

**SEX OUTSIDE THE NEW EUROPE:  
HUNGARIAN ANXIETIES OVER  
‘EUROPEANNESS’ IN MEDIA DISCOURSES OF  
HUNGARIAN WOMEN’S PROSTITUTION IN  
DUBAI**

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## Abstract

Examining Hungarian media coverage of Hungarian women's prostitution in Dubai ('dubaiing'), this media discourse analysis examines the way sexuality becomes a carrier and signifier of anxieties over various social tensions. I argue that dubaiing discourses bear similarities to other instances of anxieties over prostitution and are at the same time situated in the context of broader as well as recent economic, social, and, geopolitical processes affecting Hungary in a global relation. To delineate the specificities of dubaiing discourses, I outline against the backdrop of the coverage of other instances of prostitution the way the media produced dubaiing as a legitimate object of knowledge. These specificities point to tensions in which boundaries of gender, nation, class, race, and 'civilization' are inextricably intertwined and negotiated. I analyze how the dynamics of social mobility and gender norms is situated in anxieties over Hungary's economic potential as well as Hungarian masculine potency, and how this is further located in a discursive field of a gendered, sexualized, classed, and racialized 'East'-West hierarchy and conception of Europeanness. I suggest that dubaiing discourses arise out of anxieties over the crossing of various, interconnected boundaries (gender, class, nation, race, 'East'-West') and attend to these anxieties by reinforcing the same boundaries.

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# INTRODUCTION

## Dubaiing and the 'New Europe': introduction

In the past decade, Hungarian media have increasingly discussed the prostitution of Hungarian women in foreign countries, of which prostitution in some non-'Western' locations received particular attention. The term *dubajozás*, which can be best translated as dubaiing,<sup>1</sup> appeared on some online Hungarian news sites as early as 2007, yet it became a media event in 2011 after news came out that the National Bureau of Investigation (Nemzeti Nyomozó Iroda) put three persons under pre-trial detention for procuring Hungarian women to Dubai among other locations. According to the entry of *Szlenblog* (slang blog) from June 2009, dubaiing refers to the pursuit of Eastern European women who prostitute themselves abroad under the 'pretence of work', typically casual modeling. The entry also adds that the term stems from the name of the Middle Eastern city of Dubai, which has currently replaced Germany, Italy, and the Anglo-Saxon countries as the most popular destination of Hungarian 'luxury prostitutes'.<sup>2</sup> Dubaiing has been, however, frequently used to mean prostitution in Dubai only, and even when it was used to include other locations, Dubai has typically been in the center of attention. After years of sporadic references in smaller blogs, forums, and tabloid press, the police proceedings put dubaiing in the limelight and helped consolidate it as a concept on its own right by offering the media an institution-based source that allegedly confirmed previous 'murmurs' and occasional, mostly anonymous, personal testimonies. Curiosity in the topic since then flamed up periodically, last time this March, when the first trial of the three persons accused of procuring took place.

Dubaiing has elicited a wide range of emotions in some of the Hungarian public as indicated by the number and content of related blog posts, articles, and comments: excitement, anxiety, shame, and anger among others. Reactions have also included attempts to uncover and shame the famous women ('celebrities') who have been involved in dubaiing. The major themes in the thematization of dubaiing (luxurious lifestyle and 'glittering', its contrast with the violence and 'perversion' involved, 'exotic' environment and culture, consequences for Hungary's

economy and image in the world) indicate that these emotions cluster around the crossing of various boundaries:<sup>3</sup> class, gender, nation, and race<sup>4</sup>. These boundaries are marked by social norms, their transgression thus invokes struggles to re-make boundaries, as dubaiing discourses exemplify. Dubaiing, furthermore, has not only been related to current political and social issues (economic, social, and foreign policy) in various media coverage, but has also been used as a metaphor for Hungarian politics with regard to some of these issues. To understand the emotions that the alleged prostitution of Hungarian women in Dubai elicits, it needs to be examined in this context.

