I will examine these two axes below.

It is approved that the term “anti-aging medicine”¹² is coined by anti-aging experts and physicians Ronald Klatz and Robert Goldman in 1993. Klatz and his colleague Goldman both of who are doctors of osteopathic medicine regard anti-aging medicine as an innovative model for health care which changes the course of

¹² Klatz and Goldman define anti-aging medicine as “the frailties and physical and mental failures associated with normal aging are caused by physiological dysfunctions that, in many cases, can be altered by appropriate medical interventions” (2003, p. x).

preventive medicine and as the most important new model for health care for this millennium. According to their explanation, anti-aging medicine focuses on the early detection, prevention, treatment and age-related dysfunction, disorders and diseases through the application of advanced scientific and medical technologies (Klatz and Goldman, 2003, p x). The aim is described as enhancing the quality and extending the quantity of human life span through early detecting illness cause from old age (p. 3). In addition to this, it is asserted that “the ultimate accomplishment for the science of anti-aging medicine will be the achievement of *practical immortality*, in which we live vital life spans of 120 years or more”(p. 5). Interesting enough the first rule of practical immortality is “don’t die!”, the second one is “don’t get sick!” and the third one is “don’t get old biologically!”. The realization of these rules are regarded the ultimate aim of anti-aging medicine. These experts add that these rules may seem facetious today, but there is something to do today in order to ensure a longer life span (p. 16). In this sense, anti-aging medicine attempts to inform anti-aging practitioners about the ways for the protection from age-related diseases. The important point here is that, through the logic which says it is possible to prevent people from the age-related health problems, the aging is regarded as a treatable medical condition in the anti-aging medicine (p. 12).

The treatment of aging and acquiring a healthy life constitute the basis of anti-aging strategies which are developed in the language of warfare terms. Thus, popular books present both disease-preventing and health-promoting strategies in order to make practitioners to live healthy. Early screening strategies for detecting disease and preventive strategies are common in these books aiming to inform anti-aging practitioners about the rules of healthy life. The experts convey detailed

information about heart diseases, stroke, circulatory diseases, herpes, depression, stress, obesity, genetic disorders, insomnia, andropause, menopause, forgetfulness, Parkinson's disease and Alzheimer's disease. It is assumed that practitioners themselves can prevent illness by applying these strategies (Roizen, 2004, p. xiv). It is advised to the practitioners that it is necessary to develop a healthy life style in order to prevent diseases. The important point here is that, when anti-aging experts are giving tips about healthy life, they stress that they break medical knowledge down into a form of information that is understandable by the practitioners. (p. 17). In order to make the practitioners aware of the necessity of healthy life and their health conditions, the experts always underline that they try to make medical knowledge applicable in daily life and simplify complex medical knowledge.

The aim of simplification of medical knowledge and its application to daily life is considered as helping people with popular knowledge that explains science (p. xv). Such an aim provokes the popularization of medical knowledge and it is told to anti-aging practitioners that they can "take control of their rate of aging" with the help of popular knowledge of medicine which is produced by the literature (Roizen, 2004, p. xv). In this way, on the one hand, popular anti-aging books create the implication that practitioners are responsible for their health conditions. On the other hand, popular medical knowledge and the notion of responsibility enable make the practitioner to be her own doctor. According to anti-aging experts, being one's own doctor necessitates to choose the individually proper health tips which are presented in the books. In other words, it is told to anti-aging practitioners that they should make their health plans which are specific to them. Thus, it can be said that the

notions of responsibility and being one's own doctor promote the individualization of aging process and struggle against it.

Another aspect of anti-aging which promotes the individualization of aging is about the categorical representation of age. The term of aging is generally employed with the adjectives like successful, normal, diseased, well, positive, good, qualitative, and optimal. The usage of these adjectives in order to qualify age demonstrates that recent discourse on anti-aging produces different categories about aging process. These categories show that there are different conditions of aging and these conditions are relative to health level of individual. In this way, anti-aging gives the message that practitioners do not have to age like the other people namely non practitioners; rather they can determine their own way. Such categorization makes anti-aging practitioners find the category which is proper to their own aging processes. Hence, the practitioner's attempt for finding the proper category about her aging process also empowers the tendency of individualization of age.

As a result, through determining the borders and principles of healthy life and body, anti-aging books produce a popular knowledge concerning health. New truths about health are produced by experts and a new kind of morality about the necessity of being healthy is constituted in the anti-aging literature. With the help of this new morality, anti- aging suggestions are constituted upon the necessity of healthy life. In this way, the instant emphasis on the notion of health functions as a legitimizing cause of anti-aging implementations. In addition to this, with the persistent emphasis on the notion of developing a healthy life style anti-aging paves the way of daily control of health. It is always told to practitioners that by applying anti-aging

“you will be able to take charge of your health” (Giampapa et al., 2004, p. 1). By this emphasis on the necessity of healthy life for achieving practical immortality, the medical knowledge which is produced by anti-aging pervades the whole life of practitioner. When the practitioners try to develop a healthy life style, they should continually be on alert about their health and monitor their health situation. In this way health is fallen under continuous scrutiny of individual herself.

3.1.4. Anti-Aging Eating

It is persistently emphasized in anti aging books that food has an important role in overall health and longevity. Nutrition is regarded as one of the greatest “weapons” against disease and aging (Klatz and Goldman, 2003, p. 357). It is assumed that making yourself younger is possible with what you eat. If the antiager effect of nutrition on anti-aging is put into the numbers of RealAge: “the difference between having a good diet and a bad one can be as much as twenty-seven years in RealAge. A bad diet can make you as much as fourteen years older; good food choices can make you live thirteen years longer” (Roizen, 2004, p. 240). This kind of calculation makes it really difficult for practitioners to resist anti-aging eating plans. This eating plan is described as a basic platform through which anti-aging practitioners should take the responsibility of their own aging (Giampapa et al., 2004, p. 81). The experts make a contact between aging and food as if there is a cause and effect relation between the two. They assert that there is a direct relation between the choice of food and the process of aging. Due to this relation, nutritional supplementations take an important place. There are many nutrition programs, plans and diet prescription in the books. General motto of anti-aging eating is “the long-life diet: nutrition for longevity” (Klatz and Goldman, 2003, p. 355). In order to evaluate the general

logic of anti-aging eating I will focus on two points below. These points are the aim and application of anti-aging eating.

The aim and style of anti-aging eating is described as different from a weight-loss plan. It is always advised to the practitioners not to worry about their weight unless it causes a health complication (Roizen, 2004, p. 240). That is to say, anti aging eating does not focus on loosing weight, rather it is a life style modification which enable people to alter their body compositions for acquiring a healthier body (Giampapa et al., 2004, p 62). According to experts, if a person does not adopt her diet during her life and diets when only she is heavier than optimal weight, she gains again the weight which she has lost during her diet. In this way whole dieting cycle starts all over again and again. Thus, the diets which are made in order to loose weight are considered as a Sisyphean experience in anti-aging literature. In this manner, anti-aging eating is considered as a plan that not only alters the body weight of practitioners but also their chances for a long and healthy life. The emphasis on the notion of healthy life is also clear in the statement that diseases of the past were not related to diet but modern diseases often are (Roizen, 2004, p. 242). In addition to this, it is stressed that anti-aging eating does not offer the figure of ideal slender body or chance to wear last year's clothes. With reference to this logic, it is declared that they do not offer provisional diets; rather the nutrition plans offered for longevity present long term approaches to eating (Klatz and Goldman, 2003, p. 359).

It is pointed out that anti-aging eating presents long term approaches to eating and the regulation of daily life and life style, rather than focusing on the body of practitioner, anti-aging experts remind that it is important to get measurable

results. The measurements which are employed in order to decide the type of diet or evaluate the achievement of diet are basically constituted upon the body of practitioner. For example, WHR (waist to hip ratio) is a measure which shows if your weight is too much. It is the ratio of your waist to your hip and if it's over 35 inches for a woman or over 40 for a man, this means there is a serious warning signs of obesity (Roizen, 2004, p. 216). Another example is BMI (body mass index) which shows one's ratio of lean body mass to fat. For calculating BMI, the weight in pounds is divided to the square of height in inches then the result is multiplied by 703. 20-25 BMI is considered "ideal" and 26-30 BMI is considered "overweight". (Giampapa et al., 2004, p. 12). It is possible to give similar examples which necessitate accurate measurements about the body of practitioners. These examples concerning the standards of weight demonstrate that the anti-aging eating depends on the moulding of the body because each measurement idealizes a certain body shape and size. Although, it is asserted that anti-aging eating does not focus loosing weight but acquiring a healthier body, indeed, the practitioner has to be constantly vigilant through exercise and diet in order to conform to ideal body size (Grogan, 1999, p. 6). Thus, these measurements make practitioner keep her body under control.

When we focus on the application of anti aging eating plans, it is seen that they are regarded as flexible and customized for each practitioner. The basic principle is that evolving one's own eating system for making the right diet includes certain changes which will be most helpful to her. It is emphasized that "since how you have been eating is intimately linked with your personality and life style, your menu makeover equates with a personality and lifestyle makeover." (p. 62). The point which seems contradictory here is that, on one hand, anti- aging experts present stereotype

food lists including miracle foods, detoxify foods, food for repairing genes and improve cellular nutrients and so on, and they offer standard eating plans and rules which are proper for all practitioners. On the other hand, the same experts point out that one must prepare her menu which is specific to her by taking into consideration her body composition, age, personality, life style and preferences. Thus, it can be said that anti-aging eating includes both a totalizing and individualizing tendency in its implementations.

