

**STATE PATRIARCHY AND ACCUMULATION BY  
DISPOSSESSION:  
SEXUAL LABOUR AND THE REPRODUCTION OF CAPITAL IN NORTHERN  
CYPRUS**

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# Approval

Approval of the Graduate School of Social Sciences

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This is to certify that we have read this thesis and that in our opinion it is fully adequate, in scope and quality, as a thesis for the degree of Master of Science.

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# **Abstract**

## **STATE PATRIARCHY AND ACCUMULATION BY DISPOSSESSION: SEXUAL LABOUR AND THE REPRODUCTION OF CAPITAL IN NORTHERN CYPRUS**

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The general purpose of this thesis is to provide a gendered analysis of the ways in which States use their power to facilitate and promote accumulation, specifically primitive accumulation. I will seek to demonstrate in this study that women, classed and racialised, and especially those migrating within the neo-liberal global political economy are exploited not only through the classical alienation of their labour, but from the application of the additional extra-economic power of patriarchy and the tools that provides to states, and typically male owning classes. Women's position in patriarchal society and patriarchal capitalism may transform their experiences with capital and the state into a relationship of accumulation by dispossession rather than having their labour alienated and exploited under typical expanded reproduction. States use the constructions of women as subordinate under patriarchy, as well as others about migrant labour, or about the 'aberrant' nature of sex work, to justify the use of women's bodies in the sex trade in a way that promotes the primitive accumulation, or accumulation by dispossession of surplus value from their labour and bodies. This study will use the Turkish Republic of northern Cyprus as an example to highlight the arguments made about the ability of a patriarchal state in collusion with capital, to use the extra controls afforded by patriarchy to primitively accumulate wealth from women, and to reproduce that ability on a continuous scale.

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### Key Words:

Patriarchy, State, Prostitution, Primitive Accumulation/Accumulation by Dispossession, northern Cyprus

# Öz

## DEVLET PATRİYARKİSİ VE MÜLKSÜZLEŞTİRME YOLUYLA BİRİKİM: KUZEY KIBRIS'TA SEKS İŞÇİLİĞİ VE SERMAYE ÇOĞALTILMASI

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Bu tezin genel maksadı, ülkelerin birikimlerini, özellikle de ilkel birikimlerini sağlama ve gelişime teşvik etme yolları hakkında cinsiyet temelli bir inceleme sunmaktır. Bu çalışmada; sınıf ve ırk ayrımcılığına tabi tutulan, özellikle farklı ülkelerde çalışmak zorunda kalan kadınların, neo-liberal küresel politik ekonomide, yalnızca emeklerinin hükümsüz bırakılmasına değil, aynı zamanda erkek egemen yönetim düzeni ve ülkelerin ataerkil hukuk düzenlerinin sağladığı ekonomik gücün uygulanmasına da dikkat çekmek istedim. Erkek egemen bir toplumda ve ataerkil kapitalizmde kadınların konumu, onların hukuk ve sermaye ile ilgili ilişkilerini hak ve adalet kavramlarından uzaklaştırarak, cebri, mülksüzleştirme yoluyla birikim ilişkisi haline dönüştürmektedir. Devletler, kadınların iş gücünü erkek egemen düzende ikinci plana atarak, göçmen iş gücü olarak görerek veya yalnızca seks ticaretinin 'sapkın' doğası ile kadın vücudu üzerinde uyguladıkları cebri birikim ve ilkel birikim yoluyla rant sağlama çabalarını mazur göstermeye çalışmaktadırlar. Bu çalışmada, ataerkil devletlerin sermaye kullanımı ile kurduğu tuzakların, erkek egemenliği ile meşrulaştırılan kadın vücudundan ilkel birikim yoluyla kazanç sağlanmasının ve bu yetinin süregelirliliğinin altını çizme konusunda Kuzey Kıbrıs Türk Cumhuriyeti örnek olarak kullanılacaktır.

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# 1. Introduction

The general purpose of this thesis is to provide a gendered analysis of the ways in which states use their power to facilitate and promote accumulation. This project will focus primarily on the ways in which the patriarchal state guides women's experiences of exploitation under capitalism to be distinct to that of the traditional male waged labourer. This approach comes largely from a post-colonial feminist understanding of women's relationship with both the state and capitalism under patriarchy. I will seek to demonstrate in this study that women, classed and racialised, and especially those migrating within the neo-liberal global political economy (GPE) are exploited by states and capital not only through the classical alienation of their labour, but from the application of the additional extra-economic power of state patriarchy. The application of this extra-economic force is present in many forms of capital accumulation, especially where women's labour is strongly featured; domestic/reproductive labour, sweatshop labour, and even development schemes that rely heavily upon women's work such as microcredit and micro finance projects. This study however will focus on the gendered phenomenon of sex work within neoliberalism. Its purpose is to show that women's relationship with the patriarchal state, society and capitalism may be one of accumulation by dispossession, whereby patriarchy becomes a tool for the dispossession of the value of women's labour towards the reproduction of capital and the patriarchal state itself.

Essentially, women's bodies are disciplined by the patriarchal state, in satisfaction of its own desires, the desires of its male citizens, and importantly in response to the desires of capital. States use the constructions of women as subordinate under patriarchy, as well as constructions about migrant labour, or about the 'aberrant' nature of sex work, to justify the use of women's bodies in the sex trade in a way that promotes the primitive accumulation, or accumulation by dispossession of surplus value from their labour and bodies.

This study will use the Turkish Republic of northern Cyprus as an example to highlight the arguments made about the ability of a patriarchal state in collusion with

capital, to use the extra controls afforded by patriarchy to primitively accumulate wealth from women, and to reproduce that ability on a continuous scale. This is primarily because of my proximity to the issue here in the TRNC, the scale of prostitution on the island, as well as the choices made by the state in regulating the industry. Northern Cyprus is not a recognised state, but this paper refers to structures of the state and government in the north because, from the perspective of people living there or entering and leaving the country as migrant sex workers, that is how they function. Further, while under embargo, northern Cyprus is not in itself a neoliberal state, but does exist within reaches of neoliberal governance and the flows of capital and the movement of people resultant from other's states experiences with neoliberalism.

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The state's use and abuse of women's bodies is nothing new in history. The case has been made and remade that the capitalist state, and the pre-capitalist state accrued innumerable benefits from the undervaluing, naturalisation and exploitation of women's reproductive labour (Dalla Costa, 2004; Federici, 2009; Mies, 1998). Silvia Federici (2009) has made the case that throughout history women's bodies have been the main sites of oppression both by men directly, and by the patriarchal state, resulting in a social construction of women as relationally subordinate that persists today. However, with specificity to prostitution, Federici cites the example of transitional (feudal to capitalist) Europe, particularly France and the rise of sexual politics in the use of women as prostitutes as a state provided service intended to quell class antagonisms (Federici, 2009). Since then, prostitution in the Western world has gone through varying degrees of legality, and during the 20<sup>th</sup> century with the rise of feminist discourse, was seen to be largely a "hangover from traditional male dominant societies that would disappear with the advance of women's equality" (Jeffreys, 2009, p. 1).

Not only has prostitution not disappeared, it has shown no signs of slowing with any progress in women's rights. In fact, human trafficking, especially the enslaving of women and children in sexual exploitation has become one of the most lucrative global industries, allowing the 'commodity' to be sold not only once, but rather continually.

Current estimates claim that the shadow industry of the sex and desire industries alone generates between 7-12 billion dollars annually (Agathangelou, 2006). The UN Office on Drugs and Crime adds that upwards of 2.5 million people are victims of trafficking for labour and sexual purposes at any given time, while 80% of these are women and children (United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime, 2008). According to a number of feminist scholars, the emergence of the neoliberal world order has been a major factor in contributing to the explosion of the commercialisation of sex and its related industries, raising them to unprecedented levels and making the subject worthy of renewed investigation (Agathangelou, 2006; Jeffreys, 2009; Lim, 1998; Penttinen, 2007).

The tendency under neoliberalism to increasingly view all aspects of social life through the lens of market logic presents prostitution first as a rational choice made at a time of growing demand, and for better or for worse, has constructed prostitution in many parts of the world as recognised work in national and international industries (Jeffreys, 2009; Penttinen, 2007). This is true of neoliberal states, but moreover of states, like the TRNC, that are not typically defined as neoliberal but exist under neoliberal governance all the same. The outcome has been an industry that has been transformed into a large-scale, normalised and highly profitable market sector which if not legal, is at least a tolerated part of national economies. In this regard, Sheila Jeffreys (2009) claims that the growth of prostitution and its feeder industries should be viewed as the commercialisation, and legitimisation by the state, of women's subordination.

Neoliberal restructuring as development can be further implicated in the growth of prostitution. The process has been cited as being hyper-masculine for its heavily market oriented policies that largely ignore women's position in society and development as distinct to that of men's (Agathangelou, 2006; Coleman, 2007; Jeffreys, 2009; Penttinen, 2007; Sweetman, 2002). The false assumption that market-led initiatives would 'trickle-down' to women has thus contributed to the feminisation of poverty and consequently the feminisation of labour and migration more generally and has translated to a veritable repeat of capitalist history. The dispossession of land during the period of enclosures in Europe is credited with having played an important role in the transition to monetary life from which women were largely excluded, and the relegation of women to newly devalued reproductive labour. In order to support

themselves, many women were forced into prostitution much in the same way the present restructuring towards privatisation appears to have left many women to come to the market with what Marx would have phrased as “nothing to sell except their own skins” (Federici, 2009; Marx, 1990, p. 873).

Lin Lean Lim (1998), in a report compiled for the International Labour Organisation (ILO), claims that whether provided legally or illegally, the scale of prostitution and associated services is growing at such a rate that it has become “integrated into the economic, social and political life of... countries” and consequently “has directly or indirectly contributed in no small measure to employment, national income and economic growth” (Lim, 1998, p. 6). According to Lara Agustin (2010), this integration with national economies proved itself as a useful tool in leveraging development goals of states, considering prostitution-related employment, taxation, and remittances received from prostitution-related migration. Women’s subordination then, has become not only commercialised, but indivisible from the operation of the capitalist state itself.

The prevalence of brothels and prostitution-related consumption, and their obvious transcendence of a normally hidden nature, suggests the same is true for the TRNC. A drive between any of the larger cities within the TRNC makes the existence of a robust sex industry hard to ignore. The massive nightclubs that line the highways towards the capital of the Turkish Republic leave little to the imagination about their purpose. With names such as Tutti-Frutti, Bling, Sexy Lady, and Lipstick, heavily adorned with flashing coloured lights and images of women perched in precarious sexual positions, it can be hard for many to reconcile the fact that selling sex is in actuality illegal on the this part of the island.

The Ministry of Labour and Social Security in the TRNC reported issuing just under 1000 work permits for women working in nightclubs (Department of State, United States of America, 2011). Typically migrants from the former Soviet Union, these women work under the title of ‘konsomatrices’, as legally they do not provide sexual services (Lisaniler, Rodriguez, & Uğural, 2008). While many of these women migrate to northern Cyprus to perform sex work willingly, there is a great deal of evidence to suggest that many others are the victims of coercion or deceit and thus the victims of

trafficking. According to the 2011 issue of the US State Department's comprehensive report on trafficking and forced prostitution, the Turkish Cypriot authorities deny the existence of any form of forced prostitution on the island. While in my own interviews, the authorities did not deny existence of forced sexual labour, they have made virtually no effort to create any substantive legislation to combat it. The only legislation of the industry is applied on the prostituted women themselves in the form of deportation, and as such claims have been made regarding the state's complicity, and allegations made against the direct involvement of the local police force (Department of State, United States of America, 2011). Based on the TRNC's tacit approval of the industry, as well as several examples of explicit engagement in it, the State Department has listed the TRNC as a 'Tier 3' country in terms of human trafficking. 'Tier 3' is a severe ranking for countries who do not meet any standards in the combat of forced sexual labour, nor make any concerted attempts to do so in the future.

The sharp rise in the existence, and the change in the constitution of prostitution over the last 30 years, especially within the TRNC, is an undeniable cause for concerned investigation. This is especially true given that the complicit and facilitative nature of state involvement represents a "new form of colonialism through the commodification of women's bodies" leading to the accumulation by dispossession of these workers, and makes one very aware that state power is not neutral but in fact highly gendered and classed (Agathangelou, 2006, p. 23).

### General Outline of the Thesis

The outline of this thesis is broken down into three main sections. The first section, "Putting Women's Work and Sex Work into Context: Neo-Patriarchy" is designed to help create a background understanding to the realities of women's value within the patriarchal state and patriarchal capitalism that eventually lead to the accumulation of wealth from their labour by dispossession. It will review how women are subordinate and undervalued by patriarchy, and the embeddedness of patriarchy within capitalism and the state. Further it will forward the claim that neoliberalism itself is a masculine phenomenon that feminises the consequences of its growth, and that the patriarchal state, both as a fraternal and paternal state, are actively engaged in

maintaining, and reproducing that status quo, even if not neoliberal itself. Lastly, it places sex work, as overtly gendered labour, into the context of patriarchal capitalism.

The second section provides the main argument of how and why women's labour under capitalism, specifically their sexual labour, can and should be considered accumulation by dispossession. Starting with Marx's definition of what constitutes primitive accumulation, it draws upon that definition to widen the scope of who and what can be dispossessed outside of the typical cycle of capitalist accumulation. This section thus forwards the assertion that women's labour, both because it is undervalued by capital, and because patriarchy allows multiple controls which direct women's labour towards a higher level of unfreedom, cannot be said to be uniquely a part of expanded reproduction.

The third and final section relates the current situation of the sex industry in northern Cyprus, and the typically poorer, racialised migrant women who are employed in it, to the claims made in the previous two sections to illustrate how value is primitively accumulated from their labour, and labour power. It seeks to explain how the state, the TRNC here, can take advantage of the feminised flows of poor migrant labour to fulfil its own desires of accumulation as well as how it operates as both a fraternal and paternal state in order to facilitate the exploitation of women's labour by its capitalist classes.

## **2. Methodology, Methods And Concepts**

### **Methodology**

I am of the opinion that any study incorporating sex work generally, prostitution, or prostitutes themselves, cannot look upon the idea of selling sex, or desire, the body or a service as only ever a private affair. The contract between sex worker and client, or sex worker, client and third party facilitator/employer/pimp is only the beginning of a very long and complex equation. In fact there are a multiplicity of power relations outside of these primary relationships that must be accounted for in connection with those more visible instances of contact between clients, prostitutes and third parties. They might include, for instance: the law and the state's influence on, and/or facilitation of each group; the power felt through neoliberal governance, through racial ethnic difference, or by citizenship; and the power felt through popular conceptions of morality and what is considered 'decent work'. Prostitution and sex work are also related intimately to the power of patriarchal constructions of women, and of what is naturalised as a part of the female condition and social orders created from these conceptions.

Prostitution and sex work, especially on a transnational level, also fall into the wider social relations of production of capitalism. They are a part of a global political economy of selling sex, and the fulfilment of everything from personal desires on physical and emotional levels, to catering to state interests of development and sustaining national social orders (Agathangelou, 2006). They are embedded in the capitalist conditions of production as a highly classed, but also a gendered phenomenon that fall into the category of women's work as social reproductive labour (Agathangelou, 2006). We add again to the complexity of studying sex work by realising that while the organisation of social reproduction and its global movement require sexual divisions of labour, this labour has also been racialised. Sex work, as argued by such authors as Anna Agathangelou (2003) and L.H.M Ling (2003) at least in terms of its global movement and trade, is a form of work done most often by poor, racialised women from the global south, or in the context of what has been informally termed the white-slave trade. This is a more recent phenomenon where poor, white-skinned women are part of

a global movement to fulfil the sexual and domestic desires of the upper and middle classes of other, ostensibly richer nations in the semi-periphery (Agathangelou, 2006).

The intermixing of these factors and many others, calls for a methodology of research that will be sensitive to both the high-level circuits of global production, while giving the necessary importance to other levels containing identities, and experiences of the individuals within production. It should also have an understanding that the worker is historically, politically and socially constituted and their labour power the product of certain ‘naturalisations’ (Agathangelou, 2002). While this study will focus primarily on the influence of patriarchy on women’s work, and within the regulation of sex work and prostitution, it must be maintained that patriarchy itself is multidimensional and works in tandem with other social orders and oppressions. These considerations can only fully be done justice through feminist theory or more specifically, a postcolonial feminist understanding with an emphasis on historical materialism.

### Why Feminism/ Postcolonialism?

Feminism, as a discourse, a methodology, and a lived politic is a movement and a system of belief that sees gender inequality as a core problematic in understanding social phenomena (DeVault, 1996). Feminist epistemology maintains that gender (identity), is the locus of oppression and should be the greatest influence in our conceptions of knowledge and our practices of inquiry (Stanford Encyclopedia of Philosophy , 2011). This understanding considers the very ways in which knowledge is produced in contemporary social research, under the assumption that the researcher could and should act as a neutral observer, has a tendency to maintain and reproduce undesirable conditions for the subjects of research. Feminist epistemology is sceptical that the researcher can in fact be neutral, and further rejects the idea that they should attempt to be; social reality itself is not neutral, and further, feminist research is purpose driven and intends to have wider usage than being merely descriptive or analytical.

Feminist research also uses the qualitative assumption that, people “attribute meaning to events and to their environment” and move from this point to ensure that the oppressive hierarchies and inequality enforced upon women through history are not reproduced within the research project (Bryman, 2008, p. 385). This serves not only to



give women a larger and stronger voice within social research, but also may serve other groups who have been marginalised by dominant forces and discourses. From this position, it may also actually serve to contribute to the emancipatory struggles of these groups outside of the research field by the knowledge it produces. Moreover, feminist research, and the methods used, may assist in exposing and deconstructing power and equality imbalances that reproduce oppression and exploitation of women in different aspects of daily life; socially, politically and economically.

Although feminist research began out of the need to address the needs of women specifically, and the oppressions felt as a group by the constructions of patriarchal norms and orders, these methods have important implications for any community that experiences oppression on the basis of group positionality or identity.

While I am focusing on patriarchy, adding postcolonialism allows for the admittance of other important factors that conventional studies of globalisation may miss. It has gone farther to explain the interlocking and compounding nature of socially constructed identities in forming modalities of oppression, especially in terms of their relationship with capital. Basically, it is the understanding that people do not leave their identities at the door when they sell their labour, nor does capital restrict itself to class when confronted with different identities and power relations.

### **Concepts and Viewpoints**

There are, as with most academic discussions, more than a few contentious terms and concepts being used in this work. It is necessary to take a position on a few of them, as their interpretations radically change the ways in which we may see them in context with patriarchy and capitalist accumulation. For example, why do some feminist authors use the term sex work rather than prostitution, and is selling sex really a form of work? Can and should sex work and prostitution be considered reproductive labour? Does the individual agency of a person change the conditions of capitalist accumulation? And, what constitutes trafficking in the sex industry, and what connection does its definition have to these prior questions?

## Sex as Work and Reproductive Labour

There are basically two schools of feminist thought that form the base of the discussion on prostitution as a form of work. The first comes from radical feminism, which views the occurrence of prostitution in our societies as something derived directly from the violence of patriarchy and as such is always an abuse of a woman's human rights, regardless of whether or not it is forced or voluntary (Sutherland, 2004). The other view comes from the polar opposite feminist stance, sex radicalism, which have made considerable success in shifting the discussion away from the abolishment discussion pursued by the former group, and towards a human rights agenda in favour of sex workers (Sutherland, 2004). It is mainly sex radicalists that have brought forward this idea of prostitution as a form of work like any other, primarily under the liberal-contract argument that prostitutes enter contractual agreements like any other worker. The fact that the work is degrading is a function of societal conceptions of morality, not the reality of the work itself, and it should be considered possible that a prostitute enjoys her work.

However for radical feminists, the inherently exploitative and degrading conditions of patriarchy make sex as work impossible. Women in patriarchy are not active subjects alienated in work, but objects that are completely commodified; they are "the nature, the matter, the acted upon to be subdued by the acting subject" (Sutherland, 2004, p. 12). Radical feminist Catharine MacKinnon (1989) states in *Towards a Feminist Theory of the State*, that "Sexuality is to feminism what work is to Marxism: that which is most one's own, yet most taken away" (p. 3). Although I agree that sex work is not 'like any other work' insofar as other 'work' does not necessarily have the added power relations of patriarchy, the label of 'sex work' may have other advantages. By not using the term work, one hides the embeddedness of the sex industry within the global political economy while also assuming that any woman who chooses prostitution outright can only be the victim of false consciousness.

That being said, sex radicalism's push towards full recognition of prostitution as work seems also slightly misguided in that they appear to favour those prostitutes who may already be more privileged while ignoring the influence of patriarchy melding with capitalist relations of production and thus changing the conditions of exploitation and

alienation in a way that prostitution can no longer be considered ‘work like any other’. In short, there are too many complexities and varieties of experience for this to be a black and white issue in the way that sex radicals or radical feminists see it. The term ‘work’ is useful in that women are not all passive, or commodified objects; they are a part of the capitalist accumulation process as labourers, even though it will be argued, that the primitive accumulation of their labour power transcends into the realm of the accumulation of prostitutes as commodities.

Another argument centres on whether or not sex can be considered reproductive labour. The argument against sex as reproductive work contends that sex, “while sometimes temporarily rejuvenating, [is] neither always felt as positive, nor essential to the individual’s continued functioning” (Agustin, 2012, p. 269). By the logic of this viewpoint, reproductive work should be reserved to define those things that truly contribute to our vitals: eating sleeping, hygiene, child rearing. However, sex radicalist Laura Agustin (2012), coming from the more holistic view of humans as sexual beings, suggests that if one is fortunate enough, sex may ‘reproduce’ us mentally and emotionally as people can feel fundamentally reaffirmed, and renewed.

The trouble with this conception is that it reaffirms the placement of sex work in the realm of women’s naturalised roles. While I do not wish to reassert this idea, nor necessarily promote Agustin’s conception, as sex as work *has* been naturalised as women’s work and thus undervalued, I do believe my classification should be operationalized as a reminder of this.

### Trafficking and Agency

Trafficking of human beings for the purposes of sexual exploitation has been another very contentious concept in the discourse of sex work, and the sex industry, especially concerning what actually constitutes trafficking. According to the 2000 UN Convention against Transnational Organised Crime:

- (a) “Trafficking in persons” shall mean the recruitment, transportation, transfer, harbouring or receipt of persons, by means of the threat of force or use of force or other forms of coercion, of abduction, of fraud, of deception, of the abuse of power or of a position of vulnerability of the giving or receiving of payments or benefits to achieve the consent of a person having control over another person, for the purpose of exploitation.