Dubaiing discourses are, as indicated by these interdiscursive elements, embedded in the various recent political and social rearrangements affecting Hungary. The immediate context is the impact of the economic crisis on Hungarian society and the recent changes in economic and social policy (e.g. the flat-tax system, the reported waning of the middle class, and large-scale emigration).<sup>5</sup> The context goes beyond the borders of Hungary, though, just as dubaiing does. The wider context is the global geopolitical framework: Hungary's centuries-old semi-peripheral position in the world-system, the peripheral position assigned to 'New European' countries in the European Union,<sup>6</sup> and the current reallocation of spheres of influence, in which Eastern European countries<sup>7</sup> have a limited margin of maneuvering between various options of dependence.<sup>8</sup> Not less important are the ensuing discourses about Hungary's relationship with the 'East' and 'West' and the centrality of these in national subjectivities.<sup>9</sup> This is the backdrop against which dubaiing was formed as a media event and a discourse. This paper sets out to analyze dubaiing discourses in this context.

My approach is indebted to various theoretical foundations. I understand sexuality in a Foucauldian vein: as a central instrument and construction of the productive, ever-present, and subjectifying modern power.<sup>10</sup> I rely on a historicist conception of nation and analyses of national ideologies in terms of class, gender, and sexuality. I interpret the specificities of Hungarian nation constructions, including their relationality to the 'West' and the 'East', in a postcolonial

framework, referring to analyses that approach semi-peripheral regions like Eastern Europe from a postcolonial perspective.<sup>11</sup> These discursive formations are, of course, embedded in the material relations of geopolitics and global capitalism. Although I will not cite these sources directly, I emphasize here that the background to my interpretative framework for Eastern Europe's global positionality is world-systems theory's global-relational view on economic development, especially feminist contributions to the theory.<sup>12</sup>

### **Research questions and objectives**

My objective is to explore the specificities of media discourses of dubaiing, which I will situate in Hungarian media coverage of prostitution<sup>13</sup> and the interrelated discourses of social issues delineated in the previous section. By analyzing dubaiing discourses in context, I set out to understand the way sexuality becomes both a carrier and metaphor of anxieties about class mobility, gender 'roles', Hungarian and European identity, and transnational relations. Strongly related is the question of how dubaiing discourses attend to these anxieties: I will consider the various (re)constructions of Hungarianness and Europeanness and their class, gender, and racial aspects.

More specifically, I will examine the dynamics of class and gender transgression (the violation of middle-class gender norms and the 'undeserved' upward mobility of dubaiing women) and the discursive reconfirmation of these same boundaries. I will address the strongly related question of how these discourses relate dubaiing to Hungary's identity, symbolic boundaries, and transnational relations: how the class and gender norms violation associated with dubaiing prostitution is interpreted in terms of Hungary's position in the world. Important aspect of this is the direction of boundary-making processes: it is in relation to the 'East'-West hierarchy, with its racial and 'civilizational' implications, that discursive national boundaries are redrawn. I will thus examine to what extent anxieties about Hungary's 'Europeanness' are

expressed in term of dubaiing and fuel dubaiing discourses, in other words, to what extent transnational relations and sexual relations are embedded in and translated into each other.

The significance of studying dubaiing discourses is that it helps to understand the importance of sexuality as a carrier and signifier of transnational relations, (re)constructions of national boundaries, and thus national identity and nationalism. These discourses also take place at the historic moment of redrawing geopolitical boundaries, their analysis thus makes it possible to investigate the mutual (re)construction of nation, sexuality, gender, class, and race as a process. Discourses of sexuality in Hungary have rarely been analyzed within the context of the larger geopolitical situation and more specifically, through the self-colonizing discourses that permeate all discourses of public issues in Hungary. ‘Dubaiing’ discourses provide an ideal starting point for investigating the interdependence of sexuality and geopolitics in the Hungarian context.

### **Methods, sources, and structure**

To understand anxieties over dubaiing, I have chosen to conduct media discourse analysis. My guiding framework is critical discourse analysis, whose concept of discourse as multimodal forms of semiosis in dialectical relationship with other elements of social practices are fitting for my analysis, and I also share the explicit political stance for social justice it espouses.<sup>14</sup> As such, I will focus on the question of how power structures and social norms are manifested, framed, and (re)constructed in these discourses through constructions of the ‘self’ and the ‘other’. I will thus focus on the themes of gender norms, class mobility, national symbols and motifs, and racialized and sexualized constructions of the other.

