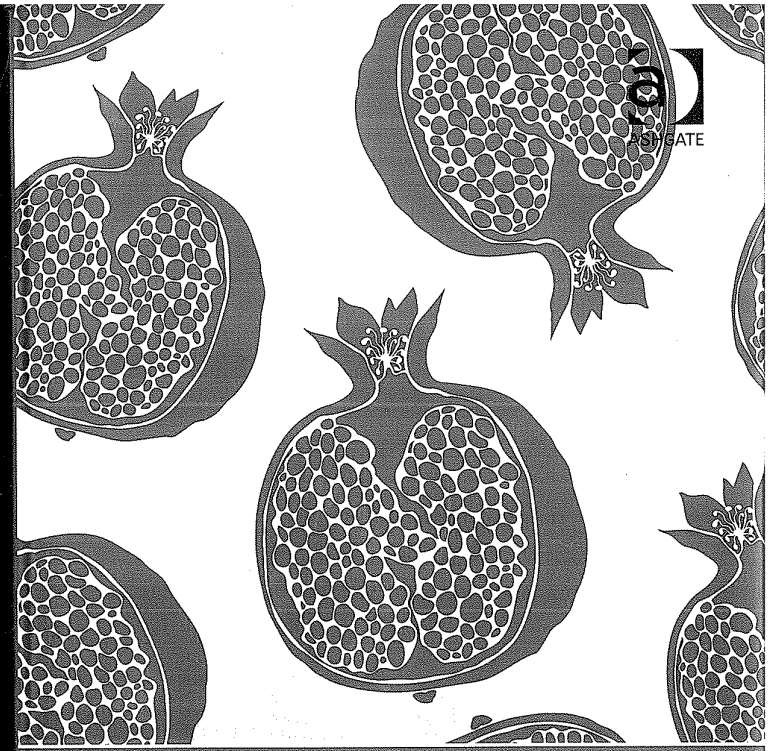

Gender and Sexuality in Muslim Cultures

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Contents

Chapter 1

In Vitro Nationalism: Masculinity, Disability, and Assisted Reproduction in War-Torn Turkey

Salih Can Açıksöz

Introduction

This chapter explores the ramifications of the decades-long Kurdish conflict for masculinity, male embodiment, sexuality, and politics of reproduction in Turkey. More specifically, it examines how the bodies, gendered subjectivities, sexualities, and reproductive capacities of Turkish veterans disabled in clashes with Kurdish guerillas are made, unmade, and remade through the complex interactions of multiple technologies of state and war-making, governmentality, welfare, military medicine, and assisted reproduction in the context of the ongoing peace and reconciliation processes. Focusing on the state-sponsored assisted conception program that seeks to make fathers out of paraplegic veterans, this chapter aims to contribute to our understanding of masculinity, disabled sexuality, and new reproductive technologies from the viewpoint of a war-torn Muslim-majority society.

This chapter draws from my doctoral work on Turkish conscripted soldiers disabled in clashes with Kurdish guerillas in the context of the Kurdish conflict, one of the longest-lasting ethnopolitical armed conflicts in the Middle East (Açıksöz 2011, 2012). My doctoral work explores disabled veterans' memories and experiences of warfare, disability, welfare, and urban poverty, and analyzes how new gender and political identities are forged out of these embodied experiences and memories. For my dissertation research, I conducted more than two years of multi-sited fieldwork with disabled veterans in Istanbul and Ankara, Turkey, between 2005 and 2007. I attended disabled veterans' grassroots organizations and any major event they organized or participated in, such as protests or ceremonies, collected their life histories, and conducted numerous interviews with them and people influencing their lives, such as military physicians, government officials, journalists, and disability activists.

Based on the findings of followup research on this fieldwork, this chapter delves into paraplegic veterans' quest for fatherhood through assisted

conception.[1] In addition to the disabled veterans' narratives of family building that I collected during my fieldwork, my data includes a series of interviews that the well-known female journalist Ayşe Arman conducted with paraplegic veterans for the popular Turkish newspaper *Hürriyet* in late 2010. This interview series, entitled "Interrupted Lives," features not only paraplegic veterans and their wives, but also obstetricians who specialize in working with paraplegic veterans, and provides the very first public account of Turkish disabled veterans' sexual and reproductive lives (Arman 2010a, 2010b, 2010c).