Exploitation shall include, at a minimum, the exploitation for the prostitution of others or other forms of sexual exploitation, forced labour or services, slavery or practises similar to slavery, servitude or the removal of organs.

(b) The consent of the victim of trafficking in persons to the intended exploitation set forth in subparagraph (a) of the paper shall be irrelevant where any of the means set forth in subparagraph (a) have been used (2004, p. Article 3).

Under this definition, even forms of prostitution that result from migration, and are organised as third party controlled, such as the case in the TRNC can be considered trafficking as a whole.

Feminists coming from a sex radicalism perspective find the term trafficking problematic as they believe it groups women in the global migration for sex work, as having been trafficked and as victims without voice or use of agency. They contend that most 'trafficking victims' are in fact prostitutes migrating, and not unwilling victims, and thus believe the concept is too totalising, and operates on the negative assumption that no woman would choose, of her own free will to be a prostitute (Doezema, 1998).

I take a position that is wary of the claims of sex radicalism, that most women who are trafficked are already prostitutes. Collecting data to prove either side of that argument has proven very difficult for sex researchers. More so, I am bothered by the idea that the violence of trafficking appears downplayed if there exists agency on the part of the individual involved. There is much value in feminist research placed on the individual's use of agency, and this is a very positive development, however I find this approach problematic when the possibility of the use of agency overrides the existence, scale and depth of coercive forms of sexual labour.

Some may feel that the idea of agency may complicate my argument that sexual labour under patriarchal capitalism is a part of primitive accumulation. However, while it is important to acknowledge agency or true cases where agency is lacking, I will argue that the conditions of trafficking, or debt-bonded, or somehow coerced labour transforms a person's labour power into the subject of accumulation by dispossession. Free labour, in any other condition is exploited whether or not the labourer consents to work, therefore it is no different in this case, and certainly not for unfree labour.

## **Methods**

As it has already become obvious, I differentiate between ‘methodology’, a theory of analysis on how research should be conducted, and ‘methods’, the techniques for gathering and using evidence. Feminist research is post-positivist in that it is sceptical of the effectiveness of quantitative methods, and therefore relies mainly upon qualitative methods of research as these methods provide the necessary context for understanding and addressing the complexities of the feminist research subject. Accordingly, this project uses qualitative methods such as document and media analyses, semi-structured and unstructured interviews and discourse analyses, and is given structure through a detail account of the theories behind women and patriarchy, prostitution, and capitalist accumulation.

## Theories and Theorists

Most predominantly, this project is a theoretical one. It seeks to show that women’s labour power exploitation, especially in the field of prostitution but generalizable to other sectors, is negatively affected by the presence of patriarchy in capitalism. To do this, I review the contributions of major theorists in patriarchy, capitalist accumulation and primitive accumulation, and sex work; attempting to work them into one heuristic device that can explain the interrelatedness of all of these theories in analysing prostitution. The works of Maria Mies (1998) *Patriarchy and Accumulation of a World Scale*, and Carole Pateman (1988) *The Sexual Contract*, were drawn upon extensively for understanding Patriarchy as well as Silvia Federici’s (2009), *The Caliban and the Witch* for understanding the complex relationship between capitalism, patriarchy and primitive accumulation. Theories of capitalism and accumulation came most primarily from Karl Marx’s *Capital Volume I* (1990), *The Economic and Philosophic Manuscripts* (1964) and *the Grundrisse* (1974), but also from Massimo De Angelis (2001) "Marx and Primitive Accumulation: The Continuous Character of Capital's 'enclosures'", and David Harvey’s *New Imperialism* (2003). Anna Agathangelou (2006), especially her text *The Global Political Economy of Sex* was integral in making the connections between sex work, migration and neo-patriarchal accumulation.

### Document and Media Analysis

After a theoretical base has been established, the next step in the research process will be the collection of data, both from secondary and primary sources. Sources such as media reports, internal reports from the TRNC, represent the types of secondary evidence that will be used; they will be compared to both the theory laid out, as well as case studies and reports from other countries that will reveal that the TRNC is not really atypical. Primary evidence will include actual laws on prostitution and the running of the nightclubs, visa requirements, information on the rates on taxation and other data that may be embedded within the secondary data that may illustrate aspects of accumulation by dispossession facilitated by that state. These documents make up a vital part of the triangulation process and will contribute to the descriptive nature of this research and allow for the context needed to develop a valid account.

### Interviews and Discourse Analysis

As further primary evidence, about ten semi-structured interviews were conducted with various individuals from around northern Cyprus. These people included: academics whose work had focused on some aspect of the issues covered in this project, TRNC legal experts working on the issue of prostitution and trafficking, Policy Coordinators from the Mediterranean Institute Gender Studies and members of the NGO Cyprus Anti Trafficking. I also completed several interviews with the help of a translator, of officials from all major political parties in the TRNC. With some exceptions, they were all remarkably open, however the Police Department refused to comment on anything regarding the issue.

### Limitations

The greatest limitation in this research has been one of languages. As my Turkish knowledge is limited, there were many people I felt I could not interview, and a great deal of information from media sources that simply was not available to me. Finding and translating legal information was also very difficult, and costly.

Another major limitation was my inability to interview migrant women themselves for this project. I chose to avoid doing so, and gear the research towards a

theoretical goal, for ethical reasons concerning the possibility of causing harm to the subjects through the research process. This fear was validated by the claims of some of the interviewees who had tried to gain access to these women for the purposes of research who found it exceedingly difficult as the women were under strict control at all times. Perhaps this in itself can be taken as evidence of the risk associated with both their work, and researching it.

### **3. Patriarchy, Capitalism And The State**

#### **Patriarchy and Capitalism**

Aptly described by Maria Mies (1998) in the influential *Patriarchy and Accumulation on a World Scale*, women's participation in the global political economy has been marked by a contradictory logic between "progress at one pole, and retrogression at the other" (112). While Capitalist logic claims to displace traditional prejudices and damming social orders, the New International Division of Labour (NIDL), emergent alongside neoliberalism, the latest phase of capitalist development, seems not only to have entrenched social divisions, but in fact relies upon them for its reproduction and advancement. Still conspicuously a heavily classed phenomenon, the NIDL, which structures our international patterns of production and consumption, is also a starkly raced/ethnicised, regional and importantly, a heavily gendered system. While there is improvement to speak of, realistically the vast majority of the world's women experience their entrance into the GPE not as prestigious business women, politicians, or academics etc., but under opposite and often markedly destructive conditions. Typically this has meant women's entrance to marketed sectors are typified by low-paid, precarious labour in the global South, and even a push towards temporary, and part-time work in the growing service industries of the north (Morini, 2007).

Gender, therefore, must come to the forefront of the discussion of the NIDL. This is especially true considering that while in some cases neoliberalism has weakened tight categorizations, it has also in many ways brought an intensification of what constitutes 'women's roles', what is typically associated with femininity and 'women's work', the (un)productive tasks that fit the prior description (Ehrenreich & Hochschild, 2003). Global trends in production are now marked by a pronounced movement towards first, the feminisation of labour, and the subsequent feminisations of poverty, migration, and at times the feminisation of survival (Bakker & Gill, 2003a). These 'feminisations' refer to the feminising of the consequences and externalities of so-called gender-neutral development and growth. Specifically the feminisation of labour, that which precedes the others, refers to the increased and continuously expanding share of women participating in the global labour market as relative to men (Mies, 1998). While the



number of women participating the labour market itself is not problematic, the concept includes the crucial recognition that the increase of women in the labour market has coincided with the deterioration of working conditions. This has been both within employment sectors that are already heavily gendered towards female employment, as well as the re-creation of some traditionally male dominated sectors into flexible, fragmentary and precarious ‘feminised work’, affecting workers of both genders with unprotected underemployment (Franck & Spehar, 2010). These feminisations therefore highlight the gendered underbelly of neoliberalism, which in many cases is re-establishing and accelerating rates of gendered exploitation.

The following section will map the basis of how and why women, as individuals and as labourers, have been devalued by the system of patriarchy, as well as by the state and capital which draw upon this system in order to serve their own accumulation interests. This will lead ultimately to the argument that women’s labour power, specifically in sex work for the purposes of this project, is alienated and exploited beyond normal capitalist reproduction, and is actually the object of primitive accumulation, or accumulation by extra-economic means.

### Patriarchy, Women and Work

Patriarchy, in one form or another, has been a salient feature in many societies since the inception of the concept of a public, or political life. Civil society therefore is essentially a patriarchal social order (Pateman, 1988). That capitalist production has long exploited the gains of an undervalued, largely unpaid female workforce also, is far from a new assertion. While the two systems are technically exclusive, it is necessary to understand how social and political patriarchy, while predating the emergence of capitalism, acts in synchrony with capitalism towards the construction and maintenance of specific gender relations mutually beneficial to capitalist production and a male dominated social life.

Feminist authors such as Mariarosa Dalla Costa, (2004) and Carole Pateman (1988) and many others contend that the asymmetrical gendered relations of production, not unlike the class inequalities generated by the system, are integral to the reproduction of capitalism. This is a key understanding in Marxist-feminism. Some feminist theorists

such as Maria Mies (1998) and Silvia Federici (2009) have even suggested that beyond the reproduction of capital, the patriarchal construction of women's labour as inferior to men's is actually part of the concentration of capital and labour, or 'primitive accumulation' that was foundational to capitalism itself. Mies argues that patriarchy was in fact, in part constitutive of the social relations that produced capitalism and as such creates a form of oppression whereby the genders experience the application of power and exploitation in an imbalanced way (Mies, 1998). Federici furthers this argument by claiming that the accumulation required for the concentration of wealth required for the emergence of capitalism

...was not simply an accumulation and concentration of exploitable workers and capital. It was *also an accumulation of differences and divisions within the working class*, whereby hierarchies built upon gender, as well as "race" became constitutive of class rule and the formation of the modern proletariat (2009, p. 63).

At its base, patriarchy refers to a system of control or power, which favours men's position over women's and essentially defines women as perpetually subordinate to men. It is institutionalised, or structural power, and as such exerts a social order, which governs first the relations between the genders, but critically, the capabilities, capacities, desires, and effectively the decisions of all individuals.

It is important to classify patriarchy as a social structure in order to highlight two critical points; the first is to emphasize the rejection of any claims in favour of biological determinism, and the second to clarify that the concept patriarchy still includes both men not privy to the benefits accorded to a 'dominant' position, and women who escape the 'subordinate' one (Walby, 1989). However patriarchy remains of course a system of organisation that serves to systematically disadvantage women relative to men. Sylvia Walby (1989) in the very influential *Theorising Patriarchy*, identifies 6 separate structures of patriarchy which serve to oppress and exploit women specifically relative to men: a patriarchal mode of production, the system of waged labour, the patriarchal state, prevalence of male violence, patriarchal relations in sexuality and a patriarchal culture. With these six structures of patriarchy, we can see the influence has the potential to permeate virtually every aspect of a woman's life. The significance of these structures has meant not only that their individual applications have influenced and

restricted specific aspects of women's lives, or together women's overall oppression. Rather, the product of their existence is the unique character of the ways in which women's labour can be exploited for capital accumulation.

If gender relations are effectively relations of power, they provide a basis for the assignment of resources and positions on a gendered basis (Sayer & Walker, 2002). A patriarchal gender order is one that places women's position as necessarily subordinate, and therefore allocates less attention and resources to their needs. In terms of the GPE, it results in the designation of the specific ways in which women's labour can be harnessed for the accumulation by other classes<sup>1</sup>. In short, patriarchy defines an institutionalisation of social structures and practises that afford men, or at the least a male bias, the organisational ability to exploit the bodies of women, socially and within capitalism. This is not to suggest that structures such as class, do not exploit men and their labour. Rather the intention is to recognize the interplay between multiple oppressive forces; class and gender here, but more widely, race, ethnicity, region, sexual orientation or another identity.

### The Naturalisation of Gender Roles

The most basic result of patriarchy's influence within the political economy has been women's naturalisation as reproductive workers; caring, domestic and private labourers whose effort is not typically viewed as 'productive'. Naturalisation is part of the language used to rationalise women's subordination through essentialism about sex and gender roles. It suggests there is something organic about women's work; derived perhaps from the fact that women give birth, or because they are, on average smaller than men. The naturalisation of women's labour has allowed a wide variety of tasks, even if only remotely associated with childrearing and household reproduction fall into a category broadly considered 'women's work' (Feinstein, Feinstein, & Sabrow, 2010). Even upon entrance into the labour market, women's work is routinely categorised as innate to the female biology and subsequently undervalued and considered secondary both their own reproductive duties, as well as to men's labour. The naturalisation of

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<sup>1</sup> Referring primarily to the capitalist and owning classes, but also fellow working class males who also fundamentally benefit from the subordination of women's labour.

women's labour should be seen a major problematic in the interrogation of women's experiences either within the private home or the global economy.

Traditionally, women have been forced to contend with their classification as the non-essential counter-parts to men because of the biologically determined conception that women lack the crucial ability to transcend their feminine nature in order to be fully participating public citizens (Young, 1980). However, the non-essential, or secondary character of women and their work does not mean that reproductive labour is not used directly in capital accumulation. Rather, the productive features of the work are obscured as non-work under the guise of terms such as 'income-generating' activities or supplementary work. This is work considered to complement the salaries of males, who remain the primary breadwinners, and is regarded as an extension of the tasks that would have been expected regardless of payment. This work is also pushed into the informal sector often within homes and collectives where invisible, exceptional alienation and exploitation become commonplace (Mies, 1998). The very idea that women's labour has been naturalised as supplementary and having less value, is what has made it so attractive to capital. The use of women's naturalised, devalued labour, as well as the advantage to be taken from socially constructed modes of behaviour that present women as submissive and easily controlled was once referred to by the World Bank as 'practical intelligibility'; it was suggested that the use of women's (re)productive labour was in fact 'underutilised' productive capacity, that should be harnessed within global production (World Bank, 1975). The construction and reproduction of women as the weaker, docile gender is seen as an asset as women can be more easily controlled, persuaded or forced into longer working hours, less pay, and more precarious conditions (Rahman, 1999). Capital is provided the advantage of women's 'positional vulnerability' as a control mechanism within patriarchal hierarchies to ensure that women will do repetitive tasks without dispute or complaint as part of socially and culturally patterned submissive behaviours. Further, women's so-called positional vulnerability also plays on the idea that women are the constant subjects of male and/or supervisory gaze (Young, 1980). Women are conditioned to coordinate their actions and are constrained by strong familial and societal responsibility connected to their

presumed roles, which serves to reduce their immediate mobility and the likelihood that production will be interrupted by protest or collective action (Rahman, 1999).<sup>2</sup>

Patriarchy thus exerts a social order which governs the relations between the genders however, Federici importantly adds that for women this power is also felt as a corporeal one; an assertion especially salient to the discussion on the exploitation in the sex industries. She argues in fact, that patriarchy is a bodily experience, and represents an essential way in which women's labour is exploited differently from male wage labour. This bodily experience need not be limited to male violence, but in fact can exist in all structures of patriarchy listed by Walby. This is owing to the fact that power and control directed towards women can be felt corporally at two separate levels. The application of physical force itself of course restricts and controls human bodies, however the extraction of value from women is under the patriarchal structures of wage labour, the relationship with the state or culture, or capitalism more broadly, a bodily experience because of the classification of women's labour as reproductive. For Federici, all structures of patriarchy attempt to discipline and direct the female body towards the creation of surplus value for appropriation. In this way, she argues that "the body has been for women in capitalist society what the factory has been for male waged workers: the primary ground of exploitation" (Federici, 2009, p. 16). Value of women's labour is expropriated by men at an individual level, and by the state and capital at higher, social levels. Mies, also arguing for the corporeal nature of patriarchy further

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<sup>2</sup> Some of the most common examples of how women's positional vulnerability has been harnessed to the benefit of capital is within the 'sweatshop' or increasingly, the Export Processing Zones (EPZs) of the global south, and even within the 'new' development paradigm of 'bottom-up' microcredit programs. Between 70-90% of people working in sweatshops and within EPZ's are young, single women, typically between the ages of 15-25 (Nakamura, 1992). Patriarchy has influenced only the selection of these workers, but also their management, as tight controls are applied with the support of societal relations and states, and without great fear of resistance from the women themselves. Further, microcredit has been targeting women very aggressively and almost exclusively. With more than 7.6 million members in 2008, over 96.88% were women (Grameen Bank, 2011). Popular justification is that microcredit provides empowerment for women who have for too long been marginalised by traditional development, however another important justification for the targeting of women in microcredit is that they are assumed to be better. Microfinance institutions are dissuaded from recruiting men, and recruit only women because of 'practical intelligibility'; male workers are considered too difficult to work with and in time will incur more transaction costs. In short, women are targeted because they are easiest to find and to control.

suggests that because of the submissive role assigned to women, the persistent threat and/or existence of structural and direct violence for many of the world's women acts as an additional mode of control and expropriation.

According to Carole Pateman (1988), the naturalisation of women's labour is achieved through the "sexual contract," which defines women as wives, mothers, and daughters and infers certain reproductive responsibilities while obfuscating their status as workers. Responsibilities of social reproduction are varied and inclusive of many particular activities that fall within, but are not limited to biological reproduction, the reproduction of labour power, social practices related to caring, the fulfilment of social 'needs' and socialisation; most notably socialisation for the reproduction of the gender order and division of labour (Bakker & Gill, 2003a). Tasks that fall under these categories, virtually anything considered as existing with the 'private sphere', are inclusive of sexual 'needs', human bonding and the fulfilment of desires. As such, these tasks are considered the personal responsibility of women and are not assigned value. Effectively, women's labour is a 'natural economy' to be exploited by both men who are given free access to this labour, and capital to which women represent a natural resource to be occupied towards its reproduction (Dalla Costa, *Capitalism and Reproduction*, 2004; Mies, 1998).

As with anything posited natural or neutral under patriarchy, feminist analysis argues the construction of women and their labour as subordinate is not the result of any accidental or incidental processes through history or in the global economic order (Franck & Spehar, 2010). It is rather the result of maintained structural inequalities that accords less value to women's work because it is considered natural, reproductive labour. The subjectivation of women into positions of natural inferiority allows the super-exploitation of women, in both formal and informal divisions of labour, to be commonplace, and is therefore part of the relations of production worth preserving for those people, and classes that are able to derive benefit. Women's production being subject to discrimination, abuse, and different rates of exploitation and types of alienation, is fundamental to women's involvement in global production. Women's labour exploitation is therefore unique; it includes the exploitation felt by regimes of

alienation and appropriation of value in the typical waged labour contract, but adds the control mechanisms and power dynamics of patriarchy (Mies, 1998). Whether they are experienced socially or corporally, are the workings of structures or direct violence, women's relationship with capital accumulation is one subjected to forms of accumulation by dispossession.

This is an important claim, as if capitalism systematically undervalues and super-exploits women's labour in a way that is distinct from men's, it would suggest that the system itself is patriarchal, or at least that the two are inextricable from one another. This has serious implications for the question of women's liberation from perpetual subordination in both the public and private spheres. If we agree that capitalist relations of production penetrate virtually all aspects of human life, then whether or not capitalism has the ability to either phase out, or exacerbate sexual inequalities comes into question. The indivisible character of patriarchy from capitalism is seen in the steady growth and commercialisation of the global sex sector, where women are immensely over-represented; and where men's desire, but of course women, particularly poor racialised women are commoditized and made available in international markets. With the scale and scope of these industries, and their tendency to include a large proportion of increasingly illegal international movement, it is difficult to suggest that the excessive exploitation of women's bodies in third-party controlled prostitution is the result of a few greedy individuals. These processes rather are indicators of how globalisation is manifested in everyday lives, and as such are better explained by structures of patriarchy and neoliberal capitalism (Penttinen, 2007).

Further, derived from their own observations in research, many feminist scholars have concluded that few women often choose a life of prostitution without the absence of other viable and gainful opportunities (Jeffreys, 2009; Pateman, 1988; O'Connell Davidson, 1998; Kempadoo, 1998; Layder & O'Connell Davidson, 1994). As such, they consider the continued occurrence of prostitution itself to be the product of unequal possibilities resulting from patriarchal relations. If patriarchy and capitalism foster and promote one another, then the causes, continuance and resurgence of women's labour exploitation, especially within prostitution can be rooted not only in pre-capitalist

patriarchy, but rather in the relations of production in capitalism itself. Women's subordination is not simply static or archaic, but recreated, transformed and re-established by patriarchy and the state at each phase of capitalist development, especially with the current neoliberalism (Federici, 2009; Hartsock, 2006; Jeffreys, 2009; Mies, 1998). In this way, we can actually speak of the existence of 'neo-patriarchy', a term employed by Mies to denote the inextricable character of patriarchy from capitalism, and the 'neo-patriarchal state', specifically within neoliberal social relations (Mies, 1998, p. 38).

It is possible to view the two systems, patriarchy and capitalism as mutually exclusive, however separating patriarchy as an independent form of oppression operating parallel or subordinate to capital obfuscates the intersectionality of gender and class exploitation. This is especially true when considering that it is now women, most often poor, racialised women, who now characterise the transnational flows in voluntary and forced labour migration and that the neoliberal era itself has been distinctive in its feminisation of labour more generally (Pettman, 1996).

### Neoliberal Governance and the Feminisation of Negative Externalities

The feminisation of labour, together with the feminisations of poverty, migration and survival are what critical feminism has categorised as the 'feminised' consequences of neo-liberalism<sup>3</sup>. The objectives of neo-liberal governance structures, its laws, and

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<sup>3</sup> Defined by Swatsi Mitter (1986) in *Common Fate, Common Bond*, the feminisation of labour is a global trend towards disposable labour, especially women's labour. It is the creation by capital of a "flexible workforce, [the] undermining of organised labour, casualising employment, including the rise of part-time and temporary work in the west, leading to the creation of a largely female marginalised workforce in the first and third world" (p. 139). This should be understood as not only referring to the feminisation of the workforce, but the work itself. The feminisation of poverty; in a manner of speaking, a consequence of a consequence (of the feminisation of labour). Although difficult to empirically identify, the United Nations Development Programme has claimed, "poverty has a woman's face – of 1.3 billion people living in poverty, 70 percent are women" (UNDP, 1995, p. 4). Further, the feminisation of poverty is linked to the rise of participation in low-return production and in the casual and informal sectors (BRIDGE, 2001). Recalling the perceptions of women's work as undervalued, women are increasingly replacing men as the global producers, especially with the growth of 'export-processing zones' in the global south and the movement towards subcontracting to small-scale producers and 'putting-out' or 'piece work' systems of employment<sup>3</sup> According to Mies (1998; p115) women are beginning to outnumber men in the feminization of labour in four



institutions have been characterised as masculinist for placing unequal representation on market-oriented, and gender-blind, policies. This is mainly because neo-liberal governance, often referred to by the depoliticized term ‘good governance’, requires the shifting of government commitments away from social welfare, and towards facilitating the flow of global capital (Bakker & Gill, 2003). These policies routinely leave the poor, but importantly non-market-oriented aspects of society (most often women), more vulnerable to the negative externalities of reforms. Men, especially poor men are unmistakably susceptible to the negative results of a system turned away from social welfare and towards market welfare, however we can consider neoliberalism a masculine phenomenon as it tends to favour measures and outcomes which more quickly benefit males and consequences which, often ignored, are largely felt by women. An often-cited example is the effect of the privatisation of state-owned enterprises and austerity measures on social services and subsidies, which are often felt more directly by women. Their elimination places a greater burden upon women to seek additional income-generating activities, or other means, to support their families when their own and other male wages can no longer suffice (Pyle & Ward, 2003).