I will analyze mainly online media: articles on news portals, blog posts, some comments on forums, but I will also examine numerous broadcast programs that are available online. I will come to my data through various forms of web search (browser search, search on online portals and blog-hosting sites, thematic tags, etc.). I will situate my data in the larger body of discourses of prostitution and media presentations of Dubai-related topics. Analyzing all the—rather large



set of—data related to dubaiing, however, is beyond the scope of this thesis. In selecting my sources, I endorse two basic principles: variety (in terms of source, style, and framing) and reach (putting an emphasis on sources that reach a larger audience). I will focus on online media because of time restrictions, but also because they are a less centralized form of media and more easily available for a wider audience even years after publication, potentially having a more marked effect. The selection of the sources means a limitation for my analysis. It might affect the results in that I will concentrate on types of media (online, including blogs) that are more middle-class than print tabloids and more gendered male than TV programs broadcasted during the working day.

My sources come from a wide variety of media: online portals and online sites of print newspapers, magazines, and television channels, tabloid and ‘serious’ media with political or economic focus, media that claim to be objective and neutral and media with explicit political alignments (‘left-liberal’<sup>15</sup> and right-wing), highly frequented and less highly frequented sites, blogs, small, sex-related sites, some of them containing pornographic material. I read over seventy articles and watched over thirty TV broadcast material relating to dubaiing in addition to coverage of prostitution unrelated to dubaiing. Due to recurring patterns, I do not quote all of them, and I included in the bibliography the articles and TV programs I am directly referencing.

A difficulty of conducting a contextualized analysis of media sources lies in practices of citation in Hungarian media. Several portals take over whole articles or large parts verbatim from the Hungarian News Agency or other sites without mentioning the source (which in some cases has since been removed), making it difficult to connect articles with a certain site or type of media. Nevertheless, often the ‘original’ place of publication does not add much information for the analysis, it is in many cases exactly the borrowing of the same elements and themes that are informative. I will thus mention the type and political orientation of the place of appearance in cases when it is indispensable for understanding the context (for instance, in the case of framing the foreign policy of ‘Eastern’ opening). I will contextualize my sources to the extent that it is

necessary to understand the embeddedness of media practices relating to my topic in other social practices.

The structure of the paper is as follows. In chapter 1, I will situate dubaiing vis-à-vis other instances of anxieties over prostitution in different contexts (18th century England, early 20th century Netherlands, late 20th Sweden) and in the context of Hungarian nation constructions. I will outline Hungarian national subjectivities in terms of class, geopolitical relationality, gender, and sexuality. The chapter serves to provide a theoretical framework and broader context for my analysis of dubaiing. In chapter 2, I will examine the discursive mapping of dubaiing: the way media have produced dubaiing as a legitimate object of knowledge. I will consider the ‘discovery’ of dubaiing, confession and interrogation narratives, and the use of dubaiing as a metaphor for framing public affairs. In chapter 3, I will analyze the way multiple, intersecting symbolic boundaries figure in dubaiing discourses. I will look at the dynamics of class, gender, nation, race, and the ‘East’-‘West’ polarity: the way class and gender norm violation are interpreted in the national and transnational context. Finally, I will summarize my findings in the conclusion.

## CHAPTER 1: SITUATING DUBAIING

### 1.1 Situating dubaiing: introduction

In this section, I will situate dubaiing discourses vis-à-vis other instances of panicking over prostitution. After providing a brief outline of moral panics and previous instances of anxieties over prostitution in different contexts, I will look at the specificities of the Hungarian context that are indispensable for analyzing Hungarian discourses of transnational prostitution. This chapter therefore provides theoretical framework and contextual background for my analysis.

As in some previous instances of panicking over prostitution, national and European identities are important in dubaiing discourses as well. I will therefore consider the aspects of Hungarian national subjectivities that relate to my topic: the strongly related class dynamics and (traumatic) geopolitical relationality as well gender and sexuality. Besides upward and downward mobility and self-positioning in terms of ‘geography’,<sup>16</sup> I will situate my analysis in studies of the highly gendered and sexualized nature of national identities and boundaries as well as transnational contacts.

