

**GOVERNMENTAL NARRATIVES OF HEALTH, GENDER, AND
PLACE IN THE EARLY TURKISH REPUBLIC**

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ABSTRACT

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The narrative production of healthful and diseased environments and populations was a central feature of the nascent Turkish republic's efforts to distance itself from its Ottoman legacy. In this dissertation, I explore the production of these narratives while paying particular attention to gendered tropes of health and place. This work builds on prior studies in geography that recognize certain spatial sensitivities in Foucault's approaches to history, knowledge, and power. The archaeological and genealogical methods, applied by Foucault to the spatial dispersions of power/knowledge implicated in the production of subject forming discourses ranging from 'discipline' and 'madness' to 'sexuality' and 'biopolitics' reached their zenith for geographers in the so-called "governmentality lectures". This dissertation builds on insights from Foucault and his geographic legacy to assess the production of governmental discourses pertaining to health, gender, and place in the early Turkish republic. Specifically, I address the production of "sanitary citizenship" and "scientific motherhood" as they emerged from various discursive formations dispersed throughout Anatolia: the Ministry of Health and Social Welfare's "Medical and Social Geographies", the novels of Yakup Kadri Karaosmanoğlu, the writings of Dr. Besim Ömer (Akalın), and the journal published by the Turkish Red Crescent Society. This historical study adds insight to contemporary debates about body politics and public health in Turkey.

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Chapter 1

Methodological introduction: archaeology, genealogy, geography

Efforts to calculate and classify, intervene upon, and reform populations were consistent phenomenon attributable to the rise of the modern state over the course of the last several centuries. As Eugene Weber demonstrated in *Peasants into Frenchmen*, these efforts typically required both a systematic material and discursive replacement of simultaneously existing ‘unofficial’ cultural forms with a standardized ‘official’ articulation (1976). In his French case study, this process of modernization stemmed from a desire to translate and diffuse the culture of the urban metropole, i.e. Paris, throughout the rural and undeveloped parts of the territorial state. At the same time, Weber noted the state’s efforts to simplistically classify elements of non-Parisian France were often reflected in similarly distilled historical accounts.

Evoking another scholar of 20th century France in his introduction (Gordon Wright) regarding the fundamentally flawed and outright “false” nature of studies that depict heterogenous populations like that of rural France via the critical lens of “generalization” or totalization, Weber self consciously recognized the limited scope of his own massive and detailed study of this process of state-oriented cultural assimilation (1976, p. x-xi). Subsequent social and cultural theorists and historians of French society have grappled with these geo-historiographical problems, what Foucault called “total history,” by emphasizing spatial scales and moments of disjuncture, incongruity, confusion, complexity, and hybridity in the production of the modern French body, polity, and society (Ross, 1996; Rabinow, 1995).

Such an accounting of any element of social and cultural transformation in Turkey is equally if not more complex. As scholars of late Ottoman and early Republican Era Turkey have repeatedly demonstrated, this process of state sponsored generalization with respect to depictions of rural life in the transformative early years of the Republic were further complicated by an almost schizophrenic depiction of the past in relation to the present condition. While Paris was the focal point for the cultural diffusion of modernity in modern France, in Turkey the seemingly obvious successor candidate of Istanbul as cultural hub for the young Republic was ruled out for several reasons. Initially under foreign occupation following WWI, an alternative and authentically ‘Turkish’ physical and symbolic seat of power was deemed essential.

Moreover, the agglomerating powers of bureaucratic secularism that would be crystallized under the aegis of the charismatic war hero Mustafa Kemal (Ataturk), and would see political life as the system of authoritarian control known as Kemalism, sought to distance the new Republic from what was perceived as a decadent, dysfunctional, and in effect *diseased* past. However, this process of self-orientalization via ‘Ottoman’ or ‘Turkish’ Orientalism (Lafi, 2014; Karateke, 2013; Eldem, 2010; Deringil, 2003; Makdisi, 2002) can be considered schizophrenic inasmuch as the rejection of the Ottoman past in both its material and discursive forms (e.g. Istanbul’s value, the rejection or mischaracterization of modernization efforts during the late Ottoman era) was at the same time constructed with a foundation embedded in thoroughly Ottoman ideas, landscapes, objects, and individuals (Zürcher, 2014; Meeker, 2002). Ottoman practices not only lingered on but were re-conceptualized and woven into the tapestries of governmental structure, regulations, architecture, and infrastructure, even in places like the newly erected capital of Ankara that were seemingly divorced from, yet were in fact founded

upon, the legacies of an Ottoman past (Evered, 2008; Bozdoğan, 2001). One needs look no further than President Erdoğan's call for the reestablishment of compulsory Ottoman language education to see how these ideas persist.

Therefore, excavating beneath the surface of any large portion of the Turkish experience with rural modernization is a daunting task. As such, following Weber's advice, I attempt to narrow the scope and breadth of the issue in several substantive ways by focusing on fragments of interest that still function as companion pieces to studies of modernization in the late Ottoman and Early Republican eras. Moreover, I deploy multi-focal approach that considers the "spaces of dispersion" (see below) of governmental discourses of power. In terms of scalar considerations, I attend to the broader issue of state efforts at describing and critiquing perceived and real defects in rural Anatolian health and sanitation alongside a narrower focalization vis-a-vis gendered and medicalized discourses regarding the health and well-being of the population. The discursive deployment of housewives, midwives, and mothers (both good and bad) is central to this effort.

As such, my primary question and focus of study in this dissertation is quite simple, albeit broadly conceived: **How were discourses of health (disease and sanitary citizenship), place (Anatolia, the infertile wasteland), and gender (ignorant vs. scientific motherhood) central components of authoritarian governmentality in the transitional period of the early Turkish republic (from roughly the early 1920s until the late 1930s)?**

More to the point, using Foucault's methodological comments regarding archaeological and genealogical considerations of history and geography, I ask: **What sorts of surfaces of**

emergence, authorities of delimitation, and grids of specification were bound up in the production of gendered governmental objects and subjects, namely “sanitary citizenship” and “scientific motherhood”?

This study is informed by and draws heavily upon geographic approaches to Foucault’s genealogy of governmentality, or the “art(s) of government” (Foucault, 1991, pp. 87-104) and its various modalities (governmentalities). Drawing upon an emerging set of anatomo- and biopolitical interests within the modern state, including but-not-limited-to an increasing interest in collecting data about the body and statistically analyzing the so-called politics of life itself, population and the spaces it occupies are salient points of intervention for the modern state in which “power has operated for the last two hundred or so years in part by creating, manipulating, managing, promoting, and investing in a ‘zone of indistinction’ between nature and culture which we all too problematically call ‘the body’” (Cohen, 2009, p. 15). The creation of ‘bodies of knowledge’, both literally and figuratively, was essential to the logics and modalities of various governmentalities, with certain bodies receiving disproportionate state scrutiny. This elision of space and body from the perspective of the modern state is apparent when one considers the numerous public health examples of state/body, disease/warfare metaphors that are deployed in propaganda and public service announcements.

In the *History of Sexuality, Volume 1*, Foucault’s genealogy of sexuality questions the widely held belief that sex-talk had been suppressed in the Victorian Era and had only recently been liberated by contemporary sensibilities; rather, he posits that the discourse of sexuality proliferated during this era, due to the state’s increased interest in sex as a vital component of

subject formation. Part of this genealogy considered sexuality's production of four primary *objects of knowledge*, i.e. sites of intervention for discerning 'irregular' and 'unproductive' types of sex and promoting 'useful' and 'productive' sex: the hysterical woman, the masturbating child, the perverse adult, and the Malthusian couple (Foucault, 1990, p. 105). While Foucault has often been critiqued for his gendered blind spots (Mills, 2008; Taylor & Vintges, 2004), particularly in the earlier 'spatially-explicit' works like *Discipline and Punish*, governmental interrogations of public health and medicine are in fact fraught with gendered implications that extend many of Foucault's observations in *The History of Sexuality*.

Therefore, I further narrow the scope of this study by considering anatomo- and biopolitically oriented, gender-specific discourses pertinent not only to narratives of disease, ignorance, and backwardness in the urban hinterlands, but also with respect to one of the larger public health concerns of the early Turkish Republic, i.e. the health and well-being of children. The works of one particular medico-bureaucrat, Dr. Besim Ömer (Akalın), a key figure associated with the Turkish Red Crescent Society and 'founding father' of modern obstetrics during the late Ottoman and early Republican eras, are also addressed. Some of the most persistent themes in his writings center on the ideal disposition of the family, health in the home and the gendered roles that support it, the value of professionalized nursing to the state, and the national threat of infectious diseases like tuberculosis which could most effectively be combated in the domestic space of the home. While utilizing only selected writings from one key figure as a representative of the techniques of governmentality may seem limiting, following Matthew G. Hannah's approach in *Governmentality and the Mastery of Territory*, the effect generated by an intensive as opposed to extensive reading of texts and deployment of theory is preferential here

as it allows for elaborative extensions into other parallel understandings of the relationship between state, power, and population (Hannah, 2000, p. 4).

In Hannah's case study of "the cycle of American social control" three key moments are identified: observation, normalizing judgement, regulation/punishment (Hannah, 2000, p. 10). This typology provides a useful starting point for an investigation of the techniques of governmentality from an early republican era Turkish perspective. While the boundaries between these moments are less than stable, such a typology creates a general framework from which to assess the engendering and transformation of governmental objects and subjects in modern Turkey. For example, the boundary between observation and normalizing judgement in the discourses of reports commissioned by the Turkish state in order to evaluate the health and welfare of rural areas, towns, and villages in Anatolia was often blurred.

Moreover, the observation (more fully fleshed out in later chapters) that modern Turkish intellectuals and bureaucrats frequently denounced or skimmed over similar if not identical efforts at modernization and development in the late Ottoman Era should be kept in mind here. I must also emphasize the generally unidirectional and masculine nature of the medical gaze as typically deployed in early Republican Turkey (Evered and Evered, 2011). This study is an examination of state and *state-related* discourse on health, hygiene, sanitation, and society and as such it was largely authored by men whereby their subjective depiction of women and children is especially salient.

In order to facilitate the critical reading of governmental texts regarding health, place, and gender in early republican Turkey, geographical aspects of Foucault's methodology (archaeology and genealogy) and later theoretical concerns (anatomo-politics, biopolitics, and

governmentality) are discussed in the remainder of this chapter. For the purpose of addressing the techniques of governmentality in sources outside of the social sciences where they have received the most attention, and for considering other types of governmental texts, the link between literature/fiction and governmentality is also discussed in later chapters where they are specifically relevant.

Additionally, this research complements current thematic and methodological concerns within the broader subfield of historical geography. As outlined in *Modern Historical Geographies* (Nash & Graham, 2000) and *Key Concepts in Historical Geography* (Morrissey, et. al., 2014), contemporary historical geographers with an interest in the modern era have placed a primacy on understanding patterns and processes associated with identity formation and regulation (especially as it pertains to the construction and maintenance of racial, ethnic, and national identities as well as more recent interest in gendered and sexualized identities), imperial spatialities that exist during and linger on after empire has run its course, and the production, use, and representation of environments and landscapes; the analysis that follows attends to elements of each of these broad interest areas in historical geography. More specifically, a focus on the various intersectionalities between state, medicine, health, gender, and environment is an increasingly prevalent topic within the field. While much of this literature has traditionally focused on health and sanitary regimes and regulations in former imperial metropolises and the West (Carter, 2014; Biehler, 2013; Brown, 2013; Biehler, 2010), other regions, including Latin America (Carter, 2010), India (Arnold, 2013), and Turkey (Evered, KT, 2014) have recently received more critical appraisal.

This methods section directly facilitates the transition into chapters two and three in which I situate the *Medical and Historical Geographies*, a series of governmental reports commissioned by the Ministry for Health and Social Welfare, and the literary works of Karaosmanoğlu in the space between Foucault's archaeology of discourse and genealogy of power. These two sets of texts (and practices) will be considered with respect to the production of governmental objects which emerged from similar though distinct 'enunciative modalities', to use the Foucauldian term; i.e. the techniques and practices of those medico-bureacrats in the early republic who were able to speak truth to power regarding health, sanitation, and governance.

1.1 Foucault as method in geography

An overall analysis of Foucault's many theoretical concerns is an unwieldy task, problematic on many levels, and largely beyond the scope of this dissertation. That being said, my own use of 'Foucault' as he has been articulated and deployed within geography during the last three decades as a methodological consideration requires elaboration primarily on three different fronts. As such, in the sub-section that follows I will attend to the question of Foucault in geography by briefly outlining: Foucault's historical methods (archaeology and genealogy); the emergence of governmentality as an object of analysis in Foucault's work; and geographers' engagement with 'Foucault' since roughly the early 1980s. The cursory depiction provided here serves primarily to situate my own study of governmentality in the early Turkish republic as an idiographic or *general* as opposed to a nomothetic or *total*¹ historical-geographic engagement within the larger genealogy of governmentalities.

¹ Using Foucault's own vernacular, as outlined in the section that follows.

1.1a Archaeology and genealogy

It is generally fashionable (and convenient) when considering the wide corpus of Foucault's work and its scope of considerations, to roughly periodize his writings and lectures and divide his methods. Examples of such generalizations may include an emphasis on the shift in his approach to historical analysis from the archaeological mode to the genealogical mode as his thematic concerns shifted from the linguistic to the governmental. That being said, without falling into the trap of describing a neat and linear progression in his writings and musings that would run counter to Foucault's own conceptualization of history, it is possible to draw connections between the ruptures and discontinuities that populate his work, spanning the major texts like *Madness and Civilization*, *Discipline and Punish*, *The Birth of the Clinic*, *The Order of Things*, *The Archaeology of Knowledge*, and *The History of Sexuality* to the "Governmentality" and related lectures delivered at the College of France, 1970-1984 (Burchell, et al., 1991; Foucault, 1980).

Foucault gradually transitioned from an historical method he called archaeology (described in detail in *The Archaeology of Knowledge*) to one called genealogy (incompletely articulated in the english translations of *The History of Sexuality* and the various lectures at the College of France, 1970-1984). While an entire methodological dissertation could be written that articulates the detailed applications of these methods, their similarities, and differences, my main objective in the section that follows is to briefly outline how they function and how genealogy utilizes and extends archaeology. I also aim to show, following other geographers

who have adopted a Foucauldian framework, how his spatial metaphors are well-suited to if not in fact directly dependent upon the same concerns that occupy historical geography.

There is no doubt that the central theme of Foucault's work is the power/knowledge nexus. The archaeological approach highlights a linguistic sensitivity to the study of discourse whereas the genealogical approach begins to consider more deeply the shifting mechanisms of power that acts upon and inscribes bodies. In order to make my point more clearly, a little back-tracking is required. In *The Archaeology of Knowledge* Foucault articulated how an archaeological approach to history functions. Writing against what he described as "total" histories, or historical approaches that conceptualized historical development as linear and progressive, he saw history as full of discontinuities, ruptures, and breaks. As such, historical analysis that was concerned with the reading of texts should not be too preoccupied with establishing the archival document as the proclamation of a fixed and Cartesian self-knowing subject. Historical analysis should instead acknowledge these constantly shifting subject positions and subsequently evaluate each archival document on its own merits as opposed to seeing it as a representation of any overarching zeitgeist.

While it is quite possible to find fault with this vision and it is not my intention to defend it in its entirety, the archaeological approach that emerged from this historical understanding is important for geographers. Along this line of reasoning, Foucault outlined an approach for the study of historical objects that was uninterested in telling their origin stories as fixed on particular points, but rather those that considered the object's *surfaces of emergence*, *authorities of delimitation*, and *grids of specification*. Foucault reasoned that objects (for example, of study, such as the concept of madness) were not simply out there, waiting to be found. Such objects are

produced by statements, which are themselves governed by implicit rules, rituals, and practices of speech. Discursive formations fuse together these objects and collections of statements about objects and essentially ‘discipline’ them; i.e. they legitimate and delegitimize certain bodies of knowledge about certain objects. Hence the use of the term ‘discipline’ to refer to an academic field of study’s relationship with its object, e.g. psychiatry-madness (Foucault, 1972).

To reiterate, these objects are not fully formed or primordial; they are shaped and reshaped within discursive formations. Archaeology is the method that seeks to excavate the field of relations in which they are drawn up or embedded within (their surfaces of emergence), the collection of experts that give voice to and are given voice or legitimated by the object (their authorities of delimitation), and the dimensions of the object that are deemed worth knowing (their grids of specification). While not as clearly delineated as archaeology, genealogy seems to owe much to its predecessor if we base that assessment on works that incorporate it, e.g. *The History of Sexuality*.

The genealogical studies are explicitly concerned with the inscription of power/knowledge on and through bodies. For example, an increasing preoccupation with sex as a site of knowledge production also constitutes the body as a site of governmental intervention. Conversely, while power is enacted upon the body through the discursive disciplining of proper and productive sexual behavior, Foucault also recognized that such discourses created subject positions that had previously been silent and could now seek political recognition (e.g. the so-called ‘perverse’) (Foucault, 1990). The main take-away point here is a recognition of power’s more diffuse and complex flows and forces than had previously been recognized or allowed by total approaches to history (Foucault, In *Crampton & Elden*, 2008, pp. 142–171). Before

moving on, I also reiterate that Foucault's metaphors are of central interest to geographers and will be returned to below, following a brief outline of governmentality.

1.1b Governmentality

Foucault's shift in focus toward the tactics, strategies, and practice that constitute the "art of government" have been thoroughly related elsewhere (Dean, 2010; Foucault, 1991). As such, my interest here is to briefly outline my understanding and interest in governmentality, especially alongside its study as outlined and deployed by Hannah in *Governmentality and the Mastery of Territory* (2000). Towards the end of the chapter I will present some recent geographical engagements with governmentality studies, alongside other considerations of Foucault within human geography over the course of the last few decades.

Foucault's articulation of governmentality draws upon many of his prior interests and insights: power/knowledge, discipline, the interwoven formation of objects and subjects, an emerging interest in strategy, etc. His prior analyses of the inscription of power on bodies alongside the production and deployment of knowledge that took place in the confines of the prison, mental institution, and clinic, fuels line of questioning that emerges in *The History of Sexuality* (1990) and the so-called governmentality lectures.² Alongside his thesis regarding the spurious nature of the "repressive hypothesis" concerning sex-talk in the Victorian era, Foucault outlines his vision of power as all-encompassing and ubiquitous as opposed to merely top-down and repressive. This vision of power in part depended on a shift in the focus of questions that are asked about power, where it originates from, how it is transmitted, and how it acts upon bodies and spaces.

² The 2009 and 2003 volumes, *Security, Territory, Population*, and "*Society Must Be Defended!*" were reviewed for this study.

With respect to the state, in *Discipline and Punish* Foucault had previously outlined a shift from the deployment of bodily punishment and the administering of death, to incarceration and reform via the disciplinary gaze (1995). This historical analysis posited a huge difference in the mechanisms of sovereign governance versus neoliberal governance. With population replacing territory as the primary object of government came a shift in the tactics, practices, and logics regarding the role of government; this shift reconstituted “the art of government” over “biopower,” broadly incorporating a constellation of ways to calculate, manage, classify, regulate, and normalize consumption, reproduction, and a host of other demographic and sociological matters (Foucault, 2009, p. 1; Foucault, 1990, p. 140).

In *The History of Sexuality*, Foucault described this as a shift from the power to punish crimes through the enforcement of death sentences, to the power to regulate and promote (a certain vision of) life through surveillance and discipline: an “anatomo-politics” of the body and a “bio-politics” of population were united (Foucault, 1990, pp. 135-140). The discursive practices undergirding the “problem of population”, as shaped and reshaped within a loose collection of discursive formations that included but were not limited to the social and medical sciences, were at the core of Foucault’s genealogical analysis: i.e., what were its ‘surfaces of emergence’, ‘authorities of delimitation’, and ‘grids of specification’?

1.1c Authoritarian governmentality

It is also important to consider the type of governmentality being assessed. While much of the literature in governmentality studies has emphasized liberal logics and practices, attention has also been directed at both the “illiberality of liberal government” as well as governmental practices of authoritarian governments (Dean, 2010, pp. 155-174; Dean, 2002). In geography, this has included considerations of the scalar dimensions of illiberality and governance by considering authoritarian elements of urban/environmental management and health and sanitation policy (Gandy, 2006).

However, much of this attention has focused on developing or modernizing histories and geographies, including: governmentality and the impact of resource scarcities and political ecologies (Watts, 2004), the hybridity of authoritarian government and varying degrees of economic liberalism (Ismail, 2011; Sigley, 2006), and the intersection of governmentality and development policy (Li, 2007) which invariably incorporates elements of global or “international governmentality” (Dean, 2010, pp. 228-249) as well. The principles of Kemalism, incorporating degrees of ‘progressive’ or modernist thinking alongside authoritarian governance, situates a study of governmentality in the early Turkish republic squarely in the study of government’s illiberal logics and modalities.

1.1d Foucault and geography

Geography's engagement with Foucault has revolved around loosely conceptualized deployments of the English translations of the governmentality lectures (especially "*Society Must Be Defended!*" and *Security, Territory, Population*), although an interest in the so-called spatial preoccupations of full-length texts such as *Discipline and Punish* and more recently *The Birth of the Clinic* are also of note. While those works that are more commonly seen as part of the corpus of genealogical studies have been central to geographical engagements, some geographers have noted the value of the earlier archaeological studies for conceptualizing the spaces of geographic knowledge and philosophy (Livingstone, 2010).

Matthew Hannah makes a compelling argument along these lines in *Space, Knowledge, and Power* (2008). He argues that the archaeological approach, despite its seemingly stagnant rendering of space (when contrasted with the more dynamic presentation of temporal variables), in fact reveals a relatively acute sense of the vitality and instability of space which Foucault himself remarked upon in the frequently discussed *Questions on Geography*, originally appearing in the French journal *Hérodote*. From Foucault's comments in *Questions*, we should take care to note that space itself wasn't necessarily the primary focus of his analytics, but rather government's "tactics and strategies" (Foucault, 2008, p. 182). Regardless of semantics, Hannah's argument is useful and worthy of brief explanation here for two reasons: it contextualizes archaeology and situates it in practical terms in the history of geography; and it touches on the linkages between archaeology and genealogy as coherent method of interest for historical geographers.

In *Formations of 'Foucault' in Anglo-American Geography: An Archaeological Sketch*, Hannah uses Foucault's archaeological approach in order to attend to both discursive constructions of 'Foucault' within geography and to "sketch" out archaeology as method (Hannah, 2008, p. 83). As such, he relies upon an analysis of the various methods that facilitate the production of objects (e.g. 'Foucault' as a category or approach) within a particular discursive formation (e.g. geography); as described above, those systematics include a consideration of authorities of delimitation, surface of emergence, and grids of specification. Hannah argues that the 'authorities of delimitation' of Foucault within (Anglo-American) geography include individuals like Felix Driver and Chris Philo. While temporal dynamics were important in the emergence of Foucault as discourse amongst these individuals (i.e., the impact of the cultural turn on geography), shifting and unstable spatial scales were also of importance; e.g. their position as upper-level scholars in major research institutions (Hannah, 2008, pp. 90-92).

In terms of the surfaces of emergence of 'Foucault' as discourse within geography, Hannah once again relies upon both spatialities and temporalities; he noted that while the academic freedom of the seminar in the British university system facilitated the introduction and negotiation of 'Foucault' within geography and allowed its diffusion based off of professional connections, readings and subsequent deployments of 'Foucault' varied dependent upon one's initial point of interaction with the spectrum of works. In some instances, one's knowledge of French impacted this, due to the gradual pace of translating the original French into English.

As such, an engagement that was christened by *Discipline and Punish*, with full and prior knowledge of the influence of panopticism and the disciplinary gaze, inculcated one's spatial

expectations and influenced forward and backward readings of Foucault's other writings that would be fundamentally different than, say, a traditional linear/chronological reading of the body of work (Hannah, 2008, pp. 92-97). Alongside these concerns, when considering the grids of specification of Foucault, Hannah also reflects on how these works were read into and situated alongside other academic trends within geography. Specifically, he notes that many of the scholars engaging with Foucault in this period have a hard time reading him outside of the confines of structure and agency (Hannah, 2008, pp. 97-99). Keeping these arguments in mind, I conclude this chapter by briefly presenting some of the most influential as well as recent encounters with Foucault in geography, and by situating my own study as an example of general historical-geography.

1.1e Geography and Foucault

Geographers began to engage in a critical way with Foucault's writings beginning in the mid-1980's. Much of this early work traces its origins to cultural and historical geography seminars at major universities in the UK; at the forefront of this movement were well established academics like Felix Driver and Chris Philo (Hannah, 2008). Corroborating Matthew Hannah's argument regarding *Discipline and Punish*'s serving as a common point of entry for geographers, Felix Driver's *Power, space, and the body: a critical assessment of Foucault's Discipline and Punish* (1985) provides an excellent early example of what Hannah also describes as a deep or "close reading" approach to Foucault's texts; such an approach emphasizes, following Foucault himself, the subjectivity of the text itself (Hannah, 2000).

Driver's close reading of Foucault's *Discipline and Punish* emphasizes the work as an "analysis of power, not a general theory of power" (p. 444), and considers a host of geographic considerations in the work, including but not limited to the scalar relationship between micropowers (of the disciplinary institution) and the "condition of existence for more centralised or 'global' powers" (p. 425), the transformation of "political technolog[ies] of the body" across space and time (p. 420), the value of archaeological and genealogical considerations for geographers interested in the discursive production of space at all scales (from the body to the global) (pp. 431-432), and larger questions about Foucault's approach to the geography of power as "a challenge" to Marxist "economies of power," so popular at the time in the era of the 'New Cultural Geography' (Driver, 1985, p. 436).

In *Foucault's Geography* (1992), Chris Philo is similarly interested in broadly demonstrating the usefulness of Foucault's approach to geographic questions. Philo carefully points out that Foucault should not be conceptualized as (nor did he try to be) another "grand theorist of space" (p. 137). Instead, his works should be seen as providing some methodological guidelines for anyone interested in writing an historical account that takes space seriously and critically and that "shades into being a geography" (p. 140); however, geographers should be careful not to perpetuate a singular and orthodox "'story' to be told about Foucault and geography [that] has been agreed upon all too quickly and simplistically" (p. 138), i.e. placing Foucault hastily into a family tree of postmodern and poststructuralist spatial thinkers.

Philo's primary goal with this article (1992) was to address the value of Foucault's attack on total history which he describes as an "unorthodox" reading of Foucault's archaeological method that:

calls forth a geographical way of looking at the world in which one sees only 'spaces of dispersion': spaces where things proliferate in a jumbled-up manner on the same 'level' as one another—on the one level where advanced capitalism and the toy rabbit beating a drum no longer exist in any hierarchical relation of the one being considered more important or fundamental than the other—and one which it can never be decided if 'the essential' has been sighted (because there simply is no 'essential' to be sighted or because, even if there is one, we can never know whether it has revealed itself) (p. 139).

General histories are thus pregnant with spatiality, or more specifically “spaces” and “systems of dispersion” (Philo, 1992, p. 148), albeit of a non-Euclidean topology and geometry that eschews traditional concerns of proximity, hierarchy, and juxtaposition merely for their own sake. Assumed connectivities and relations amidst those objects and subjects deemed worthy of consideration should not be taken for granted and the existence of all artifacts in the spatial arena, “tangible and intangible”, should be taken account of. Hence the value of approaches that take stock of ‘general history’, where “the initial move in this conceptual ‘limboland’ is not to homogenise the components of relevance nor to chase them into one central compound, but to preserve and even to accent their details and the differences between them” (Philo, 1992, p. 149). While ‘general history’ can still be utilized as a means for attending to discursive themes amidst spatial practices, it isn’t necessary nor even possible to tie up all the diverse components and practices into a neat, perfectly coherent bundle. As Philo (1992) goes on to argue:

The envisaging of a space of dispersion is not tantamount to saying that all there is in the world is chaos that the researcher can do no more than celebrate, because Foucault clearly supposes that there is some order in the dispersion waiting to be discovered, but that this order resides resolutely in the things themselves and not in any order theoretically imposed from without (p. 149).

Much of the work in geography that utilizes Foucauldian topics or approaches proceeds along the lines outlined by Philo and Driver, albeit to varying degrees of ‘orthodoxy’ and/or attention to the full corpus of Foucault’s writings. While other examples of Foucault’s ‘mid-

period' works have gradually received more sustained consideration by scholars like Philo, especially with respect to population geography and *The History of Sexuality* (Legg, 2005; Philo, 2005) and medical geography and *The Birth of the Clinic* (Philo, 2000), the impact of *Discipline and Punish* remains a heady influence on geographies of spatial control, policing, and regulation (Herbert, 1996).

However, there is no doubt that Foucault's *Governmentality Lectures* have had the most profound recent impact on geographic scholarship. While several geographers have considered the value of governmentality to questions of scalar production, the geopolitics of development, and population management (Huxely, 2008; Elden, 2007; Jessop, 2007; Li, 2007; Brown & Knopp, 2006; Rose-Redwood, 2006, Hannah, 2000) the intersection between health and medical geographies and governmentality has been especially prominent over the course of the last decade (Brown & Watson, 2010; Brown & Duncan, 2002). The relationship between governance and public health is highlighted in a diverse array of studies in different geographic locations, from prostitution to malaria eradication, and from sex-ed to infant mortality (Legg, 2014; Moore, 2013; Evered & Evered, 2012, 2011; Brown & Knopp, 2010; Crowley and Kitchin, 2008; Prince, Kearns, & Craig, 2006).

Hannah notes that genealogically sensitive studies such as these make the logics and practices of various governmentalities less opaque by asking questions about certain "moments" that transpire within them; namely acts of observation, normative judgement, and regulatory enactment which serve to operationalize the discourses of governmentality (Hannah, 2000). Put succinctly, these moments encapsulate the overall actions and logics of those privileged to speak truth to power on a given subject; they gather information about the object in question via

observation, evaluate those observations based on cultural, political, and social beliefs, and draw up governing schemes based on those ethically situated judgements. In line with these considerations, my contribution to general history and the governmental logics and practices of the transitional early Turkish republic is guided by Hannah, but is especially attuned to the contributions of Moore, Legg and Evered & Evered, by attending to the sparsely theorized intersectional spaces of gender and health from a genealogical perspective.

With this methodological consideration of the intersections between geography and studies of governmentality now in place, in the second chapter I proceed by evaluating the Turkish Republic's developing biopolitical agenda through an intensive, focused and close reading of the Ministry of Health and Social Welfare's *Medical and Social Geography of Ankara*. This chapter also exemplifies the emergence of preventative medicine as a field of governmental intervention, a concept that is echoed throughout this dissertation in subsequent chapters. The third chapter demonstrates the prevalence of discourses surrounding health, sanitation, space, and gender within the upper echelons of expert bureaucratic knowledge production that went beyond official government sanctioned reports and highlights the existence of other types of governmental literatures through a critical reading of the novel *Yaban* (and to a lesser extent *Ankara*) written by the Kemalist and Kadro scholar and politician Yakup Kadri Karaosmanoğlu.

Chapter four narrows the focus by considering the fusion of anatomo- and biopolitical concerns through the discursive rendering of *scientific motherhood* as a vital state interest via the works of Dr. Besim Ömer (Akalın). The fifth chapter complements this approach by considering a second anatomo-/biopolitical discursive fusing via the promotion of *sanitary citizenship* in the Turkish Red Crescent Society's official journal. While each chapter serves as a self-contained

discussion that contextualizes and situates the material by adding additional relevant literature and explanatory justifications for the selections of texts alongside summaries of the governmental logics at play with respect to discourses of health, place, and gender, a short yet concise conclusory analysis is provided at the end of this dissertation that reiterates the themes that are in dialogue with each other amongst the various chapters.

Chapter 2

Producing governmental objects in early republican Turkey: gender, health, & population in the *Medical and Social Geographies*

2.1 Survey, map, national body, sanitary citizen

Scholars of the late Ottoman Empire and early republican Turkey have opened up invigorated inquiries into continuities of thought and practice with respect to shifting forms of governance in the late 19th and early 20th centuries (Deringil, 1998). Many of these inquiries have centered on shared concerns regarding population, health, and sanitation; in sum, a general interest in mechanisms of control with respect to biopower. From direct efforts to eradicate malaria via land reclamation and wetland draining, to campaigns against syphilis and in support of pronatalist policies and activities, both the Ottomans and later Turkish bureaucrats were intimately involved in the production and regulation of healthy bodies and spaces throughout Anatolia.

As Evered and Evered demonstrated in *State, peasant, mosquito* (2012a), the Ottomans and their successors in the Turkish Republic shared a common preoccupation of the late 19th and early 20th century; i.e. malaria as a 'problem of governance.' From a spatial perspective, Malaria was seen as a *köylü hastalığı* or *village disease* in pamphlets, reports, and propaganda pieces produced by official state organizations, charitable foundations, and other regulatory bodies (p. 313). Thus, various governmental officials (experts, doctors, bureaucrats, etc) spilled copious amounts of ink on detailed depictions of the state of the population vis-à-vis health and

environmental conditions of central and western Anatolia (Evered, K.T. & Evered, E.Ö., 2012a). One particularly salient example comes from the Ministry of Health and Social Assistance (*Sihhat ve İctimai Muavenet Vekaleti*) (MHSA) which was established in 1920. Initially under the directorship of Dr. Adnan (Adivar) (1882-1955), spouse of the well-known feminist, nationalist, and novelist Halide Edib (Adivar) (1884 - 1964), numerous other powerful medico-politicians held sway at the MHSA, most notably the subsequent director and future Prime Minister Dr. Refik (Saydam) (1881-1942). Moreover, this medico-political legacy is etched into the very fabric of Ankara as numerous avenues, streets, and public buildings bear the name of physicians central to the state's history of modernization.

The production and diffusion of discourses regarding the health and sanitary conditions of the population as an indicator of the well-being of the state were common during this era, not only from the MHSA, but also from organizations that transcended the dissolution of the Ottoman empire, e.g. the *Hilal-i Ahmer Cemiyeti* or *Turkish Red Crescent Society* (RCS). However, one undertaking of the MHSA was especially revealing from the perspective of governmentality. Between the early 1920s and the early 1930s, the MHSA deployed medico-bureaucrats to various provinces throughout Anatolia for the purposes of gathering data and writing up reports on the status of local populations.

These *Medical and Social Geographies* (*Türkiye'nin Sıhhi-i İctimâî Coğrafyası*) (MSG) such as Dr. Muslihiddin (Safvet)'s volume centered on the Province of Ankara (1925) (AMSG), began with brief introductions of the region's history and geography, which are elaborated upon only in circumstances in which it is deemed necessary by the author to highlight landscapes classifiable as beneficial from the standpoint of political economy (e.g., highland streams,

springs, etc) or diseased and/or misused (various wetland environments, i.e. *bataklik*, *sazlik*,) (78). The juxtaposition between fact-finding and critical, normative commentary are indicative of the type of knowledge being produced in these works. They also highlight the permeable boundary between the governmental moments of observation and normative judgement. For example, in between detailed depictions of the water quality of various rural water supplies (accounting for appearance, taste, color, and quantities of various nutrients and bacteria) (84) Dr. Muslihiddin also included numerous criticisms of village water-use practices, often pausing in the midst of a matter-of-fact description of a stream's chemical, mineral, and organic characteristics in order to include a diatribe against domestic water use, e.g. washing of laundry, bathing of children, etc. Notably, these are activities typical attributed to females and the domestic spaces they manage.

In the chapter that follows, I highlight the production of population discourses and subjectivities in early republican Turkey via a particularly prolific "surface of emergence," i.e. the Medical and Social Geographies that were generated by the MHSA. I will focus on one volume of this collection in order to draw attention to the emphasis that was placed on gendered roles and spaces, threats to the well-being of the population, and the protection of children as a vital resource of the state. I critically evaluate the AMSG as an example of an object of governmentality or perhaps even a form of governmental literature within the historical geographic context of early republican Turkey. Discursive formations pertaining to population are highlighted, especially where observations and statements regarding health, sanitation, and gender are interrelated. Following Hannah's reading of Walker, I argue that a set of spatial logics are prevalent in both the state's gendered diagnosis of the conditions of population, health,

sanitation, and hygiene in rural Turkey (of which Dr. Muslihiddin serves merely serves as a point of illustration or a “nexus of relations”), and in its prognosis as to how these deficiencies can be alleviated so as to protect the well-being of the state.

2.2 Narrating governmental discourses of population, health, & gender in the *Medical and Social Geographies*

As noted previously, while each volume of the MSG tends to adhere to a pre-established set of criteria as dictated by the MHSA, individual medico-bureaucrats were able to elaborate upon, and in most instances engage in the co-construction of, a highly subjective and normative critique of particular circumstances based off of their own interests or passions (Evered, K.T. & Evered, E.Ö, 2012a; 12b; Evered, E.Ö & Evered, K.T., 2013). This is indicative of what Hannah described as the imprecise and multi-faceted nature of national-scale normalizing judgement (Hannah, 2000) while lending credibility to John Marx's assertion of the "imaginative reformulations" that the art of government entails (p. 66, 2011). While extensive time and attention is paid by Dr. Muslihiddin (Safvet) to the physical environment of Ankara and its surrounding hinterland (including but not limited to Beypazarı, Haymana, Kirşehir, Kastamonu, Yabanabad, etc.), particularly in the opening sections which follow guidelines mandated for all ethnographic accounts of the cities and villages of Anatolia by the MHSA with sections dedicated to an explication of the physical environment, climate, resources, ethnicities and customs of the regions, infrastructure, existent health and sanitary concerns, and demographic dynamics of the region, he also spends a great deal of time and ink relating the interaction between these physical environments and the human populations that inhabit them, as is typical of much modern human-environmental geography and especially health geography.

2.2a Narratives of health and environment in the *Medical and Social Geographies*

In the second section of the ethnography, which emphasizes climate and resource characteristics, an entire sub-section (*miyah-ı madeniyye*) is dedicated to mineral waters and springs (*kaplıca*) scattered across what is otherwise generally depicted as the semi-arid *bozkır*, or prairie, of central Anatolia. Recent studies have attended to the complex situation of water in Anatolia, both historically and in the present, addressing the seemingly paradoxical characterization of the region as both water scarce and water abundant, in which water abundance or the presence of unmanaged water sources tended to be seen as a detriment to public health at the turn of the 20th century.¹ As such, Dr. Muslihiddin Safvet's attention to the positive health effects of particular water sources is of note here; however, his evaluation of the way in which these vital water sources are put to use is certainly less than a glowing review of local hygiene.

Safvet draws attention to several local springs in relation to how the local population classifies them based on their anecdotally noted rejuvenative and restorative capacities, i.e. their *havass-i şifa'ıye* or "powers of healing" roughly speaking. For example, one spring near *Haymana*, a former village and now southern district of the Ankara metropolitan area, was noted for its capacity to alleviate the discomfort of rheumatism, ostensibly due to its high sulfur content (Safvet, 1925, p. 28). These are rare points of relatively judgement-free observation whereby a local and traditional practice is deemed sanitary and beneficial under modern medical scrutiny. It is interesting to note that mineral waters retain a vaunted position in the public imaginary of

¹ see Evered's recent work on wetland drainage schemes as linked to malaria eradication efforts: Evered, K.T., 2014.