Neoliberalism can also be characterised by an export-oriented model of development. The focus on productive output for export has created a distinctly gendered phenomenon: production itself has become a female-dominated sector, as corporations have taken advantage of the social construction of women as undervalued, subservient workers (Pyle & Ward, 2003). Women have essentially become the agents of neoliberal development for states and capital; the ‘success’ of neo-liberalism premised on the very fact that women are subordinated in the relations of production and that the consequences of ‘progress’ can be externalised to women in a way that all but eliminates these consequences from calculation. To be clear, the argument is not that

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main sectors of the economy. The first is the aforementioned large-scale manufacturing industries, especially in the proliferating ‘Export Processing Zones’ (EPZs) of the global south. Second, in smaller scale manufacturing and informal sector manufacturing. Third is women’s growing presence in the agricultural sector both as labourers in large-scale cash cropping and as casual and unpaid producers in small scale or family farming. And, the fourth sector is the increased numbers of women participating in the global sex industry with the commercialization and growth of sex tourism.

women are not integrated into a masculinised neoliberal global economy, but rather that they are integrated unevenly, and that the products and repercussions of this integration are also distributed unevenly.

One of the results of neoliberalism, according to Isobel Bakker (2003b), has been the simultaneous intensification and erosion of classic gender roles. This can be seen most plainly by the ‘feminisation of labour’. The intensification of gender roles is seen through the naturalisation of certain tasks as ‘women’s work’, allowing the cheapened employment of women and the ability to apply types of pressures upon labourers that may not be available with a predominantly male workforce (Rahman, 1999). The erosion of gender roles in labour, however, comes from the feminisation of the producers and production itself. Neoliberalism, with its interest in capital and general disregard for labour, seeks to transform the nature of work by making male labour subject to similar expectations – less secure, temporary, precarious and fragmented work with fewer benefits. This essentially renders all labour supplementary and flexible, as was considered women’s work (Morini, 2007).

While providing a great number of women with greater economic opportunities, the true nature of the feminisation of labour is that it provides the backdrop for the higher rates of exploitation of women. Both genders suffer as a result of reduced incomes, but it commonly falls to women to pursue extra income generating activities to supplement lowered family earnings through employment in the informal sectors. The surge in women participating in informal, income-generating activities has been credited in part to economic restructuring, where increasing dependence on the informal sector is seen as a survival strategy for many families, a strategy that often included sexualised labour and the like (BRIDGE, 2001). Many studies have concluded that the costs of economic restructuring are overwhelmingly borne by women, while programmes meant to alleviate difficult transitions have directly or indirectly targeted men, although forwarded as ‘neutral programmes’ (Bakker, 2003b; BRIDGE, 2001; Prugl, 1999; Pyle & Ward, 2003; Rahman, 1999). How deep-rooted gender relations actually are, becomes more apparent after economic restructuring, through how they alter (desired) outcomes and too frequently feminize the consequences. In difficult times, gender concerns or past advances in gender equality seem to lose importance and are effectively

sacrificed for some notion of the greater good, revealing the existence of underlying patriarchal structures where more formal gains had hidden them.<sup>4</sup> Any gains in the relative share and control of economic resources for women has been typically made with the increases on their burden of labour, or without viable options for the mobilisation of those resources to sustainable ends. As such, women in the global south, and in restructured economies are considered quantitatively and qualitatively more vulnerable to poverty and once poor, are considered to have fewer options to escape the condition (BRIDGE, 2001).

Ehrenreich and Hochschild (2003) have asserted that the neo-liberal cutting of 'non-competitive industries' and reductions in public services and subsidies that tend to hit the poor hardest during restructuring has forced women to look abroad for work en masse, and even abroad, this work has remained largely in the informal sector. This can be considered as the feminisation of migration, and effectively the feminisation of survival (Bakker & Gill, 2003; Pickering, 2011; Sassen, 1998). The visibility of migrant women has increased substantially over the past few decades; more than 50% of transnational migrants are now women (Bakker & Gill, 2003). These women are overwhelmingly travelling from poorer to relatively 'richer' economies, fulfilling the reproductive needs and desires of receiving countries, including of course the desires for sex. These movements represent racialised and gendered patterns of exploitative migration, a trend that has often been underestimated as the product of what Ehrenreich and Hochschild consider racial discounting and the often hidden nature of informal work.

The gendered consequences of new economic conditions have forced many women to move, often autonomously and legally, but also illegally and in search of precarious employment, or as part of the growing number of people victim to non-autonomous migration (Pettman, 1996). In this way, the feminisations of migration and survival have been strongly linked to the growth of global sex industries, as well as in

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<sup>4</sup> Aside from the politics of economic restructuring, this phenomenon is also cited in Mies (1998; p175) by referring the work of women's movements, and women's general participation in national struggles for liberation. Too commonly, she states there is growing evidence, or even a renewed introduction of sexist politics once 'liberation' has been achieved.

instances of the trafficking of women for sex work. In fact, the growth of sex industries can be seen as existing at the very intersection between patriarchy and neoliberalism as a thriving sex industry effectively requires women that are economically desperate enough to supply, and men affluent enough even in times of relative economic downturn, to maintain consistent and growing demand to sustain the industry (Pettman, 1996).

## **The Patriarchal State**

### The State Within Neo-Patriarchy

The feminisation of migration and survival, are not phenomena whose affects are lost on states. A neutral state, while it may not be required to intervene to correct existing inequalities, is at least responsible for creating and maintaining a space that does not exacerbate imbalances. However, the modern capitalist state has shown difficulty in implementing the necessary conditions that would limit the ways in which the negative consequences of economic rationalisation are externalised to women. For this reason it becomes apparent that the modern state is of course not a neutral state, but a highly gendered one, subordinated by both patriarchy as a general social institution, and the patriarchy of neoliberalism.

The feminisation of migration and survival play integral parts in the NIDL as the capitalist structure makes use of the vulnerabilities of migrants and the social, political and economic conditions that create them (Lipszyc, 2004). The capitalist model to reduce costs and maximize profits first creates, and then requires the female migrant. She combines the classed, gendered, and regional divisions of labour, making poor, racialised women more readily available for exploitation wherever needed.

Rather than attempting to curb the forces that might prey on women's subordination and the feminised ramifications of 'development', states themselves sustain the conditions of inequality that push women to emigrate and immigrate. They create gendered immigration policies, labour markets and laws that direct the accumulation that can be derived from migrant women's labour in their, and in capital's favour. Women are now crossing borders with the help of their home countries, and increasingly, with the assistance of their host countries as states are becoming wise to

their value and using these women in spoken or unspoken development plans. While importing countries seek to harness the potential of non-citizen, low-paid labour, for exporting countries, sending women abroad for work can be equally gainful. The World Bank has noted that the feminised flows of labour migration can be beneficial as a poverty reduction and development tool for states primarily because of women's remittances (Omelaniuk, 2006). As such the governments of many developing nations, especially within Southeast Asia, have begun to encourage women to search for work, usually reproductive labour, in order to cash in on the wages that will inevitably be sent back to family members (Ehrenreich & Hochschild, 2003). Sri Lanka currently has an entire department of its state apparatus devoted to the issue, the Bureau of Foreign Employment. Recognising the importance of migrant labour to the Sri Lankan economy, it is estimated that over 1.7 million Sri Lankans work outside their country sending approximately USD \$4.1 billion home in 2010, migrant workers are regarded as "the heroes of [the] economy" (Sri Lanka Bureau of Foreign Employment, 2011). The Bureau of Foreign Employment is tasked with recruiting workers and motivating them to send home their wages. The office even created a song targeted at women to encourage their migration:

*After much hardship, such difficult times  
How lucky I am to work in a foreign land,  
As the gold gathers so do many greedy flies  
But our good government protects us from them.  
After much Hardships, such difficult times,  
How lucky I am to work in a foreign land,  
I promise to return home with treasures for everyone.*  
(Ehrenreich & Hochschild, 2003)

Sri Lanka is but one example; women from the Philippines are said to send USD \$3 billion annually and Bangladeshi \$771 million (Pettman, 1996). The already vulnerable position of female migrant labour is increased by their own state's dependence on their remittances. In addition to the responsibility towards their own families, women now also have the welfare of their country to support, and the state gains a distinct interest in ensuring that women are reproduced as those who *will* migrate and will also sacrifice their own welfare for that of others. High dependence on these

women lessens the already compromised ability and desire of many states to provide protection to these women given the tensions caused by expectations to protect the interests of capital, foreign aid relationships and development interests. The very observable potential that exporting women's labour can provide to the state, serves to intensify women's role as the low paid, reproductive workers of the world as more countries catch on.

Importing states stand to benefit as well. Destination countries, which generally are the economies of the global North, but may also be neighbouring countries with relatively more opportunities, mediate relations between global and local markets, and design migration policies and employment contracts in order to facilitate the in-migration of cheap labour (Agathangelou, 2006). Agathangelou suggests this is organised according to the desires of the middle and upper classes to promote local capital and generate profits towards a country's Gross National Product at the expense of migrant labour. She contends that by using the strategies of masculine neoliberal governance, states not only contribute to the feminisation of the consequences of neoliberalism, but actively feminize sectors of their own economies to better promote capital accumulation. They feminize their economies in all senses of the word; by creating and maintaining sectors flexible and subordinate to capital, providing the feminised labour and by essentially directing the development of certain sectors to harness the potential of female migrant labour.

The trend in both exporting and importing women as cheap labour to fulfil the reproductive needs and desires of the state, as well as the interests of capital gives credence to the claim that "capitalism and globalised development policies are worked on the bodies of women" (Ansara, 1992). Further, it signifies that the state is not only subordinate to neoliberal patriarchy or neo-patriarchy, but that it itself is a patriarchal state.

#### The State as a Paternal, 'General Patriarch' and the State within 'Fraternity'

The state is both theoretically and empirically complex, and should be seen rather than as a specific entity, to be an abstraction. It is the combination of sets of relations, institutions, practises and processes of regulation that organise people's lives

to certain ends (Connell, 1990; Pettman, 1996). Whatever is included, 'the state', or at least the liberal state, is intended to be neutral both in its relationship with individual citizens and in the organisation of public life. Liberal feminism contends that empirically speaking, the state is far from neutral, but its analysis seems to end there. Critical feminist critique, however, reveals the state as well as the very notion of citizenship within the state, to be a gendered phenomenon itself (Connell, 1990). If citizenship within the state is in fact gendered, then it is very unlikely that the rule of the citizen could ever truly be neutral.

Far from claims of neutrality, states propagate the dominant class, race/ethnic, and gender interests and maintain the necessary orders and conditions for those dominant groups to succeed. States operate under the dictates of neoliberal governance, for the benefit of their capitalist classes, and are masculinist both in construct and in their policies; state organisation, legislation and enforcement affect men as a group differently than women. Therefore seeking neutrality or reforms to gender inequality through the state is, as claimed by R.W. Connell, "an exercise in futility, and deception" (1990, p. 508). Seeking to maintain relations of inequity makes the state an active exploiter, for the purposes of its own, and capital accumulation. The state is able to use its power to direct the capabilities and behaviours of individuals within its borders (and its citizens abroad) towards state development and national interests by drawing upon the resources provided by two conceptions of patriarchy; the *paternal state* and the *fraternal state*.

According to Mies, the state is essentially a paternal state insofar as it is an extension of the individual patriarch. It is the 'natural' extension of the so-called 'natural' hierarchy of fathers and what she terms the 'general patriarch'. The state is basically the institutionalisation of existing gendered power relations. Much like the individual patriarch, the state retains the ability, though various apparatuses, most notably the monopoly over direct violence, to intervene in the lives of persons within its borders. "The Personal is Political", the manifesto of feminist movements coined by Carole Hanisch, describes the reality of the paternal state perfectly as it necessarily involves itself in the 'private sphere' in order to preserve the social conditions necessary to capitalist reproduction (Hanisch, 1970). Women, and their reproductive labour are

continually subject to masculinist power regimes and the constant surveillance of the state (Pettman, 1996). The biased application of power by the state reveals that even basic social and human rights, upheld by democratic institutions, apply differently to men and women. We can take, for instance, the apparently universal right to inviolability and integrity over one's body. By the ways in which laws governing rape, reproductive rights, and even prostitution are decided upon and applied, it is clear that women's rights to full control over her body are still limited. For instance, it is still common for courts to hear irrelevant questioning about a woman's sexual history and behaviour in rape charges, and until fairly recently the state did not interfere with the actions of 'individual patriarchs' in cases of domestic violence (Mies, 1998). Moreover, recent debates (especially in the United States) and controls applied towards reproductive health greatly limit the ability of women's access to the information and resources they need to care for their own reproductive health while directly restricting what can and cannot be done with their own bodies. While men also have reproductive organs, we are yet to see legislation applied by the modern state that restricts their rights to control their own bodies.<sup>5</sup> The refusal of states to fully extend these rights to women, and to thus provide full citizenship, is a product of state paternalism and is one of the ways in which women's bodies are disciplined towards the benefit of state interests (Pettman, 1996).

The state also commands in a paternalistic manner such things as the organisation of labour markets and immigration policies in order to ensure the reproductive needs of the state are met while not threatening other aspects of its social order. The gendered application of policies allows states to take direct control over the types of people who may enter, and the types of women who may perform different aspects of reproductive labour based on whether or not they find them desirable additions to society (Pettman, 1996). States, through their paternalism, also have the capacity to regulate sexuality, and have shown great enthusiasm in doing so. As the

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<sup>5</sup> The closest men have come to having their reproductive rights infringed upon legally was the proposal of a 'joke' bill to limit the ability of men to receive vasectomies unless in avoidance of life threatening illness. The bill was authored and announced by Democratic Representative Yasmin Neal in the Georgia House of Representatives in February of this year (Huffington Post, 2012).



embodiment of masculine hierarchy, with a considerable bias towards heterosexuality, this is done both in the ways certain forms of sexuality are criminalised, and in the attempts at the regulation of prostitution (Connell, 1990).

According to feminist theorists Carole Pateman (1988) and Heidi Hartmann (1970) modern liberal civil society, which presented as universal, is more than simply patriarchal and paternal, it is also fraternal in nature. This refers to the nature of the state as an institutionalised gender order that produces certain forms of male solidarity (Hartmann, 1976). Fraternity is described in liberal theory as free union, the most powerful of public and communal bonds, which are not confined to specific people. As validation that it is in fact the most preeminent conception of communal bonds in modern liberal theory, liberal political theory asserts that democracy is at its core the political configuration of the social contract of fraternity, and the term is used synonymously with ‘community’ (Pateman, 1988). However very few people other than feminist critics are prepared to concede that the term ‘fraternity’ expresses its literal meaning before any notions of universality or communalism. Pateman contends that the idea of fraternity represents men’s explicit status in the construction of the state and as the citizens who form the state. For men, all “are born free and equal to each other and thus no natural relations of subordination and superiority can exist” (Pateman, 1988, p. 82). The only natural authority is over those who are not represented in the fraternal contract, women. For Pateman, men participating in civil society form a fraternity because they are bound together by a bond *as men*. They share a common interest in upholding the social conditions that legitimise masculine right and allow them access to the accumulation to be derived from women’s subjection. The fraternal bond makes the relationship between any particular state and its capitalist class all the stronger, women’s subjugation all the fuller, and their resistance against it all the harder. Given that state ruling structures are still primarily male dominated and the capitalist classes are overwhelmingly characterised by men, Virginia Woolf’s description in *Three Guineas*, of the public world as a mosaic of men’s clubs, is still a very relevant image (Woolf, 2000).

## **4. Patriarchy and Primitive Accumulation; Sex work in Neoliberal Capitalism**

All workers, regardless of gender, race or type of employment, are exploited and alienated under capitalist relations of production. In Marxist terms, exploitation under the capitalist system refers to the subjection and dependency of the producers (workers) to the owners of capital. Workers do not own the means of production, rather they are forced to sell their labour power to the owners of capital in return for a wage – not for their work, but for their subsistence and eventual reproduction for continued work. The worker is necessarily paid less than the worth of his or her labour power in order for the capitalist create surplus value, or profit. Exploitation in this sense does not refer to the individual exploitation of one person by another, and is not necessarily concerning the conditions of any individuals labour. Rather exploitation is group based, denoting the relationship between one class, the owners of the means of production, and the producers who create value but own nothing but their capacity to work (Brooks, 2002).

The process by which workers are exploited is intimately linked with their alienation. A class based condition as well, alienation refers to “any state of human existence which is ‘away from’, or ‘less than’ unalienation” (Ollman, 1976). As vague as it appears, it essentially concerns the segmentation, or breakdown of the complexities of what constitutes a human being, or human existence that result from being subjected to constant capitalist exploitation. Together these concepts contribute to the repetition of the degradation of the worker within capitalist relations of production and as such, the reproduction of the worker as forever subordinate; a crucial condition for the realisation of capitalist reproduction and expansion.

There is a tendency for states to ensure that some workers are subjected to exploitation and alienation above and beyond the rate required for normal conditions of capital accumulation. Rather than being a part of expanded reproduction, these people, or classes of people are subjected to a dispossession of their labour power and have crossed into the realm of ‘primitive accumulation’. One of the ways states reproduce themselves, and their capitalist classes (which in turn contribute back to the reproduction

of the state) is through the use of patriarchy as a tool of primitive accumulation. States reproduce the patriarchal gender order within themselves to allow and facilitate the use of women's reproductive labour as primitively accumulated labour. It need not be gender alone; this idea could be applied to the ways in which states relate to racialised, or migrant labour, and may in fact often represent a kyriarchy of oppression, a multiplicative system of domination and submission which complicates the experience of patriarchy with other modes of subjugation.

### **Primitive Accumulation towards Accumulation by Dispossession**

According to Marx, "primitive accumulation plays approximately the same role in political economy as original sin does in theology" (1990, p. 873). It is "so-called primitive accumulation" as it refers to that first accumulation of wealth that made all further capitalist accumulation possible (1990, p. 873). According to Adam Smith who first made reference to the phenomenon, this primitive accumulation was the result of industrious and thrifty individuals whose savings generated a primary "accumulation of stock" (Smith, 1976, p. 277). While in agreement that capitalism could not have developed without a prior concentration of capital, Marx was conscious of primitive accumulation's far less benign character. This accumulation was not simply the accumulation of wealth, but rather the accumulation of the means of production. As such, the process could not be merely an 'accumulation of stock', but must include the violent dispossession of the primary producer from their means of production, and therefore subsistence.

Marx is principally referring to the expropriation of wealth from the European peasant classes during the 15<sup>th</sup> to 18<sup>th</sup> century enclosures, especially that expropriation which occurred in Britain (Federici, 2009; Fine, 2004). The enclosures movement forcibly confiscated the land, and as such the means of production and subsistence, from the direct producers and created new forms of property rights from formally collective and customary forms of rights. Marx treats the occurrence of the enclosures as foundational to the transition from feudalism to capitalism, but saw also the process at work in the imperial and colonial appropriation of assets and in the suppressions of alternate forms of production and consumption (Harvey, 2003). The discovery of gold

and silver in the Americas, the theft and subsequent hoarding of those precious metals and other important natural resources, as well as the conquest of the East Indies and Africa, all helped instigate the genesis of industrial capitalism (Fine, 2004). However, far more important to the production of capital for Marx than the great amounts of land and wealth accumulated from natural resources through force and conquest, was the accumulation of another pre-requisite to the capitalist mode of production. For according to Marx,

“[i]n themselves, money and commodities are no more capital than the means of production and subsistence are. They need to be transformed into capital. But this transformation can itself only take place under particular circumstances, which meet together at this point: the confrontation of, and the contact between, two very different kinds of commodity owners...” (Marx, 1990, p. 874)

The true significance of primitive accumulation was the accumulation of labour itself. The expropriation of land was more crucially the destruction of the capacity to access that land and instances of primitive accumulation are thus those historical “moments when great masses of men are suddenly and forcibly torn from their means of subsistence and hurled onto the labour-market as free, unprotected and rightless proletarians” (Marx, 1990). Free labourers are formed as not only *free* in that unlike slaves or serfs they do not comprise the means of production themselves, but *free* also from the burden of owning the means of production themselves. In short free labourers are now free to sell their labour power. Of course given the circumstances, they come to the market under a compulsion and are thereby placed into a dependency with the owner solely for that person’s access to the means of production (Fine, 2004). “These ‘free’ labourers must sell labour power regularly in order to be able to procure their means of subsistence” and now fall under a near inescapable obligation that Marx termed ‘formal subordination’ (Fine, 2004).

The violence required to expel masses of individuals from their livelihood, and to counter the inevitable resistance that would follow could only be met with the coercive power of the state. Thus state interests were already connected with the emergent capitalist class from their conception (Fine, 2004). Further, the first enclosures were created for the sole use of the new owning classes, and the state was also responsible for

constructing and maintaining the idea of exclusive property rights that ensured this. Once the labour had been diverted towards a dependency upon the owning classes for their survival, the state was also present in ensuring the profitability of their labour power by further suppressing them with police and armies, through taxation, and through the legal measures of the justice system which all served to enforce industrial discipline (Fine, 2004). Violence and coercion being major criteria of primitive accumulation, the state's influence in creating and regulating the newly accumulated free labour was an essential aspect considering it provides the 'extra-economic' means of achieving this eventual economic compulsion. When the "silent compulsion of economic relations sets the seal on the domination of the capitalist over the worker" Marx assumed that direct extra-economic force would still be used, "but only in exceptional cases" (Marx, 1990, p. 899).

However the fact that a primitive accumulation was needed for the concentration of capital and labour at its origins, suggests that we might see a similar phenomenon present at subsequent phases of renewal in capitalist development.

Other forms of primitive accumulation mentioned by Marx that may not be strictly historical were such things as the public debt, the international credit system, and the over taxation of the working class (De Angelis, 2001). Rosa Luxemburg (2004), in polemics with Marx over the historicity of primitive accumulation, asserts that these, and many other examples form the dual character of capitalism.