### 1.2. Moral panics and multiple boundaries: anxieties over prostitution in different contexts

The salient media and public attention to dubaiing have articulated anxieties over (perceived) threats similar to those in moral panics. While theories of moral panic have been developed in the context of U.S. society and Lancaster stresses that the class system and class history of the U.S. makes it more prone to recurring panicking,<sup>17</sup> moral panics are obviously not restricted to the American society. Probably full-blown moral panics characterized by social mobilizing to change laws is less typical of Hungary, yet dubaiing discourses share several characteristics with moral panics and, I will argue, exemplify the solidifying of social norms in the discursive field.

Moral panics, Lancaster summarizes, are mass movements that rise in response to exaggerated, non-existent, or misplaced (moral) threats, which they aim to address through punitive measures. They are akin to ‘social revitalization movements’, which aim to deliberately

reconstruct social relations in response to a sense of threat. Two vital elements of moral panics are taboo and scapegoating. Scapegoats are not only claimed to constitute the moral threat, but also serve as projections of the collective's secret desires. Through displacements, panics often express other social anxieties, for instance, the economic decline of the white middle class in the case of American 'white slavery' anxieties according to one interpretation.<sup>18</sup> Whether panicking is considered to be inherent in mass society or the circuiting of mass communication, media plays a central role in moral panics, Lancaster contends. It is, though, not a mindless chaos or psychological defect, but rather a normative communication strategy in modernity. Moral panics lead to new laws, the rearrangement of social and cultural structure, and have thus enduring effects. The class aspects of moral panicking and moral entrepreneurship differentiate it from (genuinely) leftist movements, Lancaster suggests. Instead of acknowledging economic-structural problems, middle-class-based moral entrepreneurship aims to reform lower classes by implanting middle class values in them in place of their allegedly threatening ways of life. Panics thus also serve as the periodic reinvention of the (white) middle class.<sup>19</sup>

Sexuality has often been at the heart of moral panics, Lancaster writes, because it is at the junction of various boundaries and tensions and is at the same time central to personal identity. Besides child abuse, homosexuality, and rape, prostitution and the trafficking in women have also given rise to panics in diverse contexts.<sup>20</sup> By selling sex for money in the public sphere, prostitution transgresses the gendered private/public dichotomy, which renders emotions and intimacy to the private sphere while rationality and economic exchange processes on to the public sphere. Prostitution thereby arises fears over the loss of genuine emotions and the commodification of human relations, and the self.<sup>21</sup> Besides, prostitution also 'threatens' to transgress the social boundaries of class, race, gender, and nation among others. In the following, I will briefly discuss examples of panicking over prostitution/trafficking in women in different contexts (18th century England, early 20th century Netherlands, late 20th century Sweden) to situate dubaiing in the larger framework of prostitution discourses. Several characteristics of these

instances of panicking also appear in constructions of dubaiing as well, as I will show in my analysis in the following chapters.

Carter's analysis of prostitution's print representations in the context of 18<sup>th</sup> century England<sup>22</sup> provides a solid starting point for examining the perceived threats that prostitution is said to pose for society. The trope of the masquerade, which is ubiquitous in the popular print culture images in the era, is central to the understanding of anxieties over prostitution, Carter argues. The masquerade appears in the era's textual and visual representation as a carnivalesque, anarchic indulgence that does not only abound with sexual deviancy but also transgresses social boundaries through status reversal and gender inversions. It is a site where distinctions between 'women of delight' and 'women of virtue' are collapsed: it compromises all feminine virtue.<sup>23</sup> Prostitution is not only a feat of masquerade, but is constructed as masquerade, Carter asserts. Duplicity is a crucial characteristic of the prostitute: the concealment of the physical marks of venereal disease and her dissembling of virtue and social status are able to undermine male analytical authority. Besides, her pleasing façade created in order to attain greater social wealth (being an "archetypal plebeian opportunistic offender"), she disrupts the correlation between exterior and moral and social worth. Not only does she violate social stratification, she is also depicted as exploiting male desire for her luxurious needs. Carter places this in the more general unease about the increasing illegibility of the urban body in the emerging metropolis, which the luxurious desires of the lower classes give rise to. Due to these processes, it is the prostitutes of the polite society, who are not easily recognized as such, rather than easily recognizable 'monstrous' prostitutes in plebeian society who are considered to be more dangerous. Besides the violation of the boundaries of gender and class, Carter adds, the figure of the prostitute also disrupts the opposition of materiality (as a purchasable commodity) and immateriality (as a series of façades) and natural and cultural, representing "capital with a human face."<sup>24</sup>