This chapter explores veterans' assisted reproduction and medicalized fatherhood experiences in relation to the masculinity crisis that they experience as disabled men, and situates the state's assisted conception program within broader sociopolitical concerns over the recovery of disabled veterans' masculinities. Building on the literature on disability and sexuality (Gerschick 2000, Shakespeare 1999, Shuttleworth, Wedgwood, and Wilson 2012, Tepper 1999), I illustrate how assisted conception helps paraplegic veterans challenge stereotypes regarding disabled masculinity (impotent or asexual "half-men") and position themselves within the normative frameworks of manhood and family. Finally, I briefly discuss the implications of paraplegic veterans' quest for fatherhood for our understanding of the transformation of biological citizenship, politics of reproduction, and nationalism under the rule of neo-liberal Islamist Justice and Development Party (AKP) government.

Military Service as a Masculine Rite of Passage

In contemporary Turkey, compulsory military service applies to all able-bodied heterosexual male citizens who reach the legal age of 20. One cannot overstate the importance of this gendered institution for nationalist symbolism, the definition of citizenship, and the socialization of men. Leaving women, openly gay men, and the disabled outside, compulsory military service draws the contours of both hegemonic masculinity and the national community (Altınay 2004, Sinclair-Webb 2000).

1 Paraplegia is the impairment of sensory or motor function, or both, in lower extremities, often as a result of traumatic spinal cord injury (SCI). Despite popular misconceptions and stereotypes about male sexuality and fertility after SCI, paraplegic individuals do have sexual lives. Most paraplegic men can have different types and degrees of erection and orgasm depending on the level and extent of paralysis; and although they often have lower fertility rates, paraplegic men can and do have children, especially through the use of assisted reproduction technologies (Brackett, Nash, and Lynne 1996; Brown, Hill, and Baker 2006).

Military service was made compulsory for men in Turkey in 1927. Reinforcing the state monopoly on violence within the new national territory, compulsory military service also provided the political elite of the newly founded republic a useful institutional means to access the male half of the population. Through military service, generations of young men from different ethnic and class backgrounds were remade as acceptable national subjects. They were taught Turkish, literacy, "correct" forms of belief and worship, body care, and social decorum, and molded into educated, modernized, disciplined, docile, and productive laborers and citizens (Altınay 2004, *Şen* 1996). Hence, cultivating what the republic deemed proper masculinity, the exclusively male institution of compulsory military service both reflected and consolidated the gendered citizenship regime of the new republic, which promised young men an equal place in horizontal comradeship in exchange for their submission to the state's military authority (Koğacıoğlu 2004, Sirman 2000).

This promise has taken deep roots in Turkey partly because of the legal sanctions that apply to those who have not undertaken their service. Evading military service is no easy task in Turkey because what it practically means for draft evaders is the suspension of even basic citizenship rights (Sinclair-Webb 2000). Failing to perform military service limits one's ability to travel, especially out of the country. If caught, draft evaders are taken into military custody and forcefully recruited. Evading military service also means avoiding legal registration of residency, without which one cannot be included on the electoral register and hence is not allowed to vote. Moreover, until the very recent changes in the Turkish Nationality Law undertaken as a part of the European Union harmonization process, those who failed to complete military service before the age of 40 could be expelled from citizenship.

However, it would be a mistake to assume that military service was merely imposed by the state in a top-down manner. The particular masculinity that military service cultivated and its symbolic and socioeconomic implications have an appeal to wide segments of the population. Thus, the legal sanctions awaiting draft evaders are also supported by less formal social sanctions concerning formal employment and marriage. Employers are generally unwilling to employ men who have not completed their military service. Similarly, many families do not favor marriage until the prospective husband has completed his service. In other words, military service is both a legally and socially warranted prerequisite for becoming an unmarked man in Turkey.

To summarize, compulsory military service in Turkey operates as a key rite of passage into adult masculinity and full membership in the national community. A young man becomes marriageable and employable, a husband and a breadwinner, and a full citizen by the virtue of completing his military service. This social and legal expectation forms a sort of patriarchal contract between the state and male citizens.