Capitalism should be seen, according to Luxemburg, as an inseparable relationship between the economic processes of expanded reproduction, and the continuous presence of extra-economic accumulations that feed into the prior. The very notion that capitalism is in constant need of expansion, "lest the motor of accumulation suddenly die down" is cause for Luxemburg to claim it is also in constant need of something external to it to feed this growth (Harvey, 2003)<sup>6</sup>. If the capitalist mode of

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<sup>6</sup> According to Luxemburg, the two instances of capital accumulation are organically linked and the continued instances of primitive accumulation that help the expansion of capital spatially, temporarily and quantitatively can be seen as 'stabilizers' to the system that effectively responds to capitalism's internal crises. Luxemburg assumed that the continual nature of primitive accumulation was a response to the capitalist crisis of under-consumption. This refers to the lack of sufficient demand to utilize the growth capitalism generates. Harvey however, suggests

production, according to Marx, would in time exercise “universal and exclusive domination”, its limits being defined only by the surplus value created between capitalists and workers within the cycle itself, it would suggest then that capital is content to remain within set limits (Luxemburg, 2004, p. 48). For Luxemburg, that the surplus value created by labour within expanded reproduction will always be sufficient to the capitalist for the production of profit, seems an unlikely proposition considering the character of capitalism.

Where the state is at its very least is facilitative in terms of capitalist accumulation, David Harvey (2003) in *The New Imperialism* also asserts the importance of its role in providing the conditions for this continued primitive accumulation to ensure the expansion of capital. Harvey provides a preliminary list for contemporary analysis, based on Marx’s own interpretations, where states manipulate conditions and assets to provide primitive accumulation:

“the commodification and privatization of land and the forceful expulsion of peasant populations; the conversion of various forms of property rights (common collective, state, etc.) into exclusive private property rights; the suppression of rights to the commons; the commodification of labour power and the suppression of alternative (indigenous) forms of production and consumption; colonial, neo-colonial and imperial processes of appropriation of assets (including natural resources); the monetization of exchange and taxation, particularly of the slave trade; usury, the national debt and ultimately the credit system...” (2003, p. 145)

The state is involved, to varying degrees and often a part of stated neoliberal policy, first with its monopoly on violence and its definitions of legality that sanction these processes. The power of the state will always be required to counter the reprisals of recently expropriated individuals and communities, as well as to force through unpopular projects such as the continued privatisation of natural resources, like water for instance. For Marx primitive accumulation was a social process instigated by some social actors, aimed at the people who have some direct access to the means of production (De Angelis, 2001). In this way the state as a social actor, acting on its own behalf or on the behalf of capital, may also play a role in creating and sustaining the subjectivities of both the assets and people in order to construct more direct access to

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that rather than under-consumption, this stabilizing affect is a response the capitalist crisis of over-accumulation, which identifies the lack of opportunities for profitable investment.

them. The continuation of the processes of primitive accumulation and the ‘endless accumulation’ it seeks, will therefore require as well, “the endless accumulation of political power” in order to reproduce it (Harvey, 2003).

Given that most scholars seem in agreement about the continuous and ever-reproducing nature of primitive accumulation (Dalla Costa, *Capitalism and Reproduction*, 2004; De Angelis, 2001; Federici, 2009; Glassman, 2006; Hartsock, 2006; Ruddy, 2011), Harvey proposes the term accumulation by dispossession to refer to the process without invoking the idea of it being solely an historical event. Expanded reproduction, or capitalist accumulation is *not* constrained by the limits of its own profitability; forms of accumulation by dispossession contribute to its reproduction, and not just at certain stages of renewal, but continuously and simultaneously to capitalist accumulation. For example, Samir Amin (1974) even uses the concept to refer generally to the relationship between the Global North and South and the persistent flow of value from the periphery to the core.

Harvey posits a wider conception of primitive accumulation, or accumulation by dispossession that he defines as incorporating the “appropriation and co-option of pre-existing cultural and social achievements” (Harvey, 2003, p. 146). This mirrors Karl Polanyi (2001) in *The Great Transformation* who describes the continuous application of Marx’s primitive accumulation as those social processes or strategies that are targeted at dismantling those institutions that protect societies, particularly from the market. This can be seen in the reversal of hard gained labour support systems, welfare rights, social health care as well as those policies in place to provide protection to the environment as a collective resource (Harvey, 2003).

Basically they are asserting that neoliberal governance, or the neo-liberal state that applies that governance, or any state formation subordinated by neoliberal governance, represents a force of accumulation by dispossession. Accumulation by dispossession then, is not only needed to reproduce (neoliberal) capitalism, but in fact, modes of neoliberal governance can be viewed as the direct levers of primitive forms of accumulation themselves (Dalla Costa, 2004). The great shifts in power, and production associated with neoliberalism have resulted in many forms of labour and other forms of capitalist relations moving more and more towards the realm of accumulation by

dispossession. Neoliberalism's intense deregulation and liberalisation of labour markets towards greater labour flexibility, and its direct assault on forms of collective action may be cited as themselves being a forceful accumulation of labour power as it directs labour towards 'unfreedom' (Ayers & LeBaron, 2012). The further vigorous commodification of lands, water, of agricultural supply such as seeds and especially of intellectual property, removes workers from their material conditions of subsistence, increasing and reinforcing the majority's vulnerability and dependency upon the owners of capital while ensuring greater security for the same (Ayers & LeBaron, 2012).

### **Patriarchy and Primitive Accumulation**

Understanding neoliberalism as a part of accumulation by dispossession itself is important as it opens the concept to the inclusion of other processes as dispossession. (Ruddy, 2011). If we consider neoliberalism as governance itself as accumulation by dispossession, then it may follow that patriarchy, as a social order and effectively a system of governance, as well as the social relations within patriarchy, also exact dispossession in capitalist relations pertaining specifically to women's labour. Patriarchy as a form of accumulation by dispossession can be seen both at the emergence of capitalism as a foundational aspect, but also as part of the continual nature of its reproduction.

### The Primitive Accumulation of Women at the Emergence of Capital

It can be argued that the effects of the enclosures that initiated the transformation to capitalism represented a different dispossession for women. The separation from the means of production and subsistence was only one aspect felt by women. To repeat Federici's claim, the foundational moments of primitive accumulation were "not simply an accumulation and concentration of exploitable workers and capital. It was also an accumulation of differences and divisions within the working class" (2009, p. 63). It was a separation between the male and female labourer, and therefore a separation between those who had access to and performed productive labour, and those who did not and reproduced capital for free. Keeping women as subordinate in social and economic relations then, is a reinforcement of this original separation Marx felt so



crucial, and a means of continuing the accumulation by dispossession. Women are in this way twice dispossessed; by capital from the means of production, and by patriarchy from the value of their now 'free' labour.

These dispossessions coincided with another consequence, felt by the emergence of a monetized economic life. Women had come to be defined as non-productive workers and relegated to domestic and unpaid reproductive work and were thus deprived of the ability to be individuals in a society that would now operate on the basis of waged labour (Federici, 2009). They were thus created as dependent not only to the owners of capital like their male counterparts, but became also dependent on working men for indirect subsistence through a wage.

Federici claims that the designation of women as purely reproductive labourers, without value, made women into a veritable 'new commons'. Women were basically a substitute, provided to the male proletariat for their lost land and now constituted their most basic means of production and, crassly put, became a 'common good'. This conception of women as the 'new commons' however, has yet another important element. It ties in nicely with Luxemburg's assertion that capitalism requires assets outside of itself for its stabilisation and growth. Where it does not have those assets, it will seek to create them. As such, the women as the new commons, became the 'latent reserves' to be drawn upon by both male needs and desires, and the needs and desires of capital's expansionary reproduction.

Just as with Marx's own conception of primitive accumulation, the patriarchal primitive accumulation that applied to women specifically also entailed the use of more violence and control over women's bodies. Firstly, the 'patriarchy of the wage' or women's blocked access to direct wages themselves, meant their labour could be controlled and directed to the needs of state and capital accumulation more easily (Federici, 2009). The paternal state used this idea of women as 'latent reserve' and turned towards the direct and often violent control of women's labour and their bodies, particularly their reproductive capacities, to expand or reduce the workforce as needed (Federici, 2009). Federici explains that at the transition to capitalism new forms of control and surveillance were applied upon women's bodies across France and England that policed sexuality and reproduction from conception to births to abortions. Women

were forced to register all pregnancies with the state, and executions for alleged abortions, stillbirths and even children who died before baptism became common. Although interfering in births was criminalised, it was also made illegal to support an unwed mother, who would be frequently publically admonished as a deterrent to other women who might fall out of the set norms. The new sexual division of labour thus gave way to another manifestation of primitive accumulation; the state found benefit in using the bodies of women themselves, and not just their labour power. Women now procreated for the state by producing labourers for capital, and therefore the state would dictate the conditions under which they would do so.

Furthering the new violent controls on this sexual division of labour, there were new norms and laws applied as measures to ensure that women would stay at home and perform the roles now exclusively theirs. Women were excluded from the forms of employment they had previously dominated, such as midwifery, which was replaced by male-dominated medicine. This was of special significance given that childbirth was one of the only major events in which women were able to come together in cooperation, and stood against the emerging tendency towards both individualism and so-called scientific rationality. Women thereby lost the control they had exercised in the birthing process and became passive in child delivery, again becoming more open to male and state surveillance (Federici, 2009).

In his historiographies of peasant and feudal life, Emmanuel LeRoy Ladurie contends that the combination of the loss of physical land, as well as the exclusion from work and fiscal independence associated with the wage eventually led to a key consequence he calls the ‘massification of prostitution’.

From Avignon to Narbonne to Barcelona ‘sporting women’ (*femmes de debauche*) stationed themselves at the gates of the cities, in streets of red light districts... and on the bridges... [so that] by 1594 the ‘shameful traffic’ was flourishing as never before. (Le Roy Ladurie 1974: 112-13)

The devaluation of women’s labour and the difficulties felt by women being excluded from waged labour at the transition from feudalism, parallels the modern claims that neoliberal dispossessions has led to the increases in women seeking (paid) sex work and the overall growth of the industry. As such, the two processes, the

absolute and relative impoverishment of women and the use of prostitution as a means of survival, should not be viewed as independent from one another.

However, that prostitution was a response to women's relative poverty to men, providing them with some independent income and a means of subverting their monetary and social dependence on men, was considered a threat to the social order that was so strictly enforced. Prostitution, and women's sexuality more generally came to be subjected to a great deal of violence. Prostitutes, primary independent 'street-walkers' were criminalised and subjected to severe penalties. Chastised publically, they endured brandishing, imprisonment and even torture, and it became a legal impossibility to rape a prostitute (Federici, 2009).

The subjectification of the prostitute helped reassert male dominance and women's subordination, and is something that has been reproduced in varying degrees over the past centuries and persists today as a key factor in the ability of accumulation by dispossession to be part of the industry. Currently, third-party-controlled prostitution has increased while independent street-level prostitution, which is considered a serious threat to society, is criminalised or subjected to many restrictions that inevitably make the lives of prostitutes very dangerous ones (O'Connell Davidson, 1998). A result of that criminalisation, another reminder of patriarchy, is that while women are convicted regularly for soliciting sex, men procuring sex and 'kerb-crawlers' are rarely lawbreakers (Matthews, 2008). Further, according to research of Julia O'Connell Davidson (1998) and many others (Jeffreys, 2009; Lim, 1998; Pateman, 1988), the rape of prostitutes is still almost to the point of a naturalised occurrence, which is in part what makes it very difficult for a prostitute to bring rape charges against a client or another party.

At the time of the transition to capitalism, prostitutes, midwives, and generally any women who refused, or failed to step into the given social order fell swiftly victim to the ultimate mode of discipline, and what some feminist scholars have termed a veritable genocide against women in world history – the witch-hunt (Federici, 2009). As a major campaign of terror against women, the witch-hunt was integral in concentrating power over production and the social order in the era of the development of capital. As such it represents another essential element of the violence of primitive accumulation

used by the patriarchal state, and capital interests to accumulate the free and subservient labour of women. Although the witch-hunt represents an outstanding moment in women's history of extreme violence at the hands of the state, and is claimed as essential to primitive accumulation and the creation of the modern proletariat, its scope and depth would require analysis too deep to be covered in this thesis.

What should be noted however, is the lengths the state would take in order to control and subvert women's labour and participation in public society in order to complete the separation between the worker, and the ownership, or here at least access to any means to subsistence that falls outside the dictated capital relations. The policies making it impossible for women to earn on their own, or practice any form of individualism or independence created the material conditions for their subjection by men, the state and capital. Further, it produced the conditions for accumulation from their labour primitively through a great deal of force, control, and theft.

### **Making the Connection: Neo-patriarchy and the Continued Accumulation by Dispossession of Women**

We have seen that Polanyi, Harvey, and others have used a wider conception of primitive accumulation to include the idea of neoliberalism as a direct form of dispossession; its dismantling of the welfare state, privatisations and 'aggressive re-ordering of daily social life' being examples of at times violent separations and reorganisation of social relations (Ayers & LeBaron, 2012).

Considering feminist theorists have seen neoliberalism as a masculine phenomenon with feminised consequences and externalities, they assert contemporary accumulation by dispossession is at its very core a gendered set of processes (Hartsock, 2006). Just as neoliberalism itself recreates separations necessary for capitalist reproduction, so too does neo-patriarchy.

Renowned feminist scholar Mariarosa Dalla Costa (2004) asserts contemporary reproduction of capital under neoliberalism reveals all of the original gendered sins of the account of primitive accumulation laid out by Federici. Capitalism for Dalla Costa, "still draws its life blood from the continuous valorisation from waged and unwaged labour, the latter being that labour of social reproduction" (Dalla Costa, Capitalism and

Reproduction, 2004, p. 1). Just as there was a gendered element of primitive accumulation that occurred at the emergence of capitalism, so too is there a gendered reproduction of dispossession in order ensure the continued ability to derive wealth from women's subordinated position in the cycle of capitalist accumulation. This claim mimics those made by Bakker (2003b): gender roles, and effectively dynamic they create towards women's oppression, are intensified on an increasing scale within neoliberalism, even though there is the appearance of their erosion and nominal gains in formal rights.

De Angelis (2001) argues in his outline of Marx's theory of primitive accumulation that those processes leading to the original concentration of wealth and free labour acquire their continuous nature through the inherent continuity of social conflict. Patriarchy should thus be seen as that *ex novo* separation that upholds male control and surveillance over women's labour and provides this necessary 'social conflict' as a continued strategy of primitive accumulation over the bodies and labour of women. It reproduces the conditions of the original separations that created women and the value of their labour as subordinate, on an ever-expanding scale on par with the expansion of capitalism itself. Patriarchal relations in capitalism essentially reproduce *extra-economic* forces of exploitation; as such Marx's assumption that the 'silent compulsion' of the market would come to dominate economic relations in mature capitalism can never truly apply to women so long as patriarchy exists, even if it were possible in other areas. Patriarchal and neo-patriarchal dispossessions occur on a continual basis through that original devaluation of women and their labour, but also through the capacity that first devaluation creates towards controlling and using extra-economic force, at times to the point where the labour can be seen as unfree, over women's labour in order to facilitate greater accumulation.

Again, women are reproduced under patriarchal capitalism, as the seemingly eternal 'others' Luxemburg felt so necessary as an external source of wealth in stabilizing crisis-prone capitalist accumulation. "Capitalism in its full maturity also depends in all respects on non-capitalist strata and social organisations existing side by side with it" (Luxemburg, 2004, pp. 59-60). That patriarchal dispossession of the value of women and their labour, women's naturalisation into unpaid reproductive labour, and

their separation from ‘productive’ work ensures there is always a large ‘latent reserve’ of labour power to be called upon. It also highlights the inseparability and dependence of capitalism upon patriarchy. This understanding also provides more context for the World Bank’s notion, mentioned previously, of *practical intelligibility* and the mobilisation of women’s so-called ‘underutilised’ labour power.

Women’s lives are structurally defined as outside of capital, however the very nature of that externalism is characteristic of their relationship with capitalism. Women’s unpaid domestic labour, which is argued to be primitively accumulated under patriarchal controls, especially by advocates of ‘wages for housework’, already reproduces the labourer for capital accumulation for free (Dalla Costa & James, 1973). Recent attempts to assign value to reproductive labour estimate that the worth accumulated by capital for free would be more than USD 11 trillion worldwide annually. If it were integrated into the calculations of individual countries, the same estimates suggest that close to 40% of each country’s Gross Domestic Product would be domestic and reproductive work (UNPAC, 2011).

However, despite its contribution it is of course not included, leading feminist scholars such as Nancy Hartsock (2006) to assert that “Contemporary processes of capital accumulation are not gender neutral but built on the backs of women – in terms of the exploitation of women, harm done to women, and also in terms of the possibilities open to women” (p. 170).

### **Sex-Work in the Neo-patriarchal Order**

In 1975, Kate Millet argued that the existence of prostitution was “paradigmatic, somehow the very core of the female’s condition” under patriarchy, and the model of women’s subordination more broadly (Millet, 1975, p. 56). Feminist scholars in the 60s and 70s considered prostitution and sex work as a “living fossil” of traditional male dominated societies, a hangover from the patriarchal tradition (Jeffreys, 2009). However, with the emergence of neoliberalism, and the hyper-commodification of virtually everything, including social relationships, it has become clear that the issue of prostitution is a complicated mix of patriarchal and capitalist systems.

The relative poverty of women, the feminisation of poverty resulting from neoliberal transitions, has been considered one of the major push factors towards the entrance of women into prostitution, and the recent rapid growth of sex industries globally. Poverty and unemployment have left many women “forced to choose” prostitution (Doezema, 1998). As it often is a means of adaptation, the phenomenon can be read as the feminisation of survival, which has seen so many individuals migrating to informal sectors, and across borders in search of employment and hopes at better lives. The choice of prostitution is a means of survival within the context of very specific social relations (patriarchy) and economic conditions (neoliberalism) which effectively limit and direct the choices of women to sets of alternatives which would not be of their own selection. Julia O’Connell Davidson (1998) offers the examples of these choices as abject poverty versus prostitution, violence and abuse versus prostitution or simply monotonous, low paid and already degrading labour versus prostitution. She adds that,

Wealthy, powerful individuals do not typically elect to prostitute themselves. We hear stories about government ministers, senior executives, bishops, movie stars, directors of public prosecution, university vice-chancellors and so on *using* prostitutes. We do not hear stories about them giving up their careers in order to *become* prostitutes (O’Connell Davidson, 1998, p. 3).

In the neo-liberal discourse, ‘forced to choose’ is labelled ‘rational choice’. However, the fact that prostitution often allows women to make more money than what is available to them in the formal market place, even after the costs of migrating, agencies, debts are taken into account, is indicative of the imbalances created by the patriarchal system.

#### Prostitution as integral and distinct labour under Neo-Patriarchy

Feminist debate has been split over whether or not prostitution is distinctly abusive and a direct product of a patriarchal system, or whether it is legitimate work, like any other. Neoliberal discourse, combining the normalisation of sexual freedom with market ideology has been active in constructing sex work and prostitution as indistinct from any other private enterprise (Jeffreys, 2009). Neoliberal expansion of marketable areas has redesigned sex as a commodity like any other and has increased demand for it by expanding marketed areas related to prostitution, like for instance the

tourism sector (Thorbeck, 2002). Sex however, is not the true subject of this commodification, or at least not the sole subject. Such an expansion has within it the commodification of women's reproductive labour generally, their bodies specifically, and also men's sexual desires (Agathangelou, 2006). Agathangelou argues that neo-patriarchy guides us to produce consumers who fetishize women's bodies and sexual labour to ensure an on going demand for the already constructed supply. The result however, is that the marketization and consumerism that brings the commercialisation of the private and personal, consequently also brings it under the gaze of power.

Again, at a time of growing demand, engaging in prostitution is seen by liberal and contract theorists as a rational choice to meet legitimate desires in the market place (Penttinen, 2007). Prostitution is seen as an area of entrepreneurship and the result of a 'free contract' between the prostitute and a client, just another arrangement between a buyer and seller (Pateman, 1988). The prostitute is a merely a worker, the engagement in sex work, merely a job performed; the prostitute is an owner of her property and freely engages in the sale of, not her person nor aspects of her person, but rather sexual services only.

If prostitution was considered legitimate work, there could be many benefits afforded to the sex worker. Prostitutes would take advantage from recognition, the precondition for the application of rights to practise their profession under the law, and could organise and form trade unions. It may also increase their access to safety and health resources. However prostitution's profitability may also be more easily integrated into national and international economies, for better or for worse.

While I can agree that prostitution should be, in many cases 'legitimate work' for those who truthfully choose it, I find the assertion that it is work like any other, rather problematic. It cannot be claimed that the purely economic factors that force women to choose prostitution make the profession a distinct form of employment. In this way it is of course no different from wage labour. As Marx claimed in *the Economic and Philosophic Manuscripts of 1844*, "prostitution is only a specific *expression of the general prostitution of the labourer*" (Marx, 1964, pp. 133, original emphasis). His assertion is interesting given that the worker remains a male figure, but the condition of



the worker under capitalism is symbolized by the usually female figure of the prostitute (Pateman, 1988).

While it may be true to a certain extent that a prostitute contracts out sexual services, I believe it is important to recognize the grey areas which confuse the ability of the prostitution to be grouped as a free entrepreneur like any other. Primarily, it can be argued that the prostitute, often rather than simply rendering services, actually contracts out the temporary control over her person. O'Connell Davidson defines prostitution as

...an institution that allows clients to secure temporarily certain powers of sexual command over prostitutes. These are not the kind of powers that many people wish to transfer indiscriminately to anonymous others. In fact, people will generally surrender such powers over their person to others only under very particular social, political and economic conditions (O'Connell Davidson, 1998, p. 3).

In this way, prostitution is not a mutual and free exchange “but the unilateral use of a woman’s body by a man in exchange for money” and “the sale women’s bodies in the capitalist market involves the sale of self”, to sexual mastery (Pateman, 1988, pp. 198, 207). While the body and self are not the same, they are inseparable, as is the labour from the body of the labourer. An employer’s right to the command over the worker, in any other form of employment, is thus also the control over the body of the worker for a contracted amount of time. However, what is distinct is the transference of the direct powers of command over the body itself, and not necessarily the labour power from the body. The services rendered, or labour power expended during the act of sex, in this way are secondary. The buyer is given access to the physical body of the prostitute and not just the products of the labour she may produce (Pateman, 1988).