Turks today. Coffeehouses, restaurants, grocers and convenience stores typically stock several varieties of small, green glass bottles of ‘natural mineral water’ (*doğal maden suyu*). Moreover many of these bottles, which declare the widely held mantra that healthy individuals consume at least two bottles a day, are branded based on their Anatolian source points, e.g. *Beypazarı* is a commonly found variety. Two major mineral springs are listed by Dr. Muslihiddin as being well known amongst the peoples of *Beypazarı*, i.e. *Dutlu* and *Kapullu*.

Before World War I, the sick from Ankara and even Eskişehir used to come here. The curative powers of the mineral springs circulated amongst the population and it was widely believed that internal illnesses could be cured by drinking these waters and external maladies by bathing in them. Therefore, the sick came here to drink and bathe. They continually came to the springs in July and August and stayed for 15-20 days. Due to the laxative effects of internal consuming the water, around the springs myriad lavatories had been constructed (p. 26).

However, the tone of his writing is more frequently characterized by a departure from or complete abandonment of objective observation in favor of the second activity in the governmental triptych: normative judgement. At the very least, observation and normative judgement exist side-by-side, with occasional appeals toward regulation occurring more frequently in the later half of the document. The typical model the author adheres to is as such: First, the characteristics of a physical environment were described in detail and then related to a local population and its activities in that area. Second, that population’s culpability in the desiccation or pollution of said environment is detailed and reprimanded. Alternatively, the local

population's ignorance of potentially harmful local environmental characteristics may also be described in relation to potentially negative health and wellness outcomes. For example, in the above described context, Dr. Muslihiddin elaborated upon the problematic presence of Ascarid and other parasites in these waters, the likely source of the seemingly beneficial laxative effect of the springs. He also notes that the surrounding swamps served as breeding grounds for malarial *Anopheles* mosquitos.

As such, the population is characterized as ill-informed or improperly equipped to utilize its environmental surroundings in the most pragmatic fashion. The implication is that proper education and regulation is required to provide for their well-being. Following these generally narrative descriptions, which referenced local names for springs, and surrounding wetlands, creeks, and underground water sources (*nebean*), the governmental authority provided statistical legitimation (i.e. grids of specification) to his observations and judgements; these frequently took the form of tables, charts, and maps. For example, several statistical compilations are included in relation to the above described section, describing the chemical and nutrient qualities of the water (*terkib-i kimyevi*), its temperature, odor, and clarity, and the conditions of infrastructure facilitating travel to these locations.

Governmental discursive formations, as previously discussed, are infused with myriad geographical implications. As Foucault noted, political economy drives the governmental imperatives of the state; therefore it is worth mentioning that ethnographic reports centered on considerations of the health and well-being of local populations will also makes reference to future developmental imperatives in association with the economic value of resources throughout the state as well as provide criticism of their under or mis-utilization by local

populations. For example, outside of the village of Yabanabad, an area that today has been engulfed by the expansion of modern Ankara and is now known as the northern Ankara metropolitan districts of Kızılcahamam and Çamlıdere, Dr. Muslihiddin noted the confluence of several vital water resources in an area otherwise dominated by unowned and undeveloped land (*arazi-i haliyye*) and forests (Safvet, p. 27). In these locations, he deemed expenditure on public works desirable as compared with other sites. It therefore seems logical to surmise that economic imperatives trumped the local and traditionally valorized, and scientifically unfounded, health benefits of the springs and surrounding waterways. Grids of economic value, classifying both material as well as knowledge-based resources, were overlain atop other grids emphasizing demographic and health characteristics of the local population.

In the same vein of political economic classification, another section included an infrastructural evaluation that was a common component of each of the individual ethnographic reports commissioned by the MHSA. Primary medical infrastructure is classified and reviewed first, beginning with a general survey of the condition of hospitals and pharmacies (*hastahane/hastane* and *eczahane/eczane*). Fee and fee-free bed counts are tallied, the poor conditions of medical infrastructure such as surgery ward bacteriology labs are described, and the number of dispensaries are provided. Following a similar sub-section classifying the conditions of schools and hospitals, Dr. Safvet shifts his focus to the general character and composition of the local villages themselves.

The condition of the villages is quite varied with the majority consisting of homes constructed on mountain slopes or hillsides and in a few rare conditions in valleys, while some

homes are so scattered they are not in a condition resembling any form of collective communal space. Some villages are quite large, while some are small consisting of only 10-15 houses all of which are constructed in the same mutually desired space. Up to the present, due to their (villagers) lack of encouragement regarding sanitation and standardized methods of village construction, they adhere to the methods of their ancestors in the construction of what constitutes a neighborhood (p. 39).

Given what is known about the modernizing imperatives of the Kemalist regime and its newly founded Republic (Yılmaz, 2014; Evered, 2008; Zürcher, 2004; Bozdoğan, 2001; Bozdoğan & Kasaba, 1997) this sort of statement, which appears in similar fashion throughout the individual volumes of the MSG, can be seen as further evidence of the use of statistical and ethnographic instruments by the state as a means to push for increased intervention in the daily life of its population via methods of standardization and regulation. According to these depictions for want of proper building codes and urban planning schemes, Anatolian communities were in a state of disarray.

The problematization of conditions of health and sanitation in the village proceeded in several steps: behaviors, actions, and social forms that were deemed undesirable or unhealthy were detailed and ‘diagnosed;’ solutions were then ‘prescribed’ and propagandized in such a way as to seem self-evident and necessary despite their invasiveness to the subjectified population that was compelled to transform. If done effectively, regulation and reform would seem natural and would eventually be undertaken voluntarily. The use of medicalized verbs to describe the desired actions that were to be undertaken by the now self-governing population are more than

mere colorful linguistic tropes. As the state's increasing interest in biopower is central to the evolving art of government, both health and administration, as well as body and territory are increasingly intertwined.

As indicated in the observations translated above, Dr. Safvet simultaneously drew attention to the failures of the prior (Ottoman) regime to guide its population in the methods of home and village construction that would have been in the best interest of their health and vitality (as well as that of the larger empire), while beginning to lay the seeds for greater governmental intervention via regulation. The culmination of these reports, as Evered and Evered have demonstrated in *State, Peasant, and Mosquito* (2012a), were legislative actions like the 1930 Public Health Law (*Umumi Hıfzıssıhha Kanunu*) as well as the expansion of measures first enacted in the 1924 Ankara Municipality Law. Moreover, from the standpoint of public education, health, and well-being, journals, magazines, periodicals, and books proliferated, initially represented by a steady stream of expert and practitioner oriented works like the Journal of Health (*Sıhhiye Mecmuası*) and the Journal of the Turkish Red Crescent Society (*Hilal-i Ahmer Mecmuası*), but later expanded to include brochures and pamphlets directed at the general population.

The biopolitical interests of the state are most salient between the third and sixth sections of the AMSG. Here, Dr. Muslihiddin (Safvet) outlined the human and cultural geography of rural Anatolia. Initially this involved a brief survey of the ethnic populations in an area surrounding Ankara that extends roughly from *Eskişehir* in the west to *Yozgat* in the east and from *Çankırı* in the north to *Polatlı*, *Haymana*, and *Kırşehir* in the south. This general survey

rapidly transformed into a discussion and critique of local livelihoods which, the author was careful to point out, rapidly devolved as a result of depravation and destruction wrought by WWI and the subsequent War for Independence (*Türk Kurtuluş Savaşı*, 1919-1922). The following description captures the patriotic fervor in relation to the social, economic, and structural upheaval wrought by the conflicts:

Following the Balkan Wars (1912-1913), the onset of the First World War, and the Moudros Armistice (30 October 1918), the population was justly incensed and a national resistance formed as a result of Greek invaders gradual advancement through Anatolia beginning in Izmir and expanding as far as the gates of Ankara. Naturally, as the country's trade and industry were brought to a standstill and the structure of the overall economy was destroyed by the onset of the national struggle against the Greek armies, the effect was an overall decrease in the standard of life to a noticeable extent in both urban and rural populations (p. 54).

Safvet used this narrative as a launching point for discussing the nutritional habits of the villagers as one of the primary detrimental factors with respect to the vitality of the population. Little distinction was drawn between pre-war and post-war era nutritional habits; in fact, there is no indication that any such investigation was undertaken at least as part of this survey. For example, it is mentioned that a variety of foodstuffs are produced in most rural areas and tables are included in the index indicating the amount per month in a given year for each commodity: rice, wheat, barley, corn, chickpeas, lentils. Bulgur and beans were referenced as the primary subsistence commodity by which the rural population “contents itself” and the vast majority of

the above listed items as well as luxury agricultural goods like honey, milk, cream, and butter were produced solely for the market (Safvet, 1925, p. 54). In an interesting and off-hand remark, Safvet noted that certain local varieties of bread (*bazlama*) and cured meat (*besi*) typically offered to guests had largely disappeared from villager's tables since the onset of war, a notable decline in the goodwill and so-called guest hospitality (*misafirperverlik*) of the local population likely attributable to resource scarcity and price increases. In short, the decline of the population's health and well-being produced a reciprocal decline in the region's cultural assets as well.

In another subsection pertaining to local culture, Safvet focused his attention on declining morality in the rural hinterland of Ankara. However, his gaze is narrowly fixated on one form of moral deprivation: the diffusion of prostitution throughout the country:

Prostitution is more prominent in the towns than the villages, though the act of prostitution, typically undertaken in a clandestine way, is gradually becoming more visible and has lead to the breakdown of morals (fesad-i ahlak) (p. 56).

Safvet detailed several reasons for this influx, all essentially attributable to outside interference in the livelihoods of the local population. Wartime had stimulated only one economy in Anatolia: the production of widows. In Safvet's depiction, these hapless rural women, in desperation "entered into service (housemaid, etc) with anyone and everyone" and became victims to the "deceptions of men" (1925, p. 56). Other widows were married off to younger boys (between the ages of 10-16) who ultimately divorced them when the age gap

between bride and groom became apparent (1925, p. 56). Circumstances such as these were allegedly commonplace according to Safvet's report and a primary source of moral contamination via prostitution as a result of destitution. However, Safvet also attributed a greater threat to the wellbeing of the state to these women, of which more will be said below.

In a final cultural geography component of the third section, pertaining to traditional practices (*ananat*), Safvet introduced a highly gendered point of problematization to which he would return in the final sections of the report: birth. This section is especially notable as it begins to lay the foundation for part of his overall regulatory vision with respect to population, health, hygiene, and sanitation in Turkey. In addition, the reader is introduced to a primary personified threat to the population and state: the unlicensed *ebe* or *kabile*, i.e.. the midwife. Safvet argued that, while a majority of the population had adopted the use of licensed midwives as part of the birthing process, in rural areas unlicensed and "ignorant" midwives were still common (1925, p. 58).

The author took issue with several actions undertaken by unlicensed midwives including methods for inducing labor (*ağşiyeyi temzik etme*) and vomiting during labor. He also questioned the value of other traditional birthing rituals such as the use of popular religious and folkloric incantations, e.g. "*Fatma ana eli*" and "*yürü melâikeler çocuğu yürütsün!*" (1925, p. 58) and critically elaborated on a common tradition of placing '*bebe toprağı*' or heated clay (bentonite) in the bed of the new mother (*lohusa*) as well as the swaddling cloths of the infant. Safvet did not fully explain what exactly he found so reprehensible about these practices, aside from the fact that the women who are carrying them out were not licensed state practitioners and were not subject to regulation via bureaucrats or overseeing (male) doctors. In his estimation, villagers

were not necessarily beholden to these practices themselves; rather, they acquiesced to the authority of unlicensed midwives simply due to a lack of proper information regarding their negligence and potential harm. Furthermore, he argued that very little information was available regarding rates of infection and death in infants and new mothers following birth, ostensibly due to this lack of oversight (1925, p. 58). The circular reasoning here is of note. Unlicensed midwives were undoubtedly the source of innumerable (literally unaccounted for, as opposed to a recorded epidemic of) infant deaths. Under such conditions, regulation and licensing were the only logical solutions.

In general, his argument was that the population was not indisposed to accepting the services of doctors or modern medicine; instead, he viewed the lack of customary practice regarding regular doctor visits as more of a structural deficiency attributable to lack of state provided intervention and infrastructure (Safvet, 1925, p. 64). Due to a lack of doctors providing medicine and consultation, Safvet argued that these villagers had been left to their own devices. He used the example of traveling doctors distributing medicines for treating syphilis and the decline in reliance on traditional and ineffective syphilis treatments (*e.g.* *tütsü* or incense) to argue that modern medicine had placed the country's salvation from syphilis within the "realm of possibility" (Safvet, 1925, p. 64). His message was clear; if the state developed and supported these efforts and promoted them widely, the population would not only accept them, but desire them. In essence, there wasn't any local opposition to the state's biopolitical gaze; unquestioning acceptance of expert medical authority was merely a matter of access.

In the closing of section three, entitled "the population's bodily constitution," Safvet provided a seemingly off-hand summation that served as the biopolitical motif of the entire text.

He briefly remarked: “while due to the hardships of war one may not encounter many who possess the physique of our fathers, those who possess strong bodies are not few” (Safvet, 1925, p. 65). It was the task of the state to ensure that this limited quantity of strong bodies would become many.

2.2b Gendered governmental discourses in the *Medical and Social Geographies*

To be sure, Safveti expended great time and effort articulating the contaminated and irregular conditions of the villages of central Anatolia in and around the site of the young Republic's new capital, Ankara, as they contributed to the enfeebling of the population. In his volume of the MSG, dilapidated and in some instances non-existent sewers (*lağım*), the unplanned and irregular siting of cemeteries (*mezarlık*), an abundance of both naturally occurring wetlands and swamps (*bataklık, sazlık*), as well as man-made reservoirs associated with rice cultivation (*çeltik tarlası*) are catalogued, described, and mapped in what might as well be called a compendium of diseased Anatolia. Each of these renderings bears the typical mantra of the early 20th century state, i.e. technological and scientific modernization as a means for “healing the land and the nation” (Sufian, 2008).

However, from the perspective of governmentality, such biopolitically oriented developmental imperatives enrolled and co-constituted ideal national bodies and spaces. To facilitate this effort, clear distinctions between ‘healthful’ and ‘diseased’ environments, practices, and bodies needed to be detected, diagnosed, diagrammed and charted, treated or cured, legislated, demonstrated, learned and adopted, and replicated. While the general population was called to task for the detrimental consequences of their ignorance to the health of the national population and its environment, women were especially targeted by the modern medical-sanitary gaze of the state. The female ‘body-in-space’ has frequently been a focus of said governmental gaze, particular with respect to the production of what could best be described as sanitary citizenship, i.e. the promotion of *a* national body for *the* national body. In the case of the MSG,

the female body-in-space was drawn upon for illustrative and educational purposes. For example, the connections drawn between (female) prostitution and the infiltration and diffusion of the ‘foreign’ intruder syphilis were especially prominent and have recently been attended to in critical detail both with respect to central Anatolia (Evered, E.Ö and Evered, K.T., 2013; 2011; Evered, K.T. and Evered, E. Ö., 2012a; 2012b; 2011) as well in the former imperial capital of Istanbul (Wyers, 2012).

Yet this gendered trope was not exclusively applied to the example of syphilis and in fact reveals a wider, complex, and interwoven relationship between female bodies, public and private spaces, and the governmental imperatives of the Turkish state pertaining to health and sanitation that remain powerfully relevant today. Women, typically in their traditionally demarcated domestic spaces, were frequently singled out in Dr. Muslihiddin (Safvet)’s depictions of the unsanitary conditions of Anatolia. For example, it was women who were misusing the public fountains (çeşme) by washing laundry and allowing their filthy children to wallow in the waters, ignorantly and needlessly exposing the entire population of a village to the scourges of cholera, typhoid, and typhus.

For Dr. Muslihiddin (Safvet), merely one example of an expanding contingent of public figures who straddled the boundaries between professional medicine and legislation, women were an important, perhaps the most important, facet to the success of the modern Turkish state. However it was clear even in the preliminary works of the *Geographies* that not all women would fit this requirement and only those willing and able to subject themselves fully to re-education and professionalization would be of use. Dr. Muslihiddin only began to elaborate upon this in the final sections of his publication, i.e. the themes of health, domestic space, and

women as sanitary citizens or warriors in the various ‘struggles’ and ‘wars’ that the Turkish state was launching, both against infectious diseases as well as unhygienic behaviors, e.g. the so-called “Struggle with Tuberculosis” (*veremle mücadele*) later renamed as “The Defense Against Tuberculosis” (*vereme karşı müdafaa*) and later the “Tuberculosis War” (*verem savaşı*) as well as campaigns for the protection of the nation’s youth (*çocuk koruması/esirgemesi*) which frequently focused on topics like midwife practices, breastfeeding, and child-rearing

The fifth section of the *Medical and Social Geographies* is dedicated to the identification of disease threats and their distribution across the region. The power of this section is in its ability to reinforce a widespread geographical imaginary of illness, malnutrition, and bodily deficiency throughout Anatolia and to set the stage for intervention, reclamation, and re-education. The introductory portion of the fifth section is matter-of-fact, opening with a reference to the widespread existence of parasite oriented skin infections (*da-ül cereb*), and intestinal problems (*didan-i em’a*), tapeworms (*tenya askarid*), as well as femoral hernias (*fitik mağbeniye*).

The author attributed these destructive ailments to a dramatic reduction in the availability of inexpensive soap during the course of World War I and the Struggle for Independence that followed. Additionally, he noted that the digestive tract parasites were likely attributable to the consumption of raw vegetables irrigated by waters contaminated with sewage due to the previously mentioned lack of adequate sewer infrastructure, as well as the washing of fruits and vegetables with contaminated water. Trachoma and acute swelling around the eyes are also reportedly encountered in most villages (Safvet, 1925, p. 90). Although not explicit, the

attention paid to improperly carried out domestic chores as a likely source of contamination is apparent.

After a brief explanation of seasonal illnesses like the common cold (*zükam*) and pneumonia (*zat-ür-rie*), extensive sections pertaining to the incidence of syphilis (*frengi*) and malaria (*sitma*) were included. Evered and Evered have provided detailed discussions of both syphilis and malaria and with respect to the later have also noted the way in which the disease was framed by practitioners tasked with carrying out the work of the MHSA and how this framing emphasized syphilis as a national threat best controlled via the legislation of female bodies, regulated prostitution, and the enforcement of pre-marital health exams for both males and females (Evered, E.Ö. & Evered, K.T., 2013; Evered, K.T. & Evered, E.Ö., 2012b). The rhetorical style of this portion of section five steered noticeably more toward the dramatic and poetic than compared with what preceded it:

Due to a lack of medical examinations of prostitutes coming to Ankara as a result of its relationship with other big cities like İstanbul, Bursa, and İzmir, our youth and by extension the core of our society has been gnawed away at (p. 90).

As demonstrated by Wyers (2012), prostitution was not necessarily deemed at fault for the rampant diffusion of this “society gnawing” disease; rather, it was considered a necessary evil or safety valve for the preservation of virtuous women and maintenance of virtuous spaces from the baser (yet apparently uncontrollable either biologically or legally) sexual proclivities of males. It was unregulated prostitution, or prostitution lacking oversight by a governmental

‘Peeping Tom,’ that was the true threat to the well-being of the population. As long as prostitutes were licensed and registered, and as long as all men and women received a thorough medical examination prior to marriage, then the disease could be considered controllable. These were massive regulatory steps in the opening up of the body to governmental discipline. While the socio-economic conditions that preclude prostitution are alluded to, in reference to women who were thrown into poverty as a result of wartime, little is said about the possibility of promoting programs for government assistance from this perspective. Finally, the increasing social stigmatization of syphilis in this era was mentioned by Dr. Muslihiddin as it pertained to the reluctance of individuals of higher social standing to seek examination or treatment.

Beyond the national threats posed by syphilis and malaria in Anatolia was that of tuberculosis (*verem*), the third of four “vicious monsters” that were poised to undo the health and stability of the Turkish nation (these monsters included syphilis, gonorrhea, tuberculosis, and malaria; Galip, 1929). According to Dr. Muslihiddin, the burden of tuberculosis was moderate in and around Ankara, however co-morbidity with malaria increased the prevalence of the disease in areas dominated by both natural and man-made wetlands on the one hand, while on the other hand the disease’s relatively recent socio-economic contributing factors were also acknowledged; that is, “physiological weakness is increasing due to poverty and depravation” (Safvet, 1925, p. 103). In addition, he criticized certain morally ambiguous social behaviors such as alcoholism and public spitting as contributing factors to the spread of the disease and argued for their inclusion as objects of intensive public awareness campaigns.

However, it is in the domestic sphere where the intolerable spread of the disease was considered most reprehensible and entirely preventable. Streets and public spaces were

characterized generally as sites of rampant and uncontrollable contagion due to a plethora of spitting, coughing villagers who “impelled by ignorance” (*saik-ı cehaletle*) splatter phlegm and bacilli as they go about their daily activities:

As they lack knowledge for protecting themselves against tuberculosis, villagers and some urban dwellers have exacerbated the contagion. The tubercular do not see the harm in splattering their phlegm everywhere. The tendency of the bacillus to remain in the home and perpetuate amongst other members of the family is dependent upon those inflicted who, after wrapping their sputum in a rag, toss them here and there throughout the home (Safvet, 103).

While not explicitly referenced here, in many of the public health brochures and instructional pamphlets that the state will produce in line with recommendations made by practitioners like Dr. Muslihiddin (Safvet), clear gendered distinctions are made between particular types of behaviors that contribute to infection and diffusion of tuberculosis in different spaces. The public spheres remain generally unregulated aside from suggestions such as the carrying of personal spittoons and the call for increased ventilation and open space construction (open air schools for example). Much of the onus of prevention is centered on the domestic space and, by an extension of the prevailing logic, over the behavior of women. Men and women are both shown to have particular roles to play in the state’s burgeoning struggle with tuberculosis. However, when it comes to the population demarcated by the state as most valuable, i.e. children, women as front line warriors were of the utmost importance; that is, so long as they are able to conform to the new sanitary regime.

The sixth and final portion of the MSGA is a demographic analysis of the province, emphasizing primarily births and deaths but also including information on marriage and divorce. Dr. Muslihiddin (Safvet) critiqued the population bureau of the prior Ottoman regime for keeping incomplete and erroneous records of the demographic characteristics of Ankara and its surroundings. For example, according to his accounting, infant births and deaths that were tallied lacked “credibility” and were overall “deficient” as they were self-reported by locals lacking the oversight of government officials or officially registered doctors and midwives. The MHSA’s first year of recorded monthly births is included as a chart, however Dr. Muslihiddin (Safvet) complained that these population figures were likely quite low. He argued that, due to a lack of legal force to back up census taking as carried out by professionals, any biopolitical statistics that are gathered would remain highly suspect and relatively useless:

If everyone were obliged to regularly report births on a day-to-day basis and if non-compliers had been dealt with via legal proceedings, a solid statistical arrangement might have been possible. Instead, the sole outcomes of this are as follows: parents of these children, local imams, and mukhtars that fail to report statistics regarding infant birth and death in a timely fashion remain unpunished, research and analysis as to why monthly population decline is progressing (in this category) as compared with the population of the general public is left undone, necessary precautions to stem this decline are not designed and implemented, and civil servants, especially census officials, with the knowledge and authority to draft population charts are in short supply when needed (p. 54).

With respect to the state's biopolitical imperatives, Turkey was not unique in its efforts to emphasize demographic capacities and deficiencies, as similar patterns of intense government-sponsored investigation and legislation of population dynamics were attendant features of newly modernizing states throughout the 19th and early 20th century, especially when the targeted population was children (Schafer, 1997). In addition, while the statistical analysis of population is not unique to any single governmental form, it is especially salient in countries with characteristically authoritarian governmental systems (Ipsen, 1996).

Statistical analysis, a relatively new form of governmental control in the early twentieth century, was increasingly deployed as a means of communicating and condensing complex bodies of information about populations in the field, frequently in visual form, as a means for conveying simplistic and clear descriptions of and solutions to assorted problems of governance back to the metropole (Hannah, 2000; Scott, 1998). Several such tables and figures are included in the *Medical and Social Geographies*, as Evered and Evered have demonstrated, largely due to an increased interest in the ethnographic and infographic methods of French sociologist Frédéric Le Play (Evered, E.Ö. & Evered, K.T., 2013; Evered, K.T. & Evered, E.Ö., 2012b); however from an immediately practical standpoint, these graphics were deemed essential instructional tools for initiating the “great tasks” of public health and population decline (Safvet, 105). These instructional tools, as well as the physician/ethnographer's own depictions of health and wellness in the village, clearly indicate which culprits are some of the most dangerous to the health and well being of the new republic; diseased and negligent, “ignorant” women engaging in tasks that should be set aside solely as professionalized medical spaces (Safvet, 106).

Dr. Muslihiddin's passion and disgust are evident in these final sections pertaining almost

exclusively to problems associated with midwives (*ebelik, kabile*) and nursing via bottles (*irzâ'-i sinâî* or 'artificial breastfeeding') or from contaminated sources:

Throughout the course of 40 pregnancies, local, ignorant midwives who see fit to deploy superstitious methods upon mothers and infants have exacerbated these circumstances as they lack the knowledge to raise children and have caused an increase in infant mortality (p. 106).

He goes on, stating that it seemed appropriate to provide, in detail, an account of the shocking and disturbing predicament of the nation's children in Anatolia, at the hands of their caretakers:

The death of children under the age of seven (sinn-i tufuliyyette vefeyat, literally deaths in children at the age of losing their baby teeth, approximately designated as seven) is in a staggering condition. It is necessary that this matter of the utmost importance be prevented, or else the day-to-day decline of the general population is assured. Beginning from infancy, let us investigate at what age and under which circumstances child mortality increases (p. 106).

Here, a more detailed investigation of the spatial and temporal (seasonal) variations of infant mortality was called for as mortality rates were not very consistent throughout the formative years of a nursing child (Safvet, 106). Numerous examples were provided of what was generally seen as the detrimental effects of "ignorant" as opposed to rational or scientific motherhood. For example, during the summer:

Despite a cornucopia of available fresh produce, ignorant mothers who lack knowledge of proper children's nutrition, health and hygiene provide poor quality foodstuffs to their offspring by feeding them adulterated produce without considering the appropriateness of this action and, as a result, induce diarrhea. A natural outcome of this is the malnutrition of the general population and the appearance of rickets in the majority of children (106). In short, due to a lack of knowledge of proper child rearing, the highest number of child deaths are as a result of diarrhea (p. 106).

Once again, a chain of rhetorical logical is built that connects constructions of ignorance and motherhood with observations of illness and malnutrition in a segment of the population and articulates this as a general deficiency of society overall, i.e. a national threat constructed from improper bodily regimes; in this case the improper behavior is not merely perpetrated against one's self but on one's helpless offspring idealized as the future of a nation. The advanced presence of bacterial food-borne illnesses were seen unequivocally as a function of negligent and uneducated childrearing behaviors whereas any reflection on the larger socio-economic conditions of this region (which at least received passing mention in prior sections) due to the destruction and depravation wrought by wartime remained wholly absent. More specifically, while the provision of 'adulterated' fruits was seen as the main culprit in the epidemic wave of diarrhea in children, the source of this adulteration was left to the speculation of the reader. While it was perhaps attributable to the same contaminated water sources mentioned previously, it was unclear based off of the analysis provided in this report as to whether or not the fruits were

contaminated in production or after harvest via washing. Regardless, Dr. Muslihiddin emphasized that although a decline in infant mortality rates is typically observed after age one, this single misdeed likely resulted in the prolongation of high rates of infant mortality in Turkey beyond the first year of life.

It is interesting to note that fault is not only found with mothers of lower socio-economic standing as reported in the *Medical and Social Geographies*. After his anecdotal example of food-borne diarrhea, Dr. Muslihiddin shifted the focus to bottle feeding (*sinâî ırzâ'*), which is described as a primary cause of the formation of an array of childhood diseases. According to his report, children nursed via bottle and formula are at risk of malnutrition, food-poisoning, and other assorted ailments of the stomach and intestines. Motherhood is cast as a site of regulatory guidance and proper education, as untold evils are scattered throughout the slovenly spaces of the mother who has shirked her domestic responsibilities:

Later on, when they began to crawl or to take their first steps, children place untold dirty objects that they find in their mouths and contract infectious and non-infectious diseases. For want of a few minutes of comfort, these mothers are severely punished due to their neglect by way of the fevers experienced by their children (p. 108).

2.3 Governing healthful domestic spaces as healthful national spaces

In statements that approach a biblical tenor, the micro-spatial discourses of the *Medical and Social Geographies* have rendered domestic space, essentialized as women's or maternal space, as a site of ever-present harm for children via the twin scourges of disease and neglect. While there is no malice attributed to the actions of these women through the environment they provide their children, the neglect of mothers and midwives is passively yet perhaps more powerfully conceived as simply a lack of knowledge regarding proper and scientific methods of childcare and domestic sanitation. This contrasts sharply with the commonly held yet competing narrative of motherhood as a genetically encoded trait, as well as historical treatments of midwifery and wet-nursing as essential and noble functions of Islamic society (Giladi, 2010). The mother who is not constantly vigilant over her domestic dominion leaves her family and by extension the nation open to calamity.

After briefly chronicling a series of other medical conditions that threaten children upon their entrance into school (scoliosis, chronic headaches, poor appetite, insomnia, nervous breakdowns, palpitations, huntington's disease, nervous tics, and variable outbreaks of tuberculosis, Dr. Muslihiddin outlined a series of preventative measures necessary to limit morbidity and mortality in children from birth through adolescence and to best provide for their future health and well-being:

1. Infants are exposed to various harmful disease-causing bacteria during birth. The mother's exposure to injury or illness impedes a child's access to breast milk. Therefore, as it is

crucial that mothers be carefully attended to in the struggle with infant disease, only care provided by a licensed midwife is acceptable.

2. Incidence of bacterial infections in infants should be kept to a minimum. In newborn children, the first pathway to infection is via the umbilical cord (sürre). Therefore, precautions in the cutting of the umbilical cord are mandatory preventative conditions, as tetanus (kazıklı humma) and other infections (kih-i mikroblar) are contractable during this time.

3. The newborn child is especially susceptible to bacterial exposure via the mouth, nose, and respiratory system (cihaz-i teneffüs). For example, diseases like pertussis (boğmaca öksürüğü), diphtheria (kuş palazı), scarlet fever (kızıl), measles (kızamık), and smallpox (çiçek) are contracted this way. These diseases are especially perilous for underweight and malnourished children. It is essential to isolate such children as they are quickly able to spread their infection to others in their surroundings. It is not permissible that men with runny noses and coughs kiss their children. Following the onset of such diseases (hummeyat-i indifaiyye) in families with several children, the immediate quarantine of the exposed child and their clothing is necessary. Mothers and nurses attending to such sick children should have any contact with healthy children.

Yet allow me to present here a contrary plea that stems from a deficiency in the desired result of home quarantine. Siblings of the child that has contracted an infectious disease are immediately sent to neighbors or relatives during the period of quarantine. However, i wonder if the disease remains in a latent state (devr-i tefrih) in these children? It can be assumed a doctor

has not been consulted. Here in the home where the child with the latent infection has gone, the disease suddenly flares up and a second center of diffusion (ikinci bir mihrak-i siraye) has emerged. In this way, a disease that emerged from one point develops into numerous centers of diffusion in various neighborhoods and causes rapid spread of infection that increases child mortality rates. Therefore, sending the siblings of a sick child to separate homes for a one-month period of isolation or going to visit the sick are not appropriate techniques. However, quarantine in one's own home, with the conditions of providing proper sanitation, and securing the consent of a doctor in accordance with law at the onset of disease in a final location may be authorized.

4. Due to the mother's capacity to transmit syphilis and tuberculosis via milk they should be subjected to examination.

5. It has been established that infant mortality is higher in children exposed to nursing via bottle feeding (ırzâ'-i sinâî). In detrimental conditions such as when the mother isn't knowledgeable of when or how much milk to provide or due to a scarceness in the mother's supply of milk, attempted compensation of said deficiency by means of supplementary nutrition in fact exacerbates infant mortality. Moreover, if we include nursing mothers who are forced to work outside the home in order to provide for daily sustenance, in this state there is no doubt that the proportion of infant deaths will increase due to the large hindrance this places on a mother's ability to carefully attend to and monitor her children. In short, due to the inclusion of social poverty which causes the unraveling of the relationship between husband and wife, the negative

effect on the health of children in this condition is self-evident (vareste-i arz ve izah or “unencumbered by presentation or explanation”). With respect to the struggle with these conditions there are two tasks at hand, one of which pertains to doctors and the other to government:

1. The task at hand for doctors is to propagandize as well as explain the preferred and more effective method of breastfeeding as opposed to bottle feeding at conferences, to the press, and to midwives and apprentices;

2. The task at hand for government is the establishment of dairies and their maintenance and safeguarding for providing clean, disease-free, and cheap animal milk as needed for bottle feeding.

6. Attention should be paid to quality nutrition for the conservation and protection of the bodies of mothers. In order to achieve this, assistance needs to be provided to impoverished families and for the provision of temporary care and nutrition in quality establishments for children of mothers who are incapable of feeding them. As the mother’s compassion may keep her from sending her children to such establishments, daily check-ups and breast feedings should be permitted [by said establishments].

7. Social assistance for children should be increased. A high birth rate alone is not sufficient to increase population: however, researching ways to start children who are born off on the right

track is necessary for population increase. In the past, while the task of providing for the protection of women and children has been attempted by religious and private social welfare associations, due to a lack of official governmental services infant mortality has not been prevented. The only solution is to be found in the protection and safeguarding of children under the auspices of the government and for this purpose a “Society for the Protection of Children” or a “Society for the Protection of Children Public Directory” housed within the Ministry for Health and Social Assistance is to be established alongside the assigning of specialist doctors to each establishment. These official departments should open free birth clinics throughout the country, allocate the largest sources of financial assistance to birth, and take custody of children and provide them protection. These types of organizations should be brought into being in whichever provinces, villages, and districts it is possible. In these circumstances, the assistance of humanitarian organizations like the “Protection of Children” may be deemed influential.

In short, this official body will provide for the protection of children from prior to birth until adolescence in accordance with its capabilities and will also take great care in making allocations to schools and ensuring the education and proper upbringing of these children. Done properly, the declining population of our nation’s youth will be prevented and the beneficial outcome of this for the future of our country will be realized (Safvet, p. 109-111).

In the articles translated above, essentially the closing suggestions offered by Dr. Muslihiddin (Safvet) with respect to the much fretted “population issue” (*nüfus meselesi*) faced by the new republic in the post-war years, several connections were drawn between disease, the

role of women, the protection of children, and the government's stake in the preservation of the national body. As is to be expected, the bacteriological transition reigned supreme in the medicalizing of the macro and micro spaces of the state with extra emphasis placed on the need for the state's increasingly drastic intervention in the previously quite personal activities of birth and child-rearing. While only brief outlines, these 7 statements highlight the dominant fronts that were being promoted in the twin struggles with disease and depopulation: children's and female bodies (both physical and in terms of forms or structures of knowledge and practice).

Women in Turkey were dissected like medical cadavers, and attention was paid to their constituent beneficial and detrimental components. On the one hand, the *body* of the woman was highly valorized as an object of preservation and state intervention; however, this valorization was simultaneously tied to its framing as a vessel for birth. At the same time, the spaces women occupy, both physically and cognitively (i.e. the domestic space and domestic habits) were scrutinized and heavily criticized beneath the physician's microscope. Disease in the home was essentially rendered a failure of women, whether mother or midwife. Once problematized as such, the doors of these domestic abodes were thrown open, albeit gradually, for state observation, intervention, and re-organization.

In this section, I also detailed how the second stage of governmentality, i.e. normative judgement, is discursively deployed as a means for realizing the regulatory third stage. Just as the fledgling Turkish state would adopt a militaristic and paternalistic stance toward an assortment of national struggles and wars with disease (trachoma, syphilis, malaria, tuberculosis, etc), a domestic and maternal narrative was also being cultivated toward the population. Children were reframed, not as offspring or even individuals themselves, but as a collective

national future or resource and as such a worthwhile objective of governmentality. This preservation was largely predicated on a set of specifications that fixed particular spaces of regulation (the home, the school) and dictated particular subject positions (scientific and professional motherhood and midwifery).

This emphasis on the discursive stylings of the *Medical and Social Geographies* should not be read as an attempt to downplay the importance of advancements in health and medicine in relation to the well-being of state populations and concerns about the social and territorial integrity of newly developing state formations; instead, following a long line of governmentality studies, this particular approach is meant to highlight the formation of said discourses in relation to newly popularized medical technologies and terminologies and assess how particular populations (i.e. women and children) were especially important and/or vulnerable to the creation and deployment of these discourses.

In the chapters that follow, similar discursive formations will be examined as they emerged from arguably one of the most important medico-bureaucrats of the early republican era, Dr. Besim Ömer. In particular, Besim Ömer's status as the so-called "godfather of modern obstetrics" and his emphasis on social factors such as marriage and "scientific motherhood" reveal quite a lot about the mentalities of government in the early Republic with respect to the "problem of population" and the protection of children as vital resources for the health and well-being of the nation.