A Broken Gendered Promise

The intimate relationship between military service and hegemonic masculinity has been dramatically destabilized since the onset of the armed conflict between the Turkish state and the Kurdistan Workers' Party (PKK) in 1984.[2] This destabilization manifested on multiple levels after the 1990s. In the context of the conflict, the number of draft evaders has reached an unprecedented level, estimated somewhere between 400,000 and 500,000 (Mater 2005). Middle and upper-middle classes have increasingly capitalized on their social and economic resources to develop strategies for dodging the draft and, even more importantly, avoiding deployment in the conflict zone—strategies such as paid exemption from full-term military service, becoming and remaining enrolled in college and graduate school for extended periods, and obtaining a medical report documenting ineligibility for military service (aka the "rotten report"). Young men were reported mutilating themselves by cutting off their index fingers or having their spleens removed with the purpose of obtaining medical exemption (Başaran forthcoming). Moreover, the first conscientious objection movement of Turkey emerged in this period through the efforts of activists who openly resisted the draft despite the extremely harsh measures taken by the state.

This destabilization is nowhere more evident than in the life stories of conscripted soldiers violently disabled during their military service. In the course of the Kurdish conflict, more than three million Turkish conscripts have been deployed against the PKK guerillas. Although official numbers are not disclosed, tens of thousands of soldiers have been injured and thousands of them have become permanently physically disabled. It should be noted that these numbers do not even include post-traumatic stress disorder (PTSD) cases,

2 The Kurdish issue is one the most significant ethnopolitical armed conflicts in the Middle East. The plight of the Kurds, who constitute one of the largest ethnic groups in the Middle East, with no nation-state of their own, began with the formation of the modern state system in the Middle East. After the dismantling of the Ottoman Empire at the turn of the twentieth century, the territory where the Kurds lived was divided among four would-be independent nation-states, Iran, Iraq, Syria, and Turkey, where more than half of the Kurds still live. Fearing their territorial sovereignty was at risk, these countries often took violent measures to suppress Kurdish political demands. In the case of Turkey, these measures included the ban on speaking Kurdish and the official denial of the existence of Kurdish ethnicity, engendering a full-fledged armed resistance led by the Kurdistan Workers' Party (Partiya Karkerên Kurdistan/PKK) in the 1980s. Conservative estimates put the death toll at 40,000 and the number of injured and disabled is unknown. Despite the on and off negotiations between the Turkish state and the PKK in the 2000s, a peaceful solution to the Kurdish conflict still seems far off.

since the Turkish military-medical establishment systemically refuses to grant disability benefits to soldiers with PTSD symptoms.

The post-military life of conscripts disabled during military service is a radically different story from the dominant cultural script. It is a story not of "becoming man," but of expulsion from hegemonic masculinity in a country where disabled people cannot join public life as equal citizens because of the strong stigma of disability and widespread discriminatory practices against the disabled.

During my fieldwork, I visited 35 disabled veterans at their homes in lower-class neighborhoods in the peripheries of Istanbul and Ankara, where they led a volatile coexistence with Kurdish forced migrants. Most of my informants were wounded during the height of the conflict between 1993 and 1996. Nearly all of them were between 35 and 40 years of age when we met. More than half of them had experienced lower extremity amputations after getting injured in landmine explosions. The rest mostly had orthopedic disabilities due to gunshot injuries, and a few had bilateral blindness due to trauma.

On my visits, I was nearly always hosted in the salon (guest room), where my informants reconstructed their life histories. In almost all cases, the moment of injury constituted a sharp break both in the consistency of my informants' life-story narratives and in their actual life trajectories, radically separating their pre-conscription and post-injury life worlds. Upon leaving the military hospital, most became dependent on their natal families for financial support and daily care, either temporarily until their eligibility for compensation and welfare entitlements was eventually approved through a number of maze-like bureaucratic processes, or permanently, as in the case of most paraplegic veterans. This somewhat reversed rite of passage brought about a striking sense of infantilization and shame for disabled veterans, moments condensed in tropes of "the shame of being diapered by the mother" and "the shame of asking for cigarette money from the father."

Most veterans had lost their former blue-collar jobs and were employed at state institutions as unskilled laborers in accordance with the state's paternalist job placement policies. Those who were single before conscription experienced desertion by their girlfriends or fiancées and difficulty in finding a spouse, whereas the already married few faced marital problems exacerbated by financial troubles, intensified domestic violence, or bodily stigma. They frequently felt themselves cut off from their able-bodied friends, a feeling often reinforced by their inability to perform lower-class male bonding practices such as attending football games. Being both disabled and politically marked, their experience of the urban space was transformed in a way that made them feel vulnerable to various forces, such as street crime, political retaliation, and the ordinary performative violence of street masculinity.