The assertion that prostitution is indistinguishable from any other form of labour is also problematic because it ignores the embeddedness of prostitution within patriarchy. Prostitution is, in fact a special occupation created and maintained in the patriarchal capitalist division of labour (Pateman, 1988). While there are societies that demand and supply men in prostitution, the industry is overwhelmingly gendered towards the category of women as the providers of sexual services and men as the buyers, and often ultimately the ones deriving profits and power from the interactions (Kempadoo, 1998). The neoliberal argument that prostitutes form free contracts with

their clients has been transformed by some feminist scholars (Doezema, 1998; Kempadoo, 1998; Agustin, 1988) into an argument that prostitution as a career choice provides many opportunities for the application of personal agency, and can in fact be an empowering or emboldening experience.

However, this argument does not fully take into consideration the commercialisation of global sex industries over the past decades. Promoting the argument that prostitutes are workers like any others depends on the assumption that women are free contracting individuals with full ownership and capacity over their property. The instances, however of individual-female controlled prostitution have generally shifted towards third-party controlled prostitution, which is dominated by a male presence as the industry itself became 'professionalised' and a veritable sector of patriarchal capitalism and national economies (Pateman, 1988). It is therefore difficult to speak generally about the experiences of emancipation resulting from prostitution when the great majority of women appear to experience prostitution under the direct control of an external person or network. The fact that the industry has such a presence of men in its commanding positions also means that it is men who have a direct interest in perpetuating the institution of prostitution, as well as keeping women as prostitutes (Pateman, 1988).

The old adage that it is 'the oldest profession', further underestimates for Pateman, the intimate connection to patriarchy, and that the subordination of the female in the interaction appears to be one of the most prominent features of prostitution across a variety of cultural, national and economic circumstances. In the words of Josephine Butler speaking towards the welfare of prostitutes in 1875,

Robbery and murder are evils that have always existed, but no society ever thought of saying: since we cannot eliminate robbery or murder, let us agree to a way of living that will submit them to certain regulations and monitoring so that, for example, the law will determine in what places, at what times and under what conditions stealing and killing are permitted (Josephine Butler quoted in Jeffreys 1998, 184).

Without discounting the experiences of those women who feel their entry into prostitution has been an empowering step, the existence of exceptions does not disprove the rule. The rule being that, on the whole, the structure of the institution places women

in an ever-subordinate position to the male buyer (O'Connell Davidson, 1998). Within the structure, prostitutes are subordinate to the state and society because of predominant views regarding their profession, to pimps, madams or criminal networks, and most directly, subordinate to clients. This is true regardless of an individual sex worker's ability to gain relative control within a given relationship, even in situations where the sex worker is paid to play a dominant role (O'Connell Davidson, 1998).

Rather than being the simple matter of patriarchal domination, the dyadic relation, male superior commanding female subordinate is more nuanced (Fraser, 1997). Rather than taking the bodies by force, as would be the case in the literal meaning of domination, the social relations are organised as this often mentioned 'free contract', which in turn creates a more complex understanding of the term domination (O'Connell Davidson, 1998). Usually, regardless of whether it is or not, prostitution is "organised as if it involved a mutual and voluntary exchange", which is legitimated by the various formalities that surround the transaction (O'Connell Davidson, 1998, p. 121). O'Connell Davidson asserts that the existence of these formalities, such as the making of sexual invitations, contractual specifications, and of course payment, make it possible for the client to read the entire relationship as being consensual and a freely entered contract. Even where the client has negotiated with, and made payment to a third party, the veneer of consent created by the idea of the contract allows the client to act out the powers of sexual command over the prostitute while assuming, or pretending the woman has agreed to work in this way.

By the standards of those feminists (or others) who subscribe to the abolitionist perspective, those who advocate the complete eradication of all forms of sex work, the subordinate relationship of women to men in the prostitution 'contract' is inherently violent and abusive towards women. Prostitutes are believed to be the direct victims of male power, privilege and violence, and as a result, the occurrence of prostitution within societies is suggested to have little to do with sex, and is essentially institutionalised rape (Doezema, 1998). This approach may at times appear rather extreme, but there is something to be said for the analysis considering the work of prostitution researchers such as Eileen Mcleod (1982), Jo Doezema (1998), Julie O'Connell Davidson (1998) Marjan Wijers (1998) and countless others which suggests the incidence of serious

violence and physical abuse at the hands of clients and pimps occurs almost without exception in the industry.

Proponents of prostitution as a free contract however, claim that this violence, or the fact that the prostitute is harmed in her work, misunderstands the nature of the contract. The prostitute can and does offer her services on the market without detriment to herself. The fact that the work is dangerous is no different than any other form of waged labour which is high risk (Pateman, 1988). The large numbers of women working in prostitution that face serious abuse and are in fact killed, not just as an unfortunate by-product of their work, but *because* of their work tell a different story. Violence against prostitutes should be considered as a part of gender based violence. It is often carried out because the subjects are women, and can be harmed. Popular culture often sees the example of the nameless prostitute who loses her life at the expense of a boys' night out. Or, in other more extreme, yet common cases, because the prostitute defies the natural categories and thus represents an unwanted person, she is a threat to society that must be eradicated.<sup>7</sup> The claim that the danger inherent in prostitution does not differ from other waged labour, and is the source of misinterpretation over the contract itself appears rather absurd. Whereas in other high-risk waged labour, the labourer may be impelled to wear for argument's sake, a hard-hat or other protective gear, that labourer is not placed in a violent and abusive situation, and does not on a regular basis become victim of criminal maltreatment by virtue of their gender or employment.<sup>8</sup>

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<sup>7</sup> Prostitutes are often the targets of serial killers. Most infamous is of course Jack the Ripper, but the phenomenon is very wide spread. Other high profile examples are the Ipswich Serial Murders, in the UK and Robert Pickton of Canada who confessed to forty-nine murders. All their victims were women who worked as prostitutes. Prostitutes are typically vulnerable, available and from a powerless group of society and who tend not to have a lot of prestige. It is suggested that prostitutes are 40 times more likely than other women to be murdered (Egger, 2006). Furthermore, because of the nature of their work, it is too often that murders, and missing persons go unreported.

<sup>8</sup> A partial exception can be made for professional wrestling. Which despite the fact that it is a billion dollar industry, with millions of fans around the world, the wrestlers themselves are subjected to unmitigated exploitation and as a result the death toll for professional wrestlers is remarkably high considering the size of the industry. While not on the level of sex trade workers, professional wrestlers do experience direct violence and forms of abuse in their trade as a result of their employment and often their genders, ethnicities, etc. (Mujanovic, 2012).

The abusive existence of the prostitute forwards the imagery of a straightforward expression of patriarchal domination. However, it should cause us to step back again and assess the general position of women under patriarchy. Recalling Millet's assertion that the experience of the prostitute was representative of women's subordination in civil society, we can begin to recognize that prostitution is not only intertwined in patriarchal relations that sustain it, but as Pateman argues, is in fact rooted in patriarchy itself. The assertion that prostitution has always existed and always will, ignores the fact that prostitution, as it is gendered, is an integral part of what Pateman terms the 'male sex right'. Afforded to men by virtue of their position as the creators and natural participants of civil society, the male sex right is upheld by the organisations within civil society that promote paternalism and fraternity, and is one of the ways in which men are ensured access to women's bodies. For Pateman, the sex act, at least the easily purchased one, provides acknowledgement of the patriarchal right. She maintains that when women's bodies are on sale as commodities in the capitalist market, men and generally the patriarchal system, gain public acknowledgment and license that men are the sexual masters, and natural superiors to women. Prostitutes are made readily available at all price levels in the market, enabling most men, from capitalist to working class, to be able afford one. What's more, they are frequently provided in business and political arrangements as rewards or incentives.<sup>9</sup>

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<sup>9</sup> A lot of media attention has surrounded a few recent incidents involving high-ranking officials and businessmen who have been caught engaging with prostitutes as part of business transactions. Perhaps the most popular at the moment is Dominique Strauss-Kahn, Managing Director of the IMF and French politician who has been embroiled in numerous allegations from involvement with a French prostitution ring, both owning and facilitating, and buying. In his defence, his lawyer Henri Leclerc said, "People are not always clothed at these parties... I defy you to tell the difference between a nude prostitute and a classy lady in the nude" (Sorensen, 2012).

Others have used sex as a reward for good performance. One of the most prominent examples is of the German insurance company Munich Re, who in 2007 treated its top 100 employees, clearly all men, to a bathhouse stay in Budapest. Twenty prostitutes were hired, each wearing coloured wristbands to indicate their roles: red for hostesses, yellow for women who would fulfil "other wishes" and white for women who were reserved for executives and top sales agents (Sorensen, 2012). The occurrence of these transactions is obviously not restricted to the higher echelons and therefore is be very difficult to quantify. However, given the amount of stories that make it to the public these transactions are likely a part of daily business life. For example, from first-hand experience, I know it is commonplace for Canadian businessmen, especially within

The patriarchal right is supported by the almost constant reassertion that men have natural sexual urges that *need* an outlet. The male sex right attempts to justify the existence of prostitution, as it provides orderly access to women's bodies, for an innate urge that cannot be tempered. Therefore, it is constructed as a necessary evil that will serve to protect 'decent' women from rape, and marriages from the ravages of men's sexual appetites (Pateman, 1988). It should be noted that where women in civil society are expected to subdue their 'natures' to perform as full citizens in public life, that expectation is withheld for men, and in many cases the idea of the aggressive male nature is encouraged and promoted.

In patriarchal and capitalist understanding of women's labour, the sexual labour of women is naturalised as a part of the role of women especially in the context of the male sex right. Drawing from Mies once again, this means that sexual labour is a natural resource to be exploited by both men who are given access by virtue of their right, and eventually by capital, which seeks to use anything produced cheaply, and with so much demand, for its own reproduction.

#### Neo-patriarchal Disposessions and Sexualised Strategies of Survival: The Post-Soviet Example

The separation of women from the value of their labour combined with their unpaid contribution towards the reproduction of capitalism marks the inherent unsustainability of capitalism for them. While understanding capitalism as unsustainable for a number of varied reasons, Dalla Costa views this separation and dispossession of women's value as an 'unsustainable contradiction', namely being unwaged labour in a wage economy. The burden of unpaid labour remains women's, as well as more low paid, precarious, feminised work pushing women farther from their means of financial autonomy and closer towards absolute alienation (Dalla Costa, *Capitalism and Reproduction*, 2004). As was the case at the emergence of capitalism, this dispossession creates a deeper dependence on capital alongside men, but also upon the male waged labourer, cutting away at any ability of independent subsistence and

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the oil industry, to hold 'important' meetings, schmooze clients and politicians, and take their lunch breaks in strip-clubs.

reproducing the subjectivities of subordination again and again. Moreover, Dalla Costa argues that in a contemporary context, it continues to marginalise women, contributing to both their theoretical and actual prostitution. Independent subsistence is virtually destroyed and many women are left with very few choices for survival.

The idea of dispossession resultant from neoliberal transitions and neo-patriarchy pushing women to both their theoretical and actual prostitution is a concept well outlined by anthropologist Joma Nazpary (2002). In his ethnography analysing social conflict and cohesion in post-Soviet societies, Nazpary reveals the sexualised strategies of survival women have used to find resolution to the turbulence of the transition from authoritarian state socialist regimes to neoliberalism, from the entering of larger scale organised prostitution responding to the desires of foreign businessmen, to the important reference to women's, at times desperate search for husbands or 'sponsors' to ensure their survival.<sup>10</sup> His account of the post-Soviet experience and transition is important not only as the distinction of neo-patriarchy is more salient in those cases, but because it puts prostitution and migration into a regional context. Women from post-Soviet economies currently make up the bulk of the traffic and migration for prostitution within Europe, ostensibly because post-Soviet women represent a cheaper, closer 'source' that fits into (constructed) desires of 'white' women for sex work and consumption (Güven-Lisaniler, Rodriguez, & Uğural, 2005).

Nazpary describes the situation in post-Soviet societies as a convergence of neoliberalism with the re-emergence of traditional patriarchal culture that places limits and restrictions on women's formal labour and accepted roles, so that we can now speak of a new, and extensive sex economy for local consumption as well as for export. Dispossessed women turn to prostitution as a personal choice, or find themselves faced with the reality of having to prostitute their bodies given that few other gainful opportunities are available to them (Nazpary, 2002). An important factor is that the new neoliberal economy has commodified relationships, bodies and desires, while also

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<sup>10</sup> Sponsorship is a reciprocal relationship outside of marriage or a solely romantic involvement where sex is exchanged on a longer-term basis for money and other material goods. The search and existence of 'sponsors' reveals how deep women's dependence upon men is a result of the pressures of patriarchal capitalist society.

creating expanded service and entertainment sectors which inevitably provide both the space for a commercialised sex industry, as well as greater earning capacities for women than would be impossible in other forms of employment. Nazpary cites the example of several of his interviewees who were employed as nurses, translators, or interpreters and who frequently had to supplement their income with prostitution. Showing the massive scale at which women have had to turn towards prostitution as a mode of survival, Nazpary claims that just within a particular region of Kazakhstan, the women he interviewed could not see more than three clients a week, for no other reason than the number of women willing to supply sexual services was far greater than quantitative demand.

The duality of the accumulation by dispossession that occurs as a result of the neo-patriarchal separation of women from the means of their subsistence, and the value of their labour is exemplified further by the former Soviet republic of Moldova. Moldova is a prime example as it currently provides the majority of women working abroad in other European countries in sex work. It is estimated that at least 60% of all women (trafficked or otherwise) working in European sex industries are expatriates of Moldova (Abiala, 2006). As much as 84% of women arriving in the TRNC for sex work are Moldovan according to local reports, followed by women originating in the Ukraine, Russia and other former Warsaw Pact states (Prologue Consulting Ltd., 2006). In 2003 alone, 677 work permits for *konsomatrices* positions were extended to Eastern European nationals in the TRNC (Güven-Lisaniler, Rodriguez, & Uğural, 2005)

As Europe's poorest country, Moldova sends the largest amount of migrant workers abroad. Conservative estimates say that around one quarter of the total population of around 4.3 million travels out of the country to find work (Abiala, 2006). The remittances they send back, over 1 billion USD and more than twice Moldova's GDP, are considered by their own state officials to be what keeps the country afloat (Al Jazeera, 2012). It has also led to the conclusion that Moldova's greatest export is cheap migrant labour. Given how poorly Moldova ranks on the Gender Related Development Index (GDI), and also given that Moldovan women are said to be represented as an 'underclass', it is little wonder that coercive and violent forms of sexual labour and trafficking of women has become so prevalent in Moldova. As Abiala (2006) points out,



“victims may be one of the few resources of marketable wealth” that remains available (p. 92). Although prostitution may not often bring great wealth to sex workers themselves, the money repatriated by them has had major economic benefits for exporting states (Agustin, 2010).

Neoliberal dispossessions have affected both genders, but patriarchal constructions have allowed women to become replacements for the lost property of men. This can be seen first through the maintenance of sexual access to women Pateman argues is a vital part of the ‘Male Sex Right’ and upholding patriarchal norms, and secondly as a new means of subsistence through the use/sale of women’s bodies in criminal networks of national and transnational sex industries. The sex workers themselves in Nazpary’s research suggested that the violence associated with their situation in prostitution, or even their position as prostitutes, would be alleviated if there were other gainful opportunities for men as well. Instead, when few other options are available, men are at least able to draw upon their socially dominant position to garner their own survival.

#### Patriarchal Controls as Extra-Economic Force in Dispossession

Dalla Costa concludes that the tendency towards such a large number of women entering into sex work as a means of coping with neoliberal, or neo-patriarchal dispossessions, is evidence that the relationship women have with capitalism, is both born and sustained through violence. There is violence in the dispossession that pushes women, seemingly *en masse*, towards prostitution as a means of survival, often a measure of violence inherent within the relations of prostitution, be it between the client or a third party, and violence in maintaining the sexual division of labour and subjectivities that contribute to the reproduction of profitability in prostitution.

This reveals another aspect of dispossession specific to women’s experience with neo-patriarchy. Neo-patriarchy represents the dispossession which comes from the separation of value from women’s labour, which pushes women either into unpaid activities that reproduce capital for free, into low paid work which allows more value to be extracted for less wage, or in this context, into sexualised strategies of survival. These processes are related to patriarchy as a set of norms or an order, which sees

women as subordinate. Patriarchy, however, is also a system of control, which is enacted upon the female body, in a more direct sense.

It stands that capitalism is founded in the negation of the individual's value, as well as the negation of the labour power of that individual. This is true regardless of gender or any other identity. The creation of the free labourer, and ensuring the alienation of that worker is part of the reproduction capital accumulation. A worker's needs, desires and the value of their labour must be continually suppressed in order to provide the economic compulsion for them to return and sell their labour power on a continuous basis. However within patriarchy, there is the further negation of women as individuals in a social and political sense, and the negation of the value of their labour by neo-patriarchal relations beyond the extent of typical alienation in capitalism. The naturalisation of women's labour, and the essentialism of constructing women as the docile, weaker and less physically capable sex within the structures of patriarchy, attempt to discipline and direct the female body towards the creation of surplus value for appropriation. While alienation within capitalist accumulation is largely a function of economics, that alienation which occurs as a result of patriarchy is extra-economic in the sense that it is derived from relations of power; especially that power applied more corporally upon the individual in both the structural and direct meanings.

Combined, the negation of women as individuals, and the specific devaluation of their labour under neo-patriarchy, allows power to be deployed upon the bodies of female labourers in a way that creates multiplicative and dynamic relations that together, should be viewed as a continued process of primitive accumulation. For women, to the exploitative labour relationship all workers experience, we must add the patriarchal state seeking to maintain construction of women as subordinate, a social and perhaps private realm contributing to the domination of female labour, and employment relations that consist of a male owning/managerial class and a female worker class. All of these 'sites' of patriarchy have the capacity of exerting extra factors of control, coercion on women's labour. Perhaps at times even through the use of, or the threat of the use of violence or physical control. Specific forms of feminised employment will all have their own elements to change or add, but the application of power remains a multidimensional experience for female labourers. In the case of prostitution, for instance, it is important

to consider many other sources of power than those mentioned above. One must also consider the added degrees of *personalistic* power applied by clients in specific contracts, by other third parties such as pimps, brothels as systems of hierarchy, or (non-male managerial) Madams. Further, the legal and state policy factors of how a prostitute is able, or unable to work should also factor in to the way we see power deployed upon her body.

The control produced by the convergence of multiple applications of power upon the female body creates a condition of labour alienation and exploitation over and beyond what can be considered a typical part of expanded reproduction. Rather, it should be viewed as a condition of ‘unfreedom’. Of course, any value expropriated from unfree labour is essentially stolen, or accumulated by dispossession. The power relationships associated with patriarchy, the highly coercive labour practises that characterise the sex industry, the state regulation of that industry, as well as the particular conditions and experiences of the migrant women who make up the bulk of sex workers in many cases, means that the alienation of these women pushes them towards a condition of unfreedom, and away from being a part of regular capital accumulation.

Given that any individual’s first entrance to the capitalist market is mediated by a dispossession, and forever dependent on that crucial separation afterwards, no ‘free’ labourer is actually free – only in theory can he or she refuse contract (Ayers & LeBaron, 2012). Ayers & LeBaron (2012) argue that in fact, dynamics of unfree labour are always present, just to a lesser extent in so-called free labour, and therefore the idea of unfree labour should be considered constitutive of capitalism. Rather than viewing unfree labour as something akin only to slavery, bonded, or in some way captive labour, or as an individual relationship of domination that can be eliminated with some form of intervention, “unfree labour overlaps with, and indeed, is in many sense anchored in, diverse modalities of labour exploitation” (Ayers & LeBaron, 2012, p. 4).

The difference lies within the form and degree of the controls, types of surveillance, and the number of sites from which power is deployed upon the worker. Further, other identities may come into play. Besides class and gender, characteristics such as ethnicity, race, migrant status, and definitely the type of labour being performed,

can create different degrees of discrimination and vulnerability in the market place. These together create kyriarchal experiences of alienation and exploitation in capital accumulation. Importantly in the discussion of ‘unfree’ labour that the accumulation that can be derived from it, is the acknowledgement of the necessity of overcoming the binary that normally exists mentally and ideologically between free and unfree labour (Ayers & LeBaron, 2012). If we leave a strict dualism between the two concepts, we risk becoming confused by the ‘lesser’ variable factors of remuneration, length of ‘unfreedom’ or any other secondary influences.

For instance, if workers receive a form of payment, it is still possible that the work be considered ‘unfree’ and that the value extracted from their labour is accumulated by dispossession. A form of payment may not override the existence of other important elements, such as an asymmetrical sexual division of labour that constricts a worker’s abilities to exist as an independent individual (Agathangelou, 2006). Further, remuneration that barely exceeds the minimum required for survival, or which is further subject to forms of debt to be paid back to the employer should hardly be seen as a factor in bringing coercive types of labour alienation out of the realm of unfree labour.

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All workers were primarily dispossessed from their means of production and subsistence as the initial incident that propelled them into the system of capitalist accumulation. The result was the economic compulsion to enter the market in order to sell their labour power to buy back the means of subsistence they were previously deprived of, and a forced dependence upon the capitalist. The value of labour thus became the most important thing a worker still had ownership of. Women, feeling both the effects of capitalist governance and the governance of patriarchy were simultaneously dispossessed of the value of their labour and therefore not only their past subsistence, but their future subsistence as workers in the capitalist system.

Neo-patriarchy reproduces this dispossession by continuing to devalue women’s labour, enabling capital to effectively garner the same or greater labour power for less

cost. Those same constructions of women that contribute to their devaluation also create them as weaker, less important and more easily controlled workers, who rather than coming to market with the rational skills of the male worker, do work natural to them, and by choice. This opens up the second possibility for accumulation by dispossession in that more forms of direct and indirect control are available to be upon the bodies of women, allowing additional pressure towards accumulation.

The state plays a major role in the accumulation by dispossession from women and especially migrant women. It is responsible for transforming and recreating those constructions of women's labour power so that it can be primitively accumulated. It does so by acting as the general patriarch, ordering and applying conformity to the ways in which women's labour is viewed and used, through neo-patriarchy, by feminising aspects of its economy to better exploit those constructions, and by promoting fraternal patriarchy by continually promoting the interests of male owning classes over female working classes.