APPENDIX

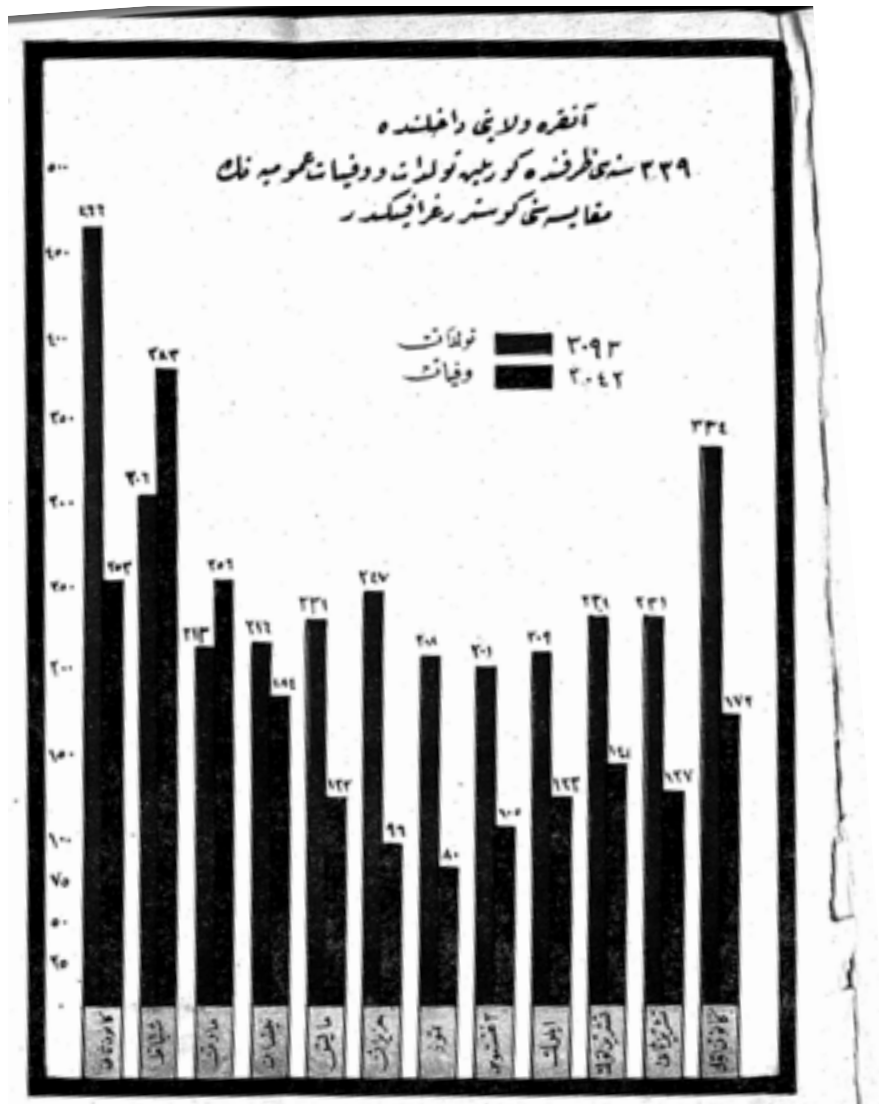


Figure 1: **Graph of Birth and Death Rates in Ankara Province, 1923.** From the *Medical and Social Geographies* (Safvet, 1341/1925, p. 129).

Graphic depicting births and deaths in the in Ankara Province in the year 1923. In each column, which is arranged horizontally along the x-axis from left to right by month, births are depicted on the left and deaths on the right. The highest number of births indicated occurred in January (466) and the highest number of deaths occurred in February 383. Notice that deaths also surpass births in February and March. Dr. Safvet attributed this to the confluence of illnesses during the early spring months.



Figure 2: **Map of Malarial Areas Around the Borough of Keskin.** From *The Medical and Social Geographies* (Safvet, 1341/1925, p. 131).

A map depicting malarial areas in the town of Keskin to the southeast of Ankara. The town of Kalecik is in the north and Bala is to the west. Swamps (bataklik) are indicated areas with a grid pattern overlay and Keskin is indicated by the 'bullseye' symbol.

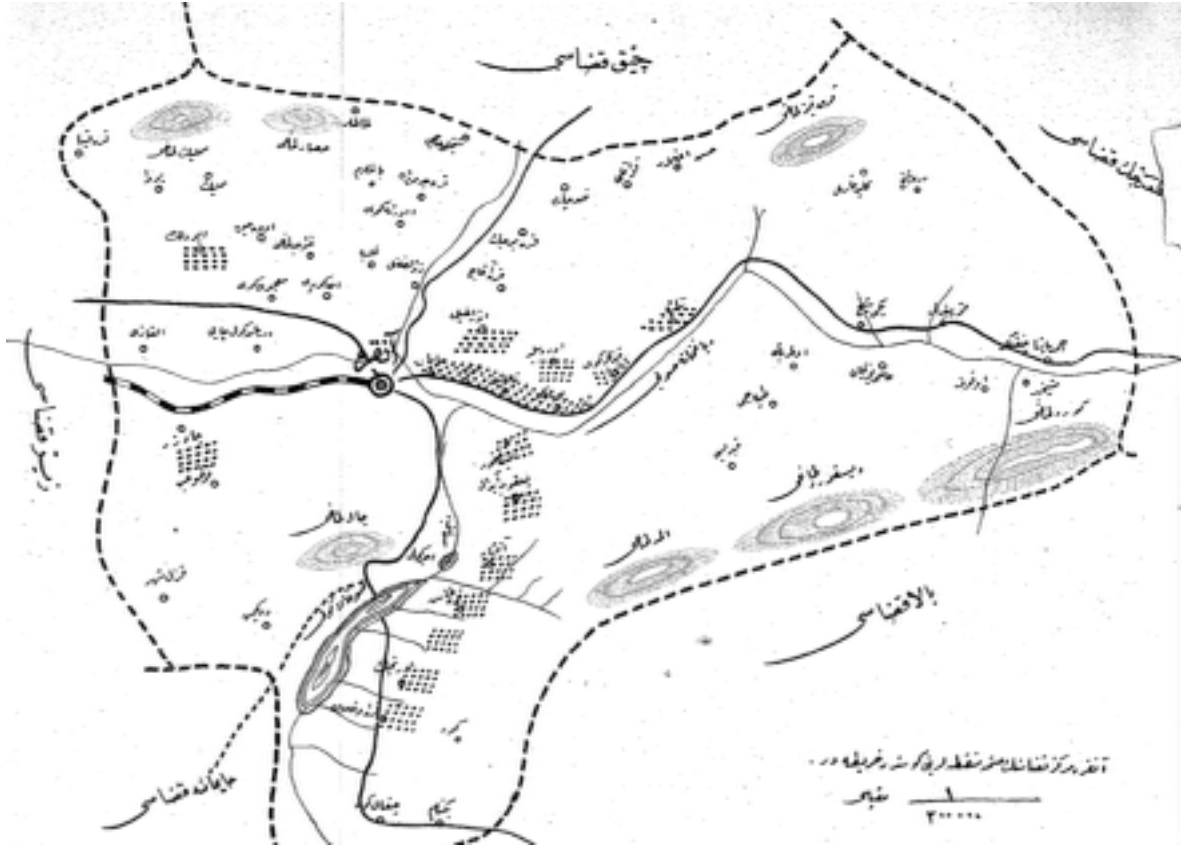


Figure 4: **Map of Malarial Areas Around the Central Borough of Ankara.** From *The Medical and Social Geographies* (Safvet,1341/1925, p. 139).

A map depicting malarial areas in and around central Ankara. The town of Haymana is to the southwest and Bala is to the southeast. Swamps (bataklik) are indicated areas with a grid pattern overlay and Ayaş is indicated by the bullseye.

| ملاحظات | وفیات | | طلاق و ازدواج | | تولدات | | اسامی شهر |
|---------|-------|------|---------------|---------------|-------------|-------------|------------|
| | یکون | | عدد طلاق | عدد ازدواج | یکون | | |
| | اناث | ذکور | | | عدد اناث | عدد ذکور | |
| | ۶۶ | ۸۶ | ۷ | ۲۲۷ | ۲۰۸ | ۱۲۶ | کانون ثانی |
| | ۵۰ | ۵۷ | ۹ | ۲۱۶ | ۶۱ | ۸۴ | شباط |
| | ۱۰۶ | ۱۵۰ | ۳۴ | ۲۲۹ | ۸۱ | ۱۳۲ | مارت |
| | ۷۵ | ۱۰۹ | ۲۷ | ۱۶۱ | ۸۹ | ۱۲۷ | نیسان |
| | ۳۹ | ۷۳ | ۱۹ | ۱۸۱ | ۹۷ | ۱۳۴ | میس |
| | ۳۴ | ۶۲ | ۲۱ | ۲۰۲ | ۱۰۵ | ۱۳۲ | حزیران |
| | ۳۰ | ۵۰ | ۳۷ | ۲۸۲ | ۹۸ | ۱۱۰ | تموز |
| | ۴۸ | ۵۷ | ۱۷ | ۵۳۳ | ۹۰ | ۱۱۱ | آگستوس |
| | ۴۵ | ۷۸ | ۲۰ | ۱۷۰ | ۱۰۶ | ۱۰۳ | ایلول |
| | ۴۷ | ۸۰ | ۶۱ | ۲۳۳ | ۱۰۸ | ۱۲۳ | تشرین اول |
| | ۵۴ | ۸۷ | ۳۶ | ۳۶۲ | ۱۰۳ | ۱۲۷ | تشرین ثانی |
| | ۷۵ | ۹۷ | ۳۸ | ۴۶۱ | ۱۴۷ | ۲۸۷ | کانون اول |
| | ۶۶۹ | ۹۸۶ | ۳۲۵ | ۲۷۵۷ | ۱۱۹۳ | ۱۵۰۶ | یکون |

Figure 5: **Biopolitical Chart.** From *The Medical and Social Geographies* (Safvet, 1341/1925, p. 120).

The chart depicts birth, marriage, divorce, and death statistics by month and by gender in Ankara.



Figure 6: **Tuberculosis and Children.** Cover to *Tuberculosis is Preventable* (1953, author's collection).

Typical medical brochure released by the Turkish Ministry for Health and Social Assistance with support from the United States via the Marshall Plan.



Figure 7: **Child with Contaminated Hands.** From *Tuberculosis is Preventable* (1953, author's collection).

"This child is placing his hands in area contaminated by microbes. If he puts his hands in his mouth he may become infected." One should take note of the adult figures standing negligently behind the child in many of these images (p. 35).



Figure 8: **Child in the Dirt.** From *Tuberculosis is Preventable* (1953, author's collection).

"If we do not bury objects contaminated by microbes deep in the ground, this child here will dredge them up and soil her hands; afterwards, the child may place her dirty hands in her mouth and become ill" (p. 14).



Figure 9: **Spreading Tuberculosis from the Elderly to the Young.**
From *Tuberculosis is Preventable* (1953, author's collection).

Tuberculosis that may not be apparent in the elderly can easily be spread to children (p. 19). A cautionary note for mothers to be ever vigilant, even around elders in the family.



Figure 10. **Contaminating the Home.** From *Tuberculosis is Preventable* (1953, author's collection).

The hearth of the home invaded by tuberculosis is quickly extinguished (p. 17). This vivid imagery highlights the emphasis placed on the preservation and defense of the domestic space from contagious disease and contamination.



Figure 11: **Danger in the Domestic Space.** From *Tuberculosis is Preventable* (1953, author's collection).

If there are microbes in the dust drawn up from the floor, they may fill the nose and mouth. Tuberculosis is contracted in such a fashion (p. 48). An image that evokes a dominate state sponsored narrative which genders the spread of disease and designates the domestic space as a primary site of contamination.



Figure 12: **Fighting a National Scourge.** Cover to *Tuberculosis in Children* (1933, author's collection).

This image symbolically highlights the heightened anxiety regarding the threat that contagious diseases like tuberculosis posed to the children and thus the future of the nation. In other versions of this image, Atatürk replaces the muscled man rescuing the child.



Figure 13: **Tuberculosis is the Enemy of Man.** From *Turkish National Institute for the Campaign Against Tuberculosis* (1948, author's collection).

There is no mercy for tuberculosis, continue the fight...
 Typical propaganda poster in the war against tuberculosis (*verem*). The standard spatial and gendered modes of contraction and precautionary methods are also highly visible in this image.

Chapter 3

A shriek in the wasteland: governmental narratives of gender, nation, health and place in the novels of Yakup Kadri Karaosmanoğlu

3.1 Geography, literature, and governmentality

While a detailed explanation of Foucault's transition from discipline(s) to biopolitics and governmentality along with a discussion of the spatial emphasis and geographic deployment of these concepts beginning roughly in the 1990s was provided in the opening chapter, I will briefly extend this discussion of governmentality and biopolitics by considering a few key insights from the relationship between geography and literature as well. This section facilitates the focused critical reading of two seemingly different yet similarly configured texts that reveal the production of governmental objects, i.e. the previously assessed *Medical and Social Geographies of Ankara* by Muslihiddin Safvet and the medical texts of Dr. Besim Ömer (Akalın) with the novels *Yaban* and *Ankara* by Yakup Kadri Karaosmanoğlu.

As described in the literature review, geographers have taken an increasing interest in Foucault's work due to the spatial implications of governmentality and biopolitics. More specifically, for political, cultural, and historical geographers interested in the historical constitution of state formations and management of populations, "by weaving the problematic of governmentality into a *geo-historically specific tale* (my emphasis), it is possible to give real analytical bite to the superficially obvious claim that state formation must be inherently geographical" (Hannah, 2000, p. 2). I have emphasized the phrase *geo-historically specific tale*

in order to call attention to the bipolitical imperatives present in various texts produced by the young Turkish Republic as a means for establishing the health, hygiene, and sanitation of rural populations as objects of government central to the well-being and longevity of the nation.

While statistical reports and state-sponsored propaganda were frequently utilized as part of this effort, I argue that other types of texts (novels for example) were similarly engaged in the narrative construction and reproduction of governmentality.

Whether ‘scientific’ or ‘literary,’ despite superficial differences in style, these governmental modalities frequently produced parallel and generally complementary narratives, especially with respect to certain governmental objects (e.g., infant morality, nursing and child care, unregulated midwives, etc). While the linkage between governmentality and literature from the perspective of a geographic study is of primary importance here, it is of use to first consider some of the other influential ways that literature and geography have interacted.

3.1a Geographic perspectives on critical deployments of literature

Upon reflecting on the topography of a map of North America, Laura Dassow Walls ruminated, as numerous critical cartographic theorists before her have done (Harley, 2002; Pickles, 2004; Wood, 1992) on the seemingly self evident spaces of the map. With a bit of historical knowledge about the discipline of cartography (and, in fact, very little subterfuge or obfuscation), the map simultaneously calls to mind its own spatial elisions. Drawing on Alexander Von Humboldt's claim that both languages and landforms must acknowledge that "their form is their history", Walls noted that both the represented and real landscapes are in constant flux, "in a reciprocal and unfolding dynamic with no traces of a beginning and no end in sight" (Walls, 2011, p. 860).

For the cultural and historical geographer, these statements are neither controversial nor novel. Walls has advocated for, alongside fellow postmodern spatial theorists Henri Lefebvre, David Harvey, Doreen Massey, and Edward Soja, an "interpretative significance of space" that functions as an active rather than passive constituent of the social; a concept widely accepted within the discipline and which traces its lineage back to some of the earliest proponents of critical cultural geography (Walls, 2011, p. 861). That being said, Walls has drawn attention to a relatively under-utilized and perhaps thinly theorized aspect of the dialectic between spatial reality and representation: the role of literature within geography and the spatial implications of text (not to be confused with, yet not entirely distinct from, the reading of landscape AS text) (Cosgrove and Daniels, 1988).

This collection of scholars with diverse interests coming from within and outside of geography have attempted to fully explore the hyphenated fusing of *geo-* and *-graphy* as perceived, conceived, and lived space. In this section, I outline a few of the central arguments that have emerged in the liminal space between literature and geography, beginning with some more traditional uses within regional and humanistic geography as well as post-colonial/postmodern critiques of literature in geography, and then consider new engagements with the spatio-literary interface; many of which have emerged from outside of the discipline of geography itself, i.e. eco-criticism and geo-criticism. I conclude by considering the implications of considering literatures of governmentality in an historical geographic context.

While this section initially focuses on the traditional uses of literature within geography and addresses primary critiques of these approaches, I also call attention to instances in which more nuanced readings of the spatial within literary studies are required. In addition, I draw attention to one of the more detailed and engaging uses of literary sources, George Henderson's *California and the Fictions of Capital* (2003), by highlighting the ways in which this work addresses several of the fundamental critiques discussed.

3.1b Uses of literature in humanist and regional geography

Due in large part to a stated goal of promoting the imaginative capacities of the human being and associative efforts to transform abstract space into “intensely human place,” (Tuan, 1976, p. 269) regional and especially humanistic geographers have been the primary users of literary sources within geography. It should be noted that a significant portion of critique regarding the use of literary sources by geographers has come from humanistic geographers themselves. For example, J. Douglas Porteous argued that humanistic geographers have almost universally relied on a limited subset of literary forms and specific genres. The novel has dominated geographic inquiry of fictive forms, while poetry, song lyrics, and plays have typically received less attention (1985, p. 117); this is despite the fact that several classic works in related fields like history have devoted considerable attention to (albeit primarily environmental) depictions of place (Grove, 1995; Marx, L., 2000).

Through a simplistic yet informative schema (see figure 1), Porteous demonstrated that the vast majority of literary engagements in geography have promoted particular genres of novel, specifically those he described as being invested in promoting a “sense of place” in typically rural settings. Other spatially destabilizing themes, including exile, “entrapment” (the insider feeling out of place at home) and most surprisingly considering the discipline, “traveller” narratives (a person coming to terms with their own identity in a distant or foreign land) have received considerably less attention (Porteous, 1985, p.119). One of the greatest limitations of this schema is its own displacement of complex socio-spatial interactions within the novel into a

limited subset of categories. I will provide a brief example of this in section two by applying his schema to the multiple spaces and identities inhabited by Yakup Kadri Karaosmanoğlu in *Yaban*.

| | INSIDER | OUTSIDER |
|------|-----------------------------------|---------------------------------------|
| HOME | “sense of place,” typically rural | entrapment, isolation |
| AWAY | traveller, “finding oneself” | exile, journey, yearning, often urban |

Table 1: **Porteous’ Narrative Schema**

More recent critical approaches have addressed the role of literary form as a means for reading into underlying structures of power and knowledges in particular times and specific locations. While each approach has been revelatory, their limitations are illustrative of a larger gulf between the deployment of other textual and non-textual materials within cultural and historical geography. Maps, for example, have been critically evaluated from multiple sites and modes (production, consumption, distribution, etc) and have been treated as textual landscapes, pseudo-scientific artifacts, immutable mobiles, and discourses of power (Dodge, et al., 2009). Other written, non-scientific sources, have received considerably less attention in geography; this is especially true when it comes to fictional texts.

Examining the prior foci of the nexus between literature and geography, i.e. regional, humanistic, and cultural geography, Joanne Sharp outlined the essential shortcomings of each approach. With respect to the humanistic and regional deployment of literary narrative, Sharp noted that:

to many geographers, it seems that the expression of literary writers is pure and natural (drawing from their ‘innate’ intuition, for example), just as 19th century intellectuals saw non-western indigenous peoples as presenting a model of living that was closer to nature and instinct, and unfettered by the expectations of Civilization. The ability of literary authors to evoke the feel or essence of a place or situation is seen as being unfettered by the restrictions imposed by rigorous and structured modes of writing demanded by contemporary (social) science (Sharp, 2000, p. 328).

Due to the seemingly unstructured nature of literary texts (which is arguably more of a disciplinary ignorance on the part of geographers than an actual facet of writing, which ignores literary theory and structures like genre, style, etc) Sharp is drawing attention to the treatment of these materials as pure or authentic articulations of place. This justification is further problematized (adding additional layers of complexity to the real/represented binary) and reinforced by the simultaneous casting of scientific texts as “structured” observations. Sharp draws on Tuan’s own critique, noting that literature is too often seen as a “universal voice” whereby the purpose of literature (broadly speaking) and the meaning of individual literary forms (like the novel) are supposedly known and mutually understood in advance (Sharp, 2000, p. 328). This despite advances in feminist and post-colonial geographic approaches with respect to space, place, and the map, which call attention to the situated knowledges and partial perspectives inherent in any spatial representation/reality and the dialectic relationship that unites them.

Sharp noted that critical cultural geographers have made stronger theoretical arguments regarding the text as a “circuit of culture” or discursive structure capable of producing and reproducing social forms (class, nation, gender). Reading texts in this way reveals the production and dissemination of “imagined geographies.” However, she cautioned against deploying literature in such a way that “mines” the text for theoretical justifications. Sharp also noted that, while some geographers have cherry-picked literary sources for useful place-constructing narratives that reinforced their particular rendering or understanding of a landscape, critical geographic approaches that see the text as a “cultural discourse” run the risk of simply using the text to promote a particular *theoretical* understanding of cultural space (Sharp, 2000, p. 329). As such, it isn’t entirely clear as to what role Sharp envisions for literature in geography.

It seems that the primary concern is that literature not simply be seen as another “source of data” but rather, to see literature as a means for questioning, subverting, and complicating “conventional meaning” both in terms of the way that geographical concepts are deployed, but also through the way that individual pieces of literature themselves are constructed (Sharp, 2000, p. 329). Put simply, the tools and styles of myriad literary forms (i.e. the “textual”), not merely content (i.e. the “literary”), work in tandem to structure knowledge within and about space and place. By only focusing on explicit geographical references within text, the multiple spatial modalities embedded within the paragraphs, lines, and stanzas of text are ignored (Saunders, 2010, p. 437). Literary texts should not simply be utilized to reinforce other depictions of place, as embellishments, decorations, or simply part of a *triangulation* of data sources popular in mixed methods approaches; rather, the nature of the literary text allows an array of new spatial

questions and standpoints to surface. Instead of simply considering the spaces in the text, the spaces of the text are also drawn out.

As I will discuss, much of the groundwork for these new spatial understandings of literature have come from outside of geography (Saunders, 2010, p. 436). For example, Sharp directed attention to the work of literary theorists like Umberto Eco and Roland Barthes. Eco argued that a piece of literature is always “representational” and “incomplete” insofar as a work of fiction requires the reader(s) to make manifest the images described, always in reference to lived or experienced conditions. Thus literary depictions are always hybrid forms constantly engaged in temporal and spatial ‘scale jumping.’ The rural novel morphs between local, national, and global sites which can only ever be manifested partially and which are immediately destabilized as soon as they come into being. Barthes further complicated the author-text-reader-reality relationship by noting that, in juxtaposition to claims about the impossibility of fully depicting reality, truly fictional places can never be created (Sharp, 2000, p. 330). Fiction is always cast from the limited scope of comprehensibility of the author, from preexisting subsets of symbols and sign systems, and from the reader’s preconceived notions of what the novel can and cannot do; all of which can be used in reference to ideas about ideas of place.

Cultural and historical geographers should pay attention to three critical geographic approaches to literary texts as they shift across space; the interaction of “critical reading” (considering the voice of the text or the way in which particular literary forms and devices are capable of evoking hybridized spaces), alongside the activities of writing (the spatial situation of the writer) and audience reception (interpretation and use). Sharp demonstrated this method via Salman Rushdie’s *The Satanic Verses* (Sharp, 2000, p. 331). Angharad Saunders

expands these practices within what she refers to as “textual geographies.” In addition to the points made above, spatial reflections on literature and literary sources should consider shifting and often mobile “spaces of creativity” and the practice of writing, “spaces of showing;” scientific knowledge is typically “shown” as a finished product and usually only to select and discriminating audiences whereas artistic practices like literature are more amenable to a process of gradual or partial unveiling in a variety of settings (Saunders, 2010, p. 443).

Moreover, Saunders suggests that geographers think even more deeply about what it is that they are calling literature. Again, this requires that considerably more attention be paid to the developments of literary theory (Saunders, 2010, p. 438). As I have mentioned, the modes and styles of literature matter. For example, the structure of a novel naturally reinforces a particular conception of space-time, depending on the devices that are mobilized. For example, it seems difficult to conceive of a an experience in ‘real-time’ that is equivalent to the novel that starts *in media res*. Conversely, as opposed to film, the novel can also come closer to approximating the experience of real-time through the sequential presentation of events, both mundane and exciting (Saunders, 2010, p. 439).

However, even more compelling is the notion that the epistemological philosophy undergirding these literary forms allows for fundamentally different interpretations of space when compared with ethnographic reports, topographic charts, and the like. Thus, as Saunders asserted, the novel is neither able nor desires to make an appeal to “accuracy” or objective truth. Instead, it draws attention to perspective, possibility, hypothetical situations, and multiple timelines or parallel realities (Saunders, 2010, p. 440). Other literary devices, such as voice, help to unveil the inner workings of these spatial perceptions (i.e. is the writer using first/direct

experience or third person/omnipotent narrative?) (Saunders, 2010, p. 447). Thus literature recognizes, admits to, and explicitly plays off of the representation/reality juncture in myriad ways. In the following section, the approaches offered by geo-criticism and eco-criticism expand the scope of this argument.

3.1c Ecocriticism and geocriticism

Fiction does not reproduce the real, rather, it detects new virtualities that had remained unformulated which then go on to interact with the real (Prieto, 2012, p. 1).

Professor of Comparative Literature, Eric Prieto alludes to the full scope of possibilities inherent in literature for continuing the geographer's investigative pursuit into the modes and mechanisms of spatial dialectics. Like Sharp and Saunders, Prieto understands literature's capacity to expand the human ability to conceive of alternative understandings of space and place and to think about the world in which we inhabit in previously impossible ways.

One of Prieto's primary concerns is to draw attention to the linkage between two literary subfields that should be of interest to geographers: ecocriticism and geocriticism. Ecocriticism has generally received more attention, although not necessarily from within geography itself, especially since the publication of several seminal works by Lawrence Buell (1995) and the edited collection by Cheryll Glotfelty and Harold Fromm (1996), along with more recent studies attending to post-colonial ecocriticism (Deloughrey, 2011). Considering the broad intersection between the interests of ecocriticism and the various human-environment focused aspects of

geography (e.g. political ecology) it is surprising that little cross-reference exists between the subfields.¹

Ecocriticism assesses human-environmental interaction through a re-reading of texts in order to draw attention to the narrative construction of this relationship and its subsequent impact on both historical and contemporary environmental thinking and praxis. Considering the scope of historical geography from an environmental perspective, the two are equally committed to a fuller understanding, critique, and realignment of the binary opposition between ‘natural’ and ‘human’ environments. If nothing else, both fields (along with environmental history) trace similar lineages which touch upon the evolution of ecological thinking (at least in the Western context) from its precolonial roots, through classic human-environmental commentators from George Perkins Marsh to Rachel Carson’s *Silent Spring* and Raymond Williams’ *The Country and the City* (Cronon, 1995; Harvey, 1996; Merchant, 1980; Worster, 1994).

Prieto contextualizes the silences that exist between ecocriticism and geography by addressing “zones of overlap” between ecocriticism and an emerging geocriticism that might strengthen interdisciplinary ties across fields interested in human-environmental issues.

Geocriticism is usually attributed to the French scholar Bertrand Westphal as well as the more

¹ For examples of the breadth and depth of ecocriticism, see:

Buell, Lawrence. “The Environmental Imagination: Thoreau, Nature Writing, and the Formation of American Culture. Harvard University Press, 1995.

Glotfelty, Cheryll, and Harold Fromm, eds. *The ecocriticism reader: Landmarks in literary ecology*. University of Georgia Press, 1996.

While sometimes criticized for white, Eurocentric approaches that in some instances reify the very “nature writing” genre from which they are attempting to destabilize, more recent works have emphasized a post-colonial approach, for example:

DeLoughrey, Elizabeth, and George B. Handley, eds. *Postcolonial Ecologies: Literatures of the Environment*. Oxford University Press, 2011.

recent works of the American scholar, Robert Tally. Westphal's concern with literary representations of place borrows from the same line of thinking that guided David Harvey in his *Paris, Capital of Modernity* (2003); namely, the instability of meaning in modern times from a spatial perspective. Spatial forms, whether perceived, conceived, or lived, are in constant flux; geocriticism approaches this problematic by considering the value that fictional spaces provide toward understanding 'real' spaces. Spatial fiction(s) (literary or otherwise) should not be conceived of as "distractions," but instead as a "powerful performative function, changing the ways we view the places through which we move, including, and perhaps especially, the places we thought we knew, whose characteristics and 'meaning' had seemed settled once and for all" (Prieto, 2012, p. 3).

While I am primarily concerned with providing an overall theory of "virtual" or "hypothetical" spaces within literary sources, Westphal has laid out a specific typology for engaging in geocritical studies, of which I have merely scratched the surface. In essence, Westphal argues for the place-centric character of the text (in contrast to some of the earlier arguments I have noted) where place depiction itself trumps any specific literary modality. Second, he argued for "multifocalization," i.e. the deployment of multiple narratives about a particular place from as many authors as possible. As also noted by Saunders and Sharp, the point of this endeavor is not merely to select narratives that corroborate preconceived understandings, but to destabilize such assumptions. Mirroring Sauer's landscape approach in which landscapes are seen as palimpsests of human activity (Sauer, 2009) and are read as "text" (Cosgrove & Daniels, 1988) drawing our attention away from the mere surface appearance of a place and away from any assumption that the present condition of a landscape is either

essential or eternal. Finally, echoing the psychogeographic approach, geocriticism appeals to the non-ocular in the represented landscape (i.e. avoiding the privileging of the visual above depictions of other sensory phenomenon) (Prieto, 2012, p. 3-5).

Through the lens of both geocriticism and ecocriticism, without necessarily adopting *in toto* their methods additional perspectives can be added to the geographer's interrogation of space, place, and environment. George Henderson has shown how effective literary texts can be at evoking the simultaneous instability of space and meaning. In his analysis of the flows and logics of capital in transforming social relationships and physical environments in southern California during the early part of the 20th century, Henderson deployed "rural realist" accounts via novels which comment on the agrarian ideals and disruptions associated with capital circulation that have shaped and continue to shape knowledge of and experiences within the valleys and mountains between San Francisco and San Diego (Henderson, 2003). His work is highly evocative of capital's creative destruction due in large part to the use of literary examples.

3.1d Geography, literature, and governmentality

To paraphrase Foucault, governmentality can be thought of as a loose collective arrangement of “institutions, procedures, analyses, reflections, calculations, and tactics” brought together by the state as a means for directing power toward or administering power over the specific target of population for the purpose of generating knowledge about political economy (Foucault, 1991, p. 102). Part of the power of this “ensemble of apparatuses” utilized by the state pertains to its unique capacity and dynamism which Foucault conceives of as “specific” but “complex” (1991, p. 102). Due to this elasticity, an array of shifting technologies and modalities can be enrolled, deployed, and replaced within the ensemble. While the technical tools of the social scientist (survey, chart, map, statistical table, etc) are most commonly thought of as the means by which states generates knowledge about their target populations (Scott, 1999), Foucault’s definition certainly acknowledges the possibility of adopting other “technical” means by which governmental subjects can arrange knowledge.

In his historical geographic study of governmentality in the context of late 19th century United States, Hannah justified his “intensive” as opposed to “extensive” critical reading of the works of Francis Amasa Walker (1840-1897), a key figure not only due to his dedication to the US census, but also through the transformative socio-spatial discourses he articulated. Hannah states that Amasa as ideal governmental subject functions as “ a representative, a nexus of relations” (Hannah, 2000, p. 3). Hannah makes it abundantly clear that, while Amasa is central to his analysis, his purpose was not merely biographical and there is something revelatory in this approach. His method of assessing governmentality in a particular historical-geographical

context shares quite a lot with similar methods of discourse analysis in critical literary studies; from the perspective of historical state formation, Walker's memoirs, notes, charts, and diagrams share common ground with period piece novels of the Gilded Age, just as George L. Henderson demonstrated the parallel narratives between state agricultural policy and literature during the American Progressive Era in *California and the Fictions of Capital* (2003).

As Foucault's method considers both apparatuses and modalities of governmentality, scholars following in his tradition have argued that it is also important to understand circulation, simply described as the way in which governmental techniques move through governable populations (Marx, J., 2011, p. 66). Circulation could also be understood as the method by which governmental techniques are imagined and experimented upon in relation to constantly changing and adapting populations and conditions. In the realm of the governmental imaginary, it is possible to see how literary approaches could be instrumental in excavating the internal logics of governmentality. Put more succinctly, "fiction and verse shape a literary source of governmental thought whenever they associate character with group, population with territory, and administration with defining what it means for a population to be secure, productive, and otherwise well off" (Marx, J., 2011, p. 67). From the perspective of geography, I would also include the conflation of setting (both in space and time) with historical-geographic state formation. Literature, literary forms, authors and literary critics can just as easily function as objects and subjects of governmentality as census takers, doctors, and social scientists.

Several research trajectories connecting literature and governmentality have been outlined. One trajectory places literary texts on par with the work of social scientists as tools by which an array of governmental structures are detailed, "from bureaucratized politics to failed

states” (Marx, J., 2011, p. 68). The purpose of this trajectory, John Marx argues, is not to present arguments about or distinctions between what he describes as “ideal” or “indigenous” expressions of governmentality but rather to demonstrate a range of “impure administrations” (2011, p. 68). For example, while Victorian era novels highlighting the poor conditions of urban dwellers in an industrializing age can be read as supportive of administrative intervention, colonial and postcolonial pieces would be more critically oriented vis a vis regulation (Marx, J., 2011, p. 70). Another more focused trajectory addresses how literature frames target populations and how “language(s) of population better equip (readers) than the language of citizenship to explain how procedures for governing diverse groups work within and beyond the borders of the nation” (Marx, J., 2011, p. 68). Through discourses of population, literature can open up and destabilize governmental narratives across permeable and ethereal boundaries that discourses of nation and state seek to concretize.

A literary work that emphasizes the centrality of population, as plot, narrative, or setting, is also a governmental work, as it too “fleshes out the challenge of governing an aggregation of self-interested individuals” (Marx, J., 2011, p. 72). John Marx provides an example through the comparison of two works by Daniel Defoe: *Robinson Crusoe* (1719) and *A Journal of the Plague Year* (1722). Competing articulations are observable in the enunciative modality, e.g. author; for example, *Robinson Crusoe* can be read as an “exemplary chronicle of the self-regulating individual” whereas *A Journal of the Plague Year* demonstrates chaotic circulation and a lack of self-regulation (2011, p. 72). Governmental logics are by no means restricted to traditionally accepted governmental apparatuses and modalities, and can be extended to a wide array of methods for distribution and internalization within the population (Fusilero, 2000; Van

Alstine, 2012). In the chapter that follows I assess a similar governmental narrative regarding gender, place, health, and nation as it emerged from a different governmental object, i.e. the novels of Yakup Kadri Karaosmanoğlu, specifically *Yaban*.

3.2 Fictional natures: Anatolia, Kadro, and Karaosmanoğlu

Yakup Kadri Karaosmanoğlu, one of the best known authors of early republican Turkey, produced several novels during his tenure as an author, political theorist, politician, and diplomat, most notably *Nur Baba*, *Kıralık Konak*, *Yaban*, and *Ankara*. Born in Cairo in 1889, yet coming to age in Istanbul during the Young Turk era alongside trips to Europe (specifically Switzerland to deal with a bout of tuberculosis in 1916), the experiences of the Balkan Wars, World War I, and the Turkish War for Independence strongly influenced Karaosmanoğlu's perspective and literary style (Serdar 2002). The influences of French philosopher Henri Bergson and the psychoanalytical approaches of Freud are evident throughout his work (Öztürk 2007).

While the nationalistic sentiments of his novels and their critical perspective on the living conditions of post-Ottoman Turkish peasants have been well articulated (Karaömerlioğlu 2002), the intersection between these themes and the environmental and spatial underpinnings of Karaosmanoğlu's Anatolian fictions have received little if any attention. In the second half of this section I outline some of the foundational components of Karaosmanoğlu's intellectual underpinnings (specifically the so-called *Kadro movement*) drawing attention to its explicitly spatial foundations (etatism/devletçilik or statism). I highlight some of the prior critical readings of Karaosmanoğlu's work, specifically *Yaban* and its themes revolving around the apparently unbridgeable divide between Turkey's intellectuals and its peasantry in the early republican era. I then reconsider the novel from both literary and textual readings of space and environment as a

means for blurring the “fictional” and “real” Anatolian landscapes as they narrate governmental themes of health and gender in the new Republic.

Karaosmanoğlu is generally depicted as a Kemalist and close friend of Atatürk. As franchisee of the journal *Kadro*², Karaosmanoğlu has been depicted as a staunch proponent of Kemalist ideology. In fact, his ideologically underpinnings may be more complex and multifaceted. The bulk of *Kadro*'s philosophical principles can be more directly attributed to Şevket Süreyya Aydemir. A few of *Kadro*'s principles deserve articulation, especially in juxtaposition to Karaosmanoğlu's literary renderings of Kemalist ideology. *Kadro* shared many of the late Ottoman era intellectual critiques, (from both within and outside the Ottoman Empire) of the Empire's 'stagnation' and 'decline' as a product of its lagging ability to keep up with the industrializing and expanding European powers and its own internal corruption. It bears mentioning that most modern scholars of the Ottoman Empire have rejected these simplistic notions of imperial decline in favor of more nuanced interpretations of imperial transformation and hybrid forms of governance, consolidation and diffusion of populations, shifting degrees of tolerance for heterogenous population characteristics, and economic competition within and outside of the Empire, alongside the rapid pace of technological innovation and change to which the Ottoman's were no strangers.³

The *Kadro* writers claimed that all similarities with former critiques of the Empire were largely superficial in that the prior intellectual critiques (Young Turk and otherwise) lacked

² *Kadro* is the Turkification of cadre; in this instance, it specifically refers to a group of bureaucratic intellectuals envisioned as the overseers of a uniquely Turkish articulation of etatism, i.e. devletçilik

³ Barkey, Karen. *Empire of difference*. Cambridge University Press, 2008.

Tezcan, Baki. *The Second Ottoman Empire: Political and Social Transformation in the Early Modern World*. Cambridge University Press, 2010.

significant theoretical foundation and consistency. Moreover, for *Kadro*, economics was the primary driver behind their philosophy, although they were also careful to distinguish themselves from both the socialists and fascists on numerous grounds (Türkeş 1998). It must be noted that the rejection of these competing ideologies may have in part turned on larger suspicions of the geopolitical entities which embodied them (specifically Fascist Italy and Soviet Russia), among other things; a complete analysis of the philosophies of *Kadro* goes well beyond the scope of this paper. Suffice to say, *Kadro* called for liberation of the Turkish state from the tyranny of a global economic system. According to their writings, the best means to accomplish this was by placing control of capital in the hands of the state, which they argued would facilitate the establishment of a truly “classless” society guided by an intellectual cadre.

The journal *Kadro* was only published between 1932-1934, its ideas deemed too leftist by more powerful factions within the Turkish government. Karaosmanoğlu himself was offered foreign diplomatic posts and his journal was shuttered, ostensibly as a means for preventing him from espousing his tainted variant of Kemalism (Karaömerlioglu 2002). However, Karaosmanoğlu’s contribution to Turkish philosophical, territorial, and identity formulations undoubtedly had more influence in his novels; as Karaömerlioglu noted, this was due to the sustained influence that literature has had on Turkish intellectual life (127), and partly due to the continued influence Karaosmanoğlu’s novels have had on historians of the early Turkish Republic. A large body of 20th century Turkish literature, known as “peasantism” or *köycülük* is also traced to his influence. Karaosmanoğlu is seen, albeit sometimes in too straightforward a fashion, as shedding light on the “reality” of the peasant life and landscape. However, just as Henderson noted in his analysis of rural realist discourses in novels of early 20th century

California, the novel can reveal a multiplicity of rural and real landscapes. Moreover, by assessing the literary devices deployed by Karaosmanoğlu, the hybrid spaces of author and text can be better implicated in the landscapes thus constructed.

3.3 Diagnosing the village body: gender, sanitation, and national space in selected works of Karaosmanoğlu

“Ona göre, tabiat demek, vahşilik, haşinlik, gariplik, ıssızlık, toz, toprak, çamur, ve gübre demektir.....fakat, o vakitten bu vakite kadar, Anadolu’nun, insan eli değmeyen bir noktası kalmamıştı.