3.1.5. Anti-Aging Exercise

Exercise is considered as an inevitable part of anti- aging solutions and it is regarded as basic complementary element of anti-aging eating. The benefits of exercising are enumerated such as it enables practitioners to mold their bodies into more youthful contours, to reduce stress, to balance hormones, help to lose weight and provide improvement in physical and physiological health and make better the social relationships. Anti-aging exercise is described as an issue which has close relation with health and life style. The experts overemphasize that because modern life style does not enable people to put into action enough physical exertion, practitioners have to make serious effort in order to make exercising indispensable element of their daily lives (Giampapa et al., 2004, p. 97). If the antiager effect of exercise is put with the numbers of RealAge: exercising regularly makes man 8.0 year younger and makes woman 9.1 younger (Roizen, 2004, p. 299). General motto of anti-aging exercise is “exercise for immortality” (Klatz and Goldman, 2003, p. 398). In order to see the general logic of such exercise, I will concentrate on two points below. The first one is the main aspire and the second one is the most important rule of anti-aging exercise.

Anti-aging exercise includes activities such as biking, brisk walking, swimming, running, jogging, yoga, stretching, pilates mat exercise, racket sports, golf, house cleaning and small changes in daily life like walking to close ranges instead of driving, pedaling an exercise bike while watching television instead of snoozing in the armchair, lifting weights instead of eating chips during the commercials, walking with dog instead of leaving it in the backyard (Roizen, 2004, p. 310) Anti- aging experts assert that people who exercise not only increase their life spans, but also feel and perform better, gain an improved memory, have better concentration and develop positive outlook on life because anti-aging exercise fights aging through “normalizing brain chemistry and restoring mental equilibrium” (Klatz and Goldman, 2003, p. 396). In addition to this, it is emphasized that anti-aging exercise carries practitioners to successful life through enabling practitioners to manage stress and stave off depression (Roizen, 2004, p. 298). The improved body image is regarded as the bonus of anti-aging exercise (Giampapa et al., 2004, p. 125). Thus, the main focus of anti-aging exercise is explained not to shape the body of practitioner, but the practitioners’ feelings and attitudes towards life. However, when the content of anti-aging exercise is considered, it is seen that almost all exercises depend upon the bodily performance of practitioners. The Body here is examined by dividing various parts and through focusing on each part anti-aging tries to rejuvenate the body. For example, anti-aging offers exercises for “stretching the long muscle that runs down the front of tight” or “ stretching the muscle running down the back of tight” (Roizen, 2004, p. 321).

The most important rule of anti-aging exercise is considered as that, the

practitioners have to maintain their exercise plans regularly. Regularity is regarded as the most essential element of anti-aging exercise. In order to provide the regularity, exercise plans offer practical tips which are going to add exercise to practitioner's daily routine (Giampapa et al., 2004, p. 98). It is reminded that every little bit of physical activity helps practitioners to become younger. What is required of practitioners is to change their familiar routine and habits. Thus, it is advised to overview their current life styles and making small creative changes on it, in order to add extra movement throughout the day (Roizen, 2004, pp. 310-311). The exercise strategies which can be implemented at home and at workplace take a big part among anti-aging exercises which are considered as maintaining the regularity and consistency of anti-aging exercises (Giampapa et al., 2004, p. 110). Thus, it can be said that through the emphasis on regularity of exercises, anti-aging exercise strategies pervade the whole extent of practitioner's lives. In this way, it is assumed that developing an active life style will carry them to a youthful body appearance.

3.1.6. Anti-Aging as a Lifestyle

Anti-aging presents certain patterns of living in order to make individual to live free from the effects of old age. It focuses on every detail of daily life of individual and offers small arrangements relating to every aspects of daily life. In this wise, anti-aging admonishes the practitioners to develop a new life style for managing their own aging processes within the borders of anti-aging. It is told that "trapped inside your body may be a young, healthy individual struggling to surface" (Giampapa et al., 2004, p. 189). In order enable to surface the individual who is trapped inside the anti-aging practitioners' body, first of all, they are warned for overviewing their current lifestyles. Then, they are admonished for getting rid of their bad

habits with the help of anti-aging recommendations. In this manner, it is enough to decide how they will embark to create the new younger and healthier them, by choosing the proper lifestyles changes (Roizen, 2004, p. 14).

In order to make practitioners to examine their current life styles, these books often pose questions like “are you happy in your job? Do you get enough undisturbed sleep at night? Do you enjoy stress reducing time with friends, and lots of laughter? Do you wear a helmet when riding a bike?” (p. 12). The experts regard the answers of these questions as little issues about life, but they call attention to the point that little issues can have big effect on how young one stays. For this reason, it is told that they can achieve practical immortality by making simple changes in their daily lives. For instance it is advised “to change the way you think and the way you live your life” (Klatz and Goldman, 2003, p. 16). Thus, according to the logic immanent to anti-aging, “modifying simple daily activities” is enough for attaining a more youthful body contour, improve memory condition, high energy level, healthful and active life (Giampapa et al., 2004, p. 4).

Experts also offer a wide variety of clues to anti-aging practitioners, in order to make them to develop a life style which is in accordance with their longevity targets. It is reminded that becoming younger does not require doing the impossible; it does only involve a commitment to making small life style changes (Roizen, 2004, p. 13). Anti-aging books include recommendations such as, keeping a food diary, spending a few extra minutes after awakening in order to become aware your own body, eating real chocolate, taking a walk everyday with a friend, laughing a lot, using a sauce pan with a heavy bottom, learning a new game which requires intelligence,

owning a dog, completing nagging unfinished tasks, quitting smoking, reducing stress and so on. One should underline that the last two offerings are the ones which are most frequently mentioned in the anti aging books. These kinds of recommendations are called in the anti-aging literature with the term “age busters”. When the effect of these age busters in daily life is into calculations of *realage*, it is told that “you can become five to eight years younger with hardly no effort” (Roizen, 2004, p. 61).

It is also stressed that if practitioners implement the recommendations of anti-aging in a temporary manner, they can not achieve the practical immortality. In order to extend their life spans it is advised that they should adopt the principles of anti aging during their lifetimes. In other words, through tactics which regulate the daily life of individual, anti-aging experts overemphasize that it is necessary to develop a life style decisively which will carry them to practical immortality. The important point here is that, through the emphasis on regularity and organization of daily life for achieving the goals of anti-aging, almost a daily control of aging process is suggested.

It is always reminded that “longevity has more to do with how you live than with your genetic makeup” (Giampapa et al., 2004, p. 21). In other words, anti-aging experts believe that “lifestyle choices and behaviors have far more impact on longevity and health than our genetic inheritance” (Roizen, 2004, p. 4). By regarding life style choices as more important than genetic makeup, anti-aging again gives the message that aging is not inevitable destiny of individuals. At this point, the theme of controllable age reoccurs. This time, this discourse presents the aging as if it is a

choice of matter by oversimplifying the importance of genetic makeup in this process. Although this discourse reduces the aging process to its biological dimension, it does not attribute a deterministic role to the biological properties of practitioner by rejecting “genetic fatalism” (Owen, 2006, p. 190) Rather, such discourse carries the tendency of seeing the biological characteristics of practitioner as determinable by true lifestyle choices of practitioner. In this way, this discourse surpasses the general impression according to which aging is a fateful matter.

3.2. Concluding Remarks: Does Anti-Aging Present a Certain Body Project?

What is interesting in general is the fact that, anti-aging does not speak about feelings, ideas, world-wives, experiences, wisdom of old people. Rather, it looks aging from a corporeal perspective. In the popular anti aging books the effects of old age on the life and body of human are connoted with negative terms. After presenting old age as a problem which causes from the body of human, these books suggest strategies, new behavior patterns, attitudes and choices about a life which can be achieved to get rid of the effects of old age. Anti-aging attempts to teach people the right and healthy way of aging. It produces the new patterns of aging, presents moral obligations about aging with the help the notion of responsibility and regards the age as a controllable matter by redefining the meaning of it. It persistently indicates the benefits of healthy life, presents certain suggestions about eating and exercising habits. At first glance, these kinds of suggestions may be seen a group of innocent directions about life and aging. Although the recommendations which focus on a great many details of life are assumed to allow practitioner to live longer and healthier, indeed, the ulterior motive of them mainly deals with the regulation of the body of practitioner. To put the same argument in another context, anti-aging

constitutes a discourse operating directly on the body, but innocent-looking suggestions concerning a better life mask the regulatory characteristics of this movement. Thus, it can be argued that the body occurs in the anti-aging as the cause and solution of aging.

When the lifestyle that anti-aging offers is overviewed in this context, it seems as if it presents the formula of good and qualified life. However, the main focus of anti-aging is the body of human because each step taken for developing lifestyle in accordance with anti-aging's requirements intersects with bodily implementations. Hence the good life is reduced to a bodily condition in anti-aging. The eating and exercising strategies, the age calculations, the warnings about life style and medical recommendations of anti-aging pay attention merely to the body of the individual. In this manner, anti-aging always implies that individual can control her life through controlling her body. The success of the lifestyle changes are always considered in terms of their effects on the body of practitioner. Thus, the criterion of success in anti-aging refers to the appearance and performance of body. Anti-aging discourse privileges the body of human over the life of human which may include thoughts, emotions, relations and worldviews.

According to the logic of anti-aging, these strategies enable people to extent and improve their life spans. The emphasis on tactics here tell us that through making simple changes in their daily lives, people, can achieve to create their new life styles which will enable them to slow down their ageing clocks. However, anti-aging anti-always presents a certain body form and bodily requirements for slowing down the aging clock. As a result, it can be said that anti-aging develops a body project

which is generated through a certain discourse which concentrates on daily life and life style of individual. In this way, the process of aging becomes governed by the strategies of anti-aging through which individuals become the object of their own gaze in order to maintain their commitment to anti aging implementations for achieving particular body project (Powell, Biggs, Wahidin, 2006, p. 12). Thus, these popular books do not promise people for eternal youth; rather they are constituted upon a particular body project which enables people to live longer and healthier. At this point, anti-aging experts give place to the question of George Santayana: “what is more important in the life than our bodies or in the world than what we look like?” (Giampapa et al., 2004, p. 157).