## **5. Prostitution in the TRNC and the Primitive Accumulation of the Patriarchal State**

### **The Sex Industry in Northern Cyprus**

Lin Lean Lim claims in her extensive study of prostitution across Southeast Asia, that:

The scale of prostitution has been enlarged to an extent where we can justifiably speak of a commercial sex sector that is integrated into the economic, social, and political life of these countries. The sex business has assumed the dimensions of an industry and directly or indirectly contributed to employment, national income, and economic growth (Lim, 1998, p. 1)

Estimates used in her study suggest that between 0.25-1.5 % of the total female population in Indonesia, Malaysia, the Philippines and Thailand are prostitutes. Further, she calculates that the sex sector of these countries may contribute anywhere between 2 and 14% of the GDP. Added to this is also the element of those women who migrate within Southeast Asia, to Japan, or farther abroad and send back remittances that eventually contribute further to the economies of the home countries.

While the conditions, between the Turkish Republic of northern Cyprus, and Southeast Asian Countries obviously vary on many levels, the influence of the sex sector is clearly pointed in a similar direction. The number of local Turkish Cypriot women, for instance, engaged in the sex industry within the TRNC is negligible--by many accounts it is close to zero--yet the size and degree to which the sex industry is embedded in the economy of such a relatively small community is significant. The strong influence on the political economy of the TRNC is seen in figures pertaining to tax records, tourism data, as well as the continued growth of the industry, the lobbying power of its members, and the willingness of the state to direct its policies towards aiding and promoting the profitability of the sector.

The latest information available claims that in 2008, 47 nightclubs contributed more than 3 billion YTL in tax revenue through income tax and value added taxes. This is a major contribution for a country with a population of, at least in the official statistics, less than 300 000. Especially so considering the country continues to exist under 40 years of UN sanctioned economic embargoes against direct trade and travel,

economic and international aid bans, and communication bans (Cansu, 2006; Moral, 2008).

#### Owners and Workers: Nightclubs and the Women Who Work

A nightclub in the TRNC refers to something more than the typical image that comes to mind of a place for dancing and drinking. Tourists coming from abroad, searching on more 'mainstream' websites may be warned in advance, that the nightclubs one finds on the north side of the island, are rather a cross between the conventional understanding of 'nightclub' and strip-clubs and brothels. Essentially, they are establishments that cater towards the heterosexual male demand for sex, almost exclusively with women from Eastern Europe who also fulfil certain desires about beauty and 'whiteness' (Agathangelou, 2006). Legally speaking, they do not provide sexual services; rather, clients can purchase time with a 'konsomatris', who as defined by the law pertaining to nightclubs, is "a woman who eats and drinks with a client at a nightclub and makes a living out of it." (Nightclubs and Similar Establishments Law, 2000). While under official pretence these women do not engage in prostitution, it is more than common knowledge that sexual services provide the bulk of profits, for both the owners and the women. (Güven-Lisaniler, Rodriguez, & Uğural, 2005; Prologue Consulting, 2006).

There are currently more than 50 nightclubs in operation within the TRNC, the bulk of which are located on the outskirts of the capital, Lefkoşa. The next greatest proportions are found in Güzelyurt and Gazimağusa with the others divided in lesser quantities between Girne and İskele (Güven-Lisaniler, Rodriguez, & Uğural, 2005). It may be expected that with such a high number of nightclubs in a relatively small area, the demand contributing to the industry's growth and maintenance must be sustained by the large presence of Turkish soldiers. In fact, multiple studies have concluded that the high demand is primarily local, seconded by Turkish tourists and contingents of Turkish businessmen, and to a lesser but all the same notable extent, Greek Cypriots who cross the border to take advantage of cheaper services (Güven-Lisaniler, Rodriguez, & Uğural, 2005; Prologue Consulting, 2006). Clients who are neither Turkish, nor Turkish-Cypriot

are apparently rare, but may typically be part of the UN peacekeeping forces still present on the island (Güven-Lisaniler, Rodriguez, & Uğural, 2005).

While the owners of these nightclubs, permitted under the “Law of Nightclubs and Similar Establishments” to own only one nightclub each, are Turkish Cypriot men, the employees of the nightclubs are exclusively foreign women.

The TRNC has seen much emigration of Turkish-Cypriots, however the country remains a point of immigration for populations coming from the often less developed portions of Turkey, Bulgaria, and Eastern Europe (Güven-Lisaniler, Rodriguez, & Uğural, 2008). This is especially true of work in the sex sector. The women employed within the nightclubs come overwhelmingly from Eastern Europe. In 2003 there were 677 visas awarded to nightclubs in the north going exclusively to women, in order of highest to lowest quantity, from Moldova, Ukraine, Russia and Romania Belarus (Güven-Lisaniler, Rodriguez, & Uğural, 2008). Visas have also been awarded to women from Uzbekistan, Kazakhstan, Kirgizstan, Tajikistan and Kenya, but the numbers are very low (Cansu, 2006).

### Prostitution and Legality in the TRNC

The women who migrate from abroad to work in nightclubs are registered entertainment workers with official legal status, and typically serve what is considered the ‘high-end’ of the market. However, the sex industry in the TRNC is effectively spilt into two distinct categories between the registered, state monitored sale of sex, and the unregistered, hidden and smaller scale prostitution. Women working in the unregistered categories are ordinarily employed in the back rooms of *kahvehanes*, or ‘coffee houses’ within the cities themselves. The vast majority of women who work in *kahvehanes* are Turkish nationals, who work under Turkish pimps and cater to those who cannot afford the costs of the nightclubs. Unfortunately, because of the hidden nature of the work, very little official data and information can be accessed on unregistered prostitution (Güven-Lisaniler, Rodriguez, & Uğural, 2008). No doubt the hidden nature of this work would make it potentially very dangerous indeed, and it undeniably warrants further investigation.



Registered, or unregistered, currently all forms of prostitution within the TRNC are actually illegal. Prostitution, as with other crimes pertaining specifically to women, problematically falls under what is termed the Moral Section of the TRNC Criminal Code (Göynüklü, 2012). It is illegal to sell sex, and to encourage or promote someone else to sell sex, and to live off of the profits derived from selling sex, punishable by up to two years in jail, a fine of up to 1 billion YTL, or immediate deportation for non-citizens (Azizoğlu, 2010). Legal prostitution is technically a possibility, however only under a very specific, strict, and out-dated set of licenses for brothels that make the business of owning one too cumbersome to be profitable, and as such, there are none in existence.

Essentially then, nightclubs make the bulk of their earnings through illegal means. It states explicitly in the Law of Nightclubs and Similar Establishments that konsomatrices are forbidden to engage in prostitution, a redundant clause it would seem, given prostitution is already illegal. As previously mentioned, however, it is common knowledge that nightclubs in the TRNC are effectively brothels, even within the government. From a legal standpoint, it is obvious that prostitution is occurring by the way the nightclubs and the women who work within them are regulated. For example, women are subjected to weekly health exams for sexually transmitted diseases, quarantined and at times deported if any are found, and both nightclubs and the women who work in them are subject to inflated rates of taxation on legal earnings meant to compensate for the fact that the state cannot tax sex work directly. Further, of the several interviews conducted with members of a selection of the political parties in the TRNC--National Unity Party, Democrat Party, Republican Turkish Party and Communal Democracy Party--all were aware that prostitution was part of the regular business of nightclubs. Their arguments in response to the questioning surrounding why there was no state intervention to stop something that was clearly in violation of the law, was the assertion that its suppression would only cause it to re-emerge somewhere else, and would make controlling the industry more difficult.

It is not only a matter of turning a blind eye, so to speak that allows nightclubs to operate in this way. The law itself, while criminalising it, actually legitimises prostitution in certain respects and provides nightclub owners with incentives to become

or remain profitable if they follow carefully all conditions. In turn, the state gets a much needed economic boost, one whose influence cannot be ignored, and nightclub owners get the ability to use the prostitution of foreign women to garner immense profits for themselves while also holding the false impression that they can call themselves ‘businessmen’ and not pimps (Göynüklü, 2012).

### Law of Nightclubs and Similar Establishments

This resultant legitimacy of prostitution was not an accident of the gradual relaxing of state enforcement, but rather the outcome of concerted action on the part of the state and nightclub owners acting as a lobby towards the construction of a new law, that would define their position and help create appropriate conditions for their profitability.

According to Güven-Lisaniler, *et al.*, who have completed extensive research on the sex industry in the TRNC, before 1999 nightclubs in TRNC had been operating with success, at least on the surface much in the same way they do today. Migrant women still made up the greatest proportion of konsomatrices, and nightclub owners would apply directly to the immigration office for their visas. At one point in 1999, one nightclub owner attempted to apply for additional visas in hopes of increasing the number of women and expanding his business, but his application was rejected. In retaliation he filed a lawsuit against the government, which promoted a more severe counter-reaction; the government responded by closing all the nightclubs. Clearly moved by this egregious human rights violation, there was strong public outcry and the club owners mobilised to organise a ‘March on Parliament’. Despite claims by some Human Rights lawyers in the TRNC that the state is lacking in its commitment to rights, the march was taken seriously, and the demands of the nightclub owners to have clear legislation was granted (Göynüklü, 2012). With the owners’ presence, a committee was formed inclusive of the undersecretary of internal affairs, the district governors, municipal managers and representatives from the immigration department, police department, department of basic health, and the department of labour. The new law, the Law of Nightclubs and Similar Establishments, was approved in early 2000 and nightclubs were able to re-open for business soon after.

Under the new law, nightclubs are classified according to their size, facilities and ability to meet all requirements set out in the ‘Classifications for Opening Nightclubs and Similar Enterprises’. Classifications act similarly to hotel ratings, but also determine how much tax each particular nightclub will pay, and how many visas they will be awarded for foreign konsomatrices.

<u>Classification</u>	<u>Number of Visa permitted</u>	<u>Taxes to be paid</u>
1 <sup>st</sup> Class	10- 12	9 times minimum wage
2 <sup>nd</sup> Class	8-9	6 times minimum wage
3 <sup>rd</sup> Class	5-7	3 times minimum wage

The extent to which a nightclub must meet the requirement depends on the class, however some typical requirements are: having a suitable structure and the appropriate equipment given the possible negative effects to the community; sufficient lighting, heating, and air conditioning; sufficient toilets and sanitation; an appropriate location away from residential areas; and appropriate steps taken to prevent the ability to see inside the buildings. Nightclub owners must also provide housing for the konsomatrices on premises (Nightclubs and Similar Establishments Law, 2000).

As the procurement of underage girls for work in the nightclubs had been a problem in the past, the new law also clarifies that no person under the age of 18 shall work as a konsomatris. In the study conducted by Güven-Lisaniler *et al.*, one club owner admitted that before the legislation became more strict, it was common practise to have minors as young as 14 employed as konsomatrices, and documents were routinely falsified to do so. Demand may have been a factor here, but importantly, younger girls have less experience and thus are easier to control, comply with orders more, and are less likely to make demands. To all appearances, the law seems to have curbed the use of underage girls, although club owners readily admit that they generally would not hire women over the age of 25 as they are considered to lose their attractiveness. In 2001 statistics showed that 48% of women employed as konsomatrices were under the age of 21 (Güven-Lisaniler, Rodriguez, & Uğural, 2005).

Most notably, the new law places a great deal of emphasis on constraints and obligations pertaining to the konsomatrices themselves. While the law as it relates to migrant women will be reviewed in greater detail in the coming sections, it is important

to provide a brief outline for the necessary context required for understanding the gendered/ethnicised aspects of the law before it is reviewed in greater detail.

Before arriving in the TRNC, women for whom their future employer has obtained permission for a visa are sent a 'pre-contract' to be signed and returned before the process will continue. Unlike visas for other migrant labourers, konsomatris visas are given for a maximum of 6 months at a time, and are not renewable from within the TRNC. In order to legally work in the country again, women working as konsomatrices must leave the TRNC for a minimum of 2 months before re-applying.

Upon arrival within the TRNC, these women must surrender their passports and return tickets to immigration officers, who hold them for the duration of their stay, apparently for their own protection. The women should then be brought immediately to the hospital for an initial health check for communicable diseases, and are quarantined there until they are deemed free of any transmittable infections (Güven-Lisaniler, Rodriguez, & Uğural, 2005). If they are found with any threatening diseases, the woman will be deported immediately.

Once leaving the hospital, five days are given to apply and sign the official work permits. Failure to do so may result again in deportation; it should be noted that neither the work permits, nor the pre-contracts are translated into any other languages, for instance English, Russian or Romanian, to facilitate these women's entrance. When asked in a phone interview why the state has not yet taken steps to translate these important documents, the representative for the National Unity Party, Ertuğrul Hasipoğlu, General Secretary exclaimed that "This is the women's fault... they are responsible for translating these documents into their own languages; their signatures signify they understand the contract so it is their fault" (Hasipoğlu, 2012).

Amongst many other restrictions, women working as konsomatrices may not work at any other club, or any other type of employment during their six-month stay, and they are forbidden from establishing friendships with Turkish-Cypriot men outside of the context of the client-konsomatrices relationship, and may not marry any local man while employed as a konsomatris (Güven-Lisaniler, Rodriguez, & Uğural, 2008)

### Allegations of Trafficking

For critics, the major problem is not that the nightclub's main source of income is prostitution, even when that prostitution is technically illegal. The real problem is that, without any specific legislation or international monitoring systems, the nightclubs on the island become nothing more than centres of human trafficking. Recalling the UN definitions of trafficking,

(a) "Trafficking in persons" shall mean the recruitment, transportation, transfer, harbouring or receipt of persons, by means of the threat of force or use of force or other forms of coercion, of abduction, of fraud, of deception, of the abuse of power or of a position of vulnerability of the giving or receiving of payments or benefits to achieve the consent of a person having control over another person, for the purpose of exploitation."

And

(b) The consent of the victim of trafficking in persons to the intended exploitation set forth in subparagraph (a) of the paper shall be irrelevant where any of the means set forth in subparagraph (a) have been used (United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime, 2004, p. Article 3).

Given the conditions under which prostitution occurs in the TRNC, many academics and activists in northern Cyprus have asserted that together, the factors of control met by the women who work as konsomatrices by both nightclub owners, and the state itself, amount to their forced labour and therefore their trafficking.<sup>11</sup> The state turns a blind eye concerning the actions of nightclub owners and their control over female employees, but is more than passive in transforming the conditions of konsomatris' work into a situation of unfreedom. As seen above, the state applies many of its own controls and provides, through the Law of Nightclubs and Similar Establishments, the necessary legal tools for the owners of nightclubs to further restrict migrant women's labour, aiding in the exploitation of the surplus value that can be extracted from them.

The allegations of trafficking have their basis far earlier, in terms of the ways in which women are recruited and transported to the TRNC. While many women's

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<sup>11</sup> The most prominent of these people include: Oya Talat, women's rights activist and wife of former president of the TRNC Mehmet Ali Talat; Emine Çolak and Ceren Göynüklü, human rights lawyers at the Turkish Cypriot Human Rights Foundation; Mine Yücel, director of the Centre for Migration, Identity and Rights Studies, and with the cooperation of the Mediterranean Institute for Gender Studies in the Republic of Cyprus.

testimonies have shown that they were in full knowledge of the kind of work that would be expected of them upon arrival, it appears many were deceived about the true nature of the work (Güven-Lisaniler, Rodriguez, & Uğural, 2005; Prologue Consulting, 2006). Many of these women are led to believe that they will work as hostesses, waitresses, dancers, or bar maids once arriving in northern Cyprus. The fact that prostitution is illegal, and would not show up on a legal document such as the pre-contract sent to them before arrival, may contribute to their belief in the legitimacy of the work. In the report compiled by Prologue Consulting on the situation of trafficking of women in the TRNC, a statement was made by a hospital employee claiming that “some [women] try to escape from the window and we call the police” (Prologue Consulting, 2006, p. 12). This suggests that for some women, this may be the point of realisation of the true nature of their work.

In an interview with Ceren Göynüklü, human rights lawyer at the Turkish Cypriot Human Rights Foundation, it was revealed that for most cases, women entering the country for work as konsomatrices rarely enter alone. They are normally brought in under the charge of either a representative of the nightclub, or with the agent tasked to recruit and transport the women to the TRNC. This level of control is continued throughout the six-month stay of the konsomatris. Women are typically confined to the nightclub premises at all times, and must be, according to the law, on premises whenever the working hours of the club are open. One woman quoted in the report compiled by Prologue Consulting stated that:

“I work all day in the nightclub. The only time I get to go out is when a client takes me out. They do not even let me go to supermarket, which is around the corner. There are no holidays. The only holiday is when I have my period. Then I don’t go with client but I still have to work in the nightclub” (Prologue Consulting, 2006, p. 10).

Another woman alleged that in her five-and-a-half month stay, she had not known she was so close to the sea, as she had not seen it for the entirety of her contract (Saollii, 2008)).

The claims about whether or not force is used on the women as a method of control varies widely. In their article entitled “Sex tourism in Northern Cyprus:

Investigating the Current Situation” Aril Cansel *et al.*, claim that there is zero evidence of force being used. According to their research, they concluded that there is

- No isolation of workers – being cut off from physical and/or electronic communications with the outside world
- No punishment with extreme violence, no reported cases
- No control of the freedom and/or movement of an individual
- No unsafe and unhealthy working environment
- No failure to allow access to adequate medical care  
(Cansel, Bavik, & Ekiz, 2009, p. 684)

They go on to claim that all workers, according to their employers, were “happy” and the conditions of sex work in the TRNC presented a “win-win-win environment” (Cansel, Bavik, & Ekiz, 2009, pp. 683,685). We know some of these claims to be untrue by virtue of the law itself, which restricts the movement of migrant women, and the others have been countered by the extensive research and interviews with actual sex workers conducted by many other independent researchers, while Cansel *et al.* completed none. Further, their evaluation of what constitutes an ‘unsafe and unhealthy working environment’ should be called into question considering konsomatrices are subjected to weekly health checks indicating a serious and constant risk to their health and well-being.

Many cases of violence, ranging from verbal and physical abuse, to rape and even torture, have been reported through indirect sources, but they are rarely confirmed by the konsomatrices themselves. Those researchers who completed interviews with sex workers stated that women were not willing to speak to those allegations, however one woman did mention that in any given day, they experience many “bad” things, including violence, but trust no one to talk about them (Prologue Consulting, 2006, p. 11). The fact that so much of their work remains for the most part hidden, and their access to state apparatus limited, will make a risk of violence always present.

While the claims concerning violence are vague and complicated, those regarding the application of debt-bondage are not. Despite any form of debt-bondage being illegal under the Law of Nightclubs and Similar Establishments, and its presence being a clear indication of trafficking, virtually every source with information pertaining

to the conditions of sex workers in the TRNC claims the practice is the norm. Debt bondage, in official terms is

...the status or condition arising from a pledge by a debtor of his personal services or of those of a person under his control as security for a debt, if the value of those services as reasonably assessed is not applied towards the liquidation of the debt or the length and nature of those service are not respectively limited or defined.

(United Nations, 1956, p. Article 1 (2))

More plainly and in the context of sex work in the TRNC, debt-bondage is the practise by which employers transfer all the costs and fees associated with hiring and employing a konsomatris, back to the worker herself. Typically she is not 'free' to leave until those debts have been paid back to the nightclub owner. They include the round trip airfare the owner of the nightclub is bound by law to pay, costs of living including electricity, rent, work clothing, all fees associated with the necessary legal documents, visas and weekly health checks, and often the taxes associated with the employment of each konsomatris (Güven-Lisaniler, Rodriguez, & Uğural, 2005). This may mean that before even starting her contract, a konsomatris may be in debt upwards of \$3000USD. That debt bondage is a common part of the konsomatrices' contract to her employer is a well-known fact and is even openly discussed by nightclub managers. Despite being illegal even within the specific law of nightclubs, as well as according to international conventions against slavery, the state takes no action against the nightclubs on this issue (Prologue Consulting, 2006).

The TRNC has been in process of drafting official legislation against human trafficking, critical considering that aside from sexual exploitation, the trafficking of men and women for other types of labour exploitation is also on the rise (Göynüklü, 2012). Both the lack of pressure from the international community, given that the TRNC is not recognised, and the amount of benefits accrued by the state and capital are considered the most damning factors in the push to curb trafficking on the island. So far, the drafting of the law itself has been pending for over three years. An anti-trafficking law was enacted in 2007 in the Republic of Cyprus, which experiences much of the same climate in terms of trafficking for the purposes of sexual exploitation. In that case,



the state was forced to review and eventually eliminate their equivalent to the konsomatris visa, the 'artiste' visa.

The elimination of the konsomatrices visa would no doubt be controversial, especially with the owners of the nightclubs, and therefore it will take more than official statements and legal requirements to end the conditions that lead to trafficking and forced labour. Since the enactment of the anti-trafficking legislation in the Republic, research conducted by the Mediterranean Institute for Gender Studies claims that human trafficking is again on the rise, asserting that the lack of political will overshadows any advancements made in official legislation. Considering that in the TRNC, the laws against debt bondage, or against prostitution in general, are not enforced when it comes to the actions of the profitable nightclubs, it is highly unlikely that there is currently enough genuine political resolve to make an effective change. Without any concrete legislation and concerted effort on the part of the state, they become complicit in the conditions that lead to trafficking and instances of unfree labour. This speaks volumes to the state's role in promoting accumulation by dispossession from the migrant women who work in its sex industry. Considering the accusations of many feminist scholars in GPE, the state feminises aspects of its economy to take advantage of the feminisations of labour and migration, as well as the desire of the state to comply with neoliberal expectations and promote growth, it may not simply be a lack of political will to stop trafficking (Agathangelou, 2006; Enloe, 1993; Jeffreys, 2009; Pettman, 1997). Rather, there may exist too much will in the opposite direction to gains for the state and its owning classes.

### **Northern Cyprus within Neoliberalism; the desire industries and the desire of 'fitting-in'**

Northern Cyprus cannot be strictly termed a neoliberal state. Its economy is a mixed one, not outwardly neoliberal in composition, and it is unable to participate in the international economy as a neoliberal state-actor itself. The longstanding application of wide ranging embargoes, can the overriding issue of non-recognition as a sovereign state prevent the country from engaging fully within neoliberalism.

However, this special situation does not shelter the TRNC from the dictates of neoliberal governance in the economic region. So that, even where the state itself may not be able to be considered outright a neoliberal state in and of itself, the reality of its existence, particularly where it relates to the female migrant workers, is structured and guided by the dictates of a greater neoliberal governance. For instance, despite direct travel bans, the TRNC is still an attractive transit and destination point for migrant labour, bringing the reality of the neoliberal feminisations of labour and migration into its borders. These migrants effectively draw northern Cyprus into neoliberal flows as a destination country in the import of cheapened labour. Further, given the economic dependence on Turkey for any foreign currency or inflows from export earnings, northern Cyprus is exposed to all the same fluctuations of Turkey's neoliberal policies (Günçavdi & Küçükçifçi, 2009).