Uzaklar yakınlaşmış; çoraklar yeşillenmiş; ocaklar tütmeye başlamıştı....”

“To her, to say “nature” meant wildness, harshness, strangeness, desolation, dust, dirt, mud and manure....but, from that time until now, Anatolia had not remained a point untouched by human hands. Distances were drawn together; deserts had been greened, furnaces had started smoking....” - Ankara, Yakup Kadri Karaosmanoğlu

As studies of peasantist discourses have shown, heroic yet simplistically rendered depictions of *köylü hayatı* or “village life” (Berkas, 1942) would gradually emerge and displace prior narratives of decline. Like other states that have experienced moments of turbulent transformation as part of the process of modernization, the Turkish Republic has a complex and contradictory history with respect to the role and value of the peasant to *vatan*, i.e. the geopolitical concept of a Turkish homeland that linked citizen to soil (Özkan, 2012). The Turkish peasant was seen as both a problem of governance and a wellspring of symbolic *vatan*, paradoxically personified as the nation-soil nexus, yet categorically deficient in modern sensibilities e.g. rationalism, nationalism, hygiene, etc.

While this multiplicity of depictions is certainly evident in the more scientifically structured reports like the *Medical and Social Geographies* produced by the Ministry for Health and Social Assistance, due to the explicit co-construction of real and represented spaces, literary sources offer additional valuable insights into place construction and the logics of governmentality. The seemingly more objective and aloof nature of scientific and ethnographic reports, their content, and their style, can be contextualized alongside literary accounts. When done in this way, more nuanced critical appraisals of the peasantist zeitgeist begin to emerge. As previously noted, Karaosmanoğlu accompanied ethnographic and investigative commissions sent to evaluate life in occupied regions of western Anatolia. His notes were often stark and disparaging of poverty, war, abandonment, and isolation and spurred sustained investigations into the deficiencies of village life. His observations were always framed by nationalism, Kemalism, and mutual critiques of both ignorance and governmental inactivity.

In addition to these themes, one also notes an interesting deployment of female characters and a keen spatial sensitivity in his writings. *Ankara*, for example, with its three distinct spatio-temporal sections (National Struggle/recent past, first years of the new Republic/present, and ‘utopian’ Ankara/near future)⁴ is centered on the shifting experiences and transformative identity of the heroic and archetypal ‘woman of the Turkish Nation,’ Selma Hanım. Similar female heroes were common in the literature of the early Republic era; one need look no further than the famous novels of Halide Edip Adivar for example.⁵ While Selma is presented as a relatively

⁴ In the introduction to *Ankara*’s third printing, Karaosmanoğlu laments the fact that his country has basically stagnated in the second spatio-temporal section of the book. Instead of progressing to the utopian vision of social and economic development represented in the third section it remains mired in greed, graft, and dysfunction.

⁵ I should note, however, that while there are parallels between these sort of national women characters, the more feminist characters in Halide Edip’s novels still contrast sharply with characters like Selma Hanım and her shifting identity constructions that are only fully realized by encounters with, for lack of a better expression, the right man in the right place at the right time.

strong (in character, not physical body) *Istanbullu* transplanted to Anatolia (especially when contrasted to her first husband Nazif), her vague and uncertain feelings of idleness and lack of purpose evolve into national fervor through subsequent marriages (her second husband, the war hero; and conveniently her third husband, the author). Her transformation from young uncertain girl to idle nationalist woman and teacher is foreshadowed early in the novel and highlights the important position that place (central Anatolia) holds in the cultivation of her identity:

Selma Hanım, smiled while coming to accept these jokes (about the mansion that awaited her in Ankara). In that moment, on the verge of a long journey that began in a bare, shabby hotel room filled with unfamiliar odors, the dream of a ‘most pleasant, grand home’ to her didn’t seem like an impossible or pathetic thought (p. 16).

This most “most pleasant, grand home,” initially conceived of as a simple homestead, is a metaphor for Ankara and the whole of the Turkish nation. However it is quite clear that Karaosmanoğlu is merely projecting his own nationalistic sentiments through a female voice; whether or not they are authentic or even commonly held convictions of women actually engaged in the nation-building project is certainly debatable.

One of his more famous works, *Yaban*, revolves around the experiences of wounded former soldier Ahmet Celal during the Turkish War for Independence. Celal was cast as a member of the intellectual elite and a veteran who departs from the war-time fervor and planning in Ankara (supposedly in order to avoid pity due to his lost arm) by exiling himself to the villages of the borderland periphery in the west. Celal, while not a direct stand in for

Karaosmanoğlu, served as a vehicle for the author's expressions of frustration with both the baseness of rural life in Anatolia, but also the perceived chasm between the peasant and the intellectuals who have appointed themselves to the task of civilizing and building the Turkish vatan. However, as a piece of modernist fiction, the landscapes, characters, plotting, and style hint at less than straightforward articulations of place-making in the Republic.

Beginning with the title, multiple conflations between identity and territory are apparent. *Yaban* is translated as "the stranger," the short form of the word *yabancı* which can mean foreigner or stranger. However, *yaban* also connotes meanings that shift between person, creature, and landscape. *Yaban* also means 'savage,' 'uncultivated,' and 'wilderness.' Just as environmental historians and ecocritics have grappled with the development and deployment of tropes like 'nature' and 'wilderness' in European and American contexts, in many respects similar understandings of the concept from the perspective of the Ottoman Empire/Modern Turkey and its myriad cultural and ethnic assemblages need to be better understood. (Mikhail, 2011; Davis, 2007).

Questions such as this allow for interpretations that reconfigure Karaosmanoğlu's deployment of nature, not just as a setting or lesson for the modernizing Turkish state as a place requiring improvement and 'domination' as a means for rehabilitating the rural peasantry (Karaömerlioğlu 134), but also as a less stable metaphor that anticipates the later critiques of technological and bureaucratic control of nature, rurality, and peasant. In this case, if Ahmet Celal was 'the stranger' was he not also the 'savage' or 'uncultivated' himself? Or was the title immediately calling attention to the inherent binary constructions embedded within the novel's prose, i.e. Celal was 'the stranger' IN 'the wild,' the one whom must continually sacrifice of himself for the good of the vatan as he ultimately did both prior to the novel's events and in the

final pages where he chose to abandon everything and set off, albeit hopelessly, to fight for his country? For Karaosmanoğlu, typically seen as a figure whose ideology placed nation above the individual, what was the author speaking through the mouthpiece of Celal the “yaban” about the wider governmental problems of an emergent Turkish state, a land conquered by “yabancı” (foreigner) and overflowing with things “yaban?” Moreover, if Celal can be conceived of as the literary personification of the ideal governmental subject, what does a critical reading of his struggles reveal about the internal fears of the governmental subject who has been dispatched into the wild?

Before considering this novel as a text engaged in the production of governmental objects, I briefly hearken back to Porteous’ schema, as *Yaban* uneasily straddles elements of all four of Porteous’ spatial archetypes. While situated in a rural setting, *Yaban* was hardly evocative of the typical “sense of place” narrative; It overflows with floating and fleeting timelines, dominated by the drudgery of the village broken only by dreamy recollections of garden-like visions of Istanbul. These dreamscapes were juxtaposed alongside of Karaosmanoğlu’s depiction of the landscapes of Anatolia as invariably too-wet and too-dry, stifling, and rugged, broken only by the happenstance oasis, Celal’s refuge in the wild. Celal has placed himself in exile, and seems to exhibit features of isolation or entrapment, due to his wish to avoid events and Ankara, but is also unable (or unwilling) to connect with the majority of villagers in any real sense. Finally, as the “traveller,” Celal’s depressing sense of realization, of self acknowledgement, is stunted and dark. His only salvation, further bodily disfigurement and likely death in battle.

Metaphors and similes for nature and rural identity pepper the prose while the ephemeral structure of the novel mimics the “timelessness” of the village that Celal disparaged. Typically,

Yaban has been interpreted as a work that both criticized and called for improvement of the peasant while simultaneously condemning the ineffective or apathetic stance of the intellectual community to their plight. Karaosmanoğlu reveals the multiple layers of identity construction inherent in these governmental projects of calculation and reform. In the preface to his third edition (1942), he stated, in seeming self-critique of his own work in rural Anatolia:

There was a spirit of the Anatolian people; you were unable to penetrate it. There was a mind; you did not enlighten it. There was a body; you did not nourish it. There was inhabited soil; you were not able to manage it. You abandoned it to the hands of animality, ignorance, poverty, and famine. It is finished, like a wild grass between the hard soil and the parched sky. Now, with sickle in hand, you come here to harvest. What have you sown and what will you reap? (p. 8).

Initially, it is unclear as to whether or not the author included himself amongst the intellectuals he condemned (“you” as opposed to “we”). Considering his own nebulous position amidst the powers-that-be which were reconfiguring the Turkish state and his displacement from the center of governance via random diplomatic appointments, an argument can be made for the overall ambiguity of his subject position. However, Karaosmanoğlu clarified his separate, yet culpable, position in the following excerpt:

You and I have abandoned them, in this state, a handful of victims deprived of all the joys of life, of everything and everyone, in the belly of rugged nature. Hunger, sickness, and

desolation have surrounded them. In the complete darkness of ignorance they have been left prisoners in a dungeon, enveloping them on all sides (p. 8).

And;

There was not a single roof for you to shelter under, not a single pillow where you would lay your head. Though we were in such big cars on pillows softer than the softest of beds...a bit later, while you went to gather kernels of wheat and barley and to eat them after being ground between two stones, we stopped at the green and well-watered spaces on the road and ate ground meat, cold börek (pastries) and fresh fruit with pointed forks that shined brighter than silver and while we ate there we found your dark-colored war bread a bit tasteless and we recalled the greater abundance that was allocated to you in past times (p. 10).

He qualified these statements by noting that these were essentially the imaginary constructions of the lives of the surveyor from the perspective of the villager. In fact, Karaosmanoğlu argued, the surveyor was quite anguished by the state of his country. Perhaps if only we had come “barefoot in rags” he wondered aloud. How much he wanted the peasants to see that his pain made him one with them, that he was diseased just like them:

That which I perceive behind your eyes is not due to fear or anger, but due to the feeling that the things that spoke of comfort and profligacy against poverty and tragedy were so rude, so contemptible, so much that I wanted to see myself together with you, to be lost amongst you, to join you (11).....We that are full, we that are clothed, we that are among those distributing

justice, our spirits are full of sorrow. The grief that you do not know, do not see, gnaws at us like wolves gnawing on flesh. Beneath this clean, comfortable, and soft guilt our skin boils with various maladies, known as ambition, arrogance, pride, and doubt (p. 12).

In depictions such as these, these experts or governmental subjects are casting themselves as victims alongside the rural peasantry, on par with “the old woman sleeping at the foot of her son’s grave” and “the young girl who bleeds her chastity” (Karaosmanoğlu, 1942, p. 12).

Here, the imposed spatial experience of Anatolia via the intellectual was also made apparent. Depictions of golden fields and hillsides, clear vistas, and networks of infrastructural improvements, central to the modernizing vision of the state, contrast sharply with this spatial void that overlaps mind and territory. Karaosmanoğlu played with similar elements of spatial and temporal utopia contrasted with harsh “reality” in his other works, notably *Ankara*, a novel that was divided into three parts: past, present, and near future “utopian” vision. In *Yaban*, these spatial configurations shifted between nostalgic and experienced landscapes (Istanbul and the village) as well as simultaneously existing landscapes of hope and depravity (the oasis vs the wastelands of western Anatolia). In his vision, the landscapes of rural Anatolia are dystopian nightmares:

Yaban is not an objective novel. Yaban is the heart-rending cry of a spirit’s anguished conscience that have come face to face with a bitter and terrifying reality (p. 8).

As Sharp and Saunders noted, one of the virtues of the novel is its ability to depict mundane timescales in especially vivid detail, something more difficult in other forms of media.

The hand-grinding of grains, whittling of a cane, and the beating of a misbehaving child, typically background elements or conversational foils in other media depictions, can serve as page-length fixations with multiple levels of symbolic value. In the later peasantist discourses, these depictions, alongside narratives of labor and customary practice (weddings, etc) are used to laud the strong *Turkish* character of rural life. Karaosmanoğlu used them, through the observations of Celal, to critique the static backwardness of village existence.

The mutilated Celal noted that “there has not been such a conscious, strong-willed, perpetual and arduous suicide (as living in Anatolia).” Moreover, he remarked that, once one has come to Anatolia, they are “condemned to slowly wither here, like a tree” (14). Celal was most direct about this in a section of the book where he discussed the *zaman mefhumu* or “sense of time” of the villagers. In his estimation, they hadn’t any; at least nothing bearing a passing resemblance to the experience of time in more cosmopolitan spaces. While Celal was able to acclimate to the temporal malaise of the village, he lamented that “his sense of place cannot so easily be dispelled” (26). These reflections on time and space proliferated throughout the novel.

The specter of environmental determinism also haunts the work, where humans and the landscapes they are spread across become inseparable. Celal noted that, in a static landscape like Anatolia, it is impossible for a dynamic fervor to develop in its people. In “a village that resembles old Hittite ruins, what difference is there between people and broken statutes scattered beneath the soil” (26). The juxtaposition here between people and statues is foreboding. Villages like Yassıhöyük found themselves swallowed up in the nationalistic fervor of architectural digs, which attempted to link Turkey’s present to its imagined past (now on display in an historical and cultural heritage museum in Ankara). Finally, like in any spatial imaginary fashioned along a linear sense of time, apocalypse was always looming:

Every evening I felt the world was coming to an end. That the soil upon which I lived would swell and crack from the hidden sorrows within, or, with a terrifying sound, would collapse to the bottom of the earth (p. 25).

Spatial metaphors of diseased and healthful landscapes were common tropes of the late 19th and early 20th century (Sufian, 2008) and these spatial metaphors have had a strong influence over configuration of social and environmental relations (Kaika, 2005). Literary sources provide numerous examples of how these tropes were imaginatively cast and circulated through the general populace (Pike, 2005). Karaosmanoğlu directly infused disease and death into his landscape depictions of the areas around Porsuk Çay (a stream that runs through Eskişehir and other small villages west of Ankara):

It is like a long rift, opened by an earthquake, that divides the monotonous valley in two....the gray soils (that line the stream) give the impression that they have rotted and festered. If you hold it in your hand, no matter the time of day or season, it is lukewarm, like pus...and the hills, each is a tumor. And the world which the horizon frames appears alive with this miserable landscape....within this empty and valueless space I did not see a single bird's passage (p. 24).

Such a place is not timeless or spaceless in the author's vision, nor merely a landscape where people live in the squalor of the Stone Age, lacking even the basest degree of civilized knowledge regarding the cultivation of the land (Karaosmanoğlu, 1942, p. 24), but a place in fact situated at the dystopian end of time where "the whole world was merely one continuous

expanse of land that starts and ends in the village” (Karaosmanoğlu, 1942, p. 26). *Yaban* is replete with environmental deterministic imagery as well as aspects of self-orientalization, which often conflate simplistic depictions of poverty and environmental degradation with the political economic conditions of wartime and massive social upheaval:

When the environment doesn't change, there is no possibility of change in the individual...it is from such observations that one may come to a conclusion as to why ideas of innovation and Westernism have come to naught here (p. 21).

This sickened landscape, Karaosmanoğlu intimated, produced a diseased populace, a land of the lame and disfigured who can't even regard Celal's missing sacrificial limb as abnormal. Filth is an omnipresent experience here, characterized both by the landscape and the ignorance and laziness of the villagers. Moreover, the peasant population is suffused with the mysterious characteristics of nature itself. Upon lamenting his inability to either understand or be understood by the peasants, Celal resorted to metaphor:

The spirit of the Turkish peasants is a still, deep water. What is at the bottom? Rugged stone, slimy silt, or a soft layer of sand. It was not possible to discover...(p. 16).

Karaosmanoğlu, like other governmental subjects who have targeted rural and village life as objects, (e.g. Dr. Safvet) was particularly harsh on depictions of health, sanitation, and from a population perspective, village women. In a place that “smells of straw and cow-shit” and that is the animal equivalent of a “mangy water buffalo in the swamp” (Karaosmanoğlu,

1942, p. 19), Celal notes that the villagers constantly surveilled his sanitary routine, reversing the panoptic gaze and hearkening back to Karaosmanoğlu's own anguished depictions of the experts and bureaucrats' victimization via their own conspicuous civility and hygiene (Karaosmanoğlu, 1942, p. 17). The contamination of the village ran so deep and was such an ingrained aspect of village life it appeared to the outside observer that the village population had fully resigned to their filthy fate (Karaosmanoğlu, 1942, p. 21). It bears mentioning that this depiction contrasts with other descriptions (in the *Medical and Social Geographies* for example) of the rural population as largely amenable and in fact pre-disposed to health and sanitation reform.

Through Celal, the author launches a critique of the local power hierarchy as the source of backwardness and repression via tradition in the village. For example, Celal criticized the villagers deep admiration of Şeyh Yusuf, "a sort of wise man, medicine man, and soothsayer (Karaosmanoğlu, 1942, p. 39)." In one key moment in the novel, the enlightened and urbane Celal martyrs himself to the cause of modernity (and subsequently deepens the resentment the villagers feel toward him) by confronting and denouncing Şeyh Yusuf for his failure to heal or correct any of the maladies impacting the village population, calling him a charlatan and an old goat (*teke*) (Karaosmanoğlu, 1942, p. 40). In this modernist vision, traditional figures of authority like Şeyh Yusuf were on par with, if not worse than, any foreign invaders.

What is the difference between this treacherous Turk and the English security forces occupying Istanbul? (p. 41).

Gender factors heavily into the narrative of *Yaban* on multiple levels. Women are fashioned as both ignorant beasts, culpable in the ongoing desecration of rural Anatolia, and as objects of the author/main character's affection or even lust, the source of his (potential) salvation and by extension perhaps the nation itself. Life in the village stirred up the "masculine primal desires" of these civilized outside observers (Karaosmanoğlu, 1942, p. 27). However, this nationalistic 'arousal' all depended on the cultivation and exaltation of a particular type of woman, and based off of the narratives presented in texts like the *Medical and Social Geographies* and *Yaban*, the standard village woman would not suffice. The passage below presents many of the same themes regarding the disposition, temperament, and function of the stereotypical village woman (*köylü kadın*) and her impact on the health and well-being of village spaces:

In effect, there was no water in the village. This was despite the fact that there were wells and fountains filled from morning until evening. The elderly bathed themselves, women and young girls gathered water for domestic use, and innumerable children played their filthy games there. Sometimes, women who were too lazy to bring their laundry to the stream washed them in the troughs of the fountain (p. 20).

In this short excerpt, references are made to village women's dereliction of the domestic sphere on two fronts; poor sanitary practices and disregard of children's behavior. Villagers in general are described as exhibits in a carnival, as monstrous or grotesque, and the land they inhabit is both symptom and vector of their maladies:

As days pass I understand better...within this immense and desolate world that is called 'the country of the Turk' is a strange isolation...I should call it a 'freak'...one can not imagine from what race or breed it comes (p. 30).

While other groups are also disparaged, women are most frequently the ones who take the brunt of this dehumanizing language. For example, the banal village women is seen as lacking a proper feminine body, or in fact any body at all. Several such depictions are provided at a wedding:

The majority (of village women) were formless, squat, round and needlessly large...piled over with layers of fabric...one was unable to make out their shape... (p. 29).

The bride herself suffered a perhaps worse depiction, with a comparison to a diseased insect:

Finally, the bride emerged like a cockroach from a soulless and impersonal home (p. 30).

Only the narrator's chance encounter with the "only woman he ever loved," the village girl Emine, counters this imagery. Despite the fact that she too was draped in the attire of the village women, her "attractiveness could still be perceived through her rugged, course outer shell of clothing (Karaosmanoğlu, 1942, p. 41)." Her potential was there, buried beneath the heavy cloak of village life, awaiting the right figure of authority to help her realize her true potential. Another frequent trope for dehumanizing the female villager emerges from their rendering as

beasts of labor, a depiction that contrasts concurrent representations as lazy and degenerate. Utilizing a commonly held mental image of Anatolian women, the narrator dwells on images of women devoid of all idealized femininity, carrying loads across their back that even a donkey was unable to tolerate “without expelling a single drop of sweat” (Karaosmanoğlu, 1942, p. 31).

Perhaps one of the more telling metaphorical parallels that is drawn between the village woman and the nation revolved around the fate of the pitiful village child (in the novel most notably characterized by the dwarfish, rugged, and beaten-down man-child of Zeynep Kadın, the mother of Celal’s village host, Mehmet Ali) (Karaosmanoğlu, 1942, p. 20). The narrator Celal ruminated on the life of this child, ravaged from head to toe by labor and malaria alike:

Poor peasant child...you are the offspring of two step mothers; the one that beats you day in and day out and the other that has beaten you every day since you were born: the vatan (homeland) (p. 32).

While none of the metaphors and motifs regarding village women can be singularly attributed to any semblance of purely objective critique of the socio-economic conditions of village life, some are more blatantly misogynistic than others. Celal made it quite clear throughout the novel that, with the exception of his idealized Emine, he had never before felt any love for women. As a man who “is all that remains after one thousand hardships” he found it “sweeter to deceive a woman rather than believe in her” (Karaosmanoğlu, 1942, p. 37). Perhaps in his harshest diatribe he declared that “there is nothing as unbearable as a women who is loved...for in this state, the vile and treacherous nature of women achieves a bloodthirsty quality (Karaosmanoğlu, 1942, p. 38).

The culmination of this ‘vile and treacherous women’ motif came with the parable of the hapless and weak Süleyman and his unfaithful yet powerful spouse, Cennet. Despite being caught in the act of adultery by the village, Süleyman’s unwillingness to allow her to be punished tips the scales of power in favor of Cennet who continues to more publicly and proudly flaunt her sexuality while her husband sinks into quite despair in the home. This parable is particularly interesting as it reverses the gendered spatial expectations of traditional Turkish culture: Cennet owns the public sphere while her husband is confined to the domestic prison (Karaosmanoğlu, 1942, p. 43-44). It also reveals a degree of fear undergirding the misogyny, a fear that without proper structural guidance and regulation, without clearly demarcating the appropriate spaces and roles of women, deviant and powerful women pose a threat to the patriarchal structures of power of the state and society.

3.4. Utopian ends and dystopian conclusions

In this concluding section I will first briefly reiterate the major points of consideration with respect to conducting an archaeology of governmentality in line with Foucault's approach. Archaeology requires intensive critical analysis of discourses (i.e. "things said") and discursive formations (the communicative structures and systems that maintain and disperse discourses) (Foucault, 1972). Foucault used his archaeological approach to examine the historical power-knowledge relationships of bodies of knowledge, many of which would today be described as academic subjects or disciplines, as a means for understanding the formation of objects of knowledge and the enunciative modalities or subject positions that were deemed experts of these fields.

With the gradual formation of the modern state emerged the so-called problem of government. As a means for honing administrative powers over the populations of these modern states, governing authorities gradually shifted away from systems of bodily punishment towards the promotion of self-governing individuals. At the center of this effort, linked to emergent and modernizing fields of calculation, visualization, and circulation like statistics and scientific cartography, were attempts at better understanding the biopolitics of population, the so-called politics of life that were at the core of the state. State's increasingly sought to gather more and better data about population: fecundity, morbidity and mortality, and a wide array of other demographic information. This "art of government" in the modern state, or governmentality, while never singular nor universally controlled in its logics and practices, enrolled experts (subjects) in a variety of social sciences to conduct these investigations and to produce the the so-called objects of governmentality that can be classified in three inter-linked movements:

observation, regulation, and normative judgement. While these objects were frequently official reports and documents, as the logics of governmentality are multifaceted and circulate throughout the territories of the state, numerous other texts can be read and critically evaluated with respect to the governmental objects they address.

As in many other modernizing states in the late 19th and early 20th centuries, in early republican Turkey medical, sanitation, and demographic discourses were central to the discursive formation of governmentality and the promotion of a proper “conduct of conduct.” As I have described, certain spatial logics are central to governmentality. Territories and populations are classified and categorized side-by-side and governmental objects need to be considered in relation to their “surfaces of emergence,” i.e. their sites of production and dissemination. Governmentality is also spatially uneven, due to the logics and practices of governmental subjects which are developed in Latourian centers of calculation and applied to places with mixed effort and effect (Latour, 1987). These logics and practices are also used to create the definitions of, and act upon, target populations of interest to the state; they syphilitic prostitute, the unlicensed midwife, the ignorant mother, the sick and deformed child.

Here I have considered some of the writings of Yakup Kadri Karaosmanoğlu with respect to their reproduction of governmental narratives regarding space, place, gender, and health. This involved considering their surfaces of emergence, i.e. the fields or sites from which these objects emerged (e.g. modern medicine and Kemalism), their authorities of delimitation, i.e. those designated as experts with valid credentials to speak on the topics at hand (e.g. the scholar, bureaucrat, and politician Yakup Kadri Karaosmanoğlu), and their grids of specification, i.e. the systems by which objects were delineated and calculated (ethnographic reports and surveys). By using this method of analysis I was able to demonstrate how the state produced certain objects of

governmentality and how these objects were made amenable to observation, normative judgement, and eventually regulation. I was especially interested in the production of gendered governmental objects and the spaces they occupied; similar narratives were also demonstrated in Dr. Muslihiddin Safvet's volume of the *Medical and Social Geographies*, 'unofficial' midwives and 'ignorant' mothers.

These objects were central to the demographic and nation-building concerns of the fledgling Turkish state in which the fashioning of governmentality can perhaps be described as the state's attempt at playing house by producing and maintaining stable boundaries between public and domestic, masculine and feminine spaces. Medical discourses were utilized to legitimate these efforts and delegitimize other 'problematic' and unsanitary or unhealthful practices which frequently involved classifying certain types of woman and their behaviors as out of place (playing off of Mary Douglas assertion that what society regards as 'dirt' or 'taboo' is that which is out of place (2005)). Frequently these medical discourses, or in the case of Karaosmanoğlu medicalized due to his lack of actual medical training or experience discourses juxtapose the negligent female figure alongside the figure of the helpless child. Examples of infant mortality and deformity are used to spur the national imagination toward a nightmare scenario of continued population decline and the collapse of the *vatan*. The future of the state, represented by the bodies of these children, could only be assured through the medicalization and regulation of the spaces of motherhood.

While not perfectly cohesive, there are numerous parallels between these two types of governmental literatures which I have assessed: i.e. governmentality as 'playing house' by way of the regulation of women's bodies and spaces in relation to the health and well-fare of children.

In the chapter that follows, I will build on this concept by considering the writings of a prominent governmental figure who was central efforts to produce scientific and rational motherhood for the betterment of the national body, Dr. Besim Ömer (Akalin).

APPENDIX

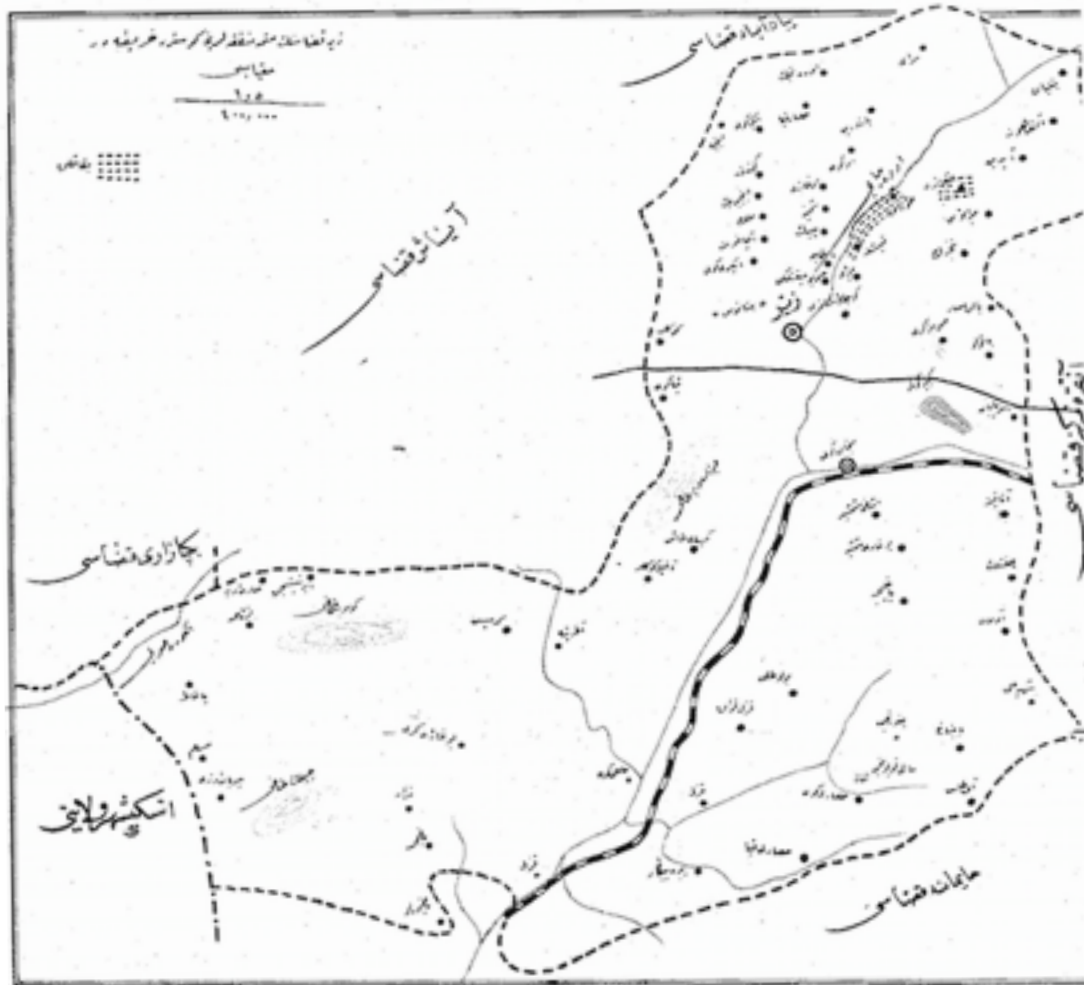


Figure 15: **Map of Zir Borough in Ankara Province (Ankara Vilayeti)** (Safvet, 1341/1925, p. 140).

Surrounding sub provinces include Ayaş to the northwest, Yabanabad to the north, Haymana to the south, and Eskişehir to the southwest. Ankara is located to the east. It should also be noted that areas of wetlands (bataklik) are symbolized by the checkered pattern shown in the top left legend.

Chapter 4

“Turkish children should live!”: **gendered governmental narratives in the later works of Turkey’s** **‘father of obstetrics’, Dr. Besim Ömer (Akalın)**

4.1 Historicizing narratives of disease, hygiene, population, and gender

Much has been written on the shifting and unstable discourses and modalities of modernity in the period of upheaval that witnessed the Anatolian remnants of the Ottoman Empire transform into the Turkish Republic in the 1920s (Lerner, 1966; Sibel and Bozdoğan, 1997; Bozdoğan, 2001; Lewis, 2002; Meeker, 2002; Zürcher, 2004; Findley, 2010; Yılmaz, 2013). Generally speaking, one of the most notable features of these histories is a shift in focus from ‘total’ historical accounts that articulate a linear progressive transition from the Ottoman Empire to the Turkish Republic to ‘general histories’ that break-down traditional periodization, highlight new ruptures and continuities, and place increasing emphasis on subject formations and discourses that de-emphasize statist readings and highlight social and cultural issues during this era.

Throughout the early Republican period, due to the collective ideologies of their contributors, both fictional and ethnographic accounts framed narratives of health, environment, and the nation in ways that relied heavily on gendered geographies of disease, decline, and the path to national salvation. That being said, the seeming boundary between these fictional accounts of rural and urban modernization in the novels of Kemalist political philosophers and scientific surveys of Anatolian villages and cities conducted by a rising medical bureaucracy was

frequently blurred. In general, the narrative content and style in both accounts was mutually reinforcing. An examination of the historical and narrative geographies and governmentalities of health, disease, and gender has been central to this study. I have emphasized not only the content of these depictions regarding conditions of health, hygiene, and sanitation in the rural Anatolian ‘heartland’ of the early Turkish Republic as they pertain to gender, but also the co-mingling of narrative styles and devices that are deployed in the construction of both fictional and non-fictional representations of said environments and the bodies that reside within them.

The production of historical accounts that attest to the ways in which particular diseases are understood and experienced from a narrative and socially embedded and constructed standpoint (Mol, 2002; Rosenberg and Golden, 1992), i.e. approaches that move beyond purely medicalized depictions of etiology and epidemiology, morbidity and mortality, and the ‘discovery’ of diseases and their ‘origins,’ can generally be attributed to the holistic and socially conscious medical histories of scholars like Jean Dubos and his oft-cited *The White Plague: Tuberculosis, Man, and Society* (1987). As an extension of Dubos’ approach to the social history of tuberculosis, historical geographer Susan Craddock has pointed out in her book *City of Plagues* that myriad social frames can be applied, though not necessarily simultaneously, as a means for dismantling medical narratives and revealing the underlying political, social, and spatial constructions that shape the ways in which a social disease like tuberculosis can shift in terms of its interaction with individuals and the wider public (2000).

For example, in her recent *Spitting Blood: the history of tuberculosis*, Helen Bynum defined one such discursive shift as occurring when “consumption” was transformed into “tuberculosis” via Robert Koch’s 1882 discovery or, put more aptly, “visualization” of the

Tubercle Bacillus via the scientific tools of staining and microscopy (Bynum, 2012, p. 94) From a more explicitly gendered perspective, shifting from questions of scientific objectivity to body politics, Bynum detailed the narrative framing of Romantic Era male and female consumptives as “fashionistas:” in particular, the female consumptive body, feeble, sickly, “wilting,” and “slight” was valorized as a thing of beauty and desire.

There was a circular logic to this framing of the female body, from the perspective of susceptibility to disease: weakened, frail forms had now become the ideal type and this fetishization of a particular incarnation of the female body diffused into the popular imagination, likely leading to mimicry amongst upper class women, initially less at risk of contracting tuberculosis as compared to their working-class counterparts. Bynum described how the Victorians constructed a particular historical-geographic formation as a result of this framing of the diseased female body; they produced a “cult of invalidism” by promoting fashions and lifestyles characterized by highly sedentary behaviors and cloistered spaces amongst women of means (Bynum, 2012, p. 89). The consumptive life, despite its grotesque and painful end, became a social-status fantasy, despite the paradoxical spatial reality of diseases like tuberculosis as ailments of the poor and working classes. These spaces were epitomized in the prevailing binary of public/male versus private/female spatial ordering; domestic life, often simplistically rendered as the ‘women’s space’ of the home, was described in both medical and popular narratives as the most common space for contracting diseases like tuberculosis due to a lack of fresh air in poorly ventilated structures and the presence of children.

4.1a Narratives of pronatalism and population politics

The association of gendered bodies and spaces with narratives of health and disease is a long-standing preoccupation of the modern nation state. This has undoubtedly been most salient in pronatalist governmental narratives concerning such highly gendered and spatially demarcated practices as birth and child-rearing. In the literature on pronatalism and the state there tends to be a geographic bias toward Western Europe and the United States. While this literature often focuses more heavily on the 19th and 20th century and the rise of eugenicist concerns, there are exceptions that extend further back in the history of historical state formation.¹ With respect to the history of pronatalist policy in the United States, recent historical accounts such as Laura Lovett's *Conceiving the Future* have argued for more nuanced distinctions between pronatalist policies as imagined and enacted, both on bodies and in space (2007).

Lovett provided a rough linear framework for considering the historical geography of pronatalism and eugenicist policy; she noted that pronatalist policy can be viewed along a continuum from active to passive while eugenics existed in both negative and positive articulations. For example, direct subsidies and state sponsored programs for increasing family size would constitute active pronatalist policy which was more common in Europe whereas pronatalist policy tended to include more indirect measures such as the construction of playgrounds and the promotion of suburban growth. The spatial implications of each of these pathways is quite apparent and adds a layer of understanding to comparative arguments about the

¹ See Leslie Tuttle's *Conceiving the Old Regime* for a particularly well-done accounting of the historical geography of pronatalist policy in early modern France.

Tuttle, L. (2010). *Conceiving the old regime: Pronatalism and the politics of reproduction in early modern France*. New York: Oxford University Press.

development of the built environment in each of these settings.

In addition, negative eugenics included those policies aimed at discouraging reproduction amongst undesirable segments of the population (i.e. sterilization) whereas positive eugenics focused on efforts to promote reproduction amongst desirable factions as a means for combatting so-called race suicide. Motherhood figured heavily into each of these configurations and Lovett demonstrates how narratives of motherhood were deployed in the passive pronatalist/positive eugenicist environment of late 19th and early 20th century America where, amongst others, President Theodore Roosevelt actively promoted motherhood as “women’s duty to the state” in combatting race suicide (Lovett, 2007, p. 7). In effect, Lovett traced the development of a “maternalist” movement which should be contrasted with the various feminist movements and will be discussed further in the following section.

4.1b Maternalist politics and narratives of scientific motherhood in the Middle East

Scholars have begun to move beyond the Western European and American-centric historical geographies of population politics and the state by interrogating primary archival materials and documents ranging from first-hand midwife accounts of birthing practices to medical treatises and ethnographic reports. In the Middle East, a few recent studies are particularly noteworthy in pointing to both the points of confluence and departure regarding Western histories and experiences with pronatalist policy and population politics in general; Firoozeh Kashani-Sabet's *Conceiving Citizens: Women and the Politics of Motherhood in Iran*, Lisa Pollard's *Nurturing the Nation: The Family Politics of Modernizing, Colonizing, and Liberating Egypt, 1805-1923*, and Gülhan Balsoy's *The Politics of Reproduction in Ottoman Society, 1838-1900* are notable due to the overlap in both their content and approach to sexual and reproductive politics in relation to the state as well as in regards to their emphasis on the late 19th and early 20th centuries. Until recently the historiography regarding sanitation, hygiene (and in particular women's hygiene), and the state in the Middle East has been quite limited. Studies like Kashani-Sabet, Pollard, and Balsoy's are vital to the expansion of this literature. However, I must also note that while Pollard and Kashani-Sabet utilized elements of a Foucauldian genealogy of medicine and sexuality to some extent², a governmental lens was not deployed in any of the three studies.