When it is thought that the pivotal concern of anti- aging is to create a particular body project, the books of anti-aging displaying specific strategies and suggestions can be read from an approach that enables us to interpret them as if they are trying to shape the lives and bodies of people. The attempt of freezing the appearance of the body in a certain age and protecting its ideal performance can be considered as a direct intervention to human body. Although there is a body project which necessitates the regulation of body, anti-aging has a great number of advocates today. Because of the emphasis on the suggestions about living, rather than dying, it is difficult for the individuals to resist this discourse. Anti-aging speaks permanently from the language of living; it does not say anything about the inevitable end of humans. When the issue is evaluated from a political perspective, it is seen that, the relations of power which are peculiar to modern times can be derived from this life-death dichotomy. In other words, like the discourse of anti-aging, modern power constitutes its impact by keeping individuals alive. Thus, the recent

discourse on anti-aging cultivates elements about power relations, peculiar to modern times, whose important characteristics enable us to examine the modern version of power explicated in recent discourse on anti-aging. In other words, we might detect the discursive elements concerning modern power relations which concentrate on the body of the individuals in this popular interest in aging and anti-aging.

CHAPTER 4

EXAMINATION OF ANTI-AGING DISCOURSE: RELEVANT ASPECTS OF THE VIEWS OF FOUCAULT AND SONTAG

At first glance, the innocent aspiration of anti-aging which aims to extend human life expectancy can be considered as a movement in the continuum of the human's search for eternal youth. However, concerning certain aspects, this movement is different from the previous rejuvenation efforts of humankind that have occurred during the history. In other words, anti-aging discourse bears the stamp of modern approaches to the body and life of human. Thus, it can be asserted that, anti-aging discourse produces the knowledge of aging which is peculiar to modern times, and it determines the modern meaning of aging process. To find out peculiarity of this recent war against aging, one should focus on the following points: the representation of body, the relations between body and power, the redefinition of aging, individual's relation with her own aging, the role of modern medical discourse, the individualization of aging, the totalization of knowledge concerning aging, and finally the role of the notion of responsibility in the organization of aging. In order to examine these points, in this chapter, I will try to develop a critical evaluation of the anti-aging discourse. Firstly, I will look at the gerontological studies and the Foucault effect in this context. Then, I will try to demonstrate why and how the anti-aging discourse is distinguished from the aging studies which have been pursued under the discipline of gerontology. Finally, I will examine anti-aging

discourse by employing the theoretical views and conceptual tools of Foucault and Sontag which have been introduced and discussed in the second chapter.

4.1. A Break Away From Gerontological Studies

The psychological and biological examination of aging has been developed under the discipline of bio-medical gerontology for 200 years. Bio-medical gerontology on one hand focuses on internal and external changes that take place in human body under the name of ‘biological aging’. On the other hand, it tries to see developmental changes in mental functioning, emotional and cognitive capacities under the name of ‘psychological aging’ (Powell et al., 2006a, p. 3). There has been a growing interest of broad social theories which produce theories on aging such as: functionalist gerontology (Powell and Longino, 2001), Marxist gerontology (Phillipson, 1982, 1988, 1998), feminist gerontology (Arber and Ginn, 2000), postmodern gerontology (Gilleard and Higgs, 2000).¹³ Although these theoretical approaches are significant in terms of the examination of aging, it is asserted by a group of theorists that they mainly consider elderly people as a social problem and focus on elderly people’s social problems, or possibility of positive aging. Another point is that the bio-medical gerontological studies which are done under the guise of science, claim to be value-free, objective and precise. Indeed a tiny handful of gerontologists develop a critical approach towards these kinds of studies that claim to be objective and scientific. They assert that the conceptual categories of Foucauldian theory should be employed in order to understand how the aging is organized, shaped and positioned

¹³ These studies are presented by Powell, and Wahidin, 2006, p.vii as follows: “Towards the Postmodernization of Aging: the Body and Social Theory” by Powell and Longino in 2001; *Capitalism and the Construction of Old Age* by Phillipson in 1982; “Challenging Dependency: Towards a new Social Work with Older People” by Phillipson in 1988; *Reconstructing Old Age* by Phillipson in 1998; *Connecting Gender and Aging: A Sociological Approach* by Arber and Ginn in 1995, *Cultures of Aging* by Gilleard and Higgs in 2000.

through both knowledge systems and social processes and the way they are constructed socially. In order to answer these questions, these critical theorists, who examine aging from a Foucauldian perspective, employ conceptual tools such as *bio-power, surveillance, knowledge, discourse, governmentality* and *technologies of self* (Powell and Wahidin, 2006, p. vii). Dumas and Turner assert that, if Foucault had written about age, he would have considered gerontology as “a science that offers the state an opportunity to exercise order over ageing populations, and if possible to make them productive. “By extending life and by establishing legal conditions for its termination, the state extends its control over nature” (Dumas and Turner, 2006, p. 148).

These Foucauldian theorists and their works which are shaped under ‘the Foucault effect’ can be identified as follows: Katz (1996) in the USA evaluated disciplinary history of American gerontology through benefiting from Foucault’s work of *Discipline and Punish* (1977). Powell in UK, employed Foucauldian gaze (2001a), governmentality (2001b) and technologies of self (2001c) in order to examine the discourse on aging and aging body. Powell and Biggs (2000) and Biggs and Powell (2000, 2001) examined ‘medical power and social welfare’ from a Foucauldian perspective. In addition to these, they developed a Foucauldian perspective on ‘care management and elder abuse’. Powell and Cook (2000, 2001) assessed governmentality and ‘superaging’ in China. Wahidin and Powell (2001, 2004) employed Foucauldian theory in order to examine ‘institutional abuse’ in special hospitals by reference to discourses imprinted on ‘aging body’ of offenders. Tulle (1999) looked at the relation between growing old and resistance with the help of

Foucauldian concepts of ‘power’ and ‘resistance’ (Powell et al., 2006, p. 4)¹⁴.

Finally, there is a collective study *Foucault and Aging* (2006) which includes articles written by Biggs, Culpitt, Coveney, Dawson, Dumas, Gilbert, Greiner, Hazan, Hendrics, Irving, Jones, Leonard, Owen, Powell, Sibley, Turner and Wahidin. Stephen Katz says about these Foucauldian studies: “Foucault had nothing to say about aging indeed we can only speculate as to the ingenuity of his insights if Foucault himself lived into later life” (Powell and Wahidin, 2006, p. vii).

Although there are only few studies that evaluate the aging from a Foucauldian perspective there occurs a growing academic interest for employing Foucault’s approach to aging in recent years. However, it is difficult to say same thing about the issue of anti-aging. That is to say, there has not developed a comprehensive theoretical on anti-aging yet. This is why it seems necessary to develop a theoretical approach which is specific to anti-aging, because considering this popular movement from the perspective of aging studies may lead us to overlook certain aspects of anti-aging which are peculiar. With its discourse, content, perspective, implementations, messages, targets, suggestions, and metaphors anti-aging has its own specificity, and in this manner it differentiates itself from the general problem of aging. Because the matter of aging acquires a new meaning within the discourse of anti-aging. Anti-

¹⁴ These studies are presented by Powell, Biggs and Wahidin, 2006, p.4 as follows: *Disciplining Old Age* by Katz in 1996; “Social Theory and the Aging Body” by Powell in 2001; “Aging and Social Theory: A Sociological Review” by Powell in 2001; “Theorizing Gerontology: The Case of Old Age, Professional Power and Social Policy in the United Kingdom” by Powell in 2001; “Managing Old Age: The Disciplinary Web of Power, Surveillance and Normalisation” by Powell and Biggs in 2000; “A Foucauldian Analysis Of Old Age and the Power of Social Welfare” by Biggs and Powell in 2000; “Older People and family Policy” by Biggs and Powell in 2002; “A Tiger behind and coming up fast: Governmentality and the politics of population control in China” by Powell and Cook in 2000; “Understanding Foucauldian Philosophy: The case of Chinese State and the Surveillance of Older People” by Powell and Cook in 2001; “The Loss of Aging Identity: Social Theory, Old Age and the Power of Special Hospitals” by Wahidin and Powell in 2001; “Aging and Institutional Abuse: A Foucauldian Understanding” by Wahidin and Powell in 2004; “Governing old and resistance: towards a new cultural economy of old age” by Tulle in 1999.

aging redefines the meaning of age. In addition to this, the representation and problematization of aged body in the anti-aging also differ from the ones we already know from the aging studies. As a result, it can be said that the word of ‘aging’ that takes place in the statement of ‘anti-aging’ is different from the one which occurs in gerontological studies. Thus, here I attempt to develop a specific perspective towards anti-aging by benefiting from the Foucauldian inquiry and the insights of Sontag on illness.