Further, like the states that surround it geographically--Turkey, Greece and the Republic of Cyprus--the TRNC conforms to many of the dictates of neoliberal governance, privatisations, competition, and follows other strategies that will make it appear more attractive to foreign capital. Agathangelou claims there is an intense desire on the part of the state to access a form of 'white power' afforded to the core states of the EU. These strategies are governed by a linear logic of development and effectively focus on the attempt to accumulate profits, especially for the increasingly trans-nationalising owning classes, despite the amount of violence and dispossession that occurs in trying to reach these goals (Agathangelou, 2006). This may be true even more so for the TRNC given its special circumstances. The embargoes, its small size, and non-recognition do not quell the desire to catch up to, or integrate further with core countries. Embargoes and non-recognition only make the task more difficult and require 'alternative measures' to produce growth and accumulation. Northern Cyprus then attempts to gain power by harnessing the surplus value of the female migrant worker and making it their own (Agathangelou, 2006).

This is because the desire to integrate more fully into the neoliberal economy to access the promises of profits, development and growth requires more than "strategies of harmonisation under governance." Instead, it requires the intensification of exploitation, the wild commodification of as much as possible and increased fetishization to keep up

demand (Agathangelou, 2006, p. 106). This is where female migrant labour becomes a source of development. Migrant labour generally has become a major source of capital accumulation, and according to Agathangelou, these eastern Mediterranean states, the TRNC being no exception, actively solicit migrant labour, especially female migrant labour, in support of their own goals and owning classes. Given their economic position and limited capacity to generate foreign earnings, northern Cyprus' non-tradable sectors have become 'overwhelmingly dominant activities,' replacing the agricultural and manufacturing sectors, which are both on the decline (Günçavdi & Küçükçifçi, 2009). Agathangelou argues that in the Mediterranean, states integrate masculinist capitalism with local patriarchy to mystify the exploitation of particular genders. Effectively, she argues that women's labour is utilitarian anyway, open for use for the general 'good' of society, and therefore can be used in higher rate of exploitation, particularly if it is migrant labour.

### **Accumulation Through Exploitative Migration; Taking Advantage of Neo-Patriarchal Constructions**

The patriarchal political economy already defines the position of women in both national and international markets; for Agathangelou, this provides the necessary environment for the 'new entrepreneurs' of neoliberalism – neo-patriarchal states and sex traffickers to draw upon them as a specific labour force. The neo-patriarchal state, acting on its own behalf, and for its capitalist classes actively works to sustain those subjectivities of female workers that allow the surplus value of their labour to be extracted at higher rates, in more exploitative conditions and with seemingly less repercussions. This is accomplished by mediating the relationship between racialised and gendered capital and labour with the creation of specific laws and immigration policies and the control over labour markets (Agathangelou, 2006). In this way, states can take full advantage of the devaluation of women's labour and the feminised flow of cheap reproductive labour, a trend that has been termed by Kinhide Musakoji (2003) as 'exploitative migration'. We can call this exploitative migration because states purposefully gear their policies to take advantage of undervalued, poor, feminised and racialised labour. However it can also be termed as exploitative migration, as the

networks that facilitate the movements of female labour especially for sex work, while in part regulated by the state itself, may be regulated in part by organised crime networks, or at least operations working on the cusp of illegality (Muskakoji, 2003).

We have seen the ways in which neo-patriarchal sending, or ‘exporting,’ states engage in exploitative migration by directing their social and economic policies towards the feminisation of labour and migration. Considering the worldwide growth of the sex industry, it should be undeniable that a large portion of those remittances from migrant labourers on which they come to rely comes from sex work (Agustin, 2010). Arguing in favour of eliminating the prejudice against sex workers and allowing women to travel and work in prostitution, albeit under safer conditions, Lara Agustin (2010) speaks of how much those particular remittances actually finance development projects. “[U]sed to finance construction projects, small businesses” these remittances help “families, communities and whole regions” (Agustin, 2010, p. 3).

The more research that is done on the remitting patterns of males and females, the more it seems to suggest that over time, women remit more overall and as a percentage of income than men do (Martin, 2007). A study done by Orozco (2006) also found that women’s remitting patterns extended to distant family members and neighbours in addition to immediate families more often than men’s, and further that women were more likely to send back household items and clothing to ensure the money was spent in the appropriate manner. Coming from a liberal feminist perspective, Agustin claims that more than giving the opportunity to buy consumer goods, these remittances may make the difference between unhealthy subsistence and healthful lives, access to education, and the ability to create and sustain projects for continued well being. However, equally important, is that they essentially allow the neo-patriarchal state to further adjust its fit into the demands of neoliberalism, by giving it the ability to disregard its social responsibilities and depend upon the remittances of its women for social welfare. Trends towards the feminisations in the patriarchal global political economy thus fit nicely with the desires of the state.

Exporting states stand to gain a lot, however no importing state would take on the risk and potential social burden if there were not significant benefits to be had, as well. Agathangelou argues in the context of the Eastern Mediterranean, Greece, Turkey,

the Republic of Cyprus, and northern Cyprus, the “state integrates liberal masculinist capitalism with local patriarchal traditions to mystify the exploitation of particular genders, races and classes” through exploitative forms of immigration (Agathangelou, 2006, p. 107). Especially in terms of reproductive labour, she claims they see women’s labour constructed in neo-patriarchy as utilitarian and self-sacrificing. They also denigrate the position of the migrant, and further so the sex worker, while promoting the understanding of male privilege and the male sex right to exploit certain women’s need to migrate for sex work for the generation of profits within their own borders.

Perhaps from an economic perspective, one can take the stance that a ‘worker is a worker’ regardless of gender, racial or ethnic background, or status as a migrant labourer. In this way, perhaps states would simply direct the import migrant labour according to their specific economic needs and which labour skill was needed to fulfil that need (Agathangelou, 2006). As the number of visas, 677 in 2003, given to exclusively women from Eastern Europe for the positions of konsomatrices suggests, in the TRNC this is not the case. Agathangelou asserts the same is true for Turkey, Greece, and the Republic of Cyprus. Their immigration polices for importing unskilled labour all exhibit major biases and display racial and gender preferences, and they reveal how they play upon the devaluation of racialised and gendered reproductive labour to enable sufficient exploitation for themselves and capital.

#### Selecting Identities: Responding to Demand and Ensuring Appropriate Subjectivities for Accumulation by Dispossession

“Labour importing states decide who will enter as a prostitute or as a female domestic worker on the basis of economic, racial, and ethnic calculations” (Agathangelou, 2002, p. 160). In the TRNC, between 2000 and 2006, a total of 4010 konsomatrices visas were given. As mentioned earlier, virtually all women employed in the TRNC sex industry have migrated from post-Soviet Eastern Europe, primarily from Moldova (Cansu, 2006). Many of the women are said to have completed post-secondary degrees, and according to the research of Güven-Lisaniler *et al.*, all of the women whom they interviewed claimed higher earning potential and a lack of other viable opportunities at home as reasons for seeking work in northern Cyprus. Aside from their

relative poverty, and their proximity, north Cyprus's geographical location and ties with Turkey also contributes to the steady inflow of migrant women who come for sex work to the TRNC (Güven-Lisaniler, Rodriguez, & Uğural, 2005). Regional trends see the trade of female migrant sex workers as a flow between Turkey, Greece, the Republic of Cyprus and northern Cyprus. Even where states might not always get along, agents and traffickers cooperate with one-another across the Green Line in Cyprus and other borders to move female labour in such a way that is most profitable to them (Famagusta Gazette, 2011).

Poverty and proximity however, should not obfuscate the added reality of the desire for certain racialised women. In the TRNC's sex industry, as anywhere, a great emphasis is placed on the demand side's conceptions of beauty. Whether or not it will be worth the initial costs for an employer to attempt to hire and arrange visas for a particular woman of course rests upon whether or not he believes she will prove profitable to his establishment. At this point in time, the desire is for white women. Agathangelou suggests that this desire rests on a deeper one to secure at least temporarily, bourgeois sensibilities and hegemonic heterosexual, white masculinity. As such, women migrating for work in eastern Mediterranean countries from the former Soviet Bloc countries have come to be equated with the term prostitute, whatever their employment. They are referred to in the Turkish language as 'Natasha', a generic term for a sex worker from any of the Post-Soviet countries (Gülçür & İlkaracan, 2002). 'Natashas' are assumed to be "hot, passionate, blonde bombshells" who are sexually available and willing to perform any sexual act demanded of them (Gülçür & İlkaracan, 2002). The women's culture, as well as their relative poverty is often cited as a justification for the use of 'other' women's bodies (Pettman, 1997). These judgments help to conceal the level of alienation and exploitation that is used upon their bodies, often with violence for the purposes of capital accumulation, as they are juxtaposed as 'bad', 'sexually deviant' women to 'good', 'wholesome' local men and women. They are considered to choose this work rather than look for something more 'decent' and are typically viewed with contempt, especially by Cypriot and Turkish Cypriot women who inevitably see them as a threat to the unity of their families (Cockburn, 2004). As such, it is not easy to garner support and understanding amongst the public for sex workers,

and the opening of inquiries into the allegations of their mistreatment is very difficult. It does allow, however, the accumulation by dispossession that is garnered from their bodies, and the labour power of their bodies to be continued with little public outcry. These constructions, however damaging to the individual, thus become sentiments the state has an interest in reproducing.

### Facilitating the Entrance for Exploitative Migration

As suggested, part of the reason the migration of women for sex work or other low paid, high vulnerability employment, and their use by the neo-patriarchal state to its own ends should be seen as exploitative migration towards facilitating an accumulation by dispossession, is *how*, and under what conditions the women are migrating.

The ideas of masculinity that the state supports in the TRNC creates demand for the nightclubs, which in turn creates demand for trafficked women (Göynüklü, 2012; Güven-Lisaniler, Rodriguez, & Uğural, 2005; Prologue Consulting, 2006). The nightclub owners, and by extension the state, thus rely upon ‘agents’ to fulfil this demand, and these agents are supported in their work by the lack of any legislation against trafficking in the TRNC, and the legitimacy provided by the *konsomatris visas*. Those places where prostitution is legal, or as in the case of the TRNC, not legal but clearly tolerated, have a tendency to also have the highest proportions of trafficked women (Hughes, 2000). Even in places where prostitution is legal, the movement of persons for that purpose is rarely a legitimate practise. Agents who facilitate the movement of women for sex work thus necessarily work on the margins of legality, even when there is voluntarism on the part of the migrant.

According to Fatma Güven-Lisaniler (2012), nightclub owners in the TRNC rarely go to sending countries like Moldova or the Ukraine themselves. Rather, they find enlisting the services of agents to be far more cost effective, with better results. Agents take a commission from the owners, dependent upon the variables of each woman; age, nationality, ‘beauty’. Generally the cost reaches \$800USD for Eastern European women, a price that appears rather high for recruiting and arranging travel. These costs are meant to be paid back to the nightclub owners by the *konsomatrices* as part of the eventual

contract they make, so overall it is a very reliable and cost effective method for staffing the nightclubs.

Some agents are located in the TRNC, but typically agents and agencies are located in the home country of women or based in Istanbul, and are effectively transnational operations. With a greater knowledge of a particular society, language, and the necessary networks, agents are considered by nightclub owners to bring a better quantity and quality of women to their clubs (Güven-Lisaniler, Rodriguez, & Uğural, 2005). The recruiting of new women is evidently very important, keeping in mind owners are always looking for ‘fresh faces’ and that the women’s beauty is said to peak at 25. This means that there should be a constant supply of new women to replace those who leave, given konsomatrices can only attain permits for six months at a time.

As there is no direct transfer to the TRNC, all women coming to work under the charge of an agent must necessarily pass through Turkey before flying into northern Cyprus. In the studies by Güven-Lisaniler *et al.*, all nightclub owners and others asked claimed ignorance of the techniques their agents used to recruit women, or what happens to the women before they arrive, or after they depart from Cyprus (Güven-Lisaniler, Interview with Fatma Güven-Lisaniler on background to Sex Traffic in TRNC, 2012). The agents may very well be completely honest with women about the job requirements of a konsomatris. However, as these are not completely legitimate operations, they may also use deceit to trick the women into thinking the position is truly a hostess position, as the name suggests. There is evidence in the number of women who have been witnessed trying to escape, who attempt to reach authorities, that the latter may too often be the case.

### Benefits to the Neo-patriarchal State

The revenue that the state is able to gain from the exploitation of women who may in many cases be working as a factor of force and trafficking is so substantial that it could be the major reason why there is such a lack of state will to curb trafficking and the sexual exploitation of women by third parties. It is also one of the many reason Jeffreys has designated the state itself as a ‘pimp’, because it siphons profits directly from the work of prostitution. This does not just apply to states that have legalised



prostitution: the TRNC, while it receives on average upwards of 3 billion YTL annually, takes much of this directly from konsomatrices themselves (Cansu, 2006).

This is achieved first indirectly because much of the fees charged for the operation of nightclubs and the employment of konsomatrices are, as stated, directed back towards women themselves. Therefore, all fees the state applies regarding visas and health checks for instance are not paid for by the nightclub owners as the law states they should be. Wealth from prostitution is, however, also directly taken from the income taxes, social security, health insurance and contributions towards provident funds that all konsomatrices are required by law to make (Moral, 2008). The women of course will never be able to draw upon most of these benefits, and further will not be reimbursed when they leave after only 6 months.

Given that the Law of Nightclubs and Similar Establishments requires that nightclub owners only have to pay konsomatrices minimum wage, there is a huge discrepancy in the rate of taxation experienced by the konsomatrices. Recalling Marx's views that over-taxation was itself a form of primitive accumulation, it is common practice that the tax office assumes a konsomatris' income to be 900 million YTL per month and taxes her upon that sum rather than the 1200 YTL minimum wage stated (Güven-Lisaniler, Rodriguez, & Uğural, 2005). As a foreigner, she may not apply the standard 12x minimum wage deduction, and in addition should pay 13% of her earnings towards social security benefits. Temporal limits on the presence of a konsomatris in a country make it impossible for her to ever derive benefits from her tax and social insurance payments.

According to Güven-Lisaniler *et al.* the huge discrepancy in the rate of taxation does not bother the tax office, which claims to assume the women have other sources of income such as free housing, food, and other benefits. Considering the women do of course pay these fees, at least under the table, they are essentially paying multiple times: once to the nightclub owners for services they are supposed to receive as part of their contracts, then to the state in form of taxes on things they should have had for free. Further, despite paying for health insurance, weekly controls for transmittable diseases are, as expected, not covered.

Of course the real reason for this high level of taxation is the state's knowledge that for both the nightclub owners, also subject to high rates of taxation, and their konsomatrices, the main source of income is prostitution. Even with the understanding that these women are essentially debt-bonded, and that typically they carry only 40-50% of their earnings from prostitution, the state still feels justified in applying such rates.<sup>12</sup>

### The Feminisation of Service and Tourism in Northern Cyprus

As with much of the world, Turkey, Greece, the Republic of Cyprus and the TRNC have promoted the service sector, and by extension their tourism industries, heavily in order to comply with and promote neoliberal economic strategies of growth (Agathangelou, 2002). This has been one of the key ways in which states exploit feminised migration patterns to their own (primitive) accumulation. Placing greater emphasis on tourism industries has been a popular move throughout the developing world as a mechanism for gaining access to foreign exchange and promoting growth (Agathangelou, 2002). However, as with most things, the tourism sector is actually another set of gendered relationships, and power dynamics; relationships between individuals, groups and social categories, and even types of tourism and between nations all reflect gendered ideals and patterns of provision and consumption (Pettman, 1997). For instance, as Gabriella Lazardis (2001) notes, in the context of migrant women workers in Greece, virtually "all female migrants are absorbed into the service sector" (p. 75). In particular, they are employed within the domestic service and tourism sectors and in other forms of sex or reproductive-related work.

The significance of the service and tourism sectors in northern Cyprus is enormous. Not only does it represent one of the largest sectors of the economy, in 2007 it contributed \$145.6 million USD (17.3%) of the GDP to the northern Cypriot economy and created 13,474 jobs. It also represents the present and future viability of the TRNC

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<sup>12</sup> On average, for one hour at a mid-range nightclub, a customer will pay around \$33 USD for services inside the club. For those clubs that allow clients to take women out for a night, it may cost around \$58. Konsomatrices usually make around half of these fees, and only that after servicing initial debts. Forty to fifty percent go to the nightclub owner, and ten percent goes towards the tips of the other nightclub staff.

and helps makes them known to the rest of the world (Cansel, Bavik, & Ekiz, 2009; Scott, 1995). This has special importance given the international boycotts that continue to restrict aid, investments and direct flights. As a result of these, the TRNC is not only heavily dependent upon mainland Turkey for finance and investment, but also as its main tourism market. In 1995, anywhere from 70-80% of all tourists entering northern Cyprus were Turkish nationals, and while those numbers will have changed after the opening of the borders to the Republic of Cyprus, they are still considered to make up a substantial amount of the tourist demographic. While some of those tourists are actually Turkish citizens looking for work in Cyprus, many of them are part of the new global class of wealthy men who have the opportunity to travel for the express purpose of taking advantage of the local sexualised tourism landscape.

When Agathangelou speaks of states 'feminising' aspects of their economies, she is referring to the tendency to direct certain sectors of the state and economy towards systems of operation that can best take advantage, or 'exploit the migration' of larger numbers of women, especially poor and racialised women, in the global market. Facilitating and promoting a tourism sector where sex tourism factors in such a substantial way as it does in northern Cyprus is one such way this is done.

Tourism landscapes such as this one are constructed to celebrate masculinity and hetero-patriarchy, and are "infused with masculine ideas about adventure, pleasure and the exotic" (Morgan & Pritchard, 2000; Enloe, 1990, p. 20). Turkish men are prompted to travel to the TRNC and purchase white, migrant women for sexual service that the state provides with their specific migration policies in response to this specifically racialised demand. Here they can take advantage of sex-tourism packages which, starting from major cities such as Istanbul, organise all aspects, even taxi service, of obtaining a sexual relationship without the added fear of the types of controls seen on the mainland (Kıbrıs Night Club, 2012).

The benefits to states of involving themselves in the patterns of exploitative migration exceed simple monetary gains. As Bridget Anderson (2000) explains in *Doing the Dirty Work*:

The receiving state benefits in a variety of ways because the labour power of the sex and domestic workers has been produced without any outlay from... [the importing] state and, theoretically at least [sex and domestic workers] are to return to their countries of origin one day, thereby saving the receiving-state any expenses associated with their old age. (Anderson, 2000 109)

Because the TRNC allows migrant women who come under certain service sector visas such limited time (domestic workers receiving even less) and applies such controls over their movement, they also cannot bring any children or other dependents with them, saving the host state from any cost of social provisioning for them. Further, typically speaking immigrants are considered less likely to draw upon social welfare schemes, despite paying taxes towards them (Anderson, 2000). The import of female migrant labour thus ensures low reproduction costs especially because the receiving state does not have to pay costs “incurred in labour migrant subsistence prior migration”. However many the benefits, importing states are still highly hostile to female migrant labour, likely because discourses around migrant labour, especially those doing the ‘dirty work’, so to speak, usually involve illusions to purity versus impurity, pollution and contagion. These concepts are all evident in the TRNC’s legislation of the entrance of migrant workers (Scott, 1995).

### **The TRNC as a Fraternal and Paternal State**

The state, especially those labour importing states, do much to facilitate and secure their own access to cheap and vulnerable feminised labour. They do so in response to their own national-economic needs, but they do so outside of the limits of typical capital accumulation. Rather than simply directing policy to fill a demand and importing labour as a function of a specific need, states feminise aspects of their economy that will better expedite the process of accumulation from dispossessed women, as well as ensure the reproduction of that dispossession. Using the low status of migrant, racialised women, states accrue benefits towards their own economic development, but they do so most effectively through their collusion with local (economic) middle and upper classes to mediate the relationship between the owners of

capital and foreign labour. The state provides the legal framework that privileges capital over the worker, and thus in neo-patriarchy where the owning classes are predominantly male with a feminised labour force, privileges the male owner over the migrant women who provide reproductive labour.

In this way, the state is exhibiting its nature again as a neo-patriarchal state, within which exists both a fraternal state, and a paternal or general patriarch state, whose actions promote the prosperity and social cohesion of men at the expense of women, both migrant and local. This ‘social cohesion’ between men is not only promoted by the promotion of masculinised capital over female labour, but also in the reproduction of those subjectivities of certain women as natural sex workers that mainstream the access to their bodies as a part of the upholding of the sexual contract that defines the male sex right, male power over women, and eventually the ability to use that power for capital accumulation.

#### Tools of the Fraternal and Paternal States

According to Ali Cansu (2006), a journalist for the *Kıbrıs Gazetesi*, the nightclub owners in northern Cyprus claim regularly that they are ‘suffering’ under the legislation of the state, particularly the heavy taxation and fees for permits. The special rate of social insurance payments, as well as the costs of health insurance, especially when the state takes additional fees for weekly health checks, are viewed as an oppression upon the profitability of the nightclub and the owners (Cansu, 2006). However, even amongst nightclub owners themselves these complaints are known to be exaggerated.

Evidence of this is that a few years after the enactment of the Law of the Nightclubs and Similar Establishments, the government began asking the owners of the nightclubs to construct new buildings, and move out of the cities and into the designated areas away from residential housing. Many of the clubs closed down for a period of time, and the owners spent millions in reconstructing their businesses according to state demands. However, as Abdullah Azizoğlu (2010) reports in the *Kıbrıs Star*, all complied with little to no complaints and within a timely fashion. One would think that incurring such a cost would be reason to challenge the state, especially given their position and the

‘March on Parliament’ that occurred when they felt their rights were not being respected.

They need not complain, because in actuality the nightclub owners represent a powerful lobby group within the government itself. They were a lobby group from the conception of the law, given that its existence is the direct outcome of their demands and influence; according to Guven-Lisaniler (2012) they were even in attendance for the drafting of the law. This represents well the fraternal aspect of the relationship between the state and capital. The committee charged with the responsibility of creating the Law of Nightclubs and Similar Establishments, inclusive of the nightclub owners themselves, was completely comprised of men. Men who decided amongst themselves that there was a legitimate demand, and thus a legitimate service being provided by the nightclubs, and therefore they would legislate them in such a way that would facilitate their business. Interviews with nightclub owners conducted by Guven-Lisaniler *et al.* stated that, in fact, it serves them well to comply with the conditions applied by the state however seemingly strict, as in the long run the law institutionalises their own profitability. This profitability is shown first in the rapid rise in the number of nightclubs that opened after the enactment of the law: today there are over 50. Further, according to a nightclub manager quoted in the report compiled by Prologue Consulting

“[The state] takes 100 000 – 200 000 YTL per nightclub for a permit. Someone paying this much for a permit expects to do business. Nightclubs can make this amount in a month or two. It is big money. The monthly income is about 250 000 YTL with a spending of 50 000YTL. So the net profits per month is 200 000 YTL. Even the Prime Minister does not make this every month. So, it is a good business.” (PROLOGUE CONSULTING, p10)

This level of profitability is directly connected to the ways in which the state mediates the relationship between its capitalist classes and the female migrant labourer. While state involvement almost always ensures a certain level of exploitation for all workers, in terms of the types of employment contracts and laws surrounding the hiring of konsomatrices in nightclubs, this level is considerably higher given the specific identities of these workers: poor, women, migrants, and prostitutes (Agathangelou,

2006). The level of control and essentially violence that is permitted in these contracts, restricting women's movements and other human rights is, in the opinion of Agathangelou, a necessary violence to uphold the power of owners and results in a veritable master-slave relation codified by the law.