In order to understand the disabled veteran's masculinity crisis, one has to understand the overall situation of the disabled population in Turkey. Despite some recent improvements pushed through in the context of Turkey's European Union accession process, the country has historically had a bad record in terms of the living standards, employment options, and mobility chances of its disabled citizens.

Some statistics may be useful to understand the plight of disabled citizens. According to the first *Disability Survey* of Turkey, conducted in 2002, there are 8.5 million disabled people in Turkey, constituting 12 percent of the total population (Republic of Turkey Prime Ministry Administration for Disabled People 2002). The survey findings clearly delineate the socioeconomic inequalities impinging on the lives of disabled people: 78 percent of the disabled population do not participate in the labor force, in contrast with 41 percent of the general population; 36 percent are illiterate in contrast to 12 percent of the general population; and 34 percent are never married in contrast to less than 26 percent of the general population.

Another nationwide research project stunningly reports that the word "disabled" (*sakat*) is most commonly associated with the word "needy" (*muhtaç*) (Republic of Turkey Prime Ministry Administration for Disabled People 2009). Still another recent research poll shows that more than 70 percent of the population would prefer not having an orthopedically disabled neighbor.[3] In such a milieu, the lives of disabled veterans, most of them already coming from lower-class backgrounds, were characterized by their exclusion from the public sphere and wage labor and their consequent social and economic dependency. Moreover, they had to face the strong cultural stigma of disability and live in a cultural climate in which people called them "half-men" or even "living dead," as a popular sports commentator once infamously did on live TV. In short, military service made the disabled veteran "less of a man" rather than providing a passage into adult masculinity and full-fledged citizenship.

Remasculinizing Veterans

The social situation of the disabled conscripts just described has been an important source and surface of gendered anxieties for the Turkish state and society. The disruption of the idea that "military service makes a man" was a big blow, especially to the hegemonic militarized approach to the Kurdish question. As the conflict escalated and disabled conscripts became more and more publicly visible in the mid-1990s, a number of social actors within and beyond

3 http://www.radikal.com.tr/turkiye/halkinin_yuzde_70i_engelli_komsu_istemiyor-109305.

state institutions—including military officials, politicians, state bureaucrats, media personae, and nationalist philanthropists—started to call on the state to take drastic steps to fix this gendered crisis by ameliorating disabled veterans' lives. The resulting shift in the state's relationship with disabled veterans of the Kurdish conflict would have a radical impact on the lives of these men in the 2000s.

The best way to understand this shift is through Foucault's concept of governmentality. The notion of governmentality is a part of Foucault's broader scholarly attempt to reconceptualize power as not simply a repressive but a productive relationship that operates not only at the level of the state but at the micro levels of society that are not often associated with power, such as forms of knowledge and expertise or institutions like schools and hospitals (Foucault 1990, 2003, 2007, 2008). In Foucault's work, governmentality refers to "an array of practices through which the population of a modern nation-state is governed, including institutions such as schools and the police, agencies for the provision of social services, discourses, norms, and even individual self-regulation through techniques for disciplining and caring for the self. These forms of governmentality encompass more than what might formally be called 'the state'" (Ewing 2008, 6). In other words, governmentality cannot be reduced to the activities of the state because it "involves a multitude of heterogeneous entities" that seek to "enhance the security, longevity, health, prosperity, and happiness of populations" (Inda 2005, 6).

Informed by Foucault's work, I conceptualize the emerging interest of political authorities and experts in the well-being of disabled veterans as a process of (further) governmentalization of the disabled veteran population. I argue that this process culminated in the constitution of a new governmental regime that is thoroughly gendered. Within the matrixes of this new governmental regime, various state, medical, and welfare institutions campaigned to remasculinize disabled veterans via a variety of discursive, institutional, and medical practices. This governmental regime formed the basis of an emergent militarized and exclusively male interest group whose relationship with the state is politically over-determined by the vicissitudes of the Kurdish conflict.

This new regime finds its spatial manifestation in a set of military-medical institutions that were designed exclusively for soldiers wounded in the Kurdish conflict. A new orthopedics clinic, "the sixth floor," as my informants love to call it, at Gülhane military hospital in Ankara was a fundamental breakthrough in this direction. The sixth floor was followed by similar medico-institutional spaces for disabled veterans: Turkey's largest rehabilitation center in Ankara; a unique military holiday resort on the Aegean coast designed to accommodate the needs of persons with different types and degrees of disability; a recreational facility; and Gazi Adaptation House, encompassing restaurants, hobby gardens, a small zoo, and an artificial lake with waterfalls that frequently appears in the media

for all the disabled veterans' wedding ceremonies it hosts. These new politically marked, military-medical institutions have played a key role in disabled veterans' lives, surpassing their role as treatment and rehabilitation centers. They have constituted liminal spaces in which injured soldiers first learned to become disabled men and perform manhood with a new embodiment, rediscovering different domains of masculine experience from violence to sexuality.