4.2. Foucauldian Approach to Anti-Aging

Foucault’s works are considered as representing the most important contemporary effort for developing a method for the study of human beings and for understanding the current situation of western society by Dreyfus and Rabinow (1982, p. 8). Foucault’s theory, in general, takes into consideration the complex relationships between individuals at micro level, and presents a novel concept of power (Powell and Wahidin, 2006, p. viii). In addition to these, his studies examine the way we see the world and our relationships with others and ourselves are shaped by power inherent in specific discourse (Leedham and Hendrics, 2006, p. 32). The combination of philosophical reflection with scrupulous attention to empirical detail makes his theory today an inspirational inquiry which influences escalating array of fields (Dreyfus and Rabinow, 1982, p. xxii). Thus, after the death of Foucault, his scholarly work has been employed by many theorists for grasping current conditions of society which Foucault himself did not write on. Indeed, the application of Foucauldian approach to the examination of anti-aging is an effort which attempts to draw benefit from the ingenuity of Foucault’s insights. The points which he grapples in his works also present here a fruitful theoretical understanding through which anti-aging

can be diagnosed. In addition, it can be claimed that examining certain aspects anti-aging discourse enable us to understand Foucault's points on power more clearly. Thus, Foucault's views mapped out in the second chapter constitute here a path on which anti-aging can be examined critically.

The kind power relation which is articulated in bio-power does not indicate a commodity, a position, a prize or a plot. Rather it refers to the operation of political technologies throughout the social body. In order to understand the power with its materiality, that is to say its day to day operation, Dreyfus and Rabinow underline that "we must go to the level of the micropractices, the political technologies in which our practices are formed" (1982, p. 185). In addition, Turner depicts that Foucault's works provide a description of 'the institutions of normative coercion', for instance law, religion and medicine. According to him these institutions are not coercive in the sense of violent and authoritarian prohibitions, but rather ,they are coercive in terms of disciplining individuals and exercising forms of surveillance over everyday life. Moreover, these institutions are accepted as legitimate and normative in the everyday life because they exercise moral authority over the individual by focusing on her problems and providing solutions for them. Thus, individuals voluntarily accept these institutions (Turner, 1997, p. xiv). In this context I think we may consider anti-aging as a new kind of micropractice and one of the institutions of normative coercion here. Anti-aging carries the potential of intervening into individual's life by exercising day to day operation of power. However, to be honest, it is not easy here to assert that anti-aging fashion is a direct outcome of bio-power distinguished by Foucault. Rather, this discourse is a channel which enables to see there presentation of body and subjectivity in late modern

times. Therefore, the employment of Foucault's work in the examination of anti-aging enables us to understand how a popular discourse organizes individual's life, and regulates, controls and disciplines the body of human. In order to see the reflection of the bio-power on anti-aging below, I will try to connect Foucault's terminology to the results of third chapter.

Now let me first discuss the representation of the body of individual in the anti-aging discourse. Then, I will examine the incorporation of modern medical discourse into the anti-aging discourse. After this point, I will discuss whether the techniques of anti-aging can be seen as a kind of the technologies of the self. Then, I will focus on the individualizing and totalizing effects of anti-aging discourse with proper reflections on Foucault's works. Finally, through considering Sontag's views on illness, I will evaluate the establishment of the relation between individual and her own aging by reference to the notion of responsibility and the metaphorical narrations of age and aging process which are seen in this discourse.

4.2.1. Bio-Political Investigation of the Body Implied in Anti-Aging Discourse

In the first volume of *History of Sexuality* (1990) Foucault details his account of bio-power and highlights that, with the rise of bio-power in the 17th century the relations between life, body of individual and power have changed. Before the rise of bio-power the pivotal concern of the sovereign was holding the right of death of citizens. With the rise of bio-power, the old monarchic power of life and death has been replaced by a new form of power over life (Leedham and Hendrics, 2006, p. 33) Different from its earlier versions, bio-power constitutes itself on controlling the population by exercising certain techniques on the conditions of life and

well being of individuals. In this way, the life of individual became an area in the eyes of power which needs to be understood, normalized, controlled and regulated. With this logic, in order to ensure, sustain and multiply the life of individuals, bio-power located the body of human to its focus (Foucault, 1990, p. 138). At his point, it can be argued that the body understood in the anti-aging discourse is coherent with the one which is immanent to the logic of bio-power. In other words, body of the anti-aging practitioner seems to bear the stamp of bio-power. Similar to the techniques of bio-power, anti-aging focuses on the body of individual. When it is thought in the contact of Foucault's question "why and through what mechanisms the body is regulated", anti-aging can be considered as one of the practices which regulates the body of individual (Dumas and Turner, 2006, p. 147).

According to the anti-aging experts, if one wants to extend her life span, she has to know every biological detail of her body and control them. In this manner, there occurs an information bombard about the operation of body in these popular books. At this point, anti-aging is presented as providing the operating manual of the body. For example the mission of the book *The New Anti-Aging Revolution: Stopping the Clock for a Younger, Sexier, Happier You!* (2003) is described as it "is a consumer guide to living a longer, healthier life. It is a resource book for lay persons who want to learn how their bodies work, how they age, and what they can do about it" (Klatz and Goldman, 2003, p. 6). Similar explanations can be read in the cover page of another popular book: "How well do you know your body? You the owner's manual: An insider's guide to the body that will make you healthier and younger" (Roizen and Oz, 2005). It can be argued that here anti-aging persistently awaken the practitioner about the point that she can control her aging process by investing on

her body. This carries us to the belief immanent to anti- aging that ‘you are the ruler of your body’. Through the indication of the practitioner as the ruler of her own body, this discourse subjects the body of practitioner to her own gaze. Moreover, anti-aging produces certain truths which regulate the relationships between individual, her body and her own aging process.

Therefore, the matter of aging is evaluated in this literature from a perspective whose main concern is the body of aged individual. In this way anti-aging reduces the natural part of life course, namely the aging process to its biological dimension. The body of human constitutes the pivotal concern, because the body is simply seen as the home of aging process and also a sphere in which the problem of aging can be solved. Therefore, this discourse assigns the body the role of creator of aging and at the same time solutions to aging. This discourse does not consider body in its naturalness, but redefines the meaning of body by locating it into a new discourse. By employing certain peculiar discursive patterns anti-aging treats the body of practitioner as an apparatus which can be used for stopping the “aging clock of practitioner”. This kind of new conception of body has certain resemblances with the *anatomo-politics of human life* and *bio-politics of human body*, which were the two forms of politics that strengthened the development of bio-power (Foucault, 1990, p. 139). First, body that occurs in the anti-aging discourse resembles to the body in the *anatomo-politics*, because body was treated in *anatomo-politics* like a machine and certain techniques were implemented by power in order to improve the productiveness and obedience of human being. Similarly, in the anti-aging body is considered like a machine and anti-aging presents consumer guides for the practitioners in order to produce trained bodies against the aging process.

Secondly, there are commonalities between the body conception of *bio-politics* and anti-aging discourse, because in the *bio-politics* body is described through its biological processes in this manner it becomes a target of power. Likewise, anti-aging discourse describes aging process by reducing it to its biological dimension.

4.2.2. The Role of Modern Medical Discourse in the Formation of Anti-Aging Discourse

When the representation of body in the anti-aging discourse is examined in the light of Foucault's works, there occurs an important point which must be taken into consideration: This close relation between the emphasis on health anti-aging and the formation of the modern understanding of body in modern medical discourse. As it is examined in the second chapter, Foucault, in his work *The Birth of the Clinic: An Archeology of Medical Perception* (2003) asserts that modern medical discourse plays a key role in the formation of modern representation of the body of individual and the modern approaches to the notion of health. Let me now discuss the reflections of modern medical discourse in the anti-aging discourse.

In the anti-aging discourse there is a strong emphasis on the notion of health. Experts assert that improving the health conditions of practitioners in a healthy manner is the inevitable target of the anti-aging's mission. Thus, the concern for health constitutes the legitimizing basis of anti-aging discourse because for an individual it is not easy to reject or remain ignorant of the opportunities of being healthy and extending her healthy years. It can be remembered here that Foucault asserts in his account on modern pastorship that the health constitutes one of the themes which carries the individual to worldly salvation (Foucault, 1982, p. 215). In the light of

this, it can be claimed that in parallel with Foucault's view, anti-aging presents the notion of health as if it is the certain way of salvation in this world. The essential point is that, there is a close relation between modern medical discourse and the content of anti-aging implementations. To put it differently, the health concern of anti-aging is mainly shaped under the effect of modern medical discourse which has centralized the regulation of body.

This is because anti-aging discourse first of all medicalizes the notion of aging. The old age itself is considered as a certain symptom and it is asserted that the cure of old age is possible within the medical inquiry (Klatz and Goldman, 2003, p. 12). Such kind of medicalization detaches aging from its metaphysical considerations and removes it from being a simply matter of fate. In this way, aging is not considered accidental and as an uncontrollable process. On the contrary, it is regarded to be a process which can be programmed through implementing "scientifically based age reversal interventions" (p. xi). These interventions are the products of anti-aging medicine. Although Foucault has not directly examined such a link, these connections show us the similarities between the considerations of disease in the modern medicine and aging in anti-aging. As it is mentioned in the second chapter, with the development of the modern medicine in the 18th century the disease was detached from metaphysics and subjected to the scientific and positive interventions (Foucault, 2003, p. 243). At this point, the efforts of anti-aging discourse concerning aging mechanism in a positive and scientific manner can be considered in continuum with modern medicine project.

The second intersection point between the affairs of modern medicine and anti-

aging discourse is about the body of human. Similar to the “demounting of disease from the body of patient” in the modern medical discourse, anti-aging isolates the aging process from the body of practitioner. In other words, anti-aging displaces the aging from its natural shelter. Then, it relocates the process of aging into the scientific knowledge of anti-aging medicine. By reference to the classifications about indicators, and tools of prevention, anti-aging considers aging process in an abstract level. This results in constructing a scientific knowledge of the aged individual and, in this way a search for the subjective symptoms and indicators of the practitioner is also made possible.