While many of these anxieties over prostitution are present in different contexts, there are other boundaries that prostitution is perceived to threaten in other contexts. For instance, early

20th century discourses of the global trafficking in women are also strongly related to racial, geographical, and national boundaries. De Vries discusses ‘white slavery’ discourses in the context of colonial Netherlands, tracing the formation of the distinct identity of the ‘white slave’ as opposed to the prostitute with regard to conceptions about modern society, globalization, and agency.<sup>25</sup> Important to the crystallization of the ‘white slave’ discourse is the intimate connection between the sexual and social order: the integrity of the white woman’s body marked civilization, while the prostitute’s body was linked with the decay of society in early 20th century discourses. The construct of the ‘white slave’ as a victim devoid of agency (as opposed to ‘voluntary’ prostitution) thus thwarted fears of the degeneration and disintegration of Western societies. Many of the popular ‘white slave’ narratives had an Orientalist script of a white girl being exploited by ‘exotic’ men, constructing the difference of the Oriental other and reasserting whiteness. This sense of being endangered also represented a wish for national white integrity, de Vries contends.<sup>26</sup> ‘White slavery’ discourses thus, she argues, redefined ‘Europeanness’, gender, and sexuality, reconfirming several social norms.<sup>27</sup>

A more recent example of anxieties over the movement of female bodies over country borders can be found in the Swedish discourses of European Union accession. According to Kulick, the passing of the 1998 Swedish law criminalizing the purchase or attempted purchase of a ‘temporary sexual relationship’ was motivated by anxieties over Eastern European women invading the country upon Sweden’s EU accession.<sup>28</sup> Kulick argues that this law had for many of the actors who contributed to its passing more symbolic importance than a concern over prostitutes affected by the law. For instance, ‘sending a message’ to ‘society’ and invisibility of prostitution were emphasized in response to criticisms that prostitution had been merely driven underground by the law. This message, as one advocate phrased it, was that prostitution does not belong in Sweden, indicating that conceptions of Swedishness played a central role in the case.<sup>29</sup> Kulick proposes that anxieties were motivated by the possible disappearance of boundaries in the event of EU accession, which necessarily raised concerns about its consequences for national

identity. The answer to this fear of the Europeanization of Sweden was the intended Swedenization of Europe through allegedly acting as its moral conscience. Prostitution thus became a central aspect in the discussion of Sweden's relationship with the EU and in the negotiations of boundaries and roles within the New Europe. In these discourses, Sweden was constructed as the innocent victim endangered by the masculinized foreigner EU, thus like the image of the prostitute that the same debates assume. Fears of Swedish politicians that Sweden might embody the qualities of prostitutes within the EU thus have contributed to Swedish preoccupation with prostitution, Kulick suggests.<sup>30</sup>

These three examples indicate how prostitution gave rise to fears in various contexts. Carter's analysis foregrounds gender and class transgression, whereas the two examples of transnational prostitution or trafficking in women discourses highlight the national and racial boundary crossing as well. Besides the (national) collectivity's integrity, racial othering is also central to these discourses. These examples help to situate anxieties expressed in dubaiing discourses over national borders, Europeanness, and Hungarian politicians prostituting themselves to more powerful, masculinized countries in a larger framework on panicking. In the following sections, I will look at some significant characteristics of Hungarian nation constructions to provide more context for my analysis.

### **1.3. Nation constructions in terms of class and geopolitical relationality in the Hungarian context**

Dubaiing discourses involve the crossing of geographical and national borders, for this reason, Hungarian national constructions are central to their analysis. In my thesis, I rely on historicist concepts of the nation and nationalism, according to which nations are constructed and historically contingent rather than immanent or transcendental categories spanning space and time, as primordialists would argue. Nations as we know them today are clearly modern phenomena inseparable from capitalist technology and modes of production,<sup>31</sup> yet modern nations have predecessors, whose influence are palpable in contemporary Hungarian

nationalisms.<sup>32</sup> In this section I will look at the characteristics of the Hungarian nation's development that are crucial for my analysis of dubaiing, namely its class aspects, relational (transnational, geopolitical) features, and traumatism, without the intention of outlining theories of nation and analyses of Hungarian nationalism in all its complexities. My aim is to highlight that the interdependent formation of Hungarian national subjectivities and changing class relations are embedded in the geopolitical situation of Hungary: its position on the semi-periphery and history of dependences. In these nation and class formations, both the material and symbolic aspects are crucial, I thus refer to works highlighting each.