An important aspect of this new governmental regime was the introduction of a bundle of welfare rights and entitlements. These include free high-quality prostheses that, at least in discourse if not in practice, "meet the highest standards of the world," in addition to job placement, interest-free housing credit, firearm licenses, and now even state-sponsored assisted conception. The lurking gendered agenda of recovering the masculinity of disabled veterans is obvious in these rights and entitlements. Prostheses give back normative body image and partially restore mobility, both crucial elements in the process of remasculinization. Interest-free housing credits aim to make disabled veterans homeowners, thereby increasing their eligibility for marriage. Note that the Turkish word for getting married, *evlenmek*, is derived from the root "ev" (house) and literally means "getting a house." The job placement policy seeks to restore their breadwinner status, whereas firearm licenses provide them with the masculine right to violence that they lost by becoming disabled. In other words, it is not only disabled veterans' bodies that are being governmentalized, but also their masculinities, which are constructed as technoscientifically fixable states of being in need of state intervention.

Disability, Sexuality, and Medicalized Fatherhood

A major concern that drives this new governmentality is to help disabled veterans marry and build families so that they conform to the ideal unmarked citizen image, which is to be married with children. For that purpose, Gazi Adaptation House even hosts disabled veterans' weddings at a minimal cost. However, for disabled veterans, getting married is still a troublesome issue. "They don't marry a '*kız*' (girl/virgin) to gazis" is a common grievance among disabled veterans, who often have a difficult time finding a suitable spouse because of the social prejudices against disabled men. Even though I had heard it numerous times before, I had not appreciated the significance of this phrase until I witnessed a failed matchmaking attempt at a state-sponsored disabled veterans' organization, which was led by the wife of a martyr pilot, Berna Abla.

> As soon as I stepped inside, I noticed the angry voice of Berna Abla, the head of the association, who was talking really loud on the phone with someone, whom I later understood to be the mother of a divorcee (*dul*) who was proposed to by a disabled veteran. After she hung up the phone, Berna Abla, upset, explained that the mother was indisposed to give the hand of her daughter to an 'unsound' despite her insistent attempts to convince her. "OK, my guy is not sound," she cried out shaking in anger, "What about your girl? As if she were sound [virgin]. Isn't your girl a dul?"

The word "dul" signifies both divorcee and widow in Turkish. Especially for younger women, *dulluk* (being a dul) is a very precarious social category, burdened with the stigma of unchastity. Asking a gazi to marry a dul sounds like a betrayal to his nationalist sacrifice. Nevertheless, Berna Abla was not alone in suggesting that a gazi would be a good match with a dul. While criticizing a disabled veteran missing both legs for eloping with a young girl, the head of another association, a martyr's mother and a true matriarch, also said: "I tell gazis not to marry young girls but duls. They are the ones who know the meaning of sacrifice." In her words, there is a social correspondence between the gazi and the dul. They are socially "wasted," one by becoming disabled and the other by losing her virginity. But the main point is: the state-sponsored remasculinization process of disabled veterans is actively supported by state-related figures like military officers and their spouses, who often play an active role in the arrangement of disabled veterans' marriages.

When I read Arman's interviews, I realized that the state's attempts to recover disabled veterans' masculinity went beyond what I had imagined. In the course of my research, I had met only two paraplegic veterans. One of them was single and having difficulty finding a marriage partner. Thus, it had not occurred to me that assisted conception would be a major concern for paraplegic veterans. When I did some research about paraplegic veterans' access to assisted reproduction technologies after reading Arman's interviews, I found out that until the 2000s, disabled veterans very rarely had a chance to utilize these technologies. In the early 2000s, a military officer's wife, who is revered by disabled veterans as a godmother figure, initiated the foundation of an assisted conception unit at Gülhane military hospital in Ankara. That clinic was the first to specialize in methods like testicular sperm aspiration/extraction (TESA/E), which involves the direct removal of sperm from the testicles to obtain viable sperm cells, either by surgical biopsy or through a needle. It seems that now a number of obstetricians in Ankara are famous for getting miraculous results with paraplegic disabled veterans, and Arman interviewed one of them for her series, hailing him as "the doctor who made fathers out of disabled veterans."