While the explanation of aging in a scientific terminology demonstrates the reflection of modern medical discourse into anti-aging, there also occurs a difference between the modern medicine and anti-aging medicine in terms of the role of expert. According to Foucault the endowment of medicine with scientific and positive knowledge resulted in the expertization of the knowledge of disease and health (Foucault, 2003, p. xi). Thus, the modern medical discourse is a closed discourse. Professionals of medicine have certain roles in the process of the production and implementation of the medical knowledge. Although the anti-aging experts also have important roles in the production of the medical patterns of aging, contrary to Foucault’s views on the closed discourse of modern medicine, anti-aging popularizes the medical knowledge. That is to say, anti-aging opens the close boundaries of modern medicine. For example, anti aging expert Roizen says that “ the public response to the real age program has been so favorable because it takes health information that might otherwise be confusing or overwhelming and breaks it down into information you can understand and use easily”(Roizen, 2004, p. 17). Thus, it

can be asserted, anti-aging attempts to present medical knowledge which can be implemented by the practitioner herself. Therefore, on the one hand it enables the popularization of medical knowledge, and on the other hand it opens the way of one's being her own doctor.

As a result, the incorporation of modern medical discourse into the anti-aging discourse strengthens the reconstruction of the new age phenomenon which is reduced to its biological dimension. That is to say, as it is seen apparently in the metaphoric realage conception in which age is calculated by reference to biological conditions, or in the consideration of aging a symptom itself, aging phenomenon is seen in the anti-aging literature as a laboratorial case that can be followed step by step. Moreover, anti-aging discourse not only produces a purely biological age conception, but also removes age process from its natural home namely the body. The logic behind detaching aging from the body is anti-aging's attempt of separating age from the uncrossable boundary of death. On the one hand, because death is still the biological destiny of body, anti-aging removes aging phenomenon from the body. On the other hand, the body, which is freed from its biological destiny, is transformed into a platform for the aging practices of individual. In this way, anti-aging discourse produces a biological and infinite aging imagination and creates a performable body conception. Below, I will try to answer the question: Can we consider this performative aging as a new kind of the technology of self?

4.2.3. Consideration of Anti-Aging Techniques with Respect to the Technologies of the Self

When Foucault examines the production of the knowledge concerning the

individual, he focuses on certain ancient practices oriented to self, which he calls the technologies of the self. For him, in Hellenistic and Roman antiquity, dealing with the self was considered as an important rule of life. According to this rule individual was acting upon her own soul, thoughts, conduct and her body in order to create her own way of being in the world (Foucault, 1988, p. 18). At this point, when it is recalled that there is also a strong emphasis in anti-aging discourse on the necessity of one's creation of her specific aging process in order to achieve to postpone her aging process, a question arises: Is the implementation of anti-aging a certain kind of technology of the self?

Recall that, the aging phenomenon which is presented by this popular discourse is not a type of aging whose rules are determined by the individual. Rather, the portrayal of aged individual which has a young-looking, completed, healthy and active body form is presented as an ideal figure. In this way, the practitioner endeavors for acquiring such idealized body form. Then, it may be argued that implementing anti-aging is not a kind of activity which resembles to the technologies of self. Because, according to Foucault technologies of self concerned the activities through which human being act upon herself (Foucault, 1988, p. 17) He underlines that in the context of technologies of self caring the body has been also a complementary element of the contemplation on soul and attempt to discover it (Foucault, 1988, p. 25). Thus, in the technologies of self finding the proper way of life depends on discovering the content and rules of soul. However, anti-aging discourse does focus on the self rather, it merely considers individual's act upon her body in order to reach and maintain the ideal young body form. Therefore, in the case of anti-aging, practitioner creates her aging style by regulating and

disciplining her body with the help of external knowledge of expertise.

Another point which makes anti-aging different from the technologies of self is the fact that the content of anti-aging implementations is not determined by the practitioner who implement them. The proper patterns of aging are presented by the external, manipulative, popular, and general knowledge of anti-aging discourse. In this context, experts, popular books, web sites of anti-aging, and certain anti-aging organizations are the guides of practitioners. Although such discourse attempts to make individual create her own way of aging, its direction is not determined by the individual herself. Thus, it is difficult to say that anti-aging is a technique which enables individual to define an authentic way of being, to determine a standpoint in her life and to produce forms of reflection proper her own life. In the technologies of self, the techniques applied on self are not determined by institutional constraints and offers. On the contrary, their determining character is located in the manner of the relationship which one conducted with oneself and the main target of them is to achieve one's mastering one's own life self-sufficiently.

As a result, by its strong emphasis on the body and by subordinating the soul to the requirement of taking care of the body through external rules, anti-aging differs from the technologies of self. Implementing anti-aging can not be considered a certain ethical effort which has been the case in the technologies of self. In these technologies of self there has been a philosophizing activity for making one's own way of existence. Yet, anti-aging discourse presents a certain body project, and in this way the practitioner attempts to train her body through adopting the general rules of anti-aging to her whole life. Thus, rather than contemplating on their souls

and selves; anti-anti-aging techniques underline the subjectivity of practitioners and guide them for shaping their individualities under the general rules of combat against aging. In this way, the aging patterns of practitioners are regulated by both the totalizing and individualizing tendencies, but these are never their authentic choices. Therefore, anti-aging is not a certain kind of technology of self, but a certain technology which produces a certain sort of self (Powell, 2006, p. 76).

4.2.4. Individualizing and Totalizing Effects of Anti-Aging Discourse

According to Foucault, power governs the individuals in their relations to the collective. In this manner, he asserts that power exercises in a dual way. Firstly, power designates each human being as a unique individual, and makes her to produce her specific knowledge. This individualizing aspect of power is considered by Foucault as “pastorship” (Foucault, 1982, p. 215). Secondly, power governs the population on the levels of statistical knowledge. This kind of totalizing aspect of power is called “bio-power” (Foucault, 1990, p. 139). Thus, “in the history of human societies –even in the old Chinese society- has there been such a tricky combination in the same political structures of individualization techniques and totalization procedures” (Foucault, 1982, p. 213). It can be argued that, similar to the dual governing tactics of power, anti-aging discourse also carries individualizing and totalizing tendencies. On the one hand, popular anti-aging books present “personal longevity programs” (Klatz and Goldman, 2003, p. 492). On the other hand, they explain the “key ways to slow the ticking clock” which are the basic rules of practical immortality applicable for all practitioners (p. 58). Below, I will examine first the totalizing aspects of anti-aging discourse, and then I will discuss its individualizing aspects.

4.2.4.1. Totalizing Effects

The major totalizing effect of anti-aging discourse stems from its emphasis on the body of individual. This emphasis can be considered as the most important reference point of anti-aging discourse which carries totalizing effect. This is because, each living human naturally has a body, and the anti-aging's information on the functioning of body can be seen as totalizing tendency. This discourse describes the aging process with reference to bodily conditions and underlines that one must regulate her body in order to reverse her aging clock. By reducing the aging process to the biological properties of body, anti-aging speaks about the most certain common point of all human beings, namely having body.

Another point which strengthens the totalizing aspect stems from the notion of aging itself. Because individuals who do not die early in life inevitably get old. In this manner, anti aging refers to natural part of the life course which is common for almost all human beings. As Katz declares:

Aging and old age are intrinsic to every form of knowledge and cultural practice: spiritual, ritual, mythical, symbolic, artistic, metaphorical, and architectural. They are the central organizing resources for a multitude of social structures from nomadic pastoralism to complex kinship systems to statelike bureaucracies. Indeed, aging and old age have been so diversely and richly understood that no single knowledge of them is universal. Nor should it be. The meaning of aging and old age are scattered, plural, contradictory, and enigmatic. They are confirmation that the mysterious of age have furnished the human imagination with limitless opportunities to express itself. Age is everywhere, but the world's cultures have taught us that age has no fixed locus (1996, p. 1).

Then, anti-aging discourse restricts the scope of “ontologically flexible understanding of aging” (Powell, 2006, p. 66). By contrast to the scattered, plural, contradictory and enigmatic meaning of aging, this discourse attempts to create the new patterns of aging which are regular, singular, consistent, and cognoscible

through fixing the ideal limits of aging. Therefore, implementations, suggestions, warnings on the process of aging, the discourse generalizes the knowledge and patterns of aging. Anti-aging aspires to present the standard rules and universal knowledge of aging and in this way, it attempts to determine the ideal borders of aging. For example, experts assert that after the age of thirty we begin to experience signs of aging such as low energy, skin wrinkling, hair graying and so on (Giampapa et al., 2004, p. 19). Another example is that, expert Roizen offers for not to age to “take one 325 milligram tablet of aspirin a day if you are a man over 35 or a woman over 40” (Roizen, 2004, p. 61) The discourse firstly generalizes the symptoms of aging, then, it generalizes the solutions of aging and finally it presents general rules for the individuals who are over certain age. In this way, anti-aging reduces and totalizes the various opportunities and meanings associated with aging experience into one standard way of aging.

4.2.4.2. Individualizing Effects

When we turn our focus to the individualizing aspects, first of all, the strong individualization tendency begins with the redefinition of the meaning of age. In the popular anti-aging discourse it is underlined that the practitioner should calculate her “uniquely descriptive” age, before beginning to implement anti-aging recommendations (Roizen, 2004, p.14). As it is hold in the third chapter under the discussion on *realage*, this uniquely descriptive age is calculated by considering the specific bodily properties of individual and her life style choices. Moreover, because the numbers of uniquely descriptive age are regarded under the control of practitioner, the question of ‘how fast the individual age’ is presented as if it is a matter of choice. Thus, it is always reminded to the practitioner that ‘how

fast you age is largely controlled by you” (p. 15). In this way, by redefining the meaning of age, the discourse presents a notion of controllable age. Through representing the age as if it is under the control of individual, the discourse strengthens its individualizing tendency. Besides the reproduction of the meaning of age, metaphoric narration of age also plays an important role in the individualization of aging. The association of aging process with the functioning of a clock discourse enables practitioner to create her own individualistic time. With this metaphor, the practitioner deploys her own aging process into her specific time consideration. In this manner, anti-aging discourse gives the opportunity of performing one’s own aging in her individualistic conception of time. The relation between individualization and metaphoric narration of aging will be detailed in this chapter’s ongoing pages in the light of Sontag’s views.