Modern nations amalgamated old and new, mythical and real as well as mythicized real elements in their evolution that stretched over several centuries, Szűcs remarks.<sup>33</sup> Modern nations are characterized by the fusion of 'nationality', 'political loyalty', and 'political community', which in the Middle Ages were principally separate both in terms of the group of people and emotions related to them.<sup>34</sup> Nationalisms in Western and Northern Europe on the one hand and Eastern and Southern Europe on the other have certain specificities that developed due to the different social formations shaped by the economic and geopolitical context. One important difference rests in the different class dynamics in their relationship to forming nationalisms. Initially it was the nobility throughout Europe that acquired a political role in medieval monarchies and thus started to develop a form of national ideology, yet while in Western Europe a bourgeois-tinged national feeling was also growing stronger from the 14-15th century, in much of Eastern Europe even the 'bourgeois' nationalism appearing in the 18-19th centuries was permeated with the attitudes of the nobility. In the latter, the 'bourgeois transformation' lacked radical turns, nationalisms in this region therefore did not forcefully negate statist notions and did not consider the nation and its members an entirely new form of political community, as opposed to French nationalism, for instance.<sup>35</sup>

Related to these class dynamics are the dualisms of Hungarian nationalism that Szűcs points out at various places in his analysis. The two tendencies of Hungarian nationalism, one



characterized by an adherence to ancient prerogatives defined as the essence of nation, the other by an orientation towards 'Europe' as the center of modernization, are associated with the nobility (especially the impoverished nobility) and the bourgeoisifying nobility, respectively.<sup>36</sup> However, Szűcs only tangentially mentions the oppositional nature of these two national consciousnesses and their geopolitical situatedness. Since these are central elements of nationalisms in the region, I will look at theories that approach these dualisms in a post-colonial framework.

While Szűcs also mentions that Eastern European national consciousnesses have 'disturbances' and are in need of psychoanalysis,<sup>37</sup> Alexander Kiossev offers a psychoanalytic reading of the nation's evolvment in Bulgaria (and other countries in the region).<sup>38</sup> His 'neo-Lacanian' analysis situates these nation formations in the context of geopolitical constraints: the specificities of these cultures follow from their position on the periphery of Europe. Kiossev commences with the Bulgarian National Revival, which, he argues, grew out of a sense of lack, a tormenting consciousness of absence. In this period, passionate patriotic complaints of many intellectuals about Bulgaria's shortages amassed, which meant to signify the absence of the whole 'modern European' civilizational model rather than that of only individual feats and institutions. These tirades raised the painful question where their own culture, their own selves are. The trauma of lacking is thus constitutive of the identity of Bulgarian culture, whose subsequent history is characterized by continuous efforts to cover up the painful and shameful lack, Kiossev argues.<sup>39</sup>

The peculiarity of these cultures is that no conquering colonizing powers have forcefully imposed their values on them; instead, they have been eager to import the other's alien values that they admire, desire, and accept as superior to their own, Kiossev writes. He refers to this practice with the metaphor of self-colonization. He notes, however, that this expression is potentially misleading, as there had been no pre-existing, 'authentic' 'self' (cultural identity) that could have been voluntarily colonized: the 'self' was created in the process. The 'national self-

consciousness' hence was exactly constituted by the adoption of the foreign Western model: these cultures were engendered, not conquered by the trauma.

The two opposing but symmetrical doctrines created by these cultures that Szűcs touched upon, Westernization/Europeanization and Nativism are analyzed by Kiossev as one of the 'sublimative rationalizations' created by these traumatic cultures to suppress the memory of their birth-trauma. Westernization is based on the mistaken universalism and progressivism of the Enlightenment: it narrates history as a competition of 'civilizational achievements', and judges human value according to it. Nativism attempts to uncover the pure, 'authentic' national culture from the past and is devoted to preserve it from the further contamination of foreign influence, giving rise to ardent nationalisms.<sup>40</sup>