State-sponsored in vitro fertilization helps paraplegic veterans become fathers, completing the life cycle of hegemonic masculinity. But there is more to it. During my fieldwork, the intimate topic of sexuality had rarely emerged as an issue in my conversations with disabled veterans. The exception was their experiences with sex workers. I knew, for example, that some sex workers made

special arrangements for disabled veterans under treatment at the rehabilitation center by renting first floor apartments close to the center. I was also aware that whenever they found the opportunity, my informants reasserted themselves as sexualized adult men in their life stories. "Disabled men are hornier than anyone else," my amputee informants loved to say and explained, "In amputees, blood does not lounge in the legs." Then they would cheerfully tell me socially inappropriate disability humor stories, like how a disabled veteran missing both legs went to bed with a sex worker, who, being unaware of the guy's amputated legs, mistook his stump for his penis and panicked. Resignifying the stump, the corporal symbol of lack, as the phallic symbol of excess, these stories exemplified narrative resistance to the stigmatizing stereotypes of disabled men as asexual and infantilized "half-men."

In the case of paraplegic veterans, new reproductive technologies offer an even more convincing tool to counter social stereotypes, given the "strong popular association between male fertility, potency, and masculinity" (Throsby and Gill 2004, 336). Male infertility often remains hidden as one of the most stigmatizing male health conditions because it is "popularly, although usually mistakenly, conflated with impotency, as both disrupt a man's ability to impregnate a woman and to prove one's virility, paternity, and manhood" (Inhorn 2004, 163). Assisted conception gives paraplegic veterans not only a chance to have children, a major prerequisite of adult masculinity, but also the proof that they have an active sex life and that they are not "half-men." For example, one of the couples that Arman interviewed continuously underline that they have a "very harmonious" sexual life. The husband indicates that he has no difficulty with erection, whereas his wife tells Arman: "There is a way to do everything and there are different methods. We also have a sexual life. My husband is no different from a normal man. Actually, he is excellent. Mashallah!" Similarly, an obstetrician Arman interviewed also assures the reader that "These couples are very compatible not only in terms of living together but also sexually."

The remaining two couples in Arman's interviews reveal a more cautious picture by emphasizing that they are in love and the fact that just because "he [the husband] cannot do certain things does not mean that they do not have a happy marriage." They also voice complaints about the social stigmatization of wives of paraplegic men as "adulteress" women, women who seek sexual satisfaction outside of the conjugal marital relationship. These concerns led the third couple to hide from everyone, including their own parents, that they had a test tube baby and instead tell them that they had the baby "naturally." Actually, journalist Arman later tells the reader that this couple did not want to be in the newspaper and refused the publication of their interview despite the $12,000 cash offered by Arman, and accepted the offer only after they received a written guarantee that their identities would not be disclosed and their faces

would not be shown. Obviously, the couple must have felt that the disclosure of assisted conception, which already evokes anxieties over virility, would seriously undermine the masculinization that comes with fatherhood.

The continuing gendered anxieties of the couples Arman interviewed illustrate the frail nature of the technoscientific masculinization enabled by new reproductive technologies. This frailness is obviously not limited to the case of Turkish paraplegic veterans. Writing in the context of Egypt and Lebanon, Marcia Inhorn notes, "Infertile men also worried about the stigma that might surround the child if its 'test tube origins' were revealed, due to the popular societal assumption that an IVF baby might be the product of donor gametes" (Inhorn 2004, 175). She thus concludes that the stigma and secrecy surrounding male infertility are compounded by the "technological stigma" of the assisted reproduction itself; not only male fertility but also the very technologies designed to overcome it are seen as potentially emasculating and stigmatized (Inhorn 2004). For paraplegic men, the situation is even more complex, since there is no secrecy surrounding their presumed infertility. On the contrary, even if their partners become pregnant in a technoscientifically unmediated way, paraplegic men's sexual and reproductive capacities and their masculinities are always already under question. Nevertheless, the meanings and social status attached to paternity and fatherhood allow paraplegic veterans to reiterate more stable and less contested adult heteronormative masculine performances, which enable them to inhabit a less stigmatized social space as disabled men.