The second point which demonstrates the individualization tendency is that it is always remembered to the practitioner that she should create her specific way of aging. That is to say, although popular books present general information on the rules of longevity, the practitioner is warned that she has to make her own choices and tailor the information, to her own real age and bodily needs. It is assumed that only the practitioner who able to make proper choices considering her health condition, life style and age, can achieve to stop her own aging clock. Thus, there is always emphasis on the suggestion that it is possible for “you” to be in control over her aging process and fate. That is, it is the individual, who is best able to effect change to make her life better (Nettleton, 1997, p. 208).

The next step in the individualization tendency is the personal examples which

are given to demonstrate the probability and possibility of reversing the aging clock with the help of implementations. These examples are concerned with the personal success stories which are commonly cited in popular anti-aging books. These stories are about the personal experiences of the practitioners who implement anti-aging and achieve to get rid of the effects of old age. For example, Dr. Giampapa gives place his patient Gerri's success story in his book *The Anti-Aging Solution* (2004). Gerri expresses his personal success story in following manner:

I came to Doctor Giampapa almost four years ago feeling somewhat desperate. I had gone through some really bad times and the stress was taking toll on my body... With a few changes to my eating habits my weight began to drop... The final step was to look at what I was doing in the gym... Each day I spend time being grateful for the new young-looking and healthy body I now have. I am proud of what I have accomplished and I am forever grateful to Dr. Giampapa (Giampapa, et al., 2004, pp. 187-189).

There are two important points about such personal experience. First it refers to the idea that it is possible to feel and look younger by implementing anti-aging, because it is told that at the present there are individuals who already accomplished to postpone their aging processes. The question implied in these stories is: why not you become one of the individuals who achieve to slow down the aging clock. The second point is about the notion of accomplishment. This notion also plays an individualizing role. The accomplishment in this discourse is regarded suitable for the individual who is strong-willed, dogged, strong-minded, and desirous and for the one who can take the responsibility of her own aging and life. Thus, through endowing the notion of accomplishment with individualistic virtues, anti-aging discourse creates a specific performance sphere for the potential practitioner in which she can improve her self-esteem too.

The final point concerning individualization tendency is related with the Foucauldian

theme of pastorship. As it is hold in the second chapter, Foucault traces the roots of individualization aspect of modern power back to the pastoral power which has originated from Christian practices (Foucault, 1979). He clarifies his account on pastoral power with pastor-flock metaphor. When this metaphor is considered in the context of anti-aging, it can be asserted that the expert resembles here to the pastor and practitioners to the flock. The pastorship theme of Foucault appears in the speeches of the experts. The voluntarily and submissively participations of practitioner stem from the expert's speaking manner. That is to say, while experts speak to the practitioner; they never speak in a hurtful, imperious or authoritarian manner. Rather, these speeches of experts sound compassionateness, heartiness, and gracefulness. They seem as if they devote themselves to the well being of practitioners. For example, expert Roizen declares that, "I incredibly exciting to see people making such changes", "I am thrilled to share their success stories", "I had tried everything to get my friend Simon to quit smoking, with no success. Suddenly, I thought I might have the key" and "Simon quit smoking. He began exercising and eating right" (2004, pp. 1-5). These quotations are chosen from the first five pages of *The Realage Makeover* but there are many similar examples in other books. It is apparently seen from the declarations of expert Roizen that, on the one hand he is vigilant and sensitive for his practitioners as a whole. On the other hand, he wants to solve each practitioner's specific problem. The expert feels himself as responsible of each and every practitioner. In order to help and lead them, expert takes a strong interest and a pastoral attitude towards the life of each singular practitioner.

As a result, when the totalizing and individualizing aspects of anti-aging discourse are considered in their reciprocal relation, it can be claimed that on the one

hand, the practitioner produces her specific knowledge while she trying to create her own way of aging; on the other hand, the same practitioner experiences her aging process under the government of general rules of anti-aging. Thus, anti-aging creates a sphere for the individual in which she can produce her own subjectivity, but the essential point here is that, the discourse determines the borders of this place through producing truths on aging and aging practices. It will be helpful here to turn back Foucault's views on subject: the word *subject* has two meanings

"subject to someone else by control and dependence, and tied to his own identity by a conscience or self knowledge. Both meanings suggest a form of power which subjugates and makes subject to" (Foucault, 1982, p. 212).

In the light of this comment, it can be said that, the practitioner produces her specific knowledge of aging process and experiences her subjectivity by trying to tailor the anti-aging implementations to her needs, but at the same time she becomes subject to an external power. The external power here is derived from the knowledge concerning the patterns of the proper way of aging which have been already generalized by the discourse.

4.3. Applying of Sontag's Conceptual Categories to Anti-Aging Examination

As I have presented in the second chapter, Susan Sontag presents a thought-provoking approach to illness in her work *Illness as Metaphor and AIDS and Its Metaphors* (1991). In this study, she does not focus on the medical dimension of illness, but tries to demonstrate how certain discursive patterns peculiar to illness regulate the perception of illness in social life. Her work basically examines the reflection of value judgments of society on the relation between patient and her own illness. Two points of her work come into prominence in terms of the examination of aging in the popular anti-aging literature. One of them is the *recognition of patient as*

responsible for her own illness and the other one is the *redefinition of the meaning of illness through certain metaphors*. These points have been presented in detail the second chapter. Here, the approach which is developed by Sontag will tried to be applied to phenomenon aging and the anti-aging discourse. Although her ingenious argument is specific to illness, I think her views and conceptual apparatuses present a fruitful point of view for the examination of anti-aging.

The first point which will be discussed below with the help of Sontag's views is the relation between the notions of responsibility and individualization of illness which frequently occurs in the popular anti-aging literature. Her work demonstrates that the illness is individualized in the late modern times through the indication of patient as responsible for her own illness. These, innovative views of Sontag on responsibility and illness carry us to the relation between aging and responsibility. The second point which will be pursued below is the metaphoric narration of aging. Sontag draws notice that the meaning of illness is reconstructed through certain metaphors. In the same manner, the meaning of aging is reproduced in the anti-aging discourse with the help of metaphors peculiar to age and aging. In order to examine the role and function of metaphoric narration of aging, I will utilize her inferences on the narration of illness.

4.3.1. Individualization of Aging through Employing the Notion of Responsibility

The notion of responsibility comes into prominence within all the anti-aging implementations. It is always underlined that practitioners should feel responsible for their own aging, and aged bodies. The persistent emphasis of anti-aging on

responsibility brings back Sontag's argument. Her argument presents an inspirational outlook for examining the anti-aging literature. Thus, I will detail below the notion of responsibility in the anti-aging literature in terms by particular focus on the individualization of aging.

In each step of anti-aging solutions, experts warn practitioners about the importance of taking over one's own responsibility about her own aging. One's taking the charge of her own aging process is one of the most important rules of anti-aging. According to this rule if an individual does not want to age or wants to age in a good and healthy manner, she must immediately take charge of her own aging and do what is necessary for stopping or resetting her aging clock. For example, the mission of *Anti-Aging Solution* (2004) is described in its conclusion part is entitled "Take Charge Today" as the book "provides the necessary answers to take charge of your life" (Giampapa et al., 2004, p. 187). In addition to this, the driving force which makes people to read this book is put as:

Like many others, you may have been discouraged by not finding the medical help you sought to alleviate signs and symptoms of aging. You're not content to accept that you're just growing older and you have decided to take charge of your own aging and do whatever you can to maintain a long, healthy life (p187).

It can be inferred from this explanation that one's taking the responsibility of her own aging brings the duty of implementing what is necessary for maintaining a long and healthy life. In this manner, if one does not make effort in order to stop or reverse her aging clock, she can be considered responsible for her aging, or it can be claimed that her aged body is the consequence of her own irresponsibility.

At this point, when Sontag's argument on illness, pointing out to the modern fantasia (in which illness is regarded as a penalty which patient imposed on her own self)

(Sontag, 1991, p. 31) is taken into consideration, it can be argued that aging is also endowed with a similar fantasy. Likewise to Sontag's illness, the phenomenon of aging in is individualized through accounting the practitioner as responsible for her own aging. Thus, the relations between illness, responsibility and patient which Sontag demonstrates can also be seen in relations between aging, responsibility and practitioner.

When Sontag exemplifies her case, she says that cancer is perceived through certain accusatory metaphors. With the help of these metaphors it is thought that individuals who suffer from cancer indeed call upon this disease to their bodies with their lonely, depressive, isolated emotional worlds (p. 49). In this way, the patient is pronounced guilty on account of paving the way of her own illness. Similar to this logic and connections made aging is also represented as being caused by certain wrong lifestyle choices of the individual. According to expert Roizen, people who seem older than they are "have abused their bodies with unhealthy lifestyle choices, causing them to age much faster than they should have" (Roizen, 2004, p. 4). In this manner, anti-aging produces the fantasy about aging which implies that if one makes investment in her body through her life style choices, she can conquer her own aging process. Here, the expert points out to the process of aging as if it is a matter of choice by establishing direct relations between life style and manner of aging. To put it differently, the life style choices of anti aging practitioner actually indicate her decisions peculiar to her own way of aging. The important point here is that, the preferences of practitioner are regarded under the complete responsibility of her. Thus, anti-aging carries the tendency of seeing aging process not a natural part of biological life of human, but as an independent biological phenomenon and

a matter of choice. Aging is presented as a problem which can be solved by the effort of the individual. Thus, aging is deemed proper to the individual who does not take over the responsibility of her own aging. In other words, some people deserve to get old.