To be sure, Kashani-Sabet's study is heavily indebted to the unification of body politics with environmental and social history. This approach dovetails with recent efforts in

² For example, see p. 92 and p. 231, footnote 29 in *Conceiving Citizens* and p. 226 footnote 9 in *Nurturing the Nation*

environmental history to place the body directly at the messy interstitial space between human and environment. For example, in her book *Inescapable Ecologies*, Lina Nash questioned the notion that increasingly prevalent arguments regarding the link between environment and health in the post-World War II era were an entirely new phenomenon; rather, she argued that the previous miasmatic theories and other earlier forms of environmental medicine were displaced by bacteriological narratives in the late 19th and early 20th century, which abruptly detached the body from its surrounding environment. The bacteriological argument, while certainly accurate, uneasily partitioned and bracketed off the body from nature; health was construed as merely the “absence of disease” and “pathogens were situated in human bodies, not environments” (Nash, 2006, p. 6). Furthermore, Nash argued that the main question posed to environmental historians was “not why and how the link between environment and health was finally recognized in the late twentieth century but why it had ever become invisible. From this perspective, the narrow situating of disease in the organic dysfunction of bodies and particular pathogens begins to look like a brief period of modernist amnesia” (p. 6).

Nash’s argument is predicated on a multi-scalar articulation of space. At one level, she is committed to re-situating the human body directly at the center of environmental history, which has consistently argued for the destabilization of the boundary between humans and their environments but has not always succeeded at erasing this false binary. In this sense, any study of health or medicine is inherently also concerned with the environment; when faced with the question “where does the body end and non-human nature begin?”, clear demarcations are not easily ascertained (Nash, 2007, p. 8). At another level, her argument is concerned with the ways in which the history of health and medicine is itself intensely spatialized. According to Nash,

“(environmental and medical) knowledge and ideas do not emerge from nowhere but from the interaction of human minds with specific places, materials, and things” (p. 9). As a result of this spatial dependency, simultaneously existing yet seemingly paradoxical bodies of knowledge coexist. For example, the ecological narratives of science and health deployed by sanitary engineers and hygienists contrasted with yet complemented evolving bacteriological narratives of disease and the body as deployed in Western medicine despite the medical field’s distancing of itself from ecological narratives of health in the late 19th and early 20th centuries.

I should note that Nash’s argument is situated in the context of environment and health in the fin de siècle Central Valley of California. It can be argued that in many non-Western contexts this separation or, in the Latourian sense, *purification* was not necessarily sought out nor conceived of in the same fashion. In *Conceiving Citizens*, Kashani-Sabet noted that the religious-philosophical concept of *insan-i kamil*, i.e. the ‘perfect man’ was linked to notions of health and hygiene in late 19th century Persia (Kashani-Sabet, 2011, p. 21). In short, hygiene was described by medical practitioners, academics, statesmen, and religious leaders as a means for achieving the conquest of the human body as an unpredictable outpost of savage and uncivilized nature.

In addition to the environmental health arguments that undergird her study of body-politics, another of Kashani-Sabet’s primary objectives in *Conceiving Citizens* was to outline the ways in which the late Qajar and early Pahlavi state came to identify with and promote maternalist discourses as a form of women’s rights or, what might be more aptly described as the right to a particular vision and usage of the (healthful and vital) female body in support of the (healthful and vital) nation. Kashani-Sabet described the mentality that supported these

apparatuses of power directed at female bodies, i.e maternalism as opposed to feminism, in the following terms:

What distinguished the feminist from the maternalist? Simply put, feminists cared about women's rights; materialists did not make that a priority. While materialists strove to improve the health of women, especially pregnant women, and to prolong the lives of women and children, they did not all wish to establish gender equality or to combat patriarchy. The reproductive responsibility of women to the nation was simply too critical a matter to entrust to ordinary citizens, and overturning the status quo could inadvertently jeopardize national interests. Many materialists also took on the subject of women's health because of national or religious priorities. In other words, maternalist priorities for Iranian policy makers mattered because they advanced the state's political ideology (p. 5).

For the materialists, the female body was a means to a political ends; or perhaps more correctly, it was a vital node in a newly developing constellation of state powers in the modern era that were attendant to and indeed fixated upon population and territory. Women were essential factors in the production of “nation(s) of healthy patriots” and their bodies were spatially fixed at the “intersection of maternalism and hygiene.” In Persian and Ottoman, the word hygiene, which is written as *hifz al-sihhat* and literally translates as *the defense of health*, emphasizes the promotion of a clean, orderly, and sanitary society by uniting and defending both body and territory (Kashani-Sabet, 2011, p. 5). Kashani-Sabet noted that “although hygiene interested Iranian administrators for demographic and humanitarian purposes, it also had a patriotic dimension that centered on the need to shield the homeland from pestilence and on the

desire to forge a vigorous and physically fit citizenry - a public that could better serve the state” (p. 17).

As part of this process, women were being refashioned as a new type of warrior or soldier of the recently fashioned geopolitical construct of *vatan*, i.e. homeland (Kashani-Sabet, 2011, p. 27)³. It should also be emphasized that, while the state was certainly invested in these efforts, power does not flow in a linear unidirectional fashion; Kashani-Sabet was also quick to point out that women benefited from maternalist discourses and the turn toward hygiene as a state preoccupation as these activities opened up new spaces of political participation for women.

With respect to the general population, Iranians were faced with the conundrum of responsibility that these new biopolitical imperatives presented. Kashani Sabet summarizes, “grappling with the social realities of disease, Iranians questioned who was principally responsible for creating the conditions of health and hygiene: the individual or the state?” (8). I argue that this conundrum was an engineered element of the way in which the narrative was constructed, i.e. it was a classic example of fostering the conduct of conduct. Fashioning hygiene and health as a state-facilitated and supported practice via education and the provision of infrastructural and material support that were otherwise largely up to the individual to carry out can be seen as an extension of the larger project of producing *millet* (nation) and *vatan*.

In other words, by enacting hygiene and sanitation as governmental object, Iran (and Turkey) “appropriated (but not necessarily imitated) the lineaments of modernity and nationhood in attempting to eliminate (their) figurative diseases” (Kashani-Sabet, 2011, p. 28). Hygienic practices engendered sanitary citizens who were able to sustain themselves as both an act of

³ For an explanation of this in the Turkish context, see Özkan, B. (2012). *From the abode of Islam to the Turkish vatan: The making of a national homeland in Turkey*. New Haven: Yale University Press.

national defense and a patriotic duty. This is an extension of the earlier pronatalist forms of population politics which were largely concerned with increasing but not necessarily sustaining population. In fact, it is more appropriate to say that sanitary citizenship was interested in sustaining a particularly robust, vibrant, and virile national body; it did not necessarily seek the sustenance of just any national body as the corollary eugenicist movements indicate.

One of the most interesting facet's of Kashani-Sabet's argument in *Conceiving Citizens* is her indication of the widespread diffusion and circulation of narratives about sanitary citizenship within the general public via journals and other publications. For example, topical, science-oriented journals like *Farhang* and *Ruznamah-i 'Ilmi*, and *Ittila'* emerged as early as the late 19th century promoting a wide array of sanitary matters and publishing diatribes against sources of persistent health problems in Iran that included but were not limited to: sickness or excessive labor in communal work setting; widespread alcoholism and the abundant presence of other “intoxicating beverages”; either a complete lack of or the existence of dysfunctional sewage management system; a lack of governmental and public regulation and surveillance of sanitation in the cities; and limited quantities of (potable) water (Kashani-Sabet, 2011, p. 19). Other journals, such as the appropriately titled *Hifz al Sihhat*, which was first printed in 1906, targeted a less professional and scientific audience and helped disseminate materials to Iranian families on venereal disease, domestic and bodily cleanliness, the value of sport to health and wellness, beauty and fashion tips, problems associated with physical and mental disability, drug abuse, alcoholism, and other assorted debilitations and ailments (Kashani Sabet, 2011, p. 31).

Aside from engendering sanitary citizenship, these publications also assisted in the *gendering* of sanitary citizenship. “Bodily health (metaphors) in relation to political prosperity”

disseminated widely. These publications frequently promoted mothers as the handmaidens of hygiene and touted them as a sort of domestic appendage of national defense (Kashani-Sabet, 2011, p. 24) Kashani-Sabet presented an especially interesting visualization of the narrative construction of motherhood as an explicitly female form of patriotism; in one image reproduced in *Conceiving Citizens*, *madar-i vatan* or the “mother of the homeland” is depicted as an invalid looked after by a flock of her daughters. This image is accompanied by the inscription, “our dear mother, as long as your daughters are alive, we will not allow you to become so abject. We will not stop curing you” (32).

As I have argued and will further demonstrate in this and the following chapter, this promotion of sanitary citizenship and “scientific motherhood,” i.e. the practices of motherhood as guided by the rational hand of masculine science and medicine, were of primary interest in the state’s biopolitical imperatives. That being said, the female body was largely conceived of as a vessel or medium; its material components and biological and mechanical functions were useful to the state (and, even more importantly, not harmful) so long as it was properly molded, trained, and located appropriately in space. It is also of interest to note the shifting conceptions of the ideal female body in countries like Iran and Turkey during this period; in contrast to the previous discussion of tuberculoid fashionistas, during late 19th century Iran dichotomized representations existed that vacillated between weak civilized and strong strong pastoral feminine bodies (25). I explored some of this tension in the prior chapter on the literary environments of Karaosmanoğlu’s novels. Moreover, I will return to this notion of publicizing and circulating information about public health matters to the general public in the final

substantive chapter of the dissertation where I evaluate narratives of health, gender, and environment in the publication of the Turkish Red Crescent Society.

In *The Politics of Reproduction in Ottoman Society*, Gülhan Balsoy addressed several of the same themes as Kashani-Sabet in the context of late Ottoman society. Balsoy's larger goal was to gender 19th century Ottoman political and social history via the framing device of the Ottoman 'population problem,' an administrative concern with declining population in the Empire that emerged in an era of Tanzimat reforms and territorial losses. Balsoy contended that "the population policies of the 19th century were predominantly formulated through women's sexuality" (p. 1).

I argue that this gendered enframing of the population problem fits squarely in the late Ottoman historiography that argues for a continuum as opposed to a break between late Ottoman and early Republican era political and social transformation. Maternalist narratives dominated the politicization of population in both the 19th and 20th centuries; while the late 19th century narratives primarily revolved around scientific and material innovation and adoption (e.g. the deployment of forceps during parturition, the establishment of maternity clinics) regulatory and popular educational approaches were gradually developed and deployed at the turn of the century (e.g. the publication of instructional manuals detailing the self-regulation of the domestic sphere, methods for promoting the general health and well-being of the population).

As in *Conceiving Citizens* and *Nurturing the Nation*, the (female) body features prominently as the object in Balsoy's work whereby the body is conceptualized as the vehicle by which a host of interventions via governmental apparatuses are made throughout the course of the volatile Ottoman 19th century. Balsoy contextualized her historical study by placing the

population problem at the center of political and social anxieties in the reformist post-Tanzimat era (from just prior to the 1839 Gülhane edict until roughly the end of the 19th century); this emphasis is in large part due to a reading of primary texts from the era that explicitly refer to population as central to broader concerns regarding “economic development, fiscal reorganization, administrative specialization, and military renovation” (Balsoy, 2013, p 5). However, in true Foucauldian fashion (albeit without reference to his approach) Balsoy noted that these concerns also spurred an increased interest in statistical analysis. Of course this shifting concern with the “composition, control, regulation, and surveillance” of population as a “new functions of the ‘modern state’” (Balsoy, 2013, p. 6) is one of the key components of Foucault’s genealogy of governmentality.⁴

Balsoy briefly outlined the emerging demographic regime throughout the course of the 19th century. Following the establishment of the *Ceride-i Nüfus Nazareti* or Office of Population Registers the first census commenced in 1830 and was by completed 1838. However, this census could hardly be construed as scientific due to its relatively large margin of error and deployment of counting measures that were in fact minor alterations of prior methods deployed in the old *tahrir* registers, with one major exception; instead of the *hane* or household unit, this census counted adult males (Balsoy, 2013, p. 7). Another partial census followed in 1844 with a new full census in 1866 which was accompanied by the provision of *tezkere-i Osmaniye* (Ottoman

⁴James C. Scott has of course provided an historical overview of this process in his oft-cited *Seeing Like a State*. However, more nuanced, primary document dependent approaches to the emergence of this preoccupation with space, hygiene, population, statistics, and calculation can be found in studies like Stephen J. Legg’s *Spaces of Colonialism* or Brenda Yeoh’s *Contesting Space in Colonial Singapore*. Of course, for recent work in this vein in the late Ottoman Empire and Early Turkish, see the previously mentioned studies by Emine and Kyle Evered and Mark David Wyers, amongst others. Balsoy herself is quite aware of the connection between the regulation of population and the management of territory; she noted that demographic data was not only vital to monitoring the health and well-being of the population but was also used to transform physical space through the construction of “roads, railways, irrigation networks, schools, and hospitals” via a statistical bureaucracy that “reconceptualized population as human resource” (Balsoy, 2013, p. 6).

identity cards). The *Şura-yı Devlet* or Council of State initiated a full investigation into the effectiveness of the census in 1874 and began a process of structural adjustment; this process continued with the 1881 establishment of the Nüfus-u Umumi İdaresi (General Population Administration) within the Dahiliye Nezareti (Ministry of the Interior). It was at this point that the unit of measurement shifted again to account for the individual regardless of gender (Balsoy, 2013, p. 8).

4.1c Dr. Besim Ömer and population politics in the late 19th and early 20th centuries

These increasingly accurate censuses painted a stark picture of the condition of population throughout the Empire. This unfavorable portrayal was particularly useful to a scientific and intellectual elite that was dissatisfied with the Hamidian regime; Dr. Besim Ömer Akalın, obstetrician, eventual parliamentarian⁵, and foundational figure in the modernization of medicine in the late Ottoman Empire and early Turkish Republic, was one of these individuals as well as a key proponent of sanitary citizenship and scientific motherhood as handmaidens of government.

He received initial training in midwifery at the School of Medicine in Istanbul in 1879 at the age of 17. By 1887 he was studying obstetrics and puericulture in Paris where he was heavily influenced by French eugenicist Aldophe Pinard. His anti-Malthusian sentiments were likely solidified at this juncture. He returned to Istanbul in 1891 in order to teach midwifery and obstetrics to male students. Dr. Besim Ömer published extensively on a range of topics including general histories of medicine, hygiene, birthing practices, and midwifery, to more

⁵ Dr. Besim Ömer Akalın served as the representative of Bilecik in the 5th congress of the Turkish National Assembly (1935-1939). He began a second term in the 6th congress (1939-1943) which was cut short by his death in 1940 (T.N.A .Album)

specific scientific discussions of birth.⁶ While all of his works are infused with his own personal politics, it is his later writings that are most revelatory of his particular governmental inclinations. It is to these which I will turn for a fuller analysis of his shift from pronatalism to the politics of child rearing and the production of sanitary citizenship and scientific motherhood.

Dr. Besim Ömer is an authoritative and ideal example of the governmental subject, much akin to Francis A. Walker in Hannah's *Governmentality and the Mastery of Territory*. Without transitioning purely into biography, I aim to use Ömer in much the same way as Matthew Hannah used Walker: as a nexus for rendering visible the multiplicity of governmental subjectivities and modalities inherent in the production of sanitary citizenship and scientific motherhood as an outgrowth and extension of pronatalism and the 'problem of population.' As Balsoy has demonstrated, this 'authoritative' character is not necessarily an organic outgrowth of Ömer's scientific contributions; rather, it is emblematic of the prolongation of Ömer's own politicized science. As cultural geographers have long demonstrated with respect to travel literature and depictions of place, a circular referentiality developed in Turkish medical histories that has sustained Ömer's position as the "father of modern obstetrics" or the "angel doctor" (Balsoy, 2013, p. 2), which is quite an ironic moniker. Balsoy noted that:

⁶ Texts include but are not limited to: Obesity and Infirmary (*Şişmanlık ve Zayıflık*, 1885), Wellness Guide to Children, Families (*Sıhhatnüma-i Etfal, Aile*, 1885, 1886), Care of Weak and Premature Infants (*Zayıf ve Vakitsiz Doğan Çocuklara Takayyüd*, 1886), Plague (*Vebe*, 1886), Tobacco (*Tütün*, 1886), Alcohol (*Müskirat*, 1887), Opium and Marijuana (*Afyon ve Esrar*, 1887), Hypnotism and Mesmerization (*İpnotizma-Manyetizma* 1889), Reproduction (*Tenasül*, 1889), Wellness Guide to Marriage (*Sıhhatnüma-i İzdivaç*, 1891), Wellness Guide to Reproduction (*Sıhhatnüma-i Tenasül*, 1891), Know Yourself, (*Kendini Bil*, 1894), Wellness Guide to Newborns (*Sıhhatnüma-i Nevzat yahut Beşik-Kundak-Emzik*, 1894), Pediatrics - translated from French (*Tabib-i Etfal*, 1896), Yalova Hot Springs (Yalova Kaplıcası, 1901), Nursery (*İrzahane*, 1903), During and After Birth (Doğurken ve Doğurduktan Sonra, 1904), The Abundance of Infant Mortality (*Küçük Çocuklara Vefeyat Kesreti*, 1906), Doctors and Advocates (Doktorlar Ve Avukatlar, 1906), Hygiene for Preparatory School (*İdadiler için Hıfz-ı Sıhhat*, 1914), First Aid and Assistance (*İlk İmdad ve Muavenet*, 1918), Science and Marriage (*Fen ve İzdivaç*, 1924), To Live One Hundred Years (*Yüz Yıl Yaşamak*, 1927), Courses in Midwifery (*Ebelik Dersleri*, 1928), History of Birth (*Doğum Tarihi*, 1932), Grapes and Grape Based Cures (*Üzüm ve Üzümlle Tedavi*, 1933), Protecting and Sustaining Youth (*Gençliği Koruma, Çok Yaşama*, 1934).

it is significant that Besim Ömer is not only used as the primary source of information on midwifery, but that his evidence and accounts are accepted as incontestable. Besim Ömer was one of the very benefactors of the newly established medical system, and he had an axe to grind when he was writing a certain type of history...I argue that cooperation between several generations of obstetrician-historians reflects a certain structure of thought which serves particular social and political purposes (25).

In short, Besim Ömer's own politicization of history and its subsequent prolongation can be described as having developed along two narrative trajectories: first, beginning with his initial histories of practices and pregnancy in such works as *Fenn-i Vilade* (Obstetrics) and *Doğum Tarihi* (History of Birth) the perspective and experience of non-medically/professionally trained midwives and "ignorant" pregnant women were often down-played in favor of modern medical descriptions and understandings. This process would continue on in the Turkish histories of modern obstetrics and nursing written in later decades (Balsoy, 2013, p. 23); second, Besim Ömer's own anti-Hamidian biases (due in large part to the Sultan's expulsion of his father and brother) can be read as part of a larger anti-Ottoman motif that existed in the writings of the early Republic's bureaucrats. Ottoman historiography has been quick to point out that these anti-Ottoman sentiments were rooted in an intellectual elite that was itself quite *Ottoman* in thought and practice. Overall, it must be emphasized that these narratives coalesced in an effort to demarcate the proper spaces of obstetrics, and as will soon be demonstrated other female-

dominated and domestic activities, as a masculine field of knowledge directed at and through female bodies. Balsoy noted that “boundaries” were erected between doctor and midwife and were symbolically rendered via the white coat of the medical practitioner (Balsoy, 2013, p. 18).

I argue that these narratives in the Ottoman and Early Republican contexts can and should be extended in a similar fashion as Kashani-Sabet has done with respect to late Qajar and early Pahlavi Iran. The particular arguments about birthing practices, midwives, and pronatalism that developed during the 19th century shaped the form of later arguments about health, population, sanitary citizenship, scientific motherhood, and defense of *vatan*. Motherhood was deployed in support of both biological (race suicide) and territorial (defense of the national body) narratives of defense, with women again at the center of the effort. Moreover, I argue that viewing Besim Ömer as a governmental subject functions as a useful framing device for considering his later works and the shift from producing knowledge about birth and the birthing practice to promoting sanitary citizenship and scientific motherhood as elements of what Foucault would describe as the shifting governmental imperatives regarding “the right of death and power over life” (Foucault, 1990).

In these studies conducted by Kashani-Sabet, Balsoy, and others, Foucault’s terminology is useful for loosely sketching out the logics of government at play in the gendering of population and the production of sanitary citizenship and scientific motherhood. The ‘grids of specification’ laid out by the state included an array of gendered factors that were argued to be central to the well-being of the nation, e.g. midwifery, pregnancy, infant mortality, and abortion,

and infertility⁷, marriage, *puericulture*⁸ (child rearing). Moreover, the logics of governing population gradually expanded and jumped scales to draw domestic spaces more tightly into state-building projects. In the context of the early Turkish Republic, emphasis gradually shifted from the mere reproduction of population to the sustenance of a vital and vibrant citizenry; this narrative often centered on the well-being of children and emphasized the regulation of the domestic sphere (via scientific motherhood) and the maintenance of the national body, especially when it pertained to the health and well-being of infants, children, and youth (sanitary citizenship). Finally, ‘authorities of delimitation’ like Dr. Besim Ömer were able to extend the scope of their arguments within these expanding socio-spatial constructs.

In the discussion that follows, I extend this argument by considering a few of Dr. Besim Ömer’s later writings (in both Ottoman and modern Turkish) from between roughly 1923 and 1938 while reflecting on them in relation to the broader scope of his work. Gendered matters of health and hygiene were frequently at the center of the state’s biopolitical agenda, from midwifery, parturition, and infant mortality, to venereal disease, marriage, and puericulture. Throughout the remainder of the chapter I assess the production of scientific motherhood as a facet of sanitary citizenship in the writings of Besim Ömer between 1923 and 1938.

⁷ For another excellent discussion of the intersection between governmental regulation of infertility in a patriarchal Middle Eastern Society and the experiences of women with such a culture see: Similar narratives of patriarchy and gender politics. infertile women in a patriarchal society “missing motherhood” in patriarchal Egypt

Inhorn, M. C. (1996). *Infertility and patriarchy: The cultural politics of gender and family life in Egypt*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press.

⁸For an exploration of Puericultural concerns like nursing from a Western standpoint see:

Apple, R. D. (1987). *Mothers and medicine: A social history of infant feeding, 1890-1950*. Madison, Wis: University of Wisconsin Press.

4.2 Governmental narratives of gender, hygiene, and space in the later works of Dr. Besim Ömer (Akalın)

I have sought to demonstrate how Dr. Besim Ömer operated as a governmental subject and an authority of delimitation in the early decades of the Turkish Republic through a critical and concentrated reading of his later writings. Previous scholars (such as Balsoy) have reflected on the historical body of Dr. Besim Ömer's work, paying particular attention to his explicitly medical texts (e.g. his four volume magnum opus, *Fenn-i Vilade* or the science of birth) or his admittedly biased medical histories (e.g. *Doğum Tarihi* or the History of Birth) in which he detailed his vision of obstetrics and designated who is authorized to speak knowledge to power on the matters of pregnancy, birth, and midwifery. I argue that, after colonizing these fields of knowledge, his later writings shifted in tone, emphasis, and purpose; to put it simply, these later works were intended for a wider audience and promoted a gendered and explicitly spatial governmental vision of hygiene in the nascent Turkish Republic.

The grids of specification laid out by Dr. Besim Ömer were gendered and spatialized in that they delineated and reinforced domestic and regulatory spaces of health and hygiene that were predominantly intended to promote the health, well-being, and especially longevity of a robust young generation. In addition, as a good governmental subject, Dr. Besim Ömer's commitment to statistical calculation and graphical representation is on display throughout these works. Charts, tables, and maps abound, alongside less serious (and frequently downright comical) graphics, images, and illustrations; this bricolage of infographics highlights the hybrid nature of these pieces of propaganda. The texts that I rely on extend from 1923 until 1938,

coincidentally also the year of Atatürk's passing and two years prior to Dr. Besim Ömer's own death in 1940. They also extend from his late medical career into his terms as a Deputy of Bilecik Province in the Turkish Parliament (beginning in 1935).

In particular, I emphasize the gendered and spatialized governmental narratives regarding health and hygiene that emerged in his miniseries, *Nüfus Siyaseti* or *Population Politics*. *Population Politics* consisted of four books: *Küçük çocuklarda vefeyât* or *Infant mortality* (1339/1923), *Fen ve İzdivaç* or *Science and Marriage* (1340/1924), *Gebelik ve Gebelikte Tedabir* or *Pregnancy and Precautions in Pregnancy* (1340/1924), and *Çocuk büyütmek* or *Child Rearing/Puericulture* (1341/1925). While some of the general themes that emerged in this series of books had appeared in his earlier writings (for example, *Pregnancy* and *Child Rearing* had appeared in previous forms in earlier publications, 1902 and 1905 respectively), the unification of these texts under the particular heading of *Population Politics*, the shift in tone away from medical and technical language, and the inclusion of policy advice regarding social welfare and assistance programs is of note.

In addition to this series, I also look to two of his final pieces, the evocatively titled *Türk Çocuğu Yaşamalıdır: Küçük Çocuklara Bakım ve Sosyal Yardım* or *Turkish Children Should Live: Care and Social Assistance for Small Children* and *Türk Çocuğunu Nasıl Yaşatmalı? Nüfus Siyasetinde Çocuk: Sağlam nesil - Öjenizm - Sağlam Irk* or *How should Turkish Children be Sustained? The child in Population Politics: Robust bloodline - Eugenicism - Robust Race*. In the analysis of these texts that follows I have outlined the interplay between hygiene, gender, and space from the perspective of Besim Ömer as a highly gendered and gendering governmental subject.

4.2a From population politics to the sustenance of children, 1923-1938

Several themes emerged in the governmental narratives that Dr. Besim Ömer promoted in his writings between the *Population Politics* series and his final publications were central to his overall vision of the centrality of demographic analysis to the administration of the state. First, it is interesting to note the parallels between Dr. Ömer's understanding of the sources of disease and contamination of the nation, with author medico-bureaucrats of the era: e.g. Dr. Muslihiddin Safvet and his depictions in the *Medical and Social Geographies*. Without referencing nor acknowledging it, Dr. Ömer advocated for a "Medical Geography" based on demographic analysis and ethnographic investigation, that would take under consideration the intersection between physical environment and societal structure and "seek to establish the character of each space and its effect on health" (Ömer (Akalın), 1339/1923, p. 41).

He also noted that demographic analysis of a condition such as the Turkish "population problem" was only a means to an ends: the effective multiplication and most importantly sustenance of a vital and robust young Turkish citizenry. While Dr. Besim Ömer's European encounters with eugenicist thinking are certainly evident and he relies heavily on population data and methods, the centrality of 'Turkishness' (i.e. both its material and ideological maintenance) is evident throughout his argument. For example, the point is made throughout his writings that reproduction itself is not a problem for Turkey; according to Ömer, the Turkish *race* (*ırk*) was cast as exceptionally *fecund* (*doğurgan*) but simply lacking in the infrastructural support and background knowledge to properly sustain itself and reach its full potential as sanitary citizens and scientific mothers (Ömer (Akalın), 1339/1923, p. 44).

Hence the overarching structure of the *Population Politics* series. The first book lays the foundation of the population problem by drawing upon European demographic data and discussing the ways in which demographic crisis threatens the nation and its territorial and racial integrity. It is in this book where the protection and sustenance of children are promoted as the primary concern for all Turks but especially Turkish women. The books that follow add additional context by considering the major issues of concern that pertain to the production and puericulture (hygienic care) of children: scientific and hygienic management of marriage, control and regulation of sanitary birthing spaces and procedures, and intelligent and sound methods of child-rearing (nursing, swaddling, protection from disease, provision of healthful and natural surroundings).

Dr. Ömer clearly saw both the reproduction and maintenance of population as the cornerstone of not only national success but also survival. According to him “the politics of population are of life for both nation and country. To increase the population, to strengthen and cultivate the individual - is an important principle for those engaged in hygienic and social activities but also politics” (Ömer (Akalın), 1339/1923, p. 7). He noted that the rapid development of sanitary and hygienic reforms as a means for bolstering existing populations and recuperating from devastating losses was a primary preoccupation of most countries that had recently experienced the impact of war and its aftermath; the Anatolian remnants of the Ottoman Empire were no different, having reorganized or established new ministries of public works, resettlement and population exchange, and reclamation and planning (*imar, mübadele, iskan*) following territorial loss and population upheaval after World War I. The state needed to rapidly transition from one form of national defense to another. While Ömer himself does not directly

say so, the carry-over of a militaristic lexicon into the field of hygiene and health is blunt (as previously discussed in regards to the various ‘wars’ and ‘struggles’ that were waged against enemy combatants ranging from syphilis to tuberculosis).

Early on in these writings one can see traces of the holistic human ecology approach as elaborated upon by Nash in Dr. Besim Ömer’s approach to both the social and environmental dimensions of health and hygiene. For Ömer, the “structure of the state” was quite simple; it consisted of “soil” and “people,” further simplified as the population and its living space. However, he noted that: “while the term society typically connotes an institution comprised of humans, even though we do consider human requirements for soil, water, plants, animals, and minerals, it is appropriate to take a much more inclusive understanding of the concept. Therefore, it may be said that the social body (*beden-i ictimâî*) is comprised of two elements: one is a ‘social geography’ that consists of the spaces that are considered central to human need; while the other is called ‘demography’ and is entirely connected to human population” (Ömer (Akalin), 1339/1923, p. 8).

While it is unsurprising to see a governmental subject linking social geography and demography, it is interesting to see the rhetorical and pedagogical work being done in his attempt to teach a wider public about the statistical encroachment into their lives; one that proposes to provide “more correct information about the structure and composition of population” which can then be used by the government to administer vital precautions and measures for the general well-being (Ömer (Akalin), 1339/1923, p. 9). In short, it was important that demography be seen as benevolent in order to frame censuses and ethnographic surveys as not only informational but also crucial. Furthermore, not only does Dr. Besim Ömer act as a booster of sorts for the highly

regulated and scientific deployment of statistics (rendered throughout the text as both *ihsâiyyât* and *istatistik*) and demographic techniques. He also notably relied upon numerous infographic representations of demographic data as seen in images 18 through 40. Statistical analysis coupled with scientific expertise was the answer, for “as an eye accustomed to a deep darkness is influenced by the light, so too does one remain in a state of ignorance until the expert shocks the one left in silence with sound” (Ömer (Akalin), 1339/1923, p. 53). This bodily imagery is not merely a clichéd metaphorical device; in his writings, it is also the primary object of governmental intervention.

For Dr. Besim Ömer, it is abundantly clear that a dearth in reliable statistical information (a critique that was also observed in the writings of Dr. Muslihiddin Safvet) was “a hindrance to any state effort to understand the demographic factors so central to the livelihood of the Turkish nation” and to heal the social body of the state (Ömer (Akalin), 1339/1923, p. 14); moreover, he argued that European nations had been expanding statistical analysis in all branches of government for quite some time, find the fields of economics, social and political affairs, health and hygiene, and public works and infrastructural development equally amenable to quantification and analysis (Ömer (Akalin), 1339/1923, p. 20) and that the Turkish state should spend as much if not more time, effort, and resources on scientific demography as it does on other political and military activities in order to better understand the nature of population decline in the young Republic “before it should tumble into a pit of despair” (Ömer (Akalin), 1339/1923, p. 20-21).

With the importance of statistical analysis of populations established, Ömer moved on to address his primary concern: the detrimental impact of both population decline and a poorly

constituted population on the health of the national body. Here he shifts metaphorical structures again, this time using medical terminology to diagnose the state. Essentially, population decline is attributed to two sources, which Ömer categorized as “social diseases” or those factors that are usually temporary and exogenous in nature (e.g. war with a foreign nation) and “diseases of the state” which are seen as chronic and persistent structural deficiencies of governance and leadership (Ömer (Akalın), 1339/1923, p. 9). It is these chronic diseases of the state that are most harmful and hardest to overcome. While Dr. Ömer did acknowledge that past regimes have taken seriously the matter of population decline, he lamented that these efforts were frequently short-lived; he noted that even in the revolutionary fervor surrounding the war for independence, the topic of population decline was “briefly taken up as a matter of concern, but then quickly forgotten” (Ömer (Akalın), 1339/1923, p. 10). As such, these persistent forms of systematic population decline, linked to the negligence of the state, were “far more dangerous than even the most terrifying of conflicts and the most virulent of diseases.” In fact:

It is impossible to heal from such a malady (chronic population decline); one is overcome by the effect of an imperceptible yet persistent and common malady; although they see the danger, the causes of said destruction are not perceived; a population comprised of such (ignorant) individuals resembles the tree whose branches have withered and yellowed in spring having yielded its sap (Ömer (Akalın), 1339/1923, p. 10).

“Weak states are naturally overcome by strong ones;” however, for him a far more terrifying prospect was the state succumbing to a “languid yet stealthy, persistent, and chronic

anemic condition” (*i.e. müzmin bir fakr-üd-demdir*) (Ömer (Akalın), 1339/1923, p. 11). He continued by noting that history is replete with such societies which, on the outside, appear vibrant and prosperous, yet inside they rot away until one day these previously “fecund” societies become barren. The intersection of medical and landscape metaphors is of note here, especially after considering the nature of environmental narratives centered in the Anatolian *bozkır* (literally barren or uncultivated land) which were discussed in the previous chapters.

Dr. Besim Ömer often focused on explicating the causes of population decline in an international comparative context by providing a detailed yet simplistic accounting of various demographic terms and concepts like population density (*kesafet-i nüfus*), which are generally accompanied by charts and tables detailing the population densities of several European countries . One such chart is transliterated (from Ottoman), translated, and replicated below:

| Memleket (Country) | kilometre-i murabbına isabet eden nüfus (pop/sq km) |
|--------------------------------------|---|
| Belçika (Belgium) | 252 |
| İngiltere ve Gal (England and Wales) | 239 |
| İtalya (Italy) | 121 |
| Almanya (Germany) | 120 |

Table 2: **Population Density in Selected European Countries** (Ömer (Akalın), 1339/1923, p. 13).

Table 2 (cont'd)

| | |
|---|----|
| Avusturya ve Macaristan (Austria and Hungary) | 76 |
| Fransa (France) | 74 |

Dr. Ömer spends a fair amount of time detailing the historical geographies of demography for a few countries. The case study of France was of particular interest to him; the French population stood at twenty million in 1700, making it the largest country in Europe in terms of population at the time as it accounted for forty percent of the total European population that year. However, by 1800 its population had only grown by seven million and it accounted for merely fifteen percent of the total European population and by 1900, at a meager twenty eight million, only about 10 percent of the total European population. Comparing Germany to France, he emphasized that over a 40 year period (figure 2), Germany had grown by over twenty four million while France struggled to grow by three million. In the alarmist narrative that Dr. Ömer created, it appears that despite an overall trend toward population growth in countries throughout the world, the French population remained stagnant and periodically experienced population loss despite an era free of war and contagious disease.

Based off of his calculations, while Saxony, Norway, Prussia, Holland, and Romania topped the charts with average annual crude birth rates of between thirteen and fourteen per one thousand between 1881 and 1900, countries like Ireland and Spain were near the bottom at about five per one thousand and France barely registered at one per one thousand (Ömer (Akalın), 1339/1923, p. 19). It should be noted that these figures seem low compared to more modern

evaluations of crude birth and death rates during these years and due to a lack of sources cited in his writings it is unclear as to where his figures came from. Nevertheless, he used these statistical summaries and graphics as a narrative device for demonstrating comparative growth and decline and illustrating the danger inherent in low population growth via charts (see, for example, figures 3 and 4 below) as well as line graphs and even sensationalized flag emblazoned bar graphs which represented new births out of every ten thousand in the population in 1913 in selected countries throughout Europe (Ömer (Akalın), 1339/1923, p. 16, 18) (see images 18, 19, and 20 at the end of this chapter).

| Country | 1871 | 1910 | Additional Population |
|----------------|-------------|-------------|------------------------------|
| Germany | 41 million | 65 million | 24 million |
| Austria | 35 | 51 | 15 |
| England | 31 | 45 | 14 |
| France | 36 | 39 | 3 |
| Italy | 26 | 35 | 9 |

Table 3: **Population Growth Over a 40 Year Span in Selected European Empires** (Ömer (Akalın), 1339/1923, p. 17).

| Year | Germany | Aust/Hung | England | Italy | France |
|------|---------|-----------|---------|---------|---------|
| 1899 | 795,107 | 535,874 | 376,847 | 385,165 | 31,394 |
| 1900 | 759,757 | 507,752 | 339,232 | 208,450 | -25,988 |
| 1905 | 792,830 | 390,838 | 409,202 | 345,178 | 37,120 |
| 1910 | 879,113 | 572,520 | 413,779 | 461,774 | 71,418 |

Table 4: **Annual Change in Population in Selected Years, 1899-1910** (Ömer (Akalın), 1339/1923, p. 17).

For Dr. Besim Ömer, population density was a highly contingent phenomenon that both impacted and was influenced by spatially variable social, political, economic, and environmental factors. He is quick to point out the devastating impact brought about by sudden and dramatic shifts in population (attributable for example, to war and disease) such as recent mass rural-to-urban migrations:

As a result of this population shift, not only will sanitary conditions in the city be degraded, so too will many be exposed to contagious disease, deprived of important agricultural labors of the villages,⁹ and subsequently a generation of villagers will decline, languishing in the cities (Ömer (Akalın), 1339/1923, p. 13).

⁹ i.e. those rural labors frequently described in texts of the era as virtuous and character building, similar to pro-agrarian narratives in other regions

Furthermore, in support of his pastoral ideals, Dr. Ömer also saw urban life as a corrupting force upon the reproductive proclivities of a fertile Turkish nation. He saw urban lifestyle as one which engendered and internal conflict in most Turks, who were naturally inclined to a particular way of life but were tempted by the material comforts and “prosperity” of an urban lifestyle which thus served as a check on the desire for larger families, a “sign of the vileness found in all urbane nations and societies” (Ömer (Akalın), 1339/1923, p. 24). Urban lifestyles and the wealthy factions of Turkish society were less likely to contribute to the vital demographic life blood of the nation. He argued that wealthy families opted to have fewer if any children as a means for controlling the allocation of family fortunes. A deplorable outgrowth of this was the single-child wealthy family in which the young scion “passed their time in a leprous way, assured of their monetary inheritance” but deprived of any noble genetic stock or work ethic ((Ömer (Akalın), 1339/1923, p. 25).

The inclusion of such social commentaries was a common facet of all of his works but especially of his later writings. He was quick to describe the fundamental difference between contributing facets of population change, most notably the differing causes of increased and decreased rates of birth (*tevlîdât*), death (*vefeyât*), and migration (*muhâceret*). While each of these is attended to in the opening book of the *Population Politics* series, managing birth rates and decreasing infant mortality rates is given immediate prominence, particular in light of what Dr. Ömer described as a trend toward declining birth rates in industrialized nations (see image 20 at the end of this chapter, a line graph he included that detailed declining birth rates between roughly 1875 and 1911 in Germany, Italy, England, and France) (Ömer (Akalın), 1339/1923, p. 22).