While the unified national subjectivity of Kiossev's analysis, whose inherent class, gender, and sexual aspects he leaves unexplored, is problematic, his frame of trauma and self-colonization is highly compelling in the Hungarian context as well. Hungarian political and cultural traditions, as Farkas suggests, have been for centuries saturated with the two overarching forms of self-colonization, imperial progressivism and Scythian<sup>41</sup> nationalism, which correspond to Westernism and Nativism in Kiossev's analysis.<sup>42</sup> He foregrounds the embeddedness of these opposing traditions in the class interests that I have highlighted from Szűcs's study, he thus diversifies Kiossev's unified national subjectivity in terms of class for the Hungarian context. On the one hand, distinctively anti-modernist, isolationist, ethnicized, and xenophobic Scythian nationalism, characterized by sacralization, a feeling of chosenness, a mythic-magical worldview, strives to protect noble birth prerogatives against foreign-oriented rising classes with a reference to 'ancient' customs and statist traditions and by dividing the society into real and non-real Hungarians. Conversely, imperial progressivists have struggled to adjust the country to the prevailing political-economic-cultural center in the name of 'progress' and 'development', condemning local specificities and nationalism and instead subordinating the country to the nationalisms of the dominant powers, which they interpret as universalism and internationalism.

They have thus assisted foreign powers in taking economic advantage over the country and in striking down wars of independence for a share of return of their own.<sup>43</sup> The two opposing discourses are hence embedded in economic and social processes and related to segments of society experiencing upward and downward mobility, respectively, with the most vulnerable segment of society, excluded from old concepts of the nation, typically becoming an ally of the former.<sup>44</sup> This triangle, as I will explain in more detail in the following chapter, is also the framework in which the attempted reorientation of foreign dependence has taken place recently and thus serves as the context of the dubaiing discourses as well.

These discursive developments, as both Kiossev and Farkas emphasize, are defense mechanisms that have been extorted by the semi-peripheral position of these countries in the emerging global economy, rather than some inherent cultural characteristics. Kiossev describes in more detail the contingencies that gave rise to self-colonization in an article written in the framework of politics of recognition.<sup>45</sup> Self-colonizing cultures, due to their historical circumstances, were not involved in colonial processes and did not experience colonial techniques. Instead, they became lateral viewers of these events that were formative of the collective imagination:

Under the pressure of colonial globalization the collective imagination put together something like a visible world stage where each nation and each part of the world had its own hierarchical place, stereotypical image, and a kind of ‘civilizational rating’ while colonizers and colonized contributed unevenly to the making of history as a ‘collective singular’—i.e., a universal world history. The hidden hierarchies in its ‘universality’ and the Eurocentric structure of the ‘world stage’ predetermined the roles that were assumed.

The colonized were directly and often violently suppressed and hence could recognize Europe as foreign invader and enemy, which gave them the chance to resist. Lateral communities, however, did not experience the brute force of colonization and thus became less resistant to the ideologies and the symbolic invasion of the central powers. They were inevitably incorporated into the hierarchical world stage: as non-essential, incidental background of the setting. They were neither wealthy, big, and dominant enough like the colonizers, nor as different, ‘exotic’, and ‘backward’

as the colonized. Yet they longed for recognition of their culture and their share in European civilization—and in this yearning for a place in the gaze of the authoritative other, they interiorized the values, ideologies, and hierarchies of the colonizing powers. However, the structural place of the distinctive other of the European civilization was filled with the colonies, lateral cultures were thus consigned to the comic and shameful internal other. The all-encompassing processes of colonial globalization decentered these cultures from their birth, driving them to perpetually struggle to catch up (or compete) with the colonial center.<sup>46</sup>