The individualization of illness is easier than the individualization of aging. In the case of illness individualization process starts with the question that the patient asks herself: ‘why am I ill?’. Then, patient begins to feel delinquency for falling in illness. In the following step, the patient sees herself responsible from her illness because of this delinquency. This process surpasses the conventional belief that illness is a matter of fate, and individualizes the disease of specific patient. However, in the case of aging, it is more difficult to go against the fatalistic determinism. The individual who ages inevitably does not ask “why not the other people, but I am aging?”. Moreover, because aging is still a natural part of life course, every living being inevitably ages. Thus, the totalizing aspects of the discourse of aging seem to be more powerful than the individualizing aspects of it. At this point, anti-aging discourse individualizes aging by considering it as if it is a disease and treatable medical condition. With such consideration it becomes possible to blame the individual for her aging. The discourse gives rise to the logic that the individual who disregards the admonishes of anti-aging can be considered as responsible for her own aging.

By considering practitioners as responsible for their own aging, anti-aging produces an aging understanding which depends on the performance of individual. In this way, the discourse regards the aging process as a solvable problem with the effort of

individual and obliges practitioner to take a strong interest in her aging process. Although the process of aging is still an inevitable part of life course, anti-aging affirms that individual can stop or reverse her own aging clock by following anti-aging recommendations. Thus, in the process of which I call “performative aging”, the practitioner fights against aging process through implementing these recommendations. The important point here is that, the performance of individual is regulated by a disciplinary kind of knowledge which anti-aging presents for the prevention of the aging. In this way, the knowledge such as calculation of *realage*, food and exercise choices, small life style changes create new areas in which the practitioner can perform her own aging by applying disciplinary control.

When the performative aging practice is considered in its relation with the notion of responsibility in this literature, it can be said that these two points strengthen the tendency of individualization of age. Indeed, the act of taking responsibility itself carries an initial individualizing effect, because being responsible from something necessitates calculating its causes, controlling its functioning and accepting its consequences. These characteristics make the practitioner to control all aspects of her own aging process in a continuous manner. In this context, it is assumed that individual makes her own choices and creates the way which is specific to her own aging in comparison to requirements of anti-aging. The process of creating the specific way of one’s own aging carries the individual to the notion of performative aging.

4.3.2. Reinterpretation of Human Temporality through Certain Metaphors

The metaphoric narrations of age and aging which occur in the popular anti-

aging literature need to be discussed under the light of Sontag's comments on illness. In her work, Sontag demonstrates how certain metaphors, symbols and analogies attach themselves to disease. Sontag especially focuses on the metaphors of warfare terminology employed in the discourse on illness. She argues that with the incorporation of warfare terminology the word of illness begins to connote more than something which is wrong about the body of human, and in this way, illness gains certain interesting meanings. As a result, with these new meanings, illness is removed away from its natural shelter namely the body of patient through the reflection of human fantasies into the illness (1991). It is apparent that, similar to the case of illness, the meanings of age and aging are also shaped through certain metaphors in the popular anti-aging literature. That is to say, her conceptualization of "illness as a metaphor" carries us to the notion of "age as a metaphor". Thus, in order to see how anti-aging discourse succeeds in removing aging from being a finite process that occurs naturally in the life course, it will be helpful to consider the metaphoric narration of age in certain popular books on the issue.

Anti-aging discourse is formed under the sway of two metaphoric elements. These are first, a set of concepts borrowed from warfare terminology and second, the usage of clock as a metaphor. In her case, Sontag focuses on the description of cancer and she sees that the narration of cancer is clothed in the language of war (Sontag, 1991, p. 65). Likewise the narration of cancer, in the narration of aging the terms of warfare also occur in the popular anti-aging books. However, the metaphorical usage of the word of clock is original to anti-aging. It is not seen in the case of illness. It can be said that the notion of age as a metaphor is formed by reference to warfare terminology and the operation of clock.

Anti-aging's war cry against aging begins with the concept itself. That is to say, by employing the word of "anti", anti-aging takes a stand opposite to aging and declares a war against this process which is represented as out of the scope of nature and relocated into the sphere of responsibility of the individual. The belligerents of this war are the practitioners and the target is one's own aging process. The battlefield is the body of practitioner. The anti-aging recommendations here are defined here as the "powerful weapons" which are already available in the "arsenal" of the practitioner (Roizen, 2004, p. 127). In this war, anti-aging even aspires a revolution (Klatz and Goldman, 2003, p. x). This is a revolution against the aging process which reigns in the natural life course. As a consequence, thanks to this incorporation of warfare terminology, anti-aging not only presents aging as an undesirable fact in the life of individual, but it also indicates it as the enemy of individual. In this way, aging is announced as if it is something wrong with the functioning of body of individual. Thus, inevitably the concern for anti-aging gives rise to a series of hostile feelings about the aged body and old people.

The critical danger of such an approach to aging is that, it may cause disparage of elderly people who do not endeavor for rejuvenation in social life. In addition, with the declaration that the aging process is the enemy of body and narrating it reference to terms from warfare terminology, anti-aging indeed marginalizes the old people as the "other" of the discourse established. By attaching central significance to the role of body in aging process, the discourse paves the way of representation of elderly people solely by reference to the body of individual. In this context, anti aging distains the natural elderly form of body and promotes the ideal form of elderly

body which is healthy, active and cleansed off any disability. However, the distain for elderly body also entails a distain for anything relating to it, such as feelings emotions, experiences and subjectivity practices (Powell, Biggs, Wahidin, 2006, p. 4) Therefore, anti-aging externalizes the alternative ways of aging and normalizes the elderly individual who invests in her body in order to get rid of the effects of old age. Such normalization may indeed cause to regard elderly who do not care about their bodies the other of a society. Whilst, there are alternative approaches in society concerning aging which do not take the corporal status of elderly as a pivotal point and attaches central value rather to accumulated knowledge, wisdom and experiences of them; anti-aging carries the tendency of subordinating such kind of approaches to the phenomenon of aging. As a result, through the permeation of warfare terms to aging narration in the popular books, aging begins to be conceived as the real enemy of human body and life. With its ripple effect, anti-aging also presents a new approach to aging which can be seen as causing to see elderly who does not care about their bodies as almost worthless in the struggle for practical immortality.

The second common metaphoric element which is repeatedly employed concerns the references to the functioning mechanism of clock in terms of its resemblance with the aging process of individual. As it is mentioned in the third chapter, the statement of “ticking clock” is supposed to present the process of aging (Klatz and Goldman, 2003, p. 33). This metaphor refers to the bodily time of the body. The metaphor of clock is strengthened with the original conception of aging. That is to say, as it seen in the *realage* example, age is described in these popular anti-aging books not as referring to the numbers of years passed, but something found by considering the numbers peculiar to the biological properties of individual and life style

choices. For example, the points such as average sleep time per day, yearly income or percentage of fat in diet provide numbers for age calculation in the anti-aging (Roizen, 2004, pp. 28-58). By making such calculations through using changeable measures, anti-aging calculates the *realgaes* of practitioners. The important point about the recasting of the content of age is that it gives rise to the notion of controllable age. In this manner, anti-aging discourse convinces practitioners that their aging processes depend on their performances.

The concept of controllable age aims to change the relationship between individual and her own aging process in a radical manner. It is expected that by internalizing the notion of controllable age, the practitioner will make a serious effort for governing her own aging process. This kind of logic makes it possible to present aging process with the metaphor of clock. This metaphor indeed represents the practitioner's control of her own time. In this context, the statements like stopping the clock, reversing the clock, resetting the clock or putting the clock back refer to the organization of aging with the effort of the practitioner which are all to be controlled and performed in a kind of temporality arranged by the practitioner herself.

In a nutshell, it can be said that employment of the metaphor of clock allows anti-aging discourse to problematize the temporality of individual. Moreover, through redefining aging with certain discursive games, anti-aging provides credibility to its implementations in eyes of practitioners. In this manner, inevitabilities of the aging process such as graying hair, wrinkled skin, lagging energy, immobility, postural instability and falls, respiratory problems, sleep problems, poor memory, lagging libido, forgetfulness, immunity problems, social breakdown, and finally

death are no longer understood as a matter of getting old, or as inevitable outcomes of the years passed (Giampapa et al., 2004, pp. 8-9). In this way, anti-aging shatters the standard indicators of aging. Anti-aging does not only offer practical solutions about these aging indicators, but also produces a specific discourse which makes the solutions persuasive. Although it is already known that the fountain of youth has not found yet, anti-aging whispers the “secrets of the immortals” to practitioners (Klatz and Goldman, 2003, p. 419). Moreover, this new discourse lists certain “rules for immortality” (p. 16). Popular discourse on anti-aging manipulates the aging processes of individuals and the relation between individual and her own aging by employing certain discursive patterns, I have tried to delineate in this study. Age and aging are narrated as phenomena very different from what we already know. As a result, this alternative meaning map of anti aging adorned with certain peculiar metaphors not only makes it possible to speak about immortality, but also legitimizes the performative sphere of anti-aging implementations.

CHAPTER 5

CONCLUSION

This study has been an attempt to examine the anti-aging movement, which has boomed after 1990's as a popular theme, from a critical perspective. In this study, Foucault's work on "the power over life" and Sontag's approach to "the metaphorical representation of illness in late modern times" are employed for proposing a critical approach to popular anti-aging discourse. In addition, for mapping out the general logic, suggestions and implementations of this popular discourse, three emblematic popular anti-aging texts are examined in detail: *The New Anti-Aging Revolution: Stopping the Clock for a Younger, Sexier, Happier You!* (2003) written by Ronald Klatz and Robert Goldman, *The RealAge Makeover* (2004) written by Michael F. Roizen and *The Anti-Aging Solution* (2004) written by Vincent Giampapa, Ronald Pero and Marcia Zimmerman.