The paternal state, in the name of protection, also upholds the conceptions and beliefs about the identities of migrant female workers in terms of risk to public health and safety, and social order. It does so to justify the amount of controls it can place upon their bodies, and also to allow others to also place their own controls. Nightclub owners as employers are permitted a great deal of control, as are clients of these women being that they remain higher in the gendered hierarchy, and the state facilitates prostitution for their demand. The application of its own, multiple controls, and the allowance of others to have dominance over migrant women, also represents violence in that it constitutes a konsomatris' labour as unfree. If it is no longer free labour, given the amount and types of restrictions put on her movement, earning, and social and human rights, then it cannot be said to be a part of capital accumulation, and rather will be labour that is accumulated by dispossession.

The affects of the paternal and fraternal sides of the neo-patriarchal state can be seen, for example, in the ways laws about work hours and work-days are suspended when it comes to the regulations of sex workers. The TRNC's Labour Law, Article 31, states that migrant workers have the same rights as other workers regarding working hours and leave, and that a worker cannot work more than eight hours a day, and a total of no more than forty hours a week. Further, Article 33 states that all workers should be given at least one full day of rest each week. However, for konsomatrices, the eight-hour workday, six-day workweek, and holiday time is not required. The practice of not allowing time off for konsomatrices is further legitimised by the tax office, which calculates their earnings in a month as a factor of 26. Twenty-six is the number of days officials have concluded a konsomatris will work, given that it is assumed she will menstruate for 4 days and therefore will not work during this time (Güven-Lisaniler, Rodriguez, & Uğural, 2005). Interviews with konsomatrices themselves suggest that while they are not required to provide sexual services at this time, they are still required to work at the club in other capacities (Prologue Consulting, 2006). Unless providing

escort services, women are also required to stay on the premises of the nightclub during all working hours and, of course, live there as well. This means that the only ‘time off’ is during the weekly health checks at the hospital.

Within the labour contract, the state also supports only the minimum wage for konsomatrices. According to Güven-Lisaniler *et al.* this is done in order to protect the nightclub owner in case of a dispute over earnings. Although all nightclub owners actually make a secondary, verbal contract with konsomatrices that outlines the terms of her employment, the one signed in the presence of a Labour Office official is of course the only one that has legal validity (Güven-Lisaniler, Rodriguez, & Uğural, 2005). Therefore, should the nightclub owner not fulfil the requirements of his side of the verbal contract, he is actually at an advantage if there should be a dispute with a konsomatris, as the terms of the legal employment contract require even less of him.

Just as is the case with other labour hidden from the public eye, such as domestic labour where the worker lives on premises, the amount of labour power that can be extracted is a function of the amount of control over the labourer, and has the possibility to greatly exceed what can be considered typical capitalist accumulation. The labour contracts for konsomatrices supported by the state, then, are done so expressly to promote accumulation by dispossession from women in benefit of male capital.

Another legal control the state places upon the konsomatrices, to the benefit of the nightclub owners, is the prohibition of their forming relationships with Turkish Cypriot men outside of the context of the paid time within the club itself (Güven-Lisaniler, Rodriguez, & Uğural, 2008). This requirement has multiple purposes from a paternalist perspective: while it is intended to prevent the breakup of Turkish-Cypriot families by disallowing foreign women from becoming mistresses, it also has a fraternal aspect in that it helps nightclub owners maintain the ‘value’ of their product. If women were permitted to form relationships outside of the nightclub, they would basically be giving for free the services that the nightclub owner provides for a cost. Apart from time spent having a social life outside not being chargeable by the nightclub owner, it also cuts into the time in which he can extract surplus value from her labour power and body.

Some of the legal measures applied by the state are intended, at least in the opinion of some state officials, to be to the benefit of the konsomatrices, but in fact they



represent again the power of fraternal bonds, especially between the state and capital to control and ensure the accumulation by dispossession from foreign women. For instance, the practice of confiscating passports and return tickets of women entering for work as konsomatrices has many purposes, but that which was cited by party officials from the Democratic and National Unity parties was that it was for the protection of the women themselves (Güven-Lisaniler, Rodriguez, & Uğural, 2008; Coşar, 2012). Before the enactment of the new law, it was common for the nightclub owners, in a display of their own power over their workers, to demand the passports of konsomatrices, restricting their ability to leave if they so chose. Rather than create and enforce tougher laws and penalties for those club owners who force labour in this way, the state decided it would be easier if they were the ones who confiscated the passports themselves. Salih Coşar, of the Democrat Party, when questioned on this practise, stated, “we know it is not the most modern way, but we couldn’t find any other solution” (Coşar, 2012). ‘Not finding any other solution’ should be something attributed to lack of political will. The outcome of not finding a solution is clearly an abuse of the human rights of these women – restricting their movement, and confiscating something only they, and their issuing state, have the right to. Given the strength of fraternity in this regard, it is not surprising that the state does not seek to apply stricter enforcement upon nightclub owners who break the law by keeping the passports of their employees, or applying other forms of abuse.

While the intent may be, however loosely, based on providing protection for konsomatrices, the result serves the interests of the nightclub owners all the same. If ‘escape’ from work as a konsomatris is desired, before the sum of the debt is repaid, it may be just as difficult for a woman to reach the Ministry of Internal Affairs to retrieve her passport and return ticket as it would be from the nightclub owner. Further, as debt bondage is a commonly practised policy amongst the nightclubs, and essentially occurs with the implicit agreement of the state, there is no guarantee that the Ministry will agree to hand back the documents. It may be difficult for a woman who wishes to leave to even reach the office in the first place. There are many stories of women trying to escape, either from the nightclub itself, or from the hospital during the time of checks, and being brought back to the club by the police, who clearly in this instance work in

collusion with the nightclub owners to protect their investments (Göynüklü, 2012). Others simply risk immediate deportation, and considering that that deportation typically means travel only as far as Turkey, it may put the woman at risk for being re-trafficked, if that was the case in the first place, or more generally in an insecure position. Cases of alleged abuse within nightclubs usually result in the deportation of the konsomatris as well, given that there are no ‘safe houses’ or other facilities to harbour women who have serious complaints about their work situations. According to Göynüklü, while the state claims again that this is ultimately for the protection of the women themselves, taking them away from the problem, it really serves to absolve the state of the responsibility of caring for foreign victims of crime. Moreover, it protects capital, the nightclub owners, as well as the clients who may be guilty of applying physical or other forms of force upon konsomatrices. The Attorney General requires the plaintiff to be present to all claims and thus no one can be charged with the abuse of a konsomatris if she has already been deported (Göynüklü, 2012).

Perhaps the most conspicuous way in which the state and laws of the TRNC favours men and male capital over female, migrant sex workers are the laws pertaining to prostitution itself. As with other issues which are specifically gendered as crimes involving women, such as rape, prostitution is illegal within the ‘moral’ section of the Criminal Code. Article 164 concerning persons living on earnings of prostitution or persistently soliciting, states:

Every person who –  
a) Knowingly lives wholly or in part on the earnings of prostitution; or,  
b) In any public place persistently solicits or importunes for immoral purposes, is guilty of a misdemeanour

It follows that any form of pimping, is also illegal. Pimping is said to exist if a person is found to have exercised control, or influence over the movements of a prostitute in such a manner as to show that he or she is aiding, abetting or compelling the prostitution of another (Göynüklü, 2012).

By these definitions, all nightclubs of course are operating, soliciting customers for sexual relations only in de facto legality, insofar as the state does nothing to stop it and effectively encourages it. The law explicitly states that only women can be defined

as prostitutes, while those ‘directing’ and ‘living off’ the earnings of prostitution may be either male or female. In speaking of brothels, women are mentioned again specifically within the Criminal Code, in reference to ‘Madams,’ “Every woman who is proved to have, for the purpose of gain, exercised control, direction or influence over the movements of a prostitute in such a manner as to show that she is... compelling her prostitution with any person, or generally, is guilty of a misdemeanour”.

It is evident here that the law concerning prostitution is heavily biased. Despite the illegality of nightclubs, the illegality of the actions of nightclub owners, and even the illegality under the criminal code, as well as the Law of Nightclubs and Similar Establishments, of the signs and advertisements of the clubs, owners are rarely charged with any crime. In cases where prostitution is ‘found’ to be taking place within the premises of a nightclub, owners typically strictly deny involvement, claiming it was the personal choice of the woman (Göynüklü, 2012). In these cases and others, the women themselves can be and are charged with prostitution; this can carry a fine of \$833USD, but in the cases of konsomatrices, usually results in their immediate deportation (Göynüklü, 2012). Their deportation represents only a monetary loss to the owner, albeit one he would prefer to avoid, but no legal repercussions. In essence then, what is really criminalised is prostitution that is independent, or female controlled, and especially where the state is not able to integrate it into greater capitalist production, or accumulate more directly.

Many countries such as Sweden, Canada and the UK have begun to criminalise the demand side of prostitution rather than placing all culpability upon women in prostitution. Canada and the US even attempt the ‘re-education’ of Johns in special ‘John Schools’ for those men charged with soliciting a prostitute (Matthews, 2008). This is done in an effort to curb the demand side, and recognises that in many cases prostitution may represent discrimination or levels of gendered abuse against women. However, within the TRNC no such law or will to re-educate the demand-side exists. Salih Coşar of the Democrat Party admitted in questioning about why women are so heavily regulated and criminalised as the supply-side, yet male demand is not, that this was simply “a symptom of patriarchy”. However shortly after, he also explained that

male demand is a part of the “natural need of men”, whereas providing the service is not, and therefore men’s actions in this context cannot be criminalised (Çosar, 2012).

#### Extra-legal Fraternalism and Paternalism by the State

These legal aspects help in maintaining the profitability of the sex sector for male ownership, however the state is also involved in some ‘extra-legal’ actions to the same effect. Some of the interviews especially brought forward the issue of the exploitation power and position and the indistinct area between the separation of legal and illegal activities. Specifically speaking of the collusion that occurs between police officers and nightclub owners on an interpersonal level, these effectively take advantage of the authority of their position and the reliance migrant workers have upon them. The relationship between them, for instance, may serve to make it difficult for women, if there should be any complaint or problem, to call upon the services of police with confidence. This is especially important as many of those interviewed in the Prologue report stated that the police are the first, and often only line of protection konsomatrices will have.

An example of these confusing relationships and the interplay between legality and illegality are the frequent occurrence of police raids on the nightclubs. Police raids are apparently a normal occurrence for all nightclubs, and often nightclub owners will be notified in advance. While interviewing one particular konsomatris, Prologue Consulting stated that the woman had to return early as there would be a police raid later that evening and she would have to be on premises to prepare. Another claimed that at the end of a raid, the nightclub owner told a police officer, ‘OK, now that you’re off duty, which one would you like?’ (Saollii, 2008). It is not clear what the real reasons are behind police raids, given how arbitrary they appear, as the knowledge of prostitution is so widespread and tolerated within the clubs. Göynüklü has suggested that the very reason for raids was again rooted in the nebulous zone between the legal and illegal. She proposed that raids may coincide with a breakdown in relations between a nightclub owner and the authorities, or with the knowledge of a higher number of Greek Cypriot men crossing the border to attend nightclubs. It may however also be a way to create an image of state control and surveillance for the Turkish Cypriot public. It was also

mentioned that because of the connections made, and the knowledge of the industry, some of the nightclub owners that have contributed to their boom in recent years were actually retired police officers.

These fraternal relationships and paternal controls would make it difficult for konsomatrices to understand where to go for protection or complaints. It makes their position further vulnerable and works to constrict their ability to assert their will and rights, expediting their compliance in the extraction of the value of their labour without complaint, by seeking to eliminate that option. Agathangelou highlights that across Greece, Turkey, the Republic of Cyprus and the TRNC, sex workers already spoke of the great difficulty they faced in trying to report abuse and rape, as police officers tended to regard the occurrence as an impossibility given the nature of their work. An alliance of sorts between the police and the owning classes can only compound the danger present in that line of thinking.

In these cases, police power is extra-legal as it is applied outside of the law, but exists all the same. Other extra-legal behaviours by the state combine to create a fraternal 'code of silence' surrounding the exploitation of migrant women to ensure accumulation by dispossession always remains a possibility. These include: mainly not enforcing the aspects of the law which are meant as protection for women; allowing nightclub owners to disregard migrant labour rights concerning minimum pay and allowing the substitution of their own verbal labour contracts; not enforcing the laws against holding people under debt bondage; and making very little effort in pursuing anti-trafficking legislation and enforcement. The TRNC still has not made any headway in applying the required measures to take themselves off the US State Department's 'Tier 3' classification in terms of human trafficking. 'Tier 3' refers to, the most severe ranking for countries who do not meet any standards in the combat of forced sexual labour (Department of State, United States of America, 2011). Even so, there has been virtually no effort to move towards any policy that would slow growth of the industry. Salih Coşar, of the Democrat Party has responded to this by stating, "Yes there is trafficking, but all places have trafficking. We know there is trafficking but at least it is controlled" (Çosar, 2012). Societal control, and the continued profitability of the sector are higher up on the state's agenda than the human rights of migrant workers, but

this is not surprising considering “human rights have not been a priority of the state” (Göynüklü, 2012).

### The Male Sex Right and the Facilitation of Demand for Capital

Protecting and promoting the male owning class at the expense of the female konsomatrices can also be seen in the way the state upholds and reproduces the subjectivities of women, and notions of femininity, migrants, and masculinity towards the perpetuation of the male sex right. While the position of the prostitute is naturalised as part of the roles assigned to certain women, especially those termed ‘Natashas’ from Eastern Europe, male demand is also naturalised and is promoted in line with upholding male dominance and fraternity. In terms of accumulation, maintaining certain identities of women who migrate for sex work, as well as the local men to purchase sexual services, is another way in which the state involves itself in the relationship between capital and reproductive labour while also ensuring the reproduction of demand capital requires.

Mine Yücel, one of the foremost activists for anti-trafficking in the TRNC, claims the state and society in northern Cyprus are responsible for creating such a high demand. The state further normalises the supply of that demand through the organisation of prostitution and by extension, of trafficking, and by deferring the role of sex worker to migrant women. Cynthia Cockburn in her study of gender order in Cyprus explains that sex before marriage for young Turkish Cypriot women is still strongly condemned while for young men is expected and encouraged. According to her own research, she further asserts that many Turkish Cypriot men do not connect sexual pleasure with Cypriot women and believe it is something to be found outside of marriage; wives are naturally for motherhood and caretaking, and ‘Natashas’, naturally for sexual pleasure. Murat Kanatlı of the New Cyprus Party, a non-seat holding political party on the left, alluded to the fact that some compromise had to be made in order to protect sex workers, because the society *needs* prostitution. He stated that with all the Turkish soldiers, and number of young Cypriot men, the demand had to be met somehow; and while sex trafficking clearly presented a problem, he claimed that the situation must be addressed by “taking into consideration the needs of society” (Kanatlı,

2012). In the same series of interviews, Ertuğrul Hasipoğlu of the National Unity Party was more blunt, asking my interviewer, Büşra Yağmur, “Who is complaining about the nightclubs? Because men want it, so that’s why there’s prostitution. It is a need” (Hasipoğlu, 2012).

Presented, then, as a necessary evil, sexual access to women is required as part of what makes men full participants in civil society. Pateman adds that the male sex right is thus also part of the original political rights given by the patriarchal state (Pateman, 1988). The state, therefore, as part of a fraternity with its male citizens, has a responsibility to organise and facilitate their access to women’s bodies. The paternal side of the state only requires eventual control over the process, and to create and maintain this access in a way that fits in with its own visions of ordered society. For instance, it requires that the ‘pure’ women be sequestered from those who are ‘deviant’. Effectively the separation here, as with the provision of prostitution in other patriarchal states, is the separation between those women who are private to their male partners, and those who are common property, representing another favour to fraternity.

Women, especially migrant women who are naturalised as prostitutes as part of their ‘foreign’ and ‘deviant’ cultures, are part of this organisation, and the state provides access to them especially as other members of the fraternity have expressed a particular racialised demand for them. The women are not full participants in public civil society, they are secondary to men, and subordinate further as migrants; these subjectivities leave them, according to Pateman, as “merely empty vessels for the exercise of men’s sexual pleasure and procreative power,” and open for the virtually unrestricted use by capital as well (Pateman, 1988, p. 87).

What Jeffreys terms a product of an ‘egalitarian ethos’, women’s use in prostitution has been provided by the state through multiple ways. One of these is indirectly in patriarchy as men’s eternal subordinates, especially within the marriage contract. Another of these is more direct, in state run or sanctioned brothels, such as the *Genelev* system in Turkey. Especially with the case of the *Genelev* system of prostitution, the Turkish state is able to fulfil its fraternal role while ensuring paternalistic control over the industry in a way that further produces the subjectivities of prostitutes that allow them to be accumulated by dispossession. Prostitutes in Turkey are

controlled as a distinct class of persons. They are registered with the state, and have strict controls over their movement and freedom, and are required to carry special identification cards that identify them as prostitutes (O'Connell Davidson, 1998).

Jeffreys asserts that with the modernisation of patriarchy in the twentieth century in western states, male sexual privileges are now delivered more efficiently, with varying degrees of legalisation or tolerance, such that a state, as is the case with the TRNC, need not provide prostitution so directly. She maintains that states now tolerate and facilitate prostitution as part of this egalitarianism towards its male citizens, as a compensation for their losses due to the advances of formal equality of women. It is giving to male citizens a “nudge and a wink... about the proper role of women and to the protection of men’s superior status and privileges” (Jeffreys, 2009).



## 6. Conclusion

Marx's concept of primitive accumulation should not be looked upon as solely something that describes the emergence of capitalism. If capitalism required an initial concentration of capital and labour as a stimulus to its establishment, then so too would a concentration be required for its further expansion. As Luxemburg was aware, capitalism is rarely content to live and reproduce within its own boundaries, and therefore a continued process of primitive accumulation is expected.

Equally then, primitive accumulation should not be viewed as a process limited to the expulsion of peasants from their land, or as always involving the corporally violent theft of one's property. Primitive accumulation, while examples in Marx's writings reflect these things, is more importantly a process that represents the separation of a worker from that worker's means of subsistence. This separation is one that forces an individual to enter the market as a labourer, now dependent upon the capitalist. If the idea of the separation is most crucial to the understanding, then we may recognise that there are other extra-economic processes that may also contribute to the primitive accumulation of capital and labour power. Scholars such as David Harvey have been influential in expanding the definition of primitive accumulation both out of its temporal limits, but also towards the inclusion of contemporary processes; naming the phenomenon accumulation by dispossession. These processes have ranged from the privatisation of public goods and resources as the 'new enclosures', to the co-option, as Harvey states, of cultural and social achievements. For Polanyi, simply the ideological basis of neoliberalism itself, those strategies aimed at dismantling vestiges of social institutions that do not fit in the neoliberal market-oriented organisation, should be viewed as accumulation by dispossession.

These scholars have clearly made important contributions to understanding the effect accumulation by dispossession may have on the current relations of production in capitalism. However, women are still missing from the analysis. If we recognize neoliberal ideology as part of a dispossession, we should also recognize patriarchy and neo-patriarchy. These, too, are systems of governance that make an influence as extra-

economic forces contributing to the separation of women from the bases of subsistence, much in the same way force and coercion of other forms created a separation between the (male) labourer and (his) means of subsistence.

Whereas women were dispossessed at the emergence of capital with the privatization of their subsistence, the extra-economic force of patriarchy also dispossessed them of the value of their labour. And, just as the state was an integral part of that primary process, so too is the state's position in upholding the conditions of patriarchy in order to also reproduce women's subordination to ensure the continuation of the availability of their labour to be accumulated by dispossession. The trends under neoliberalism of the feminization of poverty, the feminization of labour, the feminization of migration and the feminization of survival are evidence of this extra dispossession of female workers. This unvalued or undervalued labour is marginalized into certain feminized sectors, and prostitution is one example that is also indicative of the patriarchal constructions of women's naturalized reproductive labour.

Patriarchal constructions however, also allow another form of continued dispossession upon the female labourer. Men as individuals, and male biased capital, and states, are provided by the subordination of women permit to apply greater surveillance, more instances of direct control, and more threats of force and coercion. The application of this level of power has the capability of moving women's labour towards the classification of 'unfreedom', representing the dispossession of the value of their labour in a more direct sense.

The (patriarchal) state's involvement in capitalism, on its own behalf, as well as in the interests of its capitalist classes, uses neo-patriarchy as tool to maintain certain constructions of women's labour. This is in order to exploit that labour at a rate akin to accumulation by dispossession rather than at the rate of exploitation to be expected as part of typical expanded reproduction.

The profoundly gendered reality of any sex industry, and the availability of all these conceptions and controls over women's sexual labour, makes prostitution one of the most salient examples of how women's labour can be accumulated by dispossession. And, while northern Cyprus may not be an internationally recognized state, its desires of fitting into neoliberalism, and its actions in taking advantage of those feminized flows of

labour, make it a prime example of the ways states use sexualized labour to further their interests.

The TRNC, like other states especially in the region, acts as a fraternal state as it accepts and implicitly promotes the entrance of certain types of classed, gendered, and racialised labour in an effort to respond both to the desires of capital and to the desires of its male population. It essentially feminizes portions of its economy to better use women's labour that has been devalued and in doing so promotes the primitive accumulation of their labour power. Further, it acts as a paternal state in the ways it applies its own controls, and in its allowance of multiple other controls upon the bodies of these migrant female workers, which creates a situation of unfreedom. Controls on movement, restriction of social and human rights, the application of excessive tax policies and the code of silence in terms of debt bondage and other oppressions means that sex workers in the TRNC are having the greater portion of the value of their labour exploited by extra-economic means. In other words, they are not bonded by only the compulsion to enter the market to sell sex, but by a number of controls, which expropriate the wealth of their labour through accumulation by dispossession.

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