For Dr. Ömer, with respect to birth rates in Turkey, one pressing matter was the persistence of Malthusian ‘voluntary limits to population growth’ especially in urban centers. More specifically, he laments what he sees as the widespread (yet tacit) acceptance of the “criminal act” of forced or compelled abortion (*ıskat-i cenin*) (Ömer (Akalin), 1339/1923, p. 22). However, for him this was merely part of a complex of political, social, structural, and sanitary matters that disrupted the “fecund” and “bountiful” nature of Turkish women, of whom frequently produced “eight to ten or more” children in a lifetime (Ömer (Akalin), 1339/1923, p. 23). And here is where the Ömerian mantra that will come to dominate his later works is most clearly articulated:

The population of a nation increases not with new infant birth, but with those that remain healthy...moreover, the provision of health and sanitary services that contribute to the longevity of elderly populations facilitates only sustenance of the inactive component of a the population.....therefore, in order to increase population in support of the nation, the most effective measure is the encouragement and support of high birth rates and of families consisting of at least three children (Ömer (Akalin), 1339/1923, p. 23-24).

As previously noted, urban conditions tended to have a detrimental impact on overall population growth rates. While I have already articulated his argument in this vein with respect to wealthier classes, he also saw urban and, more specifically, industrialized society as having a negative impact on birth rates amongst the lower classes. Forced to work long hours laboring away in factories, both poor men and women are impacted negatively; in particular, the

traditional domestic duties of women are severely circumscribed and their health is placed at risk, making it less likely for them to have children. Here, he valorized what was considered the most vital role of women: as vessels for the production and maintenance of children. So much so that “every pregnant women and wet nurse should underlie the preservation of society.” Moreover, in order to facilitate the preservation of these reproductive powers, all manner of governmental assistance should be supplied; for “if there is a lack of children in a country with sufficient resources, let us use these resources to acquire children as we acquire armaments and iron-clad machines that are put into service in industry and agriculture” (Ömer (Akalin), 1339/1923, p. 26-27).

Dr. Besim Ömer’s regulatory proposals are numerous and he called for a much stronger governmental role as both a provider of material support and as a facilitator of quality education in carrying out ‘domestic’ affairs in a sanitary way. For example, he noted that governmental support or regulations should be established which allowed pregnant lower class women to take a two-month paid leave of absence from their place of work; furthermore, he advocated for a four-month paid maternity leave for these women as well, allowing them to bond with and, most importantly, nurse their infant children. He also promoted numerous benefits for larger families of three or more children, including the provision of sanitary work and dwelling places at lower rents, decreased property taxes for families of six children or more, and raises and promotions for civil servant fathers of larger families. He even went so far as to advocate legislated ‘punishments’ for childless families including additional taxes and, in the case of civil servants, ‘promotions’ to less desirable locales (Ömer (Akalin), 1339/1923, p. 27-28).

In terms of educational measures, he called for the establishment and support of various charitable and collective organizations, such as the *Society for Solidarity Amongst Mothers* and the publication of journals and propaganda targeting the general population that extoll the virtues of large families, denounce Malthusian principles, and vilify abortion in all circumstances.¹⁰ The issue of censorship emerged repeatedly throughout the texts. Most notably, he argued that some journals had gone so far as to make quite blasphemous arguments about the natural law of population growth. He fumed that “infant and child mortality should not be considered a natural law of population growth” and that “allegations that the extension and support of life in sanitariums and hospitals would place undue burdens upon countries and families” were patently false (Ömer (Akalin), 1339/1923, p. 57). Since he does not disclose his sources, additional work is necessary to determine the prominence of Malthusian-oriented and alternative perspectives on population during this period. Taking things further, he called for legal reforms that would place abortion on par with murder, punish non-licensed midwives to the fullest extent of the law, provide supervisory measures for all birthing clinics, and suppress newspapers and other periodicals that promoted favorable views on abortion clinics and Malthusian ideas (Ömer (Akalin), 1339/1923, p. 30-31).

Beyond the regulation and promotion of birth, Dr. Besim Ömer also articulated a clear concern with the impact of highly contagious diseases (*emrâz-i sâriye, indifâiyye, ve müstevliye*); however, his primary concern is their detrimental impact on infants and young children, the future generations and prestige of the Turkish nation. Many of his concerns mirror the concurrent work that was being done in the previously assessed *Medical and Social*

¹⁰ Balsoy demonstrated that the place of abortion in Islamic jurisprudence was not necessarily cut and dry and was frequently more of a religio-political matter.

Geographies. For instance, drawing on recent efforts in European countries like France, Germany, and the UK, he noted that inoculations, vaccines, sanitary engineering¹¹ and the like had been steadily halving, and even eradicating in some instances, morbidity and mortality rates for a host of illnesses, from smallpox (çicek), cholera (*kolera*), typhoid fever (*karahumma*), typhus (*lekelihumma*), malaria (*ısıtma*), measles (kızamık), paratyphoid fever (humma-i şebek tifo) and a host of other debilitating ailments which were commonplace throughout Anatolia as well (Ömer (Akalın), 1339/1923, p. 32-35).

A point of departure from the *Medical and Social Geographies* was Dr. Ömer's additional interest in a host of other degenerative social ailments, e.g alcoholism (*Dâ'-ül-küûl* or *alkol düşkünlüğü*). He had previously written extensively on the topics of drugs and society in his three book collection entitled *Narcotics and Intoxicants* (*Mükeyyifat ve Müskirattan*), which focused especially on alcohol (*müskirat*), tobacco (*tütün*), coffee (*kahve*), tea (*çay*), marijuana (*esrar*), and opium (*afyon*). In all of his later writings he lamented the rising prevalence of alcoholism in a nation that “traditionally experienced relatively low incidence in relation to Europe,” treating it as a symptom of the disorder and disarray of the late Ottoman decades (Ömer (Akalın), 1339/1923, p. 32-35). As Ottoman scholars and historians of the wider region have demonstrated, periods of alcohol (and other intoxicant) consumption and prohibition reveals a

¹¹ At several points, he makes similar reference as Muslihiddin Safvet to “dirty and previously used water” flowing uncontrollably through villages and neighborhoods as a primary cause of especially epidemic bouts of typhoid fever and cholera (Ömer (Akalın), 1339/1923, p. 36).

much more complicated history than such a linear-degenerative narrative would indicate.¹² This interpretation is no doubt partially related to Ömer's anti-Hamidian, eugenicist, and pro-social welfare and regulation stance. As such, he praised the recent (1920) establishment of organizations like the Turkish Green Crescent Society or Hilal-i Ahdar' Cem'iyyetleri and its frequent publication of manuals and pamphlets that graphically depicted the dangers of alcohol and drug consumption, including the ways in which such intoxicants contributed to behaviors, environments, and bodily dispositions that invited and exacerbated diseases.¹³ According to the governmental logic that drives Dr. Besim Ömer the implementation of measures for diagnosing and eradicating such social diseases is not only a matter of state interest, but vital to its very survival: "From a scientific standpoint, the day we provide defensive measures against these preventable diseases, every additional year we will regain that population we have lost" and that the government should "occupy itself with matters of hygiene" as a means for "strengthening the race" (Ömer (Akalın), 1339/1923, p. 35).

¹² See, for example, such classic works on the topic as:

Hattox, R. S. (1985). *Coffee and coffeehouses: The origins of a social beverage in the Medieval Near East*. Seattle: Distributed by University of Washington Press.

Matthee, R. P. (2005). *The pursuit of pleasure: Drugs and stimulants in Iranian history, 1500-1900*. Princeton, N.J: Princeton University Press.

As well as more recent engagements in the late Ottoman and early Republican context:

Evered, K. (Forthcoming). From rakı to ayran: regulating the place and practice of drinking in Turkey. *Space and Polity*.

Evered, Ö and Evered, K. (Forthcoming). A geopolitics of drinking: Debating the place of alcohol in early republican Turkey. *Political Geography*.

¹³ This line of governmental propagandizing against alcohol and drug consumption and their link to infectious disease would continue on, as represented by image 13, *Tuberculosis is the Enemy of Man* in which alcohol consumption is intimated to directly (by weakening the immune system) and indirectly (by enticing individuals to engage in harmful and even lascivious behavior that exposed them to disease) contribute to the contraction and spread of infectious disease.

He simplified his overall narrative to four fundamental talking points: “first, protection from disease is absolutely possible (and thus any failure engage with these precautions sooner indicated a failure of government, i.e. the triumphalist scientific argument); second, preventable diseases do not only cause death, but they impact the future health and livelihood of the nation (i.e. the eugenicist argument); the means and necessary tasks for struggling with and defending against disease is well known, i.e. public hygiene; in order for public and private measures to be effective, a well trained coterie of medical professionals and public officials are required to ensure the public’s participation (the governmental subject, i.e. authorities of delimitation argument). To know (the proper sanitary behaviors and tasks), and pursue diligently, is the basis of hygiene” (Ömer (Akalın), 1339/1923, p. 37).

And the primary object of this diligent focus on sanitation and hygiene was the Turkish child for “the death of a child is the loss of social capital that can never be restored to the parents or the country” (Ömer (Akalın), 1339/1923, p. 47). For Dr. Besim Ömer it is absolutely unconscionable that child and infant mortality rates remain so high in his country as, in his estimation, the child’s body should start off as naturally unspoiled and unsullied by the contaminants and lifestyle choices of adults. As such, the exorbitant infant mortality rate in Turkey¹⁴ as compared with other European nations (see Figure 5 and 6 below) was seen by him as breakdown on two levels: the individual (i.e. parenting, or more specifically, motherhood) and the social (i.e. the establishment of a sufficient child welfare system by the state) (Ömer

¹⁴ Again, he includes several graphical references to this in the text (see, for example, see images 20 through 25 (Ömer (Akalın), 1339/1923, p. 60-61, 63)). He also lamented that European must have been shocked by the child mortality rates in Turkey, often in excess of eighty percent mortality (as compared with the European conception of ‘relatively high’ rates in the vicinity of twenty five percent mortality) (Ömer (Akalın), 1339/1923, p. 51). Similar graphics, depicting infant mortality via a thermometer, appeared in the later 1936 publication, as depicted in Image 24 (Ömer (Akalın), 1936, p. 14

(Akalin), 1339/1923, p. 50). He also noted that recording mortality rates alone was insufficient, as including incidence rates of disease would provide a more complete picture of the widespread depravation.

| Country | Infant Mortality Rate |
|----------------|------------------------------|
| Saxony | 28.2 |
| Bavaria | 28 |
| Württemberg | 26 |
| Austria | 25 |
| Prussia | 20.7 |
| Italy | 19 |
| Spain | 19 |
| Holland | 17.5 |
| France | 17 |
| Belgium | 16.2 |

Table 5: Countries with the Highest Rates of Child Mortality in 1905 (in Percentages or Deaths/100) (Ömer (Akalin), 1339/1923, p. 55).

| Country | Infant Mortality Rate |
|-------------|-----------------------|
| England | 14 |
| Scotland | 12 |
| Switzerland | 11 |
| Sweden | 10 |
| Ireland | 9.6 |
| Norway | 9.0 |

Table 6: **Countries with the Lowest Rates of Child Mortality in 1905 (in percentages or deaths/100):** (note that German regions maintain the highest child mortality rates) (Ömer (Akalın), 1339/1923, p. 56).

While disease certainly loomed large as a threat to the nation's children, in Besim Ömer's narrative a much greater danger presented itself. He drew comparisons between infant humans and other animals, noting that young humans lacked the development of early survival instincts and were thus entirely dependent on their parents. And while he commiserated with parents, acknowledging that "the one who raises a child faces far greater challenges than the gardener in his garden" a the dry Anatolian *bozkır*, he made it clear that the survival of future generations hinged upon attentive parenting that was always vigilant of the danger inherent in a child's surroundings (Ömer (Akalın), 1339/1923, p. 50).¹⁵ He scoffed at those who held either

¹⁵ This was graphically illustrated by several of the images that came from sanitation and hygiene propaganda related to the "war on tuberculosis" as shown in images 6-10.

Malthusian or certain pseudo-Darwinian perspective and those who saw infant and child mortality as a ‘natural’ forms of population control. For example, he pointed to the example of Bavaria and noted that, while some argued that child mortality helped cull the population of the unfit, countries like Bavaria were in fact ravaged by persistent disease “as indicated by large numbers of individuals exempt from military conscription due to their poor health and constitution” (Ömer (Akalın), 1339/1923, p. 57).

He instead argued that alleviating infant mortality rates would lead to the desired outcome of a stronger national body. To be sure, concern about infant and child mortality was and remains not only a matter of prudent governance but of general humanistic impulses; that being said, Dr. Besim Ömer doesn’t obfuscate his overarching concerns with child welfare behind a purely humanitarian veil. It is the livelihood and longevity of nation and state that are the primary driving factors behind his articulation of the population problem, its causes, and potential amelioration and eventual elimination. The darker edge to these biopolitical concerns is best articulated in the following statement and occurs in different forms throughout his later works:

In the countries where infant and child mortality rates are higher, concern regarding this matter is no doubt well understood in the office of military conscription. (Beyond This) The causes of infant and child mortality do not only deprive one’s country of many children. Perhaps another important effect is found in the overall weakening of those who survive and remain. As such, the primary task of public health is to study the causes of child mortality and its prevention (Ömer (Akalın), 1339/1923, p. 50).

The most important factor to consider, regarding a country's endurance, existence, and future is the protection of children against the sources of pre-mature death and, given a wide array of (scientific) information, to work to eliminate these sources as much as possible (Ömer Akalın), 1339/1923, p. 58).

If we are able to sustain the lives of the children that pass away each year, our homeland will have been afforded thousands and thousands of brave soldiers (Ömer Akalın), 1936, p. 5).¹⁶

Reading these statements together reveals his primary concerns: the preservation and strengthening of a Turkish *race* capable of defending the *vatan* or motherland. Read in the broader context of late Ottoman and early Republican history, this can be seen as an outgrowth of the Turkish geographical imaginary that fashioned Anatolia as a beleaguered and vulnerable land, constantly besieged by enemies from all sides, and in need of strong 'domestic' warriors in both contexts. Soldiers defended territory. But these soldiers needed to be born, protected, nurtured, strengthened, and cultivated. As such, their mothers and (primarily female) caregivers were also conscripted. Motherhood was a patriotic duty and one not to be taken lightly. In a schizophrenic fashion, that most vital, basic, and natural of roles, one that had been instinctually taken up and fashioned for centuries, required guidance and reshaping under the penetrating gaze of modern hygiene and medicine. With this rubric in place, three specific fronts for combatting infant and child mortality are explicated, all of which are initially detailed in the first volume and

¹⁶ Perhaps even more convincing are the captions included on many of the patriotic and propagandistic images scattered throughout his writings alongside the seemingly more 'objective' charts, tables, and other assorted graphics. See images 26 through 29 and image 40.

then fleshed out in volumes two through four, i.e. *Science and Marriage, Pregnancy and Precautions in Pregnancy*, and *Child Rearing*: monitoring and modifying the environmental and sanitary characteristics at the child's place of residence, punishing parental neglect, and re-educating ignorant mothers (as well as midwives, wet nurses, and physicians assistants) as scientific mothers (Ömer (Akalın), 1339/1923, p. 59).

With respect to governmental involvement on these fronts, Dr. Besim Ömer noted that public health campaigns alone would not bring an end to the sources of child and infant mortality, as centuries of superstition and tradition had solidified a culture of ignorance and acceptance of unsanitary and unscientific medical conditions and practices. As such, a carefully crafted “campaign against ignorance” and a thorough “reminder of the errors of the past” would be initially required (Ömer (Akalın), 1339/1923, p. 60). This overall campaign, as articulated in one popular medical source (the Journal of the Turkish Red Crescent) in conjunction with a host of public health laws that were launched in the late 1920s and early 1930s, as it was targeted especially to women is the subject of the following chapter.

As expected, while parents are initially mentioned, mothers are the primary target of regulation and reform, as their material and productive capacities are diagrammed and analyzed with respect to where regulatory and scientific intervention are required. For example, nursing via breastmilk (*irzâ'-i mâder-âne*), its sanitary provisioning, and the procurement of equally hygienic substitutes in extreme circumstances are fundamental concerns throughout his writings. Nourishing the youth of the nation depended upon it, though he cautioned that “although mother's breast milk is an effective agent in the campaign against child mortality, it is of the utmost importance that its use be in accordance with sanitary conditions” as impure or

contaminated breast milk was also a source of disease and debilitation (from tuberculosis for example) (Ömer (Akalın), 1339/1923, p. 63). He also warned that reliance on animal milk (*İrzâ’-i sinâî*) indicated either laziness (on the part of typically more affluent mothers) or poverty (due to the young mother being forced to return immediately to work) and that it would ultimately cause weakness, poor development, and even death. The simple chart he provided is replicated below in Figure 7:

| | |
|-----------------------------|----------------------|
| Artificial/Animal Milk | 80 percent mortality |
| Non-continual Breastfeeding | 12 percent mortality |
| Only Breastfeed | 3 percent mortality |

Table 7: **High Rate of Infant Mortality in Infants Nourished on Cow’s Milk From Birth** (Ömer (Akalın), 1339/1923, p. 63).

Dr. Besim Ömer essentialized the Turkish women down to her primary role as a mother, and all good Turkish mothers, he argued, should be properly trained and forced to dispel all foolish folklore and traditional practices. Furthermore, he argued, women should not even be allowed to marry “so long as they don’t learn the proper science of child rearing” as dictated by

this new cadre of experts in fields like obstetrics and sanitary engineering.¹⁷ He laid out three tenets central to this practice of scientific motherhood: first, every mother should, to the best of her ability, breastfeed her own child; in extreme circumstances where this may be impossible, the state should step in and provide hygienic and pure animal milk¹⁸; finally, every girl and young women should be educated in the “science of child rearing” (çocuk büyütmek fenni) (Ömer (Akalin), 1339/1923, p. 71).

The state’s primary role (a nanny state of sorts, although quite different than the pejorative term used in the western European and American contexts since the 1960s) is to ensure primary motherly practices; in short, this meant both the punishment of dereliction of maternal duties and the establishment of an infrastructure of support, particularly for the impoverished factions of Turkish society. Both state founded organizations as well as hybrid state supported yet private foundations, ranging from the Red Crescent Society to the Milk Drops program, to the Mothers’ Union and the Kindness of Mothers’ Society and the more expansive laws and societies geared toward the protection of children (of which more will be said in the following chapter) were incorporated into this vision (Ömer (Akalin), 1339/1923, p. 72-75). In terms of physical infrastructure, he also called upon the state to construct and regulate sanitary dairies and construct nurseries as well as clinics and sanatoriums¹⁹ geared toward obstetrics and

¹⁷ Graphic depictions of this science can be found throughout his writings. This included images displaying the proper use of breast pumps, appropriate methods for swaddling and bathing children, and even charts for analyzing an infant’s stool in order to determine the digestive health of the baby. See images 30 through 35 for a few examples of this.

¹⁸ Dr. Besim Ömer provided lots of examples as to how this should proceed and provided numerous detailed charts and graphics including those that demonstrated how the milk pasteurization process should occur and where facilities should be located with respect to the population. See images 36 and 37.

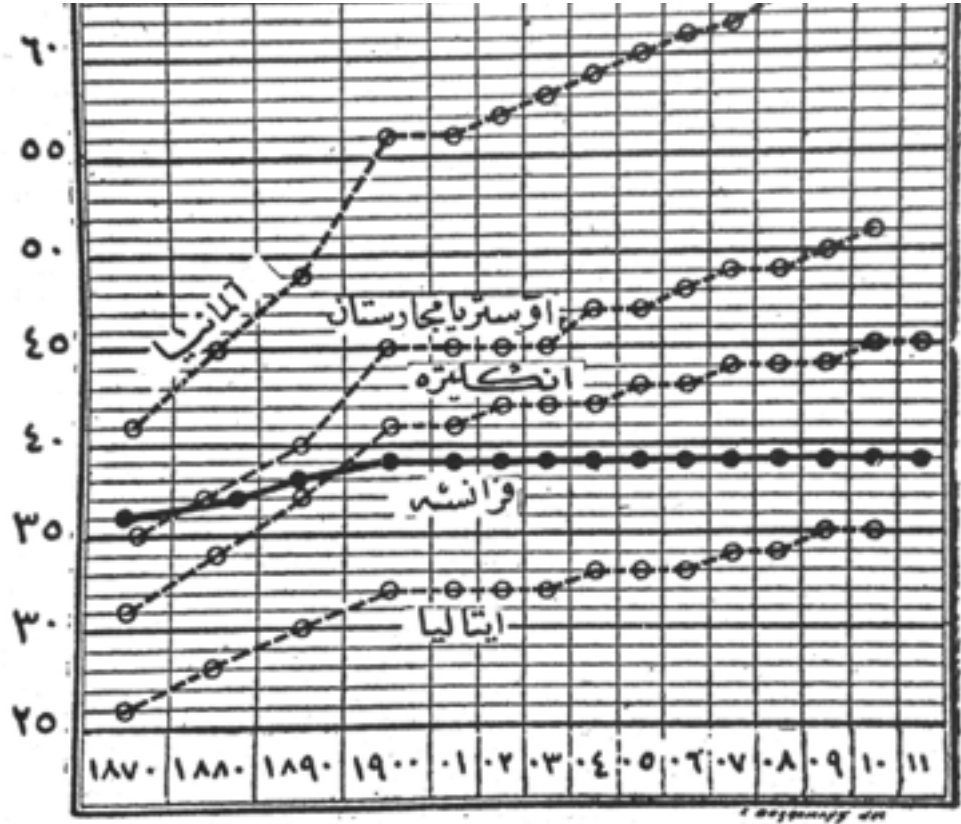
¹⁹ This included the detailed mapping of the layout and structures of these facilities alongside the extolling of their virtues and benefits. See image 38 and 39.

pediatrics that would provide support and regular examines for both infants and their mothers.

Dr. Besim Ömer's governmental vision was expansive with respect to all aspects of maternity and post-maternity. His opinions on child birth and child rearing, as I have demonstrated, mixed scientific observation with patriotic fervor and political grand-standing; this is made all the more interesting when one takes into account not his decades of medical training, Directorship of the Turkish Red Crescent Society during WWI, establishment of professional nursing programs and the training of hundreds of nurses, nor his founding of organizations to combat childhood tuberculosis and preserve general child welfare, but rather the fact that he himself never appears to have married nor had any children. Marriage, the production of children, the preservation of the hygienic domestic sphere: these were all tasks that he deemed essential to the survival of the fledgling Turkish state. Yet he himself didn't directly participate. Instead, he fashioned himself as another symbolic father figure; though, perhaps it would be more appropriate to see him as the metaphorical or archetypal matriarch that engendered modern Turkey's engagement with scientific motherhood, i.e. a sort of transgendered sacrifice to the vatan.

In the chapter that follows, I further explore the production and dissemination of these gendered governmentalities regarding health, hygiene, space, sanitary citizenship, and scientific motherhood. I pay particular attention to the journal of the Turkish Red Crescent Society, but also draw attention to various laws and regulations that emerged during the period.

APPENDIX



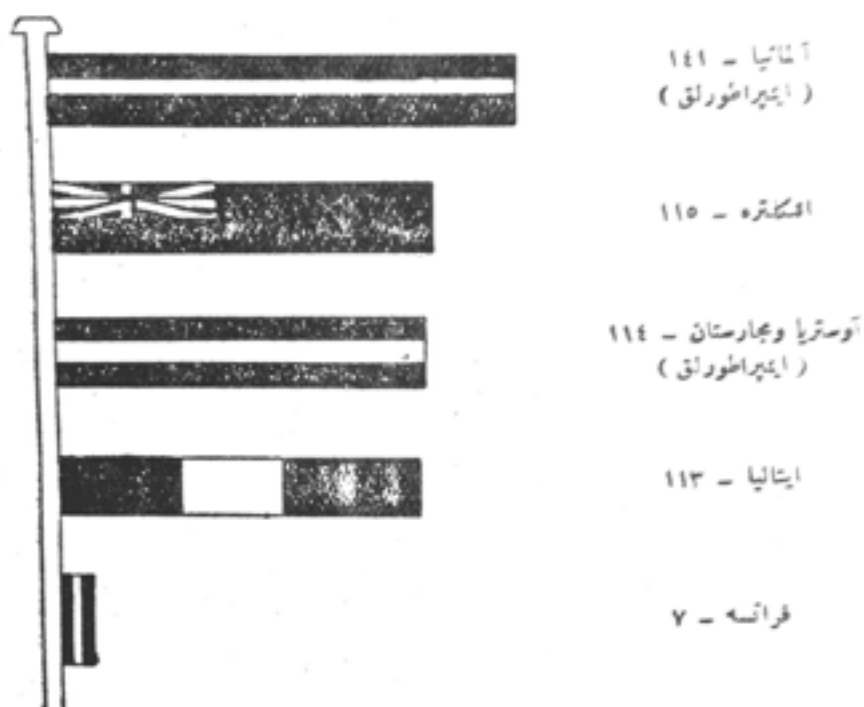
غربی آوروپادہ بڑوک دولترك نفوسى (میلیون حسابیلہ) .

Figure 16: **The Population of Large Countries in Western Europe (in millions)** (Ömer (Akalin), 1339/1923, p. 16).

Note that German is the large trend line on the top of the chart, followed in descending order by Austria/Hungary, England, France, and Italy. He draws attention to France's stagnant population growth via the dark black trend line.

خاندە قەش و بەش سەلر (۱۹۰۰، ۱۹۰۷، ۱۹۱۱) ایسه تناقص
ایتمشدر.

۱۰,۰۰۰ نفوس اوزرینه نسبت (۱۹۱۱)



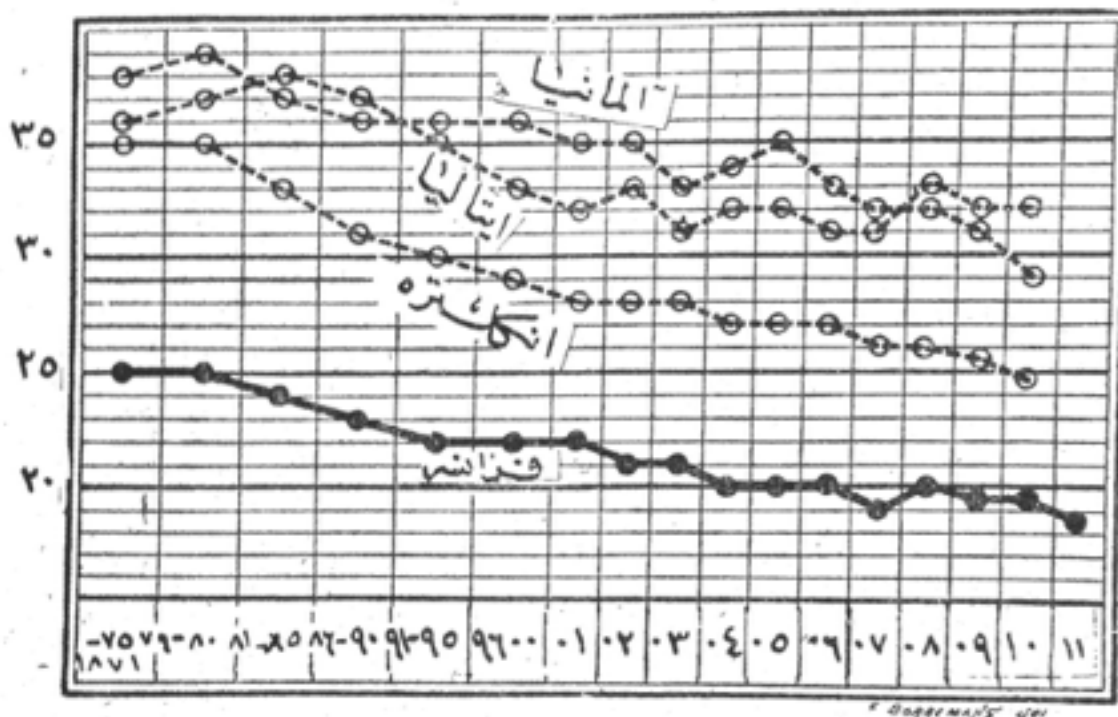
یویراقلر بعض دوللرده ۱۰,۰۰۰ کیشی اوزرینه سنوی (۱۹۱۳)
نفوسک تزايدینی کوستر.

ملل مختلفهده بیک کیشی اوزرینه وسطی اوله رق بهرسنه نفوسک
نسبت تزايدی بروجہ آئیدر:

(۱۸۸۱ — ۱۹۰۰)

Figure 17: **Relative Annual Population Growth Ratio per 10,000**
(Ömer (Akalin), 1339/1923, p. 18).

The German Empire is on top, followed by England, Austria/Hungary, Italy, and France. Period covers 1881-1900.



باشلیجه آوروپا دولترلنده تولدات (۱۰۰۰ نفوسده)

Figure 18: **Crude Birth Rates of the Principle European Countries (per 1000 population)** (Ömer (Akalin), 1339/1923, p. 22).

Note Germany an the top, followed by Italy, England, and France. CBR is generally declining in all of these countries (period between 1875-1911).

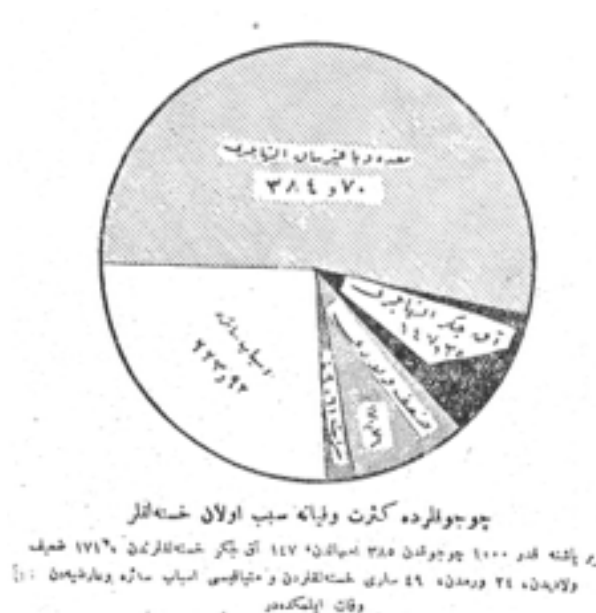
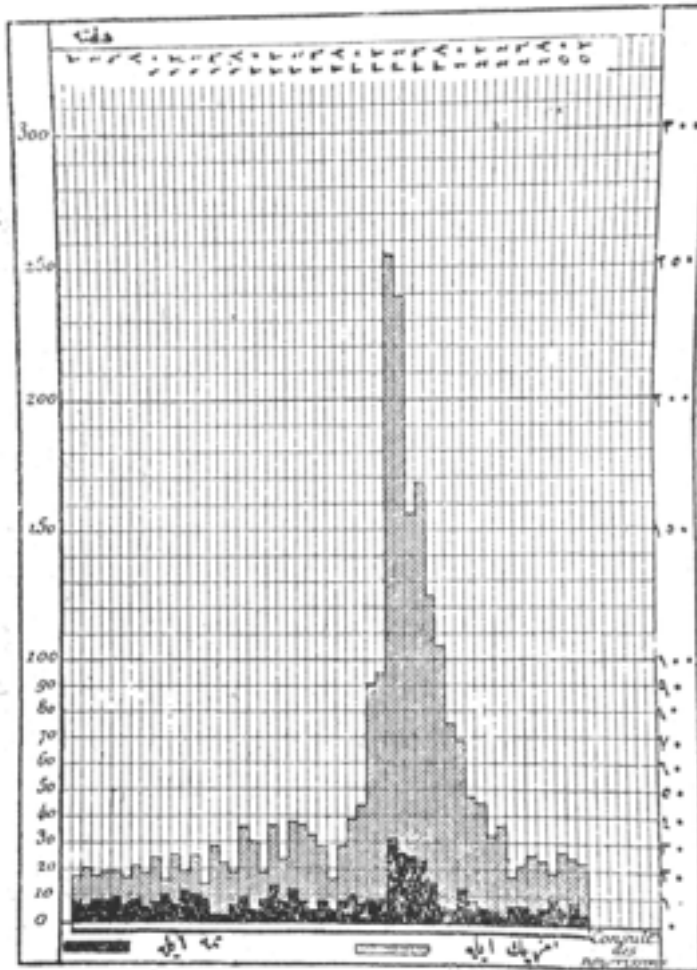


Figure 19: The Primary Causes of Death in Infants (Ömer (Akalın), 1339/1923, p. 60).



Figure 20: The Primary Causes of Death in Infants (Reprint) (Ömer (Akalın), 1936, p. 42).

وفیات اطفاله ارضاعك دخل و تأثیری عظیمدر؛ [اوفلمان]



کوچوک چوققلردن اسهالن ایلری کلن وفیات
آمنیک ایله بویوردیلن چوققلرده وفیات همه آمناردن پک چوق زیاددر.

Figure 21: **Infant Mortality and Type of Nursing** (Ömer (Akalin), 1339/1923, p. 61).

This chart demonstrates recorded infant mortality rates of babies at nursing age. The graph was used to highlight the relatively high spike in infant mortality rates of babies nursed on formula (gray bars) versus those nursed on mother's milk (black bars).

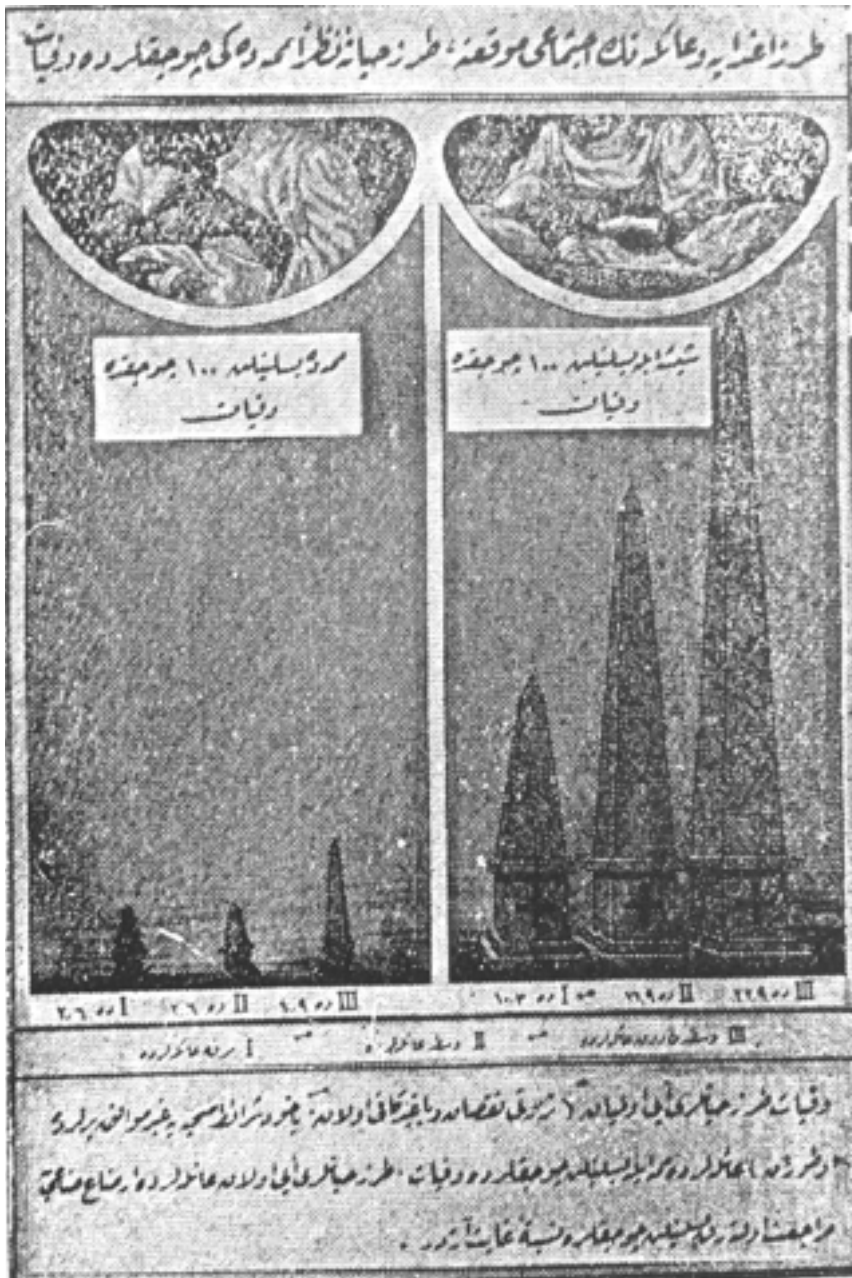
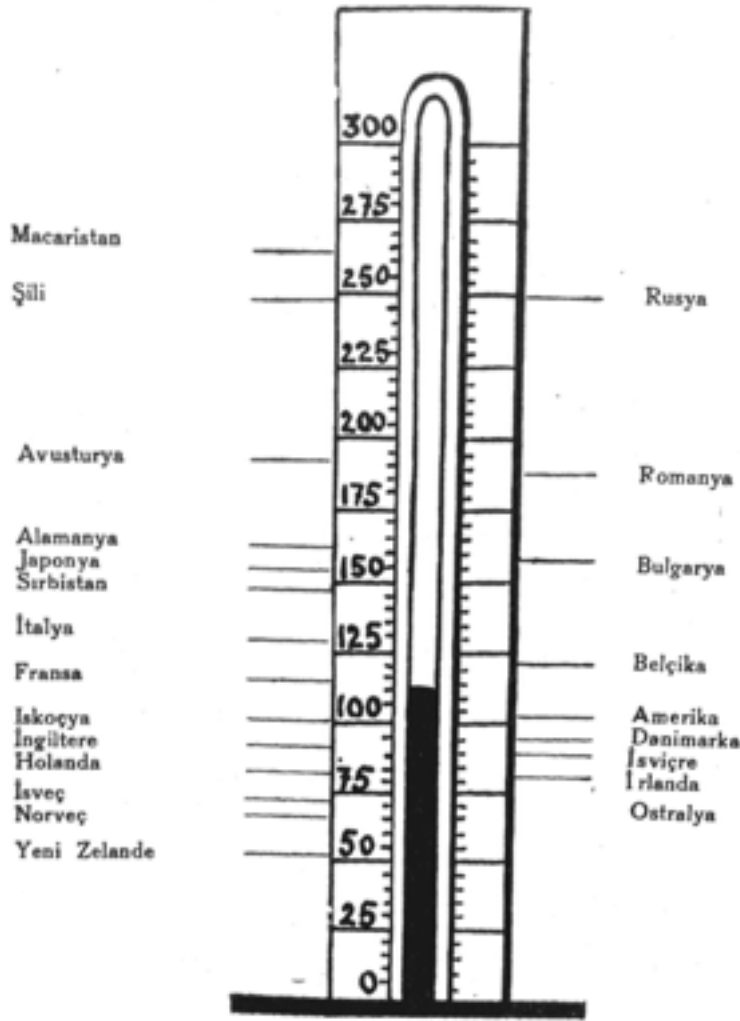


Figure 22: **Infant Mortality Rates of Nursing Age Children** (Ömer (Akalin), 1339/1923, p. 63).