Findings of this study plainly demonstrate that popular anti-aging discourse develops a new approach to the concept of age and determines the ideal borders of aging process of individual. This discourse seems to deal with merely old age but indeed, it describes the directions and borders of the so called "good life" by focusing on the body and lifestyle of individual. At this point, contrary to biologisation of aging, body is saved from its biological dimension, so as to serve as a site of performance. This new approach to aging includes certain perceptions and assumptions about body, living and keeping alive which are peculiar to late modern times. Anti-aging

discourse gathers modern fantasies around the aging process in order to convince the individual to cultivate the endeavor for getting rid of the effects of old age. In this study, the examination of anti-aging discourse demonstrates that such discourse, thanks to its certain discursive games, transforms the relation which an individual constructs with her own aging process and reinterprets the human temporality.

The alternative vocabulary peculiar to anti-aging constitutes the basis of the discursive games. This alternative imaginary of aging is produced in the popular discourse under the sway of certain metaphoric elements. Inspiring from Sontag's examination of metaphors peculiar to illness, the metaphors employed in the anti-aging discourse are pursued in this study. It is seen that similar to Sontag's case, the terms from warfare language are also employed in the narration of aging. By founding an aging narration upon a battle language, anti-aging discourse produces a ground in which the aging process is announced as the enemy of the body of individual. Another metaphoric element that does not exist in Sontag's case of illness is found out in this thesis: the association of aging with the operation of clock. The usage of the word of "clock" instead of the "aging process" makes it possible to create a controllable time understanding in this discourse. By narrating the aging process with this metaphor, the discourse gives the message that one can create her own time and intervene into this time. Thus, the conception of governable time represented by clock metaphor promotes the perception of aging not as a fate, but as a stoppable, controllable and reversible process.

The interpretation of the popular anti-aging texts reveals also the metaphorical language in the specific age calculation technique. It is asserted in this literature

that the calendarical age does not give enough information about the bodily condition of individual. Thus, anti-aging offers an alternative age calculation technique which is constituted around the “realage” metaphor. In the calculation of realage, the numbers of biological properties of individual such as blood pressure, cholesterol level or heart level are used. On this wise, rather than the calendarical age or the appearance of individual, the numbers peculiar to biological conditions of body tell the truth. By presenting a numerical novelty in calculating one’s age, this discourse recasts the meaning of age. Moreover, one finding of this thesis demonstrates that the realage metaphor indicates that anti-aging discourse offers a new age calculation which depends on the exploration and control of the biological properties of body. In other words a new criterion of truth concerning our temporality is introduced.

The importance attributed to body in this literature is examined through the Foucauldian perspective concerning the encompassment of life and body of individual by power relations. From this perspective, it is argued that with the rise of bio-power, the body of human has become an issue which must be understood, controlled disciplined and regulated. Bio-power points the body of human as being the source of knowledge concerning individual. This focus on body paves the way for the production of the body by specific practices and discourses. The Foucauldian theory of power over life enables us to see that anti-aging is a popular discourse which plays a key role in the determination of recent borders of body. By evaluating the aging process from a corporeal perspective, anti-aging discourse presents the popular image of how elderly body should look. The discourse prescribes an ideal body form defined as young, fit, active, productive, attractive, healthy and completed. Such an idealized body form is always seen as a sign of success,

decisiveness, self-confidence, high morality, strong will, personal adequacy and self discipline (Grogan, 1999, p. 6). Feelings, emotions, ideas, world-views, experiences, wisdom and social status of old people are not considered in the literature of anti-aging. Rather the focus is on the physical changes which result from aging. It is acknowledged in this thesis that aging process is reduced to its biological dimension and it is presented as an undesirable part of life course which originates from the body of human in this literature. In this context, the interpretation of popular anti-aging texts displays that the body occurs in this discourse in two forms: as “the creator of aging” and as “the solution apparatus of aging”. In this sense, body is emancipated from its biological destiny. It is persistently emphasized in the anti-aging discourse that individual can control her aging rate and reverse this process by regulating her body. In order to make practitioner to stop her aging clock, there occurs information bombardment concerning the operation of the body. It is told that the practitioner can control her aging process by investing on her body. By pointing out the practitioner as “the ruler of her own body”, anti-aging discourse makes practitioner to develop a continuous vigilance over her body. In this way, such discourse subjects the body of practitioner to her own gaze and transforms the body into a sight of performance and even warfare.

By taking into consideration the Foucauldian examination of modern medicine, it is argued in this thesis that, anti-aging discourse does not only idealize a certain body form, but also medicalizes it. The notion of health lies at the heart of this discourse and constitutes the legitimizing ground for anti-aging recommendations. In this literature it is always underlined that one’s improving her health condition is the inevitable element of “practical immortality”. The importance attached

to health in this discourse appears mainly in two levels: First, aging itself becomes a symptom and treatable medical condition. Second, the individual is regarded as responsible for her health condition. The first point indicates the incorporation of modern medical discourse into anti-aging discourse. Feeding from modern medical understanding, anti-aging analysis the aging process by detaching it not only from metaphysics but also social and moral symbols associated with old age. By endowing aging process with popular medical knowledge, anti-aging surpasses the conventional approach to aging which is based upon fatalistic and temporal determinism. Thus, there occurs an impression in this discourse which expresses that by implementing health-enhancing strategies, the practitioner can program, control and stop her own aging clock with her own effort. The second point reveals that anti-aging produces a new kind of morality which is constituted upon the necessity of being healthy. Such necessity is considered as the signifier of normality and presented as if it is a duty related to individual's moral worth (Petersen, 1997, p. 198). In this sense, the practitioner who aspires to fulfill her duty of being healthy continuously monitors her health conditions and by making her specific health plans she tries to be her own doctor. Thus, this new morality gives rise to the "daily organization of bodily health". As a result, the health is fallen under radically intensified levels of scrutiny and surveillance of individual to be performed by herself.

Anti-aging discourse does not only produce a new morality but also individualizes experience of aging by putting a strong emphasis on the notion of responsibility. The individualization of aging is examined in this study by reference to Sontag's thought-provoking views on illness in late modern times. Her argument in which

she evaluates the widespread tendency in society for blaming the patient for causing her own illness carries us in this study to the relation between aging and responsibility. In this literature, the practitioner's main duty is described as shouldering the responsibility of her own health and aging in order to create her specific way of aging. It is persistently emphasized that the practitioner has to make her own choices and tailor the information, which is presented by the popular books, to her realage, lifestyle and bodily needs. Because the preferences of practitioner are regarded under the responsibility of her, in this literature, the aging process is not seen as a natural part of human life, but a matter which depends on the choices of practitioner. What is crucial here is that aging is removed from being a natural fact and it is deemed proper to the individual who does not take over the responsibility of her own aging. As a result, aging is clothed in the language of responsibility and this causes the individual to blame herself of not investing on her own health, and makes the individual feel guilty because of her aging.

The individualization of aging transforms the aging process into a sphere in which individual can perform her aging. This is achieved through representation of body as a site of performance, not as a biological entity. The notion of aging which depends on the performance of individual is conceptualized in this thesis as "performative aging". It is also examined in this thesis whether such performance of individual aiming to stop aging can be regarded as a certain kind of technology of self in Foucauldian sense. It is seen that implementing anti-aging can not be considered as a technology of self, since anti-aging discourse does not aim at developing a reflexive contemplative activity for making one's own existence. Rather, practitioners follow a certain body project presented by anti-aging. Thus, disciplinary knowledge of

anti-aging gives shape to the aging experiences of practitioners.

The individualization techniques go hand in hand with totalization effect of anti-aging discourse. Although every living human being inevitably ages, there is no universal knowledge and standard procedures which organize the aging of human. Anti-aging discourse goes beyond this “ontologically flexible understanding” of aging (Powell, 2006, p. 66). By formulating general rules and offering certain experiencing patterns peculiar to aging, such discourse attempts to fix the ideal limits of aging process and to produce a knowledge of aging which is much more generalizable than previous multiple definitions and approaches. On that account, popular anti-aging discourse normalizes a certain form of aging. The reciprocal relation between individualization and totalization tendencies of this discourse is discussed under the light of Foucault’s explanation on dual tactics of power. According to Foucault, power functions *via* individualization techniques and totalization procedures (Foucault, 1982, p. 213). It is seen that there is a parallelism between the dual tactics of power, and operational logic of anti-aging discourse. The combination of totalizing and individualizing tendencies demonstrates in this study that while the practitioner tries to create the aging patterns which are specific to her, her aging process is subjugated to the conception peculiar to aging produced by anti-aging discourse, through normalizing discourse.

In conclusion, my research demonstrates anti-aging discourse constructs a complex set of relation around the aging and body. First, aging is reduced to its biological dimension by detaching from its moral, psychological and social aspects. Second, body is transformed into a site of intervention and performance by freeing

from its biological destiny, namely death. Finally, anti-aging discourse relocates this biological aging process into the infinite body which has become a performance sphere. As a result, anti-aging discourse creates an aging imagination which can be performed or accomplished. Therefore, although anti-aging discourse seems to offer rules and practices leading to the conditions “good life” in which the effects of old age are removed from the body of individual; this discourse deploys the body, aging and life of human into a series of regulatory practices. The examination of anti-aging discourse from a political perspective reveals the pervasion of power into life not through coercion or violence but through innocent-looking discourse which constitutes a language upon keeping alive and even searching for practical immortality.

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