Biopolitical Transformations

I had mentioned that Arman's interview series provided the very first public accounts of Turkish disabled veterans' sexual and reproductive lives. Arman's interviews are important not only because they make disabled sexuality visible but also because they represent a shift in the mainstream public discourse concerning disabled veterans, a shift that we have to understand in relation to the larger biopolitical transformations that Turkey experienced under the decade-long rule of the AKP governments.

The first transformation concerns the state's changing population policies. Over the 2000s, the successive AKP governments increasingly abandoned the state's decades-long antinatalist population policies in favor of a pronatalist approach to population. Placing new restrictions on abortions and contraceptives, introducing cash for kids' programs to boost the birth rate, and redefining the ideal family in the state development paradigm, the AKP rule has gradually reshaped the contours of reproductive citizenship in Turkey (Acar and Altunok 2013, Unal and Cindoglu 2013). The AKP Prime Minister, Tayyip Erdogan, repeatedly asserted that abortion is murder and argued that C-section

deliveries hindered population growth as he became increasingly bold in voicing his pronatalist beliefs. When the prime minister participates in wedding ceremonies, his political signature is to publicly ask newlyweds to promise that they will have at least three children.

State-sponsored assisted reproduction for disabled veterans is firmly positioned within this broader transformation in the state's population policies. Until the 2000s, disabled veterans did not receive any financial support for their quest for test tube babies and had to either find a sponsor or pay for assisted conception out of their own pockets. Private obstetrics clinics sometimes offered to cover their expenses as a form of nationalist charity to advertise their services in a militarized and privatized milieu. I came across such a story on the Internet.[4] A newlywed disabled veteran suffering from damaged urinary tracts, a burst testicle, and infertility alongside major orthopedic disabilities shared his predicament on a confession website after a two-year-long wait to adopt a child. A charitable person who saw his post contacted and introduced him to the director of a private infertility and test tube baby center. After a surgical biopsy on his remaining testicle and several failed conception attempts, the disabled veteran finally became a father to a child named Armağan, "the gift." Such gifts became superfluous after the restructuring of the social security system in 2008, when the state started to cover IVF expenses of disabled veterans along with other groups covered by social security. After the state's (re)turn to pronatalism, providing free access to assisted reproduction technologies was now seen as a way to encourage and enable population increase.

The second major biopolitical transformation is in the field of disability politics. In the previous sections I talked about how disabled veterans became subjects of a new governmentality from the 1990s onward. Under the AKP rule, the larger disabled population underwent a similar process of governmentalization. This transformation was instituted on multiple fronts: concerted attempts to collect empirical data such as the first nationwide disability survey of 2002, deployment of new medical/welfare techniques for the measurement and classification of disability, legal reforms including the Turkish Disability Act of 2006, new welfare and social assistance programs for the disabled, accessibility planning for public transportation and urban design, elimination of discriminatory wording from laws, and national fundraising, consciousness-raising, and anti-stigma campaigns (see Bezmez 2013 and Evren 2013 for detailed analyses of this process). Despite their shortcomings in practice, all these governmental efforts produced a new discursive terrain for the public articulation of disabled citizens' rights, needs, claims, and desires. As a result, disabled individuals started to become increasingly visible in the

4 Mesude Erşan. "9 Yıl Sonra Baba Oldu." [He Became a Father After 9 Years.] *Hürriyet* 27/07/2003.

media, not as charity cases or grotesque figures of alterity, but rather as model citizens seeking to redress their grievances, fashion new lives, build families, and become productive members of society "despite all odds." Arman's interviews with the disabled veterans and the accompanying happy family pictures of men in wheelchairs surrounded by their spouses and children belong to this new representational genre of disability in the media.

The final transformation concerns the change in the nationalist politics of the body in the context of the peace attempts between the Turkish state and the Kurdish movement. Arman's interviews were published in the heat of the Kurdish Opening, a vague democratization and peaceful negotiation process that the Justice and Development party government initiated in late 2009. Indeed, just before Arman's interviews were run by the newspaper, disabled veterans organized spectacular protests all over Turkey in which they removed their prosthetic limbs and gave them back to state authorities to protest the peace attempts. In these demonstrations, disabled veterans utilized a political language of sacrifice and symbolically dismembered themselves once again to protest what they perceived to be the dismemberment of the country (Aciksoz 2011). Interestingly, in Arman's series, there is no mention of such protests. Once constituting the only available public discourse about disabled veterans, the discourse of sacrifice is slowly losing its political efficacy as the belligerent and ethnic tone of Turkish nationalism, and its obsession with the aesthetics of sacrifice wanes in the context of current peace and reconciliation attempts. The new Turkish nationalism that the AKP tries to inculcate stresses healing and rehabilitation more than sacrifice and dismemberment. Under the AKP rule, Turkey's neo-liberal developmentalist imagery is obsessed by the prosthetic reconstruction of the body through technoscientific and capital investment, as evidenced by the world's first two quadruple limb transplants, some of the world's first face transplants, and the world's first robotic mobilization device for paraplegic individuals. In this new milieu, the biopolitical success of the state's welfare system in turning disabled veterans into fathers, giving them what they have lost through the violent interruption of their transition to manhood, matters more than ever. This is the age of in vitro nationalism.