Another graphic chart infant mortality rates of nursing children

Doğan 1000 çocuktan bir yaşına kadar ölenler



Çocuk ölümünü gösteren termometro

Figure 23: **Thermometer of Child Mortality** (Ömer (Akalin), 1339/1923, p. 63).

Top: *Out of every thousand children born, those that die by the age of one.* Bottom: *Thermometer showing the child mortality.*



سوکیلی وطنم ، آمین اول !

Figure 24: **Be Certain, My Beloved Homeland!** (Ömer (Akalin), 1341/1925, p. 2, author's collection).

This sample propaganda piece highlights the fusing of infant care and patriotic duty. These images were typically included alongside the more scientifically oriented graphics and charts.

Anne slt, anne bakımı



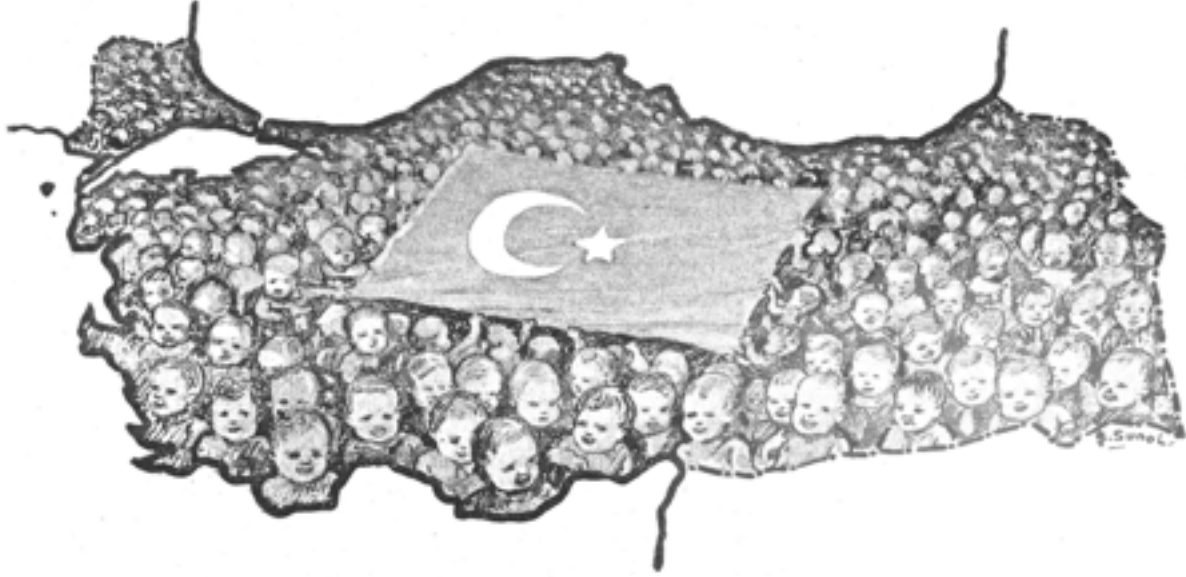
*O pembe yz deęilse hi bir Őey sancak deęil.
O kalmazsa yarına, bir Őey kalacak deęil !
B. K. .*

Figure 25: **Mother's Love and Care** mer (Akalın), 1936, p. 63, author's collection).

Without that pink face the flag is meaningless. Without the child, there is nothing for tomorrow!



Figure 26: **Child and Crescent** (Ömer (Akalın), 1938, Back Cover, author's collection).



Her yıl doğan çocuklarımızı korur ve kurtarırsak,
iyi bakarak gürbüzleştirirsek yurdumuz kuvvetlenir, zengileşir, çok yükselir.

Figure 27: **If We Save and Protect** (Ömer (Akalın), 1938, p. 1, author's collection).

If we save and protect each of our children that is born each year, if we nurture them through good care, our homeland will be strengthened, enriched, and advanced,



Figure 28: **Healthy, Robust Children** (Ömer (Akalin), 1936, p. 22, author's collection).

The child on top (right) is at six weeks and unable to hold its head up. The child on the bottom (left) is now curious about everything. The child in the middle is at ten months and although he is being held, he is able to stand and take a few steps on his own. This is a sample detailed graphic depiction of proper scientific child rearing tactics. These were frequent images in the texts produced by medical experts in Turkey.



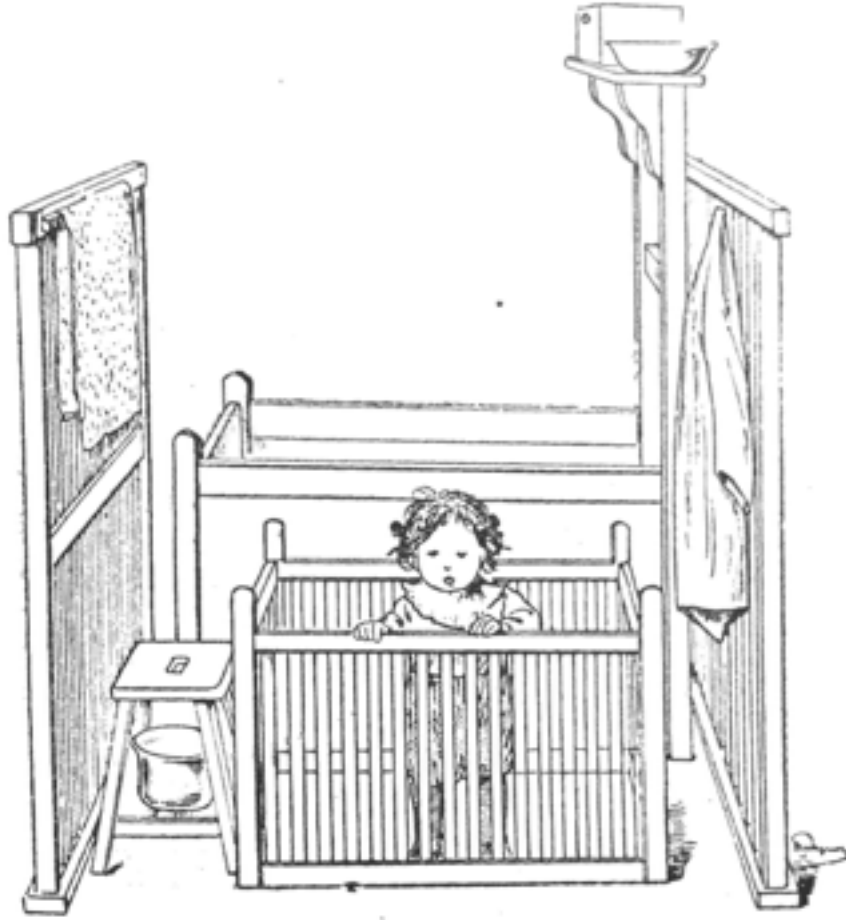
*Barometro havanın alacağı hal bildirdiği gibi çocuğun pislği
hazmın yolunda olup olmadığını gösterir.*

Figure 29: **Baby Feces Barometer** (Ömer (Akalin), 1936, p. 43, author's collection).

Just as the barometer provides information on impending weather conditions, so to is it able to demonstrate whether or not a child's fecal matter indicates healthy digestion
The four categories, clockwise from top, indicate healthy golden stool, indigestion, diarrhea, green and slimy stool.



Figure 30: **The Proper Way to Remove a Newborn Child from the Bath** (Ömer (Akalin), 1341/1925, p. 37, author's collection).



[۱۳۷] -- هنوز صره لایقه ، یوریمکه باشلامش چوجقلره
مخصوص محلی ، باریق

Figure 31: **Special Space Allocated to Children Not Yet Able to Walk** (Ömer (Akalin), 1341/1925, p. 158, author's collection).



Figure 32: **Why Am I Crying?** (Ömer (Akalin), 1936, p. 48, author's collection).

Another sample graphic used to simplify motherhood through the categorization of infant needs and their signals.

Çocuk bol hava ve ziyaya muhtaçtır



Figure 33: **Children Require Ample Fresh Air and Sunlight**
(Ömer (Akalın), 1936, p. 62, author's collection).

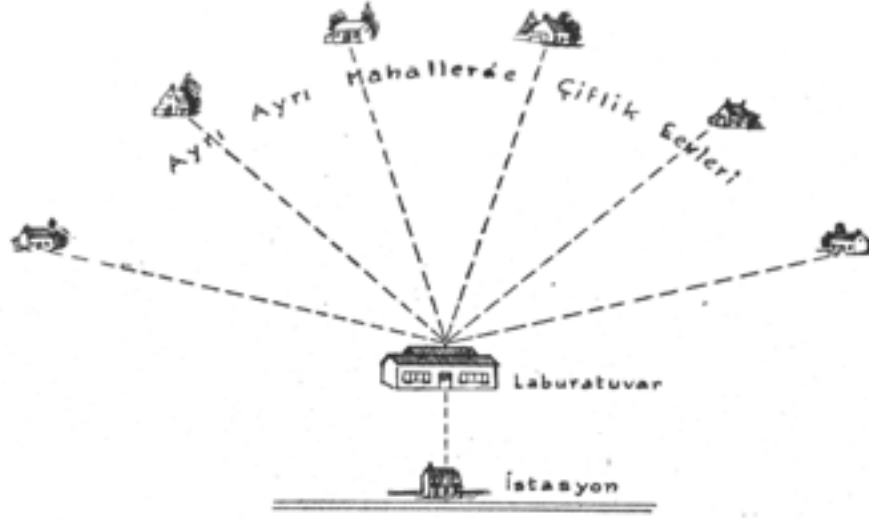


Çok temiz, aseptik sağma, Hususî sağmak mahalli, alt katta şişelerin
sütle doldurulması.

Figure 34: **Clean and Sterile Milking...specialized milking spaces, bottles being filled with milk on the lower level** (Ömer (Akalin), 1936, p. 33, author's collection).

Domestic care was expanded beyond the space of the home to other sites of national well-being.

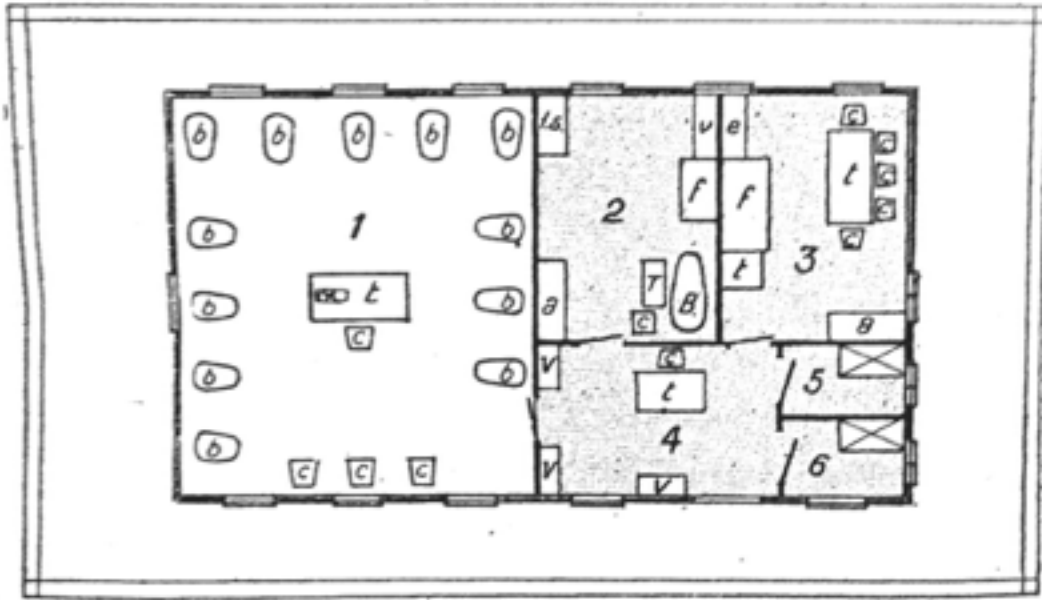
[Sütü pastörleştirme, köylerde toplanup merkezlere getirilen sütü bozulmaksızın şehre, kasabaya, süthaneye gönderebilmek içindir].



Dağınık yerlerden getirilen sütün korunması.

Figure 35: **Ideal Dairy Industry** (Ömer (Akalın), 1936, p. 36, author's collection).

Along the top: *farms in separate neighborhoods*. Center: *pasteurization and testing laboratory*. Bottom: *train station for distribution* (Ömer (Akalın), 1936, p. 36, author's collection).



Bir emzirme odasının planı

1, Emzirme salonu — 2, Kundak, bez değiştirme salonu — 3, Mutfak — 4, Vestibül, Vestier — 5 ve 6, Hastalanı ayırmak için Boks, — a, Dolap, c, Sandaliye, f, Fırın, Ocak, i, s, Kirlî çamaşır, t, Masa, v, Apdesane, B, Banyoluk, T, Halı.

Figure 36: **A Nursing Room Plan** (Ömer (Akalin), 1936, p. 72, author's collection).

1. Nursing Hall. 2. Changing station. 3. Kitchen. 4. Vestibule. 5. and 6. Quarantine station. a. cupboard. c. chair. f. stove and oven. i. furnace. s. dirty laundry. t. table. v. water closet. B. bathtub. T. carpet.

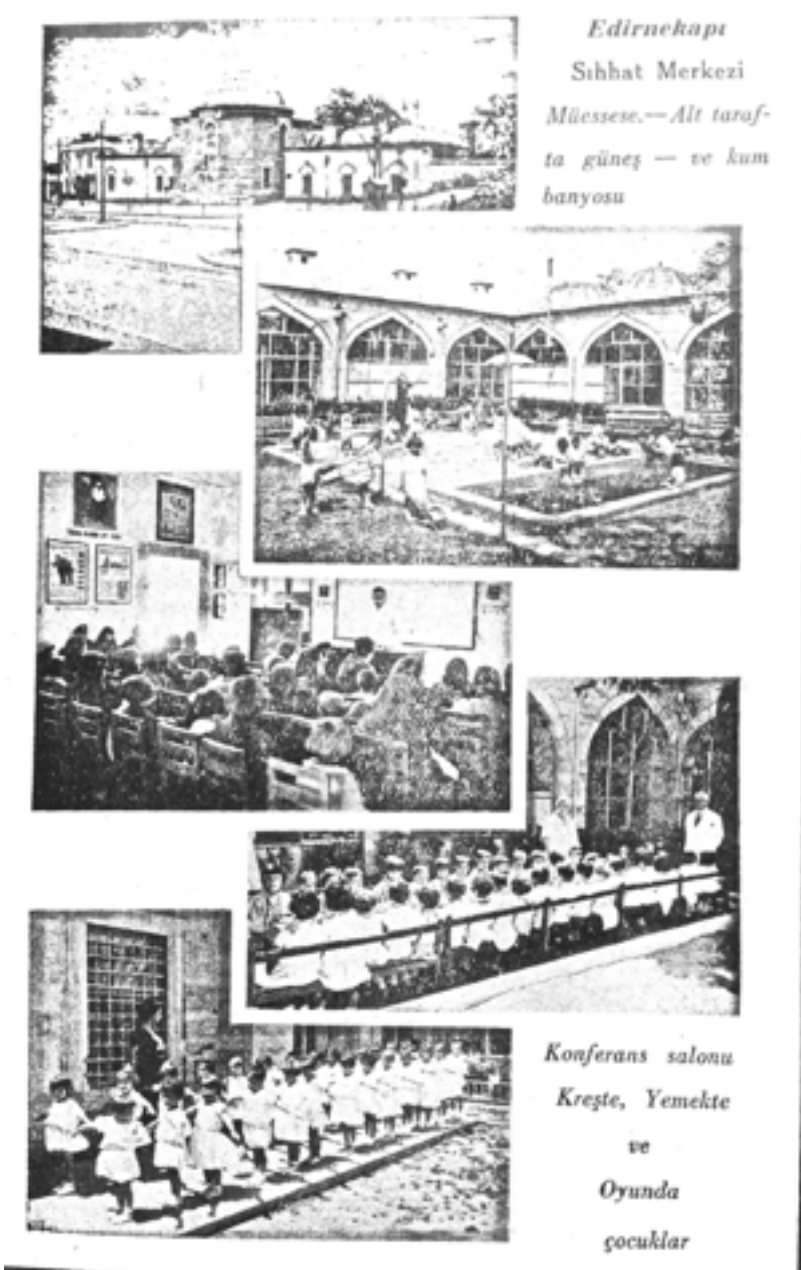


Figure 37: **Edirnekapi Health Center** (Ömer (Akalin), 1936, p. 118).

Facility. Lower level - sun and sand baths. Conference hall, nursery, children at dinner and playtime.

Elbette

Bizim de sızlanmağa, söylenmeğe hakkımız vardır.
Ölmek ve öldürölmek için :



Bunları ve bir de : sosyal bakım ve yardım
İstiyoruz.

Figure 38: **Infant Demands** (Ömer (Akalin), 1936, p. 21, author's collection).

Certainly we also have a right to be heard. In order for us not too die or be killed we require: mother's milk and care, knowledgeable and experienced midwives, protection from flies, to live in sanitary conditions, healthy parents, dry diapers, fresh air and sun, etc. In addition to these we want social care and assistance.

Chapter 5

“How shall we overcome ignorance?”¹: the Red Crescent Magazine & the conscription of sanitary citizens

5.1 Anatomo-politics, biopolitics, and the state

In this fourth and final chapter, I seek to extend the argument developed by Evered and Evered concerning education as an essential apparatus within a state’s “sphere of governing” as it pertains to measuring and directing biopower (2012a) and the rise of preventative forms of medicine (2011). Specifically, “as a practice integral to states’ “conduct of conduct,” (as originally cited in Foucault, 1991, p. 48) schooling/training/propagandizing is a technique exercised in concert with states’ deployments of their resources throughout their territories to fulfill their populations’ perceived needs—and to reassure their populations that these needs have been addressed” (Evered, K.T. & Evered, E.Ö., 2012a, p. 311-312).

Thus far, the documents that I have relied upon have demonstrated various methods by which narratives of health and hygiene, as well as gendered bodies and spaces, were constructed, replicated, and disseminated within and amongst the surfaces of emergence of these narratives. In particular, the social and medical geographies and the writings of Besim Ömer relate interwoven patterns of reasoning and diffuse deployments of power in republican era Turkey as fashioned and practiced within the discourse of public health and the governance of population. These discursive practices reflected the dualistic sense of power that Foucault famously fleshed

¹ Title of lead story in the Hılal-i Ahmer Mecmuası, Issue #90, 15 February 1929

out in *The History of Sexuality, Volume 1: An Introduction*: i.e. over bodies in a direct disciplinary sense (“anatomo-politics of the body”); and through populations in a regulatory capacity (“biopolitics of the population”) (Foucault, 1990, p. 139).

As such, following more traditional understandings of formal power structures, one path of further inquiry might compel the researcher or historian to consider the legal articulation and codification of these efforts at further regulating and mandating health and hygiene reform in the young Republic, i.e. power as conceived in a juridical sense; with regards to the early Turkish Republic, as an authoritarian and single party state, there were numerous examples to consider in this context, including but not limited to such sweeping legal reforms as the 1930 Public Health Law. However in the final chapter, as throughout this dissertation, I have opted to focus less on direct legal ramifications of the Turkish Republic’s increasing fascination with population management in the early years of its founding. Again, this is inspired by (and to some extent partially a comment upon) Hannah’s call for a deep and engaged reading of governmental texts and a selective use of Foucault’s writings in a less than orthodox sense. However, my approach was also inspired by a re-reading of some of Foucault’s own (albeit oftentimes inconsistent and unclear) comments regarding his genealogical method.

As discussed in the literature review/methods chapter at the beginning of this dissertation, Anglophone geographers in particular began reading and engaging with Foucault’s work quite late. Additionally, as discussed by Elden and Crampton in the introduction to *Space, Knowledge, and Power*, (2007) this engagement has tended to center selectively on the so-called ‘later Foucault,’ specifically his posthumously translated lectures (*Society Must Be Defended* (1975-76), *Security, Territory, and Population* (1977-78), and *The Birth of Biopolitics* (1978-79).

Elden and Crampton note that much of this interest, beginning in the mid-1980s, also centered on the translation of interviews with geographers in the French journal *Hérodote* that appeared in the 1980 volume *Power/Knowledge* in which more directly accounts for some of his geographical interests.²

Despite this increasing and sustained interest in Foucault's writings from the perspective of geography, I must re-emphasize at this point the complexity of engaging with Foucault's works in a rigid periodization or from a sheltered perspective within one of these stages (something the 'later' Foucault would have no doubt been intrigued and "amused" by³). As such, a complex balance must be struck when selectively reading Foucault without considering the breadth and transformation of his thought and deployment of concepts. While it is not essential (or perhaps even possible) to remain an orthodox Foucauldian (as Hannah repeatedly reminds us) without choosing one of his various incarnations, an archaeology/genealogy of Foucault's concepts themselves is of some merit; if for no other reason than to draw out previously ignored or under-utilized concepts in his work.

Returning to my original point, in considering one of the foundational arguments put forth by Foucault regarding the nature of power (and biopower) in *The History of Sexuality*, it is important not to remain mesmerized by those fictitious understandings of power promulgated and sustained in the west that center its analysis on the legal and juridical, the restrictive and prohibitory. As such, further considerations of education (institutional or otherwise) as one

² They are careful to note throughout *Space, Knowledge, and Power* that Foucault himself never seemed to focus solely on the spatial or geographic in his work (Crampton and Elden, 2007).

³ When asked in an interview, essentially, why the second volume of *The History of Sexuality* did not follow directly from the plan outlined in the first, Foucault casually remarked "I changed my mind. When a piece of work is not also an attempt to change what one thinks and even what one is, it is not very amusing."

apparatus of the state directed at biopower are essential; however, I note that such an emphasis may still suffer from an over-emphasis on “top-down” as opposed to “bottom-up” deployments of power if it only considers institutionally directed and centrally mandated educational methods and propagandizing techniques. This is a difficult problem to overcome given the limited availability and/or existence of certain archival materials.

In the chapter that follows, I emphasize the educational capacities of one such ‘authority of delimitation’ in the early Turkish Republic; the Turkish Red Crescent Society (Red Cross Society). Specifically, I will consider the publication of its own magazine; this was a publication that, like the writings of Dr. Ömer, straddled both the technological, expert, and jargonistic, as well as the mundane and general-audience-oriented. I have emphasized the interwar period (roughly 1921-1941) though the majority of directly relevant articles appeared between roughly 1924-1935. Finally, I have outlined in the paragraph below the three primary reasons why I have selected this publication as an extension of my argument thus far; I hope that my reasoning will become clearer following a brief discussion of the history of the organization and its role in the transition from the Ottoman Empire into the Turkish Republic.

First, many of the Republic’s leading medical authorities, including Dr. Besim Ömer, served as executive officers with the Red Cross Society. As such, the organization’s agenda (aside from those activities explicitly mandated of all institutions party to and/or ratifiers of the 1863 International Red Cross Convention) was often a reflection of the individual interests of executive members (Hüsna, 2004, p. 60191). Second, while wartime humanitarian aid and disaster relief were two of the major tasks of the Red Cross Society, beginning in the mid-1920s public health became an increasingly important focus — sometimes to the extreme level of

micro-management and micro-scale regulation of individual bodily functions, care, nutrition, etc. The title of this chapter itself is a direct play on the Red Crescent's overall place in the geographical imaginary of wartime (even-in-peacetime) activities and the frequent use of militaristic metaphors in public health propaganda. Finally, again partly due to the nature of the individuals at its helm, the Red Cross Society often emphasized population management, infant mortality, and domestic care; realms that were highly gendered as female but often intervened upon by predominately male doctors and medical experts (though as many short histories of the Red Cross Society note, they also promoted the mediated entrance of women into the regulated field of medicine as nurses).

Following a short history I critically assess twenty years of the Red Cross Society's *Hilal-i Ahmer Mecmuasi*, i.e. the Red Crescent Magazine.⁴ I provide an overall accounting of the types and style of stories and articles presented in the journal, focusing primarily on those concerned with population management and the promotion of domestic (space of the home) health and hygiene practices; that being said, I will also reflect on shifting trends and emphases within the journal as they related to historical preoccupations. Following this 20 year survey of the journal, book-ended by wars and consequently a dramatic shift in the focus of the publication beginning in the mid-1930s, I situate the narrative presented in the context of my overarching argument regarding the biopolitical imperatives of the Turkish state as they pertained to health, gender, and space —and more specifically, the “problem of population” — in the early decades of the twentieth century.

⁴ This would undergo several gradual name changes, eventually become the *Kızılay Derneği* following first the official administrative end of the Ottoman Empire (1923) and later the Turkish language (script reform in 1928, establishment of the Turkish Language Institute in 1932).

5.2 The Red Crescent Society in the context of public health in the early Turkish Republic

While it is nearly impossible to step into a bookstore in major cities like Ankara or Istanbul without seeing a general or pictorial history of the Red Crescent Society (common titles might proclaim *Kızılay Derneği tarihçesi* — a short history of the Red Crescent Society — or occasionally under its Ottoman Era title *Hilal-i Ahmer Cemiyeti*)⁵ critical histories of the organization are significantly less common. That being said, Turkish scholars have produced a few notable works (in both English and Turkish) and I present a few of those here as they relate to my general argument.

First, a bit of background on the history of the Red Crescent Society. In general, the Ottoman/Turkish incarnation of the Red Crescent Society has a fairly discontinuous and sputtering origin story. While the Ottoman Empire originally ratified the International Red Cross and Red Crescent Movement on July 5th, 1865, roughly one year after the Geneva Convention that birthed it, the Ottoman Red Crescent Society was actually founded three separate times before it finally took hold in 1911. While medical professionals like the Ottoman Red Crescent's initial founder Dr. Abdullah Bey took an interest in the overall philosophy of the Red Cross/Red Crescent movement, i.e. the neutral assistance of wounded soldiers reconceptualized after injury as noncombatants, the Ottoman military in particular remained suspicious of the deployment of non-military individuals in wartime. As such, interest and support in the maintenance of the Red Crescent Society periodically waxed and waned.

⁵ More recent examples include *Hilal-i Ahmer'den Kızılay'a (from the Ottoman Red Crescent to the Turkish Red Crescent* - the title reflects the impact of the language reform as well as structural changes) by Akgün, S. K., & Uluğtekin, M. (2001).

In terms of less general and more topically oriented histories, it is quite easy to find passing reference to the influence of both the organization and its executive membership in the founding and support of modern nursing throughout the late Ottoman era and early Republic. This histories are commonplace in journals focused on nursing and nursing education and tend to follow a rather formulaic pattern as evidenced by this opening passage from a standard example;

Florence Nightingale has considerable influence on the implementation of nursing in Turkey in a modern sense. Professor Dr. Besim Ömer Akalin, representative of the Red Crescent Association, went to London in 1907 to attend the Red Cross Conference. When he met Florence Nightingale during this conference he was very impressed with her personality and her professional activities...(Uyer, 1984, p. 209).

In fact, this narrative style is so commonplace in histories on the role of the Red Crescent in the establishment and promotion of nursing and nursing education programs that authors occasionally do not even bother to change the titles of their pieces.⁶ Other historical themes include considerations of the relationship between the Red Cross and Red Crescent Societies (Benthall, 1997)⁷ and the Red Crescent Society's war-time activities (Korkut, 2013).

However, One of the more 'critical' strands of Red Crescent historiography considers the role of the institution as a 'civil society organization.' In these approaches, an emphasis is placed

⁶ For example, compare Uyer's publication in the *International Journal of Nursing Studies* in 1984 (Nursing education in Turkey: past and present) with Bahçecik and Alpar's more recent piece (2009) in *Nurse education today* (Nursing education in Turkey: From past to present). A slightly less similar but still derivative example can be seen in Dal and Kitiş's piece from 2008 in *The Online Journal of Issues in Nursing* (The historical development and current status of nursing in Turkey).

⁷ *Hilal-i Ahmer Mecmuası* often presented stories within its own publication that related the foundational relationship between this institutions. Annual retellings of this history were a common theme within the magazine.

on complicating and contextualizing the shifting spaces and symbolism of various public assistance programs (ranging from poor houses and orphanages to the Red Crescent itself) in the volatile Second Constitutional period ushered in by the Young Turk Revolution (1908). For example, in the tradition of historians working on alternative articulations of modernization, Özbek (1999) described “the emergence of modern poor-relief institutions in the late-nineteenth-century Ottoman Empire not as a sign of modernization, progress, or the very first signs of a welfare state” (p. 5). Instead, he argued that pre-Second Constitutional Era humanitarian and poor-relief organizations (which tended to include the frequently false-starting Red Crescent Society⁸) were Hamidian symbolic extensions in an era in which, due to his increasingly conspiratorial suspicions, Abdülhamid II kept himself sequestered despite an increasingly visible and penetrating presence of government in the everyday lives of citizens.

As such, the orphanage and poorhouse were expressions of “sultanic authority” and assurances to the populace of the Sultan’s care and protection of his people (Özbek, 1999, p. 13). Geography played a prominent role in that these institutions were sited in highly prominent and symbolic locations within the capital (e.g. the placement of the poorhouse, *Darülaceze*, on the hills of Kağıthane, a relatively uncrowded site that had served as an upperclass recreational area for over a century) (Özbek, 1999, p. 15). As such, Özbek argued that it was “political competition” along with the shifting landscape of the Empire in wartime (Italian war of 1911-1912, Balkan Wars of 1912-1913) that fueled Young Turk interest in the largely ignored Red Crescent Society (Özbek, 1999, 2007). To put it simply, it offered them an opportunity to

⁸ As detailed above.

counter the Hamidian vision of relief and welfare with one of “public assistance” (Özbek, 1999, p. 22).

As an extension of this critical history offered by Özbek, Hüsnü Ada has also argued for a more nuanced understanding of the shifting relationship between the Red Crescent society and the Turkish State. Ada’s evaluation provides support for my own critical reading of the Red Crescent Society’s magazine as a discursive practice situated in the dynamic interaction amongst local centers in the skein of power/knowledge that constituted public health and assistance and the production of sanitary citizens in the early decades of the Turkish Republic. For example, he noted that as both a consequence of its reactivation during wartime and as a result of its much-lauded and sustained efforts at providing beneficial relief and disaster assistance in a time of great turmoil, the Red Crescent was able to quickly garner the support and trust of the general populace (Ada, 2004, p. 2). Additionally, in the first years of the Republic, the Red Crescent Society also curried favor with the new political elite in Ankara due to the valuable assistance and communication link it provided being Ankara in Istanbul as a last-minute hold-out in the occupied former imperial capital (Ada, 2004, p. 36). Finally, Ada also considered the activities and functions of the society in relation to a schema of ‘interests’ that undergirded the society’s structure.

While many of the Red Crescent’s activities were related to its charter (wartime relief, disaster aid, etc), several of the society’s day-to-day interests were reflections of individual personalities in the executive echelon of the organization (e.g. individuals like Besim Ömer) (p. 81). Ada’s critical historical account offers much to my own reading of the organization in relation to the discourse of public health and sanitary citizenship. Both he and Özbek provide

interesting accounts of the ways in which the image of the Red Crescent Society rose in the public trust. In the sections that follow I consider the Red Crescent Society in this light, as an established semi-organ or apparatus of government, one that was given legitimacy in wartime and extended itself in peace-time via the discourses of health, hygiene, population management — a node in the skein of power/knowledge in the early Republic. As in the other chapters, I focus on gendered articulations in this context. However, I do this not simply as a means of narrowing the scope of the this study, but because the spaces of gender and hygiene were especially salient subjects of these discourses.

First, I provide an overview of the *Hilal-i Ahmer Mecmuasi* between 1921-1941 by detailing the common themes and narratives that appeared. I will include a general translation of all article titles during this period at the end of the chapter. While many of the common topics that appeared pertained to the chartered interests of the Red Cross/Red Crescent Societies (wartime aid, assistance to refugees, disaster relief, fellowship between the societies, the establishment of youth oriented Red Crescent organizations) many articles focus on rather mundane and sometimes invasive hygienic practices. Population politics are also a dominant theme. Finally, a major shift in focus and a panicked demarcates the last few years in the run-up to the Second World War. Throughout the discussion I will draw attention to the gendered emphasis of many of the articles, particularly as they relate to population management and domestic sanitation and hygiene.

5.3 Reading the Red Crescent: from population exchange to chemical warfare preparedness and all the mundane spaces in-between.

The Red Crescent Society magazine (*Hilal-i Ahmer mecmuasi* - RCSM) was a primary source for both the articulation and dissemination of Red Crescent activities as well as general public health and hygiene news, concerns, and advice at the local, national, and global scales. As previously discussed, due in part to its semi-independent chartered status but also to the unstable particularities of its founding, it cannot be situated neatly as a direct mouthpiece of state policy. However, following Foucault's methodological argument in *The History of Sexuality* (1990) regarding analyses of power/knowledge and discursive formations,⁹ it is useful to analyze the Red Crescent Society and its publication as a 'local center' in the matrix of discourses regarding public health and hygiene in the Turkish Republic. The RCSM didn't merely replicate narratives about health, disease, gender, space, and citizenship; it was also producing new ones, altering older arguments, and as such altering their very conceptualization of the connection between hygiene and the state. Additionally, as Ada noted, the Red Crescent Society was tactically successful in garnering widespread support amidst the general population; this was, no doubt, due in part to its perceived (if not completely real) autonomous status.

In terms of discursive practices, the RCSM was of course heavily shaped by the militaristic language of crisis, conflict, aid, and relief. This is most obvious in the articles that are directly related to the chartered activities of the Red Crescent society: e.g. refugee assistance,

⁹ As discussed in the methods section, Foucault refers to these specific (and inherently spatial) characteristics as *immanence* (the capacity for power to emerge from local centers), *continual variations* (the shifting capacities of power within matrices of local centers), *double conditioning* (powers mutual constitution of local centers as well as overall strategies), and *polyvalance of discourses* (the tactical deployment and emergence of discourses) (Foucault, 1990, p. 98-101).

earthquake and fire emergency response, etc. However, the metaphors and modes of language are also prevalent in various topics presented by the RSCM pertaining to the increasing prominence of public health and hygiene. It should also be noted that, like the writings of Besim Ömer, it was not always clear to whom the publication was being targeted. The inner workings and proceedings of the Red Crescent Society, its bylaws, and fiscal accounts, seem directed at a more elite and educated crowd. Yet some of the more propagandistic health pieces are clearly aimed at a general audience. One can assume that publications were either targeted toward a general audience or to medical practitioners and government employees with the hopes that the information provided inside would be spread widely. There were also frequent calls for membership that occurred throughout the publication run.

The chartered activities of the Red Crescent Society (wartime, refugee, disaster management and relief) do dominate many issues of the RSCM between 1921 and 1941 (of which 176 issues were published between these years).¹⁰ Nearly every issue includes short news reports and updates on the activities of both the Red Cross and the Red Crescent Organization as well as spotlight pieces on various local branches.¹¹ Another semi-frequent featurette was the inclusion of short historical retellings of the origin and transformation of both the Red Cross and Red Crescent Society. These pieces were occasionally accompanied by poems and short stories and were often affiliated with pledge and membership drives. Finally, it was also commonplace to see articles regarding the funding sources and spending activities of the organizations as well

¹⁰ The Red Crescent Society published one issue a month (the 15th of every month) between 1921-1931. In 1932, the publication switched to a 6 issue a year publication rate with new issues coming out roughly every other month.

¹¹ In the section below, I will highlight some of these as they relate to population management and hygiene practices in other states; this contrasts with the typical “regional update” pieces that look at war relief and disaster aid activities of various Red Cross and Crescent divisions (Japan, India, etc).

as developments in the establishment of new regional branches, neighborhood organizations, and youth Red Cross/Crescent divisions.

In terms of the most common thematic topics, stories regarding the status of refugees and victims of the occupations and population transfers associated with the end of WWI and the Turkish/Greek imbroglio dominated the pages of the publication. Between 1921-1931, these sorts of articles appeared no less than 36 times. Another consistent focus of the publication was nursing education, which appeared some 34 times between 1921-1938. Other common story themes are as follows, in terms of frequency of appearance:

Public health and hygiene: 39 times

Earthquakes and assistance victims 23 times

The health of children, their proper nutrition and protection: 21 times

Health and hygiene propaganda films: 18 times

Dealing with parasites and parasitic animals (fleas, rats, flies, bedbugs) in the home: 15 times

Fire and assistance for victims: 10 times

Syphilis: 7 times (not including stories on venereal diseases collectively)

Tuberculosis: 7 times (between 1923-1928)

Drug and alcohol abuse: 6 times

Small Pox: 6 times (prior to 1925)

Infant mortality: 4 times

Table 8: List of Commonly Occurring Topics

Returning briefly to Foucault in order to contextualize the various shifting components of the discourses on “sanitary citizenship” and “scientific motherhood” that appeared in the RCS journal, recall that as part of his genealogy of sexuality and the simultaneous constitution of the subject category sex, psychiatry, law, the church, etc, “deployed” sexuality as a means for diagnosing and delineating certain “strategic unities” as part of the process of “form(ing) specific mechanisms of power and knowledge centered on sex” (Foucault, 1990, p. 102): specifically, the “hysterization of women’s bodies” (rendering them as highly sex objects requiring numerous regulatory interventions); the “pedagogization of children’s sex” (the simultaneous naturalization and abnormalization of children’s sexual activities and proclivities allowing for the early introduction of proper sexual conduct via education); “the socialization of procreative behavior” (the linking of managed and scientifically curated reproduction as occurring in idealized husband/wife couplings as a vital duty on behalf of the state while disparaging against, and in fact rendering as diseased and perhaps depraved, various forms of birth control); and finally, the “psychiatrization of perverse pleasure” (the concretization of previously nebulous yet diffuse sexual practices into medicalized categories of abnormality, i.e. the transformation of sodomy into numerous sexuality-identity categories and the numerous instrument effects this produced) (Foucault, 1990, p. 103-104). These delineations were indicative of gradual transformation in the power of the state vis-à-vis life and death.¹² As disciplinary power shifted toward biopower, the anatomo-politics of the state (power directed over and through the body

¹² Interestingly enough, I want to point out that a series of articles between issue 73 and issue 85 (10 separate articles) appeared with the evocative title “What are Life and Death” and focused on both the philosophical and practical meanings of these concepts in a unification of spirituality and medicine, nationalism and everyday existence.

itself) became further indistinguishable from the biopolitical (power directed over and through populations).

The articles in the RCS journal, when viewed within this framework, offer an interesting glimpse at the Turkish state's discursive "polyvalence" with respect to population, health, place, and gender. It is of note that not all of Foucault's deployments appear in the various articles; the pedagogization of children's sex and the psychiatrization of perverse pleasure seem entirely absent from the journal...though the rhetoric of silence regarding these issues speaks volumes. Nonetheless, his insights into the connection between the "two poles" of the governmental "power over life," produced in slightly different temporalities (with the anatomico-political predating the biopolitical) and the "intermediary cluster of relations" produced in the interstitial space between these poles, i.e. the actions, policies, and statements made regarding the mutual regulation of body and population, their dissemination, and finally their degree of uptake by the population at large, are instructional.

The RCS journal, from the standpoint of the anatomico-political and biopolitical, certainly emphasizes the hysterization of women's bodies and the socialization of procreative behavior. To a lesser extent, one can argue that while the pedagogization of child's sex is certainly absent from the articles, most other behaviors of all social groups and age categories certainly are instructionalized often to minute detail. The absence of child sexuality in the journal is of note and requires additional research into the various standards and practices regarding youth sexuality in the late Ottoman and early Turkish Republic. In addition, numerous works have considered the shifting discourses on so-called sexual perversity throughout the broader Middle East, and their absence here could be considered a product of this complex era of

transformation.¹³ With these facts in mind, I will focus primarily on the appearance of discourses regarding gender, place, health and population in line with these two Foucauldian deployments: i.e., the hysterization of women (HW) and the socialization of procreative behavior (SPB). Furthermore, for the sake of simplicity I have grouped the diversity of HW and SPB discourses into two general categories due to their overwhelming presence throughout the 20 year, inter-war publication period assessed: articles pertaining to the so-called “problem of population” and the many points where this concern intersects with arguments regarding the fostering of scientific motherhood; articles regarding the production of sanitary citizens. While one might also consider labeling the first category “the biopolitical imperatives of the state” and the second category “the anatomo-political imperatives of the state,” such a delineation would unnecessarily bifurcate that which I seek to unite.

¹³ See, for example:

Najmabadi, A. (2005). Women with mustaches and Men without beards. *Gender and Sexual Anxieties of Iranian Modernity*. Berkeley, 366. (Also the book by the same name for a more detailed analysis of Iranian encounters with shifting sexual mores.

In the Ottoman context, consider:

Ze'evi, D. (2006). *Producing desire: changing sexual discourse in the Ottoman Middle East, 1500-1900* (Vol. 52). Univ of California Press.

Kalpikli, M. (2005). *The age of beloveds: love and the beloved in early-modern Ottoman and European culture and society*. Duke University Press.

5.3a The population problem & scientific motherhood and the Red Crescent Society

Following decades of war, social disruption, and (given the perspective of many of the medical professionals contributing to the publication), Imperial neglect, the RCS journal was filled with concern regarding the science and politics of population calculation and management and the so-called “problem of population” looming over Turkey and Europe in general; this frequently manifested itself in the publication in anti-Malthusian rhetoric and public health assessments regarding the impact of infectious and venereal diseases on the genetic stock of the nation¹⁴ and the causes and effects of infant mortality both at home and abroad. Below are a listing of sample articles by year and issue number that exemplify the parameters of this categorization:

Issue # 26: 15 October 1923 - Public Health and Tuberculosis

Issue # 27: 15 November 1923 - Public Health and Syphilis

Issue # 28: 15 December 1923 - Public Health and Smallpox

Issue # 30: 15 February 1925 - Public Health and Scabies

Issue # 31: 15 March 1924 - Flies and Nursing

Issue # 32: 15 April 1924 - Public Health and Roundworm

Issue # 33: 15 May 1924 - Public Health and Infant Mortality

Table 9: Articles Pertaining to the Population Problem and Scientific Motherhood

¹⁴ See part four and five of *The History of Sexuality Volume I*

Table 9 (cont'd)

| | |
|-------------|---|
| Issue # 35: | 15 July 1924 - The Population Issue |
| Issue # 36: | 15 August 1924 - Population Politics; the Science of Marriage** ¹⁵ |
| Issue # 37: | 15 September 1924 - Public Health and Marriage |
| Issue # 39: | 15 November 1924 - Benefits of Improvements to Public and Military Health |
| Issue # 42: | 15 February 1925 - Malaria Education in School; Public Health and Malaria ^{16**} |
| Issue # 50: | 15 October 1925 - Public Health and Fresh Air; Population Politics** |
| Issue # 52: | 15 December 1925 - Comparative Statistics Regarding Child Birth in America |
| Issue # 53: | 15 January 1926 - Public Health and the Protection of Children; Miscarriage** |
| Issue # 54: | 15 February 1926 - Public Health and Typhus; Programs for the Protection of Woman and Children in America; Children's Proper Nutrition** |
| Issue # 55: | 15 Mart 1926 - Vital Demographic Statistics; Syphilis and its Impact on Bloodline; Public Health and Trachoma** |
| Issue # 57: | 15 May 1926 - Health in Schools; General Medical Precautions; the Impact of Venereal Diseases** |
| Issue # 60: | 15 August 1926 - Impact of Excessive Heat on Infant Mortality |
| Issue # 66: | 15 February 1927 - The Role of Milk in Children's Proper Bodily Development |
| Issue # 69: | 15 May 1927 - Public Health and Infant Mortality |
| Issue # 70: | 15 June 1927 - The Detrimental Social Impact of Abortion and Miscarriage |
| Issue # 72: | 15 August 1927 - Medical Advice to Young Turkish Women |

¹⁵ ** indicates that these are two separate articles

¹⁶ The discussion on Malaria is continued in issue #43 a month later, focusing on many of the same concerns that were articulated in the *Medical and Social Geographies*

Table 9 (cont'd)

Issue # 79: 15 March 1928 - Assistance for Pregnant Women¹⁷

Issue # 83: 15 July 1928 - Infant Mortality¹⁸

Issue # 102: 15 February 1930 - Our Children Don't Want to Eat!

Issue # 104: 15 April 1930 - Very Busy Fathers

Issue # 124: 15 May 1932 - How Shall We Nourish Our Children?

Issue # 136: 15 June 1934 - Providing Lunches to Malnourished Students

Issue # 135: 15 April 1934 - The Importance of Child Protection; The Politics of National Population.

A few general comments on the overall nature of articles in this first category.

Campaigns against disease were a primary preoccupation of the journal, especially those considered the “four ferocious monsters,” i.e. Syphilis, Gonorrhea, Malaria, and Tuberculosis. Trachoma, Smallpox, Typhus and a host of other ailments with observed and perceived debilitating impacts on the overall population were also emphasized. Occasional references to state-sponsored programs for the support of parents appear throughout the journal, including assistance for working fathers, training of mothers, and nutritional assistance for students. Other general trends included a sustained emphasis on the importance of developing and incorporating demographic statistics (calculating biopower) as a vital state activity. Infant mortality was especially emphasized, often in relation to foreign (typically European) figures. I also want to draw attention to a few important shifts in focus in the general trend of the articles. The most

¹⁷ This topic was continued the following month.

¹⁸ This topic was continued the following month.

notable trend is the gradual decline overall in health and sanitation topics towards the middle of the 1930s as more pressing matter of war in Europe began to rear its head (specifically, concern over the use and impact of chemical weapons). Second, and more important with respect to this study, is the tendency toward articles emphasizing sanitary citizenship gradually increasing in number in the 1930s as articles focused on “the population issue” and the promotion of scientific motherhood via discussions of infant mortality and proper birthing practices and child rearing began to decline. I will return to this last point in the next section. However, before doing so I will spend some time enunciating the myriad articulations and apparatuses that constitute the formation of “the population issue” and its corresponding discourse of scientific motherhood.

While there are abundant examples to draw from, I will focus on two particular articles in detail as a means for illustrating some of the most common discursive practices that were utilized with respect to the discourses of population management and scientific motherhood. First, I focus on an article from issue # 50 (1925) entitled *Dr. Besim Ömer Paşa’s Important Conference Regarding ‘Population Politics’ - ‘Let Us Not Deceive Ourselves’* as a means for connecting this chapter’s discussion thematically to the prior chapter (via the authority of delimitation extraordinaire, Dr. Besim Ömer). I then consider this piece alongside an interesting article from issue # 84 (1928) entitled *Is Child Mortality In Our Country Quite High?* in order to highlight the so-called polyvalence, or constantly shifting multiplicity of statements, strategies, and practices, that make up the formation of a discourse such as ‘Population Politics’ and its gendered counterpart of Scientific Motherhood.

The first article, *Population Politics*, is written from the perspective of an unnamed member of the audience (who is also a doctor) to a speech delivered by Dr. Besim Ömer before a

group of students at a school for the instruction of male teachers. This observer remarked that, while the Doctor began his speech congratulating the nation on its burgeoning successes in the fields of public health and sanitation, which had resulted in revolutionary changes in society, and by emotionally expressing the need to consider as a sacred task the recognition of those who had given their lives in sacrifice to the nation, he melded this emotional introduction (in my estimation, rather directly and ungracefully) into an articulation of population politics, what it meant, and how it directly effected both the audience (male teachers) and the nation as a whole (p. 200).

Several themes emerged which demonstrate overall trends throughout the course of the publication's various articles that emphasize population, infant mortality, and scientific motherhood. First, is the constant effort to incorporate statistical analyses (despite their "deficient" character at that time) of population as well as a corollary attempt at providing general instruction regarding the value of demography to healthful and successful statecraft. Take, for instance, his inclusion of a German study on comparative population densities (per square km) in Turkey (16) as contrasted with Belgium (251), England and Wales (239), Italy (121), Germany (120), and France (74) to which he noted that "if a nation's population is not in-line with other nearby nations, the situation is quite dangerous" (p. 201).

He goes on to articulate some of the most commonly heard refrains within the discourse of population politics; i.e. the notion that, despite the exceptional fecundity of Turkish women, infant mortality rates are morbidly high. With a flair for the dramatic, he noted that nearly 70 percent (unreferenced) "die...no, in fact they are murdered. How many friends of lucky young men named Yaşar have perished...?" Again, he juxtaposes this qualitative consideration

alongside quantitative comparative demographics of declining infant mortality rates in Europe (p. 201). These discursive tactics reveal the efforts to rearticulate individuals and communities as ‘population’ via the grid of specification ‘demography’ as a natural and progressive step, one integrally connected to the imperatives of nationalism which saw the fusing of population and territory as vital to a nation’s survival.

For Dr. Besim Ömer and other medical professionals associated with the RCS, the pathway to sustained population growth is clearly linked to regulatory interventions into the domestic (and personal) sphere via such measures as campaigns against infectious and venereal disease (specific attention is paid to Gonorrhea here, which I will return to shortly) via the implementation of carefully cultivated sanitary regimes (comprised of tactics and practices ranging from frequent medical evaluations to the reeducation of women in the science of housekeeping and child-rearing), as well as inducements for supporting large families while simultaneously punishing childless couples and bachelors¹⁹ (e.g. tax benefits and the provision of reduced rate housing in quality environments for families with more children) (p.201-203).

However, narratives undergirding the discourse of population politics in the early Turkish Republic were not always in perfect lock-step. For instance, the validity of demography as practiced was occasionally called in to question by some medical professionals in the Republic and their concerns appeared in RCS articles. A case in point is an article that appeared in issue #84 (1928) entitled *Is Child Mortality In Our Country Quite High?* which reveals some of the complexity and competing perspectives inherent (at least with reference to certain technical matters but not necessarily gendered preoccupations) the production of sanitary and medical

¹⁹ There is quite a lot of room for conducting more work on state-sponsored efforts that punished single individuals and childless couples both in an historical and contemporary context.

discourses pertaining to population management during that period. The author (another medical professional) does not quibble on the need for better sanitary reform and a higher degree of vigilance in the domestic sphere as a means for defending the youth population and thus shoring up the biopower resources of the state. Rather, his quibble in this piece is with what he perceives as the flawed gathering and deployment of demographic statistics regarding child (vs infant) mortality rates in Turkey. In the article the author argued that these reports, which were used to demonstrate infant mortality rates in Turkey and were often latched on to by foreign sources due to their shockingly high numbers, were highly error-prone in that they likely included the death of children older than one and thus were not accurately portraying nor adhering to the recognized methods for calculating infant mortality. He goes on by explaining the proper techniques for measurement which would require more frequent excursions into rural areas and a more robust statistical branch of the government that would ensure proper reporting. A table is then presented (p. 576) showing foreign infant mortality rates, qualified by the statement that rates in excess of 100 were considered high:

| Countries | Mortality Rate |
|-------------|----------------|
| New Zealand | 43 |
| Norway | 52 |
| Australia | 58 |
| Sweden | 60 |
| Netherlands | 64 |

Table 10: **Infant Mortality Rate by Country**

Table 10 (cont'd)

| | |
|----------------|-----|
| Switzerland | 65 |
| USA | 72 |
| South Africa | 73 |
| Ireland | 75 |
| England | 76 |
| Denmark | 82 |
| Ontario Canada | 84 |
| Scotland | 95 |
| Finland | 96 |
| Belgium | 100 |
| Germany | 122 |
| Italy | 127 |
| Austria | 142 |
| Spain | 143 |
| Puerto Rico | 147 |
| Phillipines | 156 |
| Bulgaria | 156 |
| Japan | 159 |
| Jamaica | 176 |
| India | 184 |
| Hungary | 187 |

Table 10 (cont'd)

| | |
|-----------|-----|
| Singapore | 204 |
| Romania | 205 |
| Chile | 265 |

5.3b Sanitary citizenship and the Red Crescent Society

As noted previously, the RCS journal frequently included articles pertaining to the so-called anatomo-political imperatives of the state, emphasizing sanitary citizenship through an explicit politics of the properly constituted body. These anatomo-political interests, while often predating the state's biopolitical agenda, were never entirely distinct from and in fact were often integrated into the state's shifting interests in government as the management of population. While population concerns, dominated by discussions of infant mortality, proper midwife and breastfeeding practices, domestic space management, and state-sponsored demography were common featured pieces of the RCS journal during the 1920s, an emerging emphasis on the micro-politics of body as shaped by shifting medical and sanitary discourses began to remerge in the late 1920s and into the 1930s. However, they appeared as a fusing of the anatom-political and biopolitical; the properly constituted, scientifically managed, and appropriately and functionally gendered body in service of the state. Below are a listing of sample articles by year and issue number that exemplify the parameters of this categorization:

Issue # 29: 15 January 1924 - Public Health and Baldness

Issue # 52: 15 December 1925 - Public Health and Sun Bathing; The Sin of Drunkenness and
Opposition to Alcohol Consumption**²⁰

Table 11: **Articles Pertaining to the Production of Sanitary Citizens**

²⁰ ** indicates that these are separate articles

Table 11 (cont'd)

| | |
|-------------|--|
| Issue # 55: | 15 March 1926 - The Matter of Digestion/Physiology of Digestion ²¹ |
| Issue # 57: | 15 May 1926 - The Cleanliness of Money |
| Issue # 58: | 15 June 1926 - Public Health and Proper Oral Hygiene |
| Issue # 62: | 15 October 1926 - Wash Your Hands! |
| Issue # 63: | 15 November 1926 - Is Reading in Bed at Night Harmful?; Mineral Water Benefits** |
| Issue # 64: | 15 December 1926 - Public Health and Dairy Consumption |
| Issue # 65: | 15 January 1927 - Preparations that Need to Be Taken - The Danger of a Kiss; The Threat Inherent in Animal Kisses** |
| Issue # 67: | 15 March 1927 - Public Health and Vitamin Deficiency |
| Issue # 74: | 15 October 1927 - Proper Body Position and Posture; What are Life and Death ²² ; War Against Noise** |
| Issue # 76: | 15 December 1927 - Fruit (Consumption) Instead of Toothpaste |
| Issue # 77: | 15 January 1928 - Vegetables |
| Issue # 78: | 15 February 1928 - The Importance of Medical Examinations; To Our Young Ladies: How Should Food Be Prepared for Our Sick?; The Death of a Drunkard** |
| Issue # 79: | 15 March 1928 - Regarding Tobacco |

²¹ This topic was continued the following month

²²A series of these medical and philosophical treatises appeared throughout the journal. The title is evocative in the context of Foucault's recognition of shifting conceptions of state power with respect to the meaning of life and death; i.e. from the sovereign's ability to punish via death and the state's interest in enforcing life.

Table 11 (cont'd)

| | |
|--------------|---|
| Issue # 80: | 15 April 1928 - Treatment via Artificial Sunlight; A Patriotic Turk; Proper Respiration |
| Issue # 82: | 15 June 1928 - To Those Who Smoke |
| Issue # 84: | 15 August 1928 - The Illness of Obesity |
| Issue # 88/9 | 12 December 1928 - Training of Women that Care for Children (German Publication) |
| Issue # 90: | 15 February 1929 - How Shall We Overcome Ignorance? |
| Issue # 92: | 15 April 1929 - Against Charlatanism; Scientific Experts** |
| Issue # 94: | 15 June 1929 - The Negative Effect of Alcohol on the National Economy |
| Issue # 102: | 15 February 1930 - The Danger Posed by the Phlegmatic to the Nation |
| Issue # 106: | 15 June 1930 - Adulterated Food ²³ |
| Issue # 107: | 15 July 1930 - Fashion and Hygiene |
| Issue # 120: | 15 September 1931 - Be Cheerful!; Let Us Breathe from the Nose; Nutritious Vegetables; The Public Danger Posed by the Coughing of the Elderly; Don't Expose Your Feet to the Cold** |
| Issue # 134: | 15 February 1934 - What is Vitamin D? |
| Issue # 137: | 15 August 1934 - A Noteworthy Example Regarding Village Hygiene; The Family Pharmacy** |
| Issue # 139: | 15 December 1934 - Inappropriate Uses of Sedative Drugs |
| Issue # 155: | 15 August 1937 - Dust is Our Biggest Enemy; Research on Nutrition** |

²³ Concerns with the quality of foodstuffs and the places in which they are being produced continue to appear in subsequent issues.

As in the previous section on population politics, I draw attention to several interesting trends in the articles that appeared in publication. Above all is a general concern with the overall proper constitution of a vibrant, healthful, and attractive Turkish body. The reduction of diet to its nutrient components, demonstrations of proper posture and methods of breathing, the rejection of drug and alcohol consumption, the promotion of clean, well-aired, and well-light environments, beauty, and fashion are all elements of this narrative. In addition, an emphasis is placed on avoiding diseased bodies (human and animal) and spaces and a deference to scientific expertise in combatting not only these defective locales at both the macro and micro scale but also against defective (rendered ignorant or non-expert/traditionalist) mindsets (e.g. *How Shall we Overcome Ignorance?* and *Against Charlatanism*).

The regulated body is frequently rendered as a necessary and patriotic duty whereas the deficient, hedonistic, diseased body is constructed as both a personal failure and a preventable societal menace; it is preventable so long as a rational, scientific, and hygiene oriented mind is deployed against the menace. For example, in the article entitled *The Sin of Drunkenness and Opposition to Alcohol Consumption* which appeared in issue #52 (1925), after noting that alcoholism is seen as the root of most social depravity (crime in particular), any “silence regarding the plight of the alcoholic is insufficient. Therefore, in order for the impending campaign against alcoholism to be both effective and persuasive, the roles that alcohol plays in the trials and tribulations of humanity needs to be demonstrated through both facts and demonstrative effects” (p. 257). The author then details a list of the evils of alcohol consumption. Accordingly, alcohol: decreases skill and motivation; increases accidents or accident prone conditions; increases disease susceptibility; negatively impacts sperm production;

increases criminal activity; corrupts the race; leads to material damage and the destruction of capital. Notably, the “plight of the alcoholic” is really the plight of the nation. More personal detriments to the alcoholic themselves (happiness and personal well-being for example) are not included in the list of primary “evils”. Evidence of the socially corrupting nature of alcohol is backed up by evidence from foreign countries. The audience is presented with a 1924 report from the Swedish Social and Economic Ministry on families who were seeking social assistance and welfare. One example from the report indicated that nearly 17 percent of individuals in the 6,913 families requesting support were found to be drunk, resulting in the state’s breaking up of these families and moving many children into foster care (p. 258).

Many mundane pieces of medical advice also appear throughout the RCS journal; however, they are often discursively rendered as part and parcel of larger public health concerns. A noteworthy example appears in the article entitled *Wash Your Hands!* in issue # 62 (1926). At first glance, the article read as a straightforward example of disseminating bacteriological knowledge to a broader audience. The author even notes at the beginning of the article that the topic may not seem like a major concern; however, in a sensationalist fashion that rivals even modern tabloid hysteria, he warns that “his years of medical expertise and experience” demonstrate that any failure to obey this rudimentary task can have deadly consequences (p. 51).

At this point the article veers a bit strangely. The doctor and author relays to the audience several cautionary tales based on his own prior encounters with patients. The first such story revolves around a young Turkish man (described as 18 year old Mr. Ş in the article) who worked as a barber in Bulgaria. No year is given, though we are lead to believe this may have been in the former Ottoman Empire. According to the doctor’s narrative, despite suffering for five days

from a painful burning sensation when he urinated, Mr. Ş failed to report to a doctor out of fear (we are not made privy to the source of this fear, whether it pertained to the thought of visiting a doctor or concern with the source of the ailment). When he finally did report to the doctor, after microscopic analysis of a secretion, it was confirmed that the young was suffering from Gonorrhea. Despite treatment (this was prior to the age of Penicillin) the man suffered painfully from his ailment and his condition progressed until he developed acute proctitis (inflammation of the lining of the rectum). His final fate is not revealed to us.

It is not within my realm of expertise nor interest within this chapter to present a detailed depiction of the modes of transmission with respect to Gonorrhea nor to explicate how it spreads and at what rate throughout the body (genital, anal, and oral forms of Gonorrhea are common).²⁴ Suffice to say that simple hand to hand transmission would be relatively unlikely. Since Gonorrhea was widely known to be a venereal disease at this time it seems perplexing for the doctor to use this as an example of the benefits of hand-washing given the range of other illnesses that would be equally useful examples, especially considering widespread concern with digestive ailments and diarrhea. Moreover, of the three case studies he presents, two of them involve Gonorrhea (the second Gonorrhea case is a middle aged man, the third case is a woman suffering from Typhus). As such, this particular article seems to attempt a fusing of several preoccupations at once: promoting better bodily hygiene and constantly presenting venereal diseases like Gonorrhea as ever-present menaces to the future of the Turkish state regardless of how the facts regarding their mode of transmission are presented.

²⁴ The politics of sexuality during this time, as previously reflected upon regarding the lack of reference to such topics as sexual education for children, could also be deployed in this case.

Campaigns against drunkenness and in favor of proper hand sanitation cannot easily be separated from campaigns promoting demography, population management, and the care and well-being of infants and small children. The anatomo-politics of the body (sanitary citizenship) and the biopolitics of population are two sides of the same discursive coin. Micro-scalar issues pertaining to posture, oral hygiene, and avoidance of contact with animal saliva are drawn into the realm of the macro-scalar promotion of nationwide strength and vitality. The articles of the Turkish Red Crescent Society Journal demonstrate this fusion as it was constructed, albeit sometimes incompletely or haphazardly conceptualized, and promoted as a basis for disseminating proper tactics and strategies throughout the population. Gender remained one of the prominent means for conceptualizing this tactics and strategies via an emphasis on traditionally gendered spaces (the domestic) and responsibilities (care for the sick, children, etc). Finally, I close this section by noting that an historical analysis of population and population-related arguments and pro-natalist discourse is especially relevant given the resurgence of pronatalism in contemporary Turkey today as per the public pronouncements of the ruling Justice and Development Party. Understanding the historical arguments that undergird the present population debate is crucial.

In the final section I will present a short overview of the four substantive chapters and a brief discussion of their interrelation and relevance to future research regarding gendered body-politics and spaces in Turkey.

APPENDIX

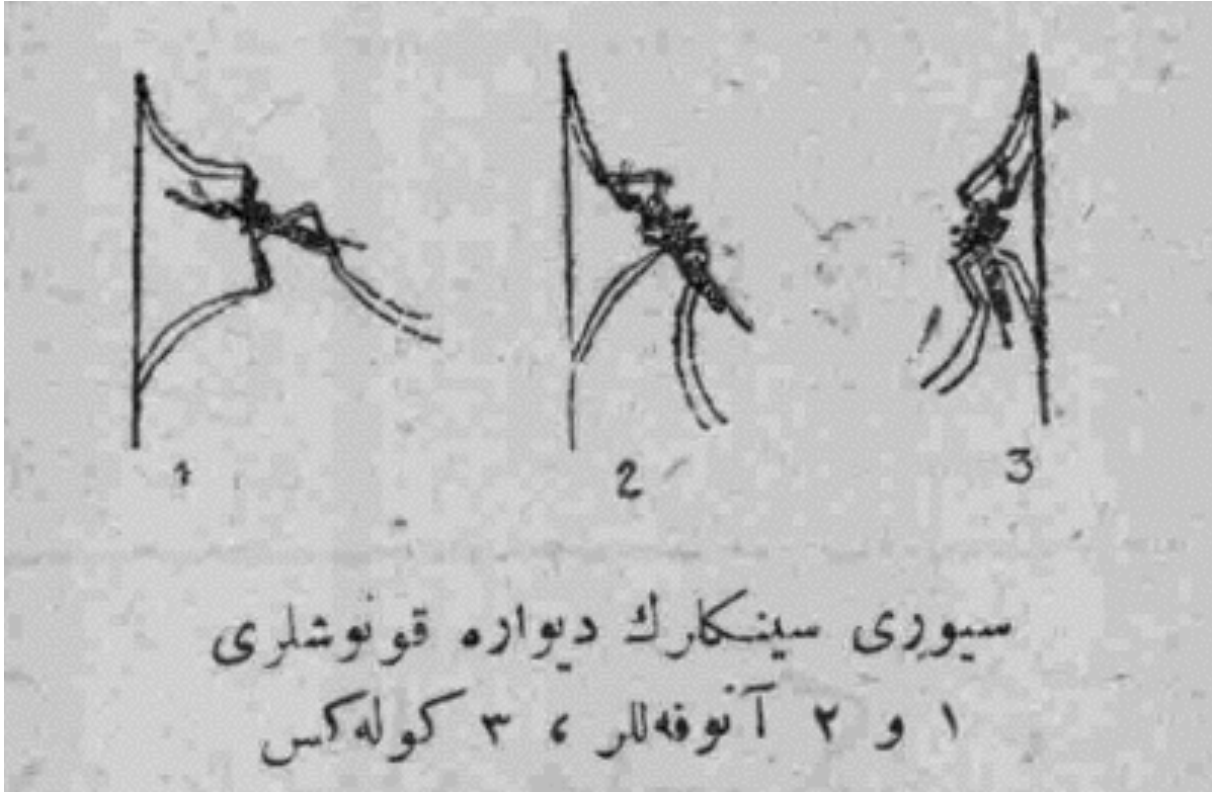


Figure 39: **Types of mosquitos perched on the wall: Picture 1 and 2 - Anopheles, Picture 3 - Culex** (Türkiye Hilal-İ Ahmer Mecmuasi, Issue 43, p. 258, Turkish National Library).

Articles appearing in the Red Crescent Journal that were concerned with campaigns against contagious disease emphasized the landscapes, populations, and environments that were particularly susceptible. They often incorporated discussions of symptoms as well as scientific explanations of the causes e.g. mosquitos as vectors for the spread of malaria.

| دوغوم ائسانده چوجق وفياتى | | مكناارك طرزبنه كوره چوجق وفياتى | |
|---------------------------|-----------------------------------|---------------------------------|---------------------------|
| جوجق وفياتى | | جوجق وفياتى | اسكان شرائطى |
| ۱۰۰ | دوغومى دوكتور ياپارسه | ۱۰۵ | تميز و قورى |
| ۱۸۰ | تبه ياپارسه | ۱۲۷ | تميز راطب |
| | اجنبى والدملرك طرز تربيه سنه كوره | ۱۷۱ | آز تميز فقط قورى |
| | چوجق وفياتى | ۱۵۸ | د راطب |
| جوجق وفياتى | | ۱۶۲ | پيس ، قورى |
| ۱۴۸ | تحصيل كورمش | ۲۰۴ | پيس ، راطب |
| ۲۱۴ | امى | ۱۱۸ | مودة قوم پاتيا صوبى وارسه |
| ۱۴۶ | انكلېزجه قونوشيرسه | ۱۹۸ | صو نو خارخنده ايسه |
| ۱۸۷ | د بيلمزسه | ۱۰۸ | آلافرانغه خلا |
| | آنه لرك ياشنه كوره چوجق وفياتى | ۱۵۹ | آولو خلاسى |

Figure 40: **Vital Statistics** (Türkiye Hilal-İ Ahmer Mecmuasi, Issue 55. p. 346, Turkish National Library).

Child Mortality According to Type of Residence; Child Deaths During Birth; Child Deaths According to (Foreign) Mothers' Level of Education. The biopolitical imperatives of the state as realized in arguments about population management typically emphasized an overarching concern with child and/or infant mortality. Frequently this included a detailed critique of the practice of motherhood. Domestic spaces were assessed (noting, for example, the negative impact that unsanitary homes had on child health and well-being) alongside the education of mothers (educated women with a knowledge of English were noted to have fewer miscarriages or to experience an infant/child death). The importance of having trained medical professionals was also present.

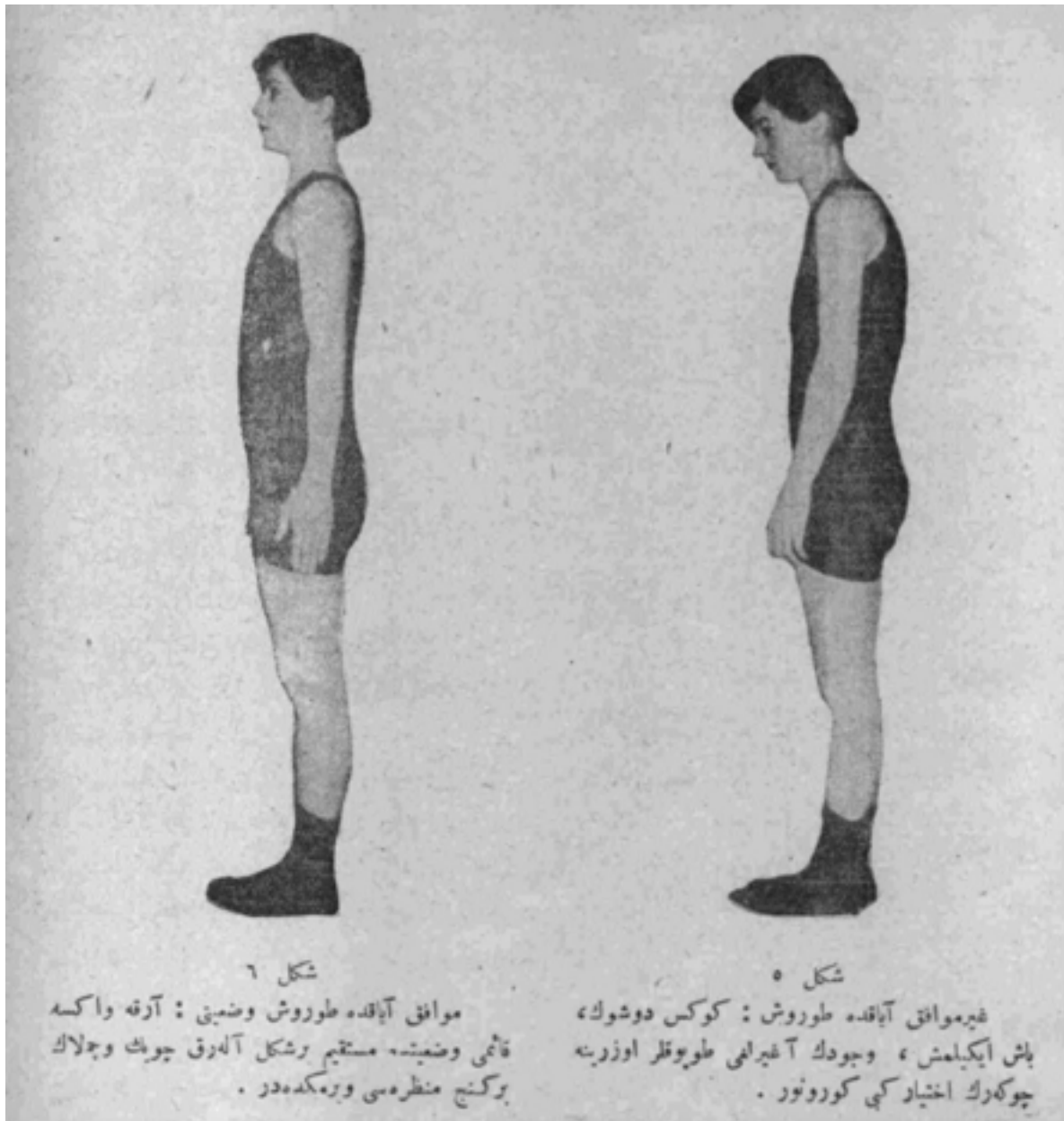


Figure 41: **Proper Body Posture and Position** (Türkiye Hilal-İ Ahmer Mecmuasi, Issue 74, p. 47, Turkish National Library).

The Red Crescent Journal was also replete with examples of anatomo-political concerns pertaining to the micro-regulation and production of the idealized body in service of the Turkish state.



Figure 42: **The Death of a Drunk** (Türkiye Hilal-İ Ahmer, Issue 78, p. 272, Turkish National Library).

In the gendered categorizations of unsanitary and unhealthful practices, while women were more typically characterized by their ignorance, men were usually presented as vice-prone.



Figure 43: **The World's Fattest Woman** (Türkiye Hilal-İ Ahmer Mecmuası, Issue 82, p. 581, Turkish National Library).

The Red Crescent Journal was also replete with examples of anatomo-political concerns pertaining to the micro-regulation and production of the idealized body in service of the Turkish state. Interestingly, even at a time where concerns about malnutrition were widespread, the more 'Western' disease of obesity was referenced as a concern for the young Turkish state.

Chapter 6

Concluding remarks

In the preceding pages I attended to the spaces of inquiry that Foucault's archaeological and genealogical methods and modes of analysis have opened up in historical geography. I presented the primary historical-geographic arguments about and uses of Foucault's methods, ranging from earlier critical spatial assessments of the middle-period archaeological works (*Discipline & Punish, Madness & Civilization, the Birth of the Clinic*) to the emergence of governmentality and biopolitics in the genealogical works (*The History of Sexuality, "Society Must Be Defended!", Security, Territory, Population*). The analysis of Foucault's methods and insights as they pertain to geography served the purpose of situating this study in the historical geography of governmentality and biopolitics.

Following Matthew Hannah's insights in *Governmentality and the Mastery of Territory in 19th Century America* (2000), I also argued that this dissertation adhered to a tradition of Foucauldian inspired "close readings" of archival materials and the promotion of situated and contextualized "general" as opposed to "total" historical accounts. Moreover, I sought to attend to Foucault's feminist and post-colonial critics by situating this study of power/knowledge in early republican era Turkey and by emphasizing the gendered dimensions of the production and deployment of governmental discourses.

With these fundamental historiographical and methodological arguments in place, I asked:

How were discourses of health (disease and sanitary citizenship), place (Anatolia, the infertile wasteland), and gender (ignorant vs. scientific motherhood) central components of authoritarian governmentality in the transitional period of the early Turkish republic (from roughly the early 1920s until the late 1930s)?

Furthermore, using Foucault's methodological comments regarding archaeological and genealogical considerations of history and geography:

What sorts of surfaces of emergence, authorities of delimitation, and grids of specification were bound up in the production of gendered governmental objects and subjects, namely "sanitary citizenship" and "scientific motherhood"?

Taking "sanitary citizenship" and "scientific motherhood" as discursive formations comprised of a host of statements and practices that bound up gender, space, and health in constellations of historically and geographically specific constellations of power, I attended to a few nodes within this constellation by assessing aspects of their surfaces of emergence, authorities of delimitation, and grids of specification in the early Turkish republic. I considered:

1. The Turkish Ministry of Health and Social Welfare and the Turkish Red Crescent Society as (sample) surfaces of emergence which, due to their temporal and spatial context in early 20th century, post-war, central Anatolia, diagnosed and diagrammed bodies, environments, and diseases in ways that privileged nation and modern medicine;

2. How affiliations within and amongst these surfaces of emergence exalted particular individuals as authorities of delimitation (i.e. Besim Ömer, and to a lesser extent Yakup Kadri Karaosmanoğlu), figures who not only had medical and developmental imperatives in mind for the diagnosis and treatment of social, environmental, and national disease and depravation, but who articulated these imperatives from an especially gender-oriented position;
3. That these gendered and medically-oriented positions established unique grids of specifications that mapped disease and ignorance onto bodies and landscapes in such a way as to establish them as sites of reform and regulation for the good of the nation. Ignorant mothers and infertile wastelands were merely some of the objects of analysis that emerged. Moreover, these reports reveal an often times unidirectional gendered lens: men (as medical experts) were diagnosing and calling for the treatment and improvement of primarily women.

The anatomo- and biopolitical concerns of the Turkish state were undergirded by a host of rationalities and were enacted in myriad ways, of which this dissertation is only able to provide a snapshot. Archaeological and genealogical approaches recognize this seeming limitation as not a constraint, but rather an opportunity to write against linear-progressive histories that uphold unidirectional continuity at the expense of rupture, disjuncture, anomaly, and a host of other outcomes often glorified in the search for generalizable theories and applications. This dissertation is situated squarely within the historical geographic literature concerning the health, medical, and sanitary regimes of nation states on a global scale. While

critical inquiries into the health, medical, and sanitary regimes of European and American spaces and temporalities have been a primary focus of historians and geographers for decades, only within the last few decades have similar histories been written about comparable processes in Latin America, Southwest Asia, South Asia and other regions.

While I remain cautious of attempts to all too neatly impose the past onto the future, the health, medical, and sanitary spatialities and governmentalities of the past have something to offer to a critical understanding of present circumstances regarding the regulation of bodies and bodies in space. With respect to Turkey, this is made all the more salient when one considers a host of recent interventions by the Turkish government and its circle of supporters into the space of body politics. In the past few years alone, high ranking officials and clerics have made several controversial remarks about the place and visibility of women's bodies in public that often times revolve around politicized ideas of cultural norms regarding the proper role of women and their biological capacity in society. These include condemnations of pregnant women in public as immorally flaunting their bodies while simultaneously wasting government resources (maternity) when they should be at home.

These and other condemnations have not been tacitly acquiesced to as women and men alike have staged a variety of protests against such statements in an already tumultuous political environment. The history of gendered and medicalized spaces in the early Turkish republic has much to offer to an understanding of the shifting condition of body politics; additionally, women's increasingly visible protest of and backlash against such criticisms in contemporary Turkey proposes the question for future research as to how women reacted to and thought about health and sanitary reforms in the early republic.

I close this dissertation by reminding readers of Sandra Harding's (1991) feminist appeal for "strong objectivity" by recognizing one's inherent 'biases' and their impact on the flow and direction of one's scholarship. While I recognize the desire for, appeal, and value of scientific generalizability and academic rigor, I argue that the idiographic, particular, and distinct case study still provides great value to the field of geography; moreover, as a queer scholar and member of the LGBTQI community who tends to gravitate toward less totalizing and homogenizing accounts of place, experience, and existence, these accounts resonate with me on a personal and practical level as well. I hope that my readers have found some value in the particularities of a story about governmental regulation of bodies and environments in early republican Turkey as well.

David Lee. Baylis

April 28th, 2015

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¹ ** indicates separate articles.

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