Conclusion

Over the last decade, the fruitful dialogue between disability and gender studies has led scholars to examine how corporeal otherness and gender inequality are co-constructed in a variety of social fields (Fawcett 2000, Smith and Hutchison 2004). However, notwithstanding a few exceptional works (Gerber 2000, Shakespeare 1999, Shuttleworth 2004), a vast majority of this research has focused primarily on women (Shuttleworth 2004). Moreover, in the works that

focus on the experiences and representations of disabled men, the analysis is guided by a recurring assumption that disability feminizes men (Diedrich 1998, 2001; Gerber 2000). Challenging this assumption that reflects and reinforces the idea that masculinity and femininity are fixed and monolithic oppositional entities, rather than fluid, multiple, and contradictory "processes of becoming" (Butler 1990), I follow the central premise of masculinity studies, which holds that multiple masculinities coexist in relations of power, contestation, and negotiation. From this perspective, disability may engender subordinate masculinities when disabled men fail to conform to hegemonic ideas about the male body, embody masculine dispositions (Bourdieu 1977, 2001), or reiterate normative gendered performances (Butler 1990, 1993). Thus, in order to understand how different masculinities are materialized in disabled bodies, one has to pay close attention to the gendered meanings, representations, and experiences of different impairments, as well as to the interplay between the gendered body and machinations of power, capital, and the state.

In this chapter, I have illustrated how Turkish disabled conscripts' embodied predicaments at the intersection of disability, class, gender, and sexuality are subjectively felt and socioculturally constructed as a masculinity crisis. This masculinity crisis, fracturing the militarized gender production machine and the state-enforced heteronormative and ableist conceptions of adult masculinity embedded in compulsory military service, has been the driving force behind the construction of a new governmental regime for disabled veterans. This new governmentality animated by gendered anxieties has utilized multiple forms of power and knowledge to remasculinize disabled veterans by acting upon the intimate details of their lives, technoscientifically fixing their embodied capacities, and remaking them as productive and reproductive bodies. The deployment of new reproductive technologies and assisted reproduction has been a crucial step in the reinscription of gendered normativity. Nevertheless, drawing disabled veterans into the world of heteronormative domesticity and reproductive sexuality has not been an unproblematic process, as illustrated by my discussion of the quandaries of technoscientific fatherhood.

Turkish disabled veterans' quest for fatherhood presents us with a broader lesson about the undertheorized relationships between gender, embodiment, and economy. The masculinity crisis of disabled veterans has been an emergency for the state and nationalist actors, but it has also introduced an opportunity for neo-liberal (disaster) capitalism that thrives on crisis. I coin the term "in vitro nationalism" to understand this neo-liberal biopolitical modality in which technoscientific imaginaries, nationalist attachments, governmental practices, and capital flows become entangled in contemporary Turkey. The biopolitical project of making fathers out of paraplegic veterans, on the one hand, presents a fascinating case in which assisted reproduction is used to imagine and construct a new national community, one that is consumerist, conservative, pronatalist,

disability-friendly, technology-savvy, and politically stable if not peaceable. On the other hand, it testifies to the increasing deployment of nationalist discourses and symbols to facilitate new forms of technoscientific capital investment and routinized consumption of technologies of vitality. Turkey's neo-liberal developmentalist imagery is obsessed with the prosthetic reconstruction of the body through technoscientific and capital investment, as exemplified by the Turkish biomedical institutions' zealous competition in the global market to accomplish one of the first face transplants and the world's only successful quadruple limb transplant, or to develop the first robotic mobilization device for paraplegics. The procreative paraplegic veteran body is an excellent poster child of this turn to in vitro nationalism, pregnant with new possible articulations of body, technology, and capital.

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