Although these regions occupied an ambiguous space before, it was the Enlightenment that inserted these ambiguities into a scheme of civilization and backwardness and thereby invented Eastern Europe (and its traumatic subjectivities) as a complementary concept to Western Europe, argues Wolff. These discursive strategies took shape as London, Paris, and Amsterdam replaced Rome, Venice, and Florence as Europe's economic and cultural centers and as the South-North polarization of the Renaissance gave way to the West-East hierarchy of the Enlightenment, he asserts.<sup>47</sup> The construction of Eastern Europe was entangled with that of the Orient, he suggests, referring to Edward Said's concept of Orientalism as a "Western style for dominating, restructuring, and having authority over the Orient."<sup>48</sup> Eastern Europe's position was ambiguous, simultaneously included in and excluded from Europe: it occupied an intermediary position that was meant to mediate between Europe and the Orient, measuring the distance between civilization and backwardness.<sup>49</sup> Writing of the Balkans, Todorova also highlights the liminal and transitory position ascribed to this region, often expressed with the metaphors of the bridge and the crossroads. As one dimension of the modern capitalist world's ideological constructions, she suggests similarly to Wolff and Kiossev, the Balkans constitute the shadow, the despised alterego of Western Europe's incomplete self rather than its other.<sup>50</sup> The Western/Eastern European discursive difference is thus a logical extension and fortification of the hierarchical world view that came to characterize Western Europe's global relationships: it confirms and restricts the European geography of goodness by inscribing all evil to its shadow, Böröcz adds.<sup>51</sup>

The scale of civilization and backwardness borne out of the Enlightenment also gave rise to ‘nesting’ Orientalisms, the tendency that each culture defines cultures and religions to the East and South of them as more backward and uncivilized.<sup>52</sup> Contempt for the ‘East’ is inherent in the hierarchies absorbed by these cultures and also fortifies their endeavors to become ‘European’. Not surprisingly, many of these countries, including Hungary very markedly, use the metaphors of the borderland or frontier themselves, positioning themselves as the most ‘European’ culture from the region,<sup>53</sup> and sometimes even as the last fortress and protector of European civilization.<sup>54</sup> Gradated patterns of superiority and inferiority, the East/West slope are in operation both within and outside of Eastern Europe,<sup>55</sup> as constructions of the ‘Asian’ Orient in dubaiing discourses also show. Self-colonization and ‘nesting’ Orientalisms provide a framework that makes Hungarian self-positioning in terms of the ‘West’ and the ‘East’ intelligible and that serves as the context for dubaiing discourses.

Upward and downward mobility thus are constitutive of forms of Hungarian national consciousness, which is central for my analysis since concerns over the disappearing middle class and emigration play a significant role in the framing of dubaiing in relation to the nation. Another, intersecting aspect of Hungarian national subjectivities vital for my study is its geopolitical relationality: they have been constructed mainly in relation to the imaginary, hierarchized entities of the ‘West’ and ‘East’ in which Hungary is often constructed to be on their borderline. Gender, sexuality, and race are also intersecting with national subjectivities, and some of the above theories are also highly gendered and sexualized. The import of the above theories here is thus twofold: I will use them to situate discourses of transnational sexual relations in my analysis in the following chapters, and I will explicate how gender and sexuality are inherent within these theories as well in the following section, in which I briefly look at their intersection.

#### 1.4. Nation constructions in terms of gender and sexuality in the Hungarian context

Although the theories discussed in the previous section do not explicate on gender and sexuality, other approaches have focused on the highly gendered and sexualized nature of nations. In this section I will briefly look at the general and context-specific aspects of the nation/gender/sexuality intersection that are crucial for my analysis. After briefly outlining gender and sexual aspects of nations and transnational relationships most relevant for my analysis, I will discuss them in terms of the specificities I highlighted in the previous section.

The role of women and femininity in nations and nationalist projects has been analyzed in a comprehensive way in Yuval-Davis' works.<sup>56</sup> Out of the four main aspects of the nation that she highlights (origin and genealogy, culture and tradition, citizenship and state, wars and armies), the first two are of central importance to my analysis of dubaiing discourses. As for the first, nations are considered especially in primordialist nation conceptions to be extensions of kinship structures based on a gendered division of labor.<sup>57</sup> Furthermore, the continuity of the nation necessitates its biological reproduction. As producers of members of the community, women are deemed to be 'bearers of the collective', as such, their reproductive capacity is often heavily policed and regulated: birth-giving may be forced, encouraged, or discouraged by population policies depending on the social context and various structural factors. From the perspective of ethnic nationalist projects, for instance, sexual relations with members of different communities pose problems for the 'purity' and maintenance of the community's boundaries.<sup>58</sup> Besides the biological reproduction of nation, gender and sexual relations also play a central role in the nation's cultural reproduction. In constructions of 'authentic' cultures, the 'burden of representation' falls especially heavily on women's shoulders. In such ideologies, women are seen as bearers of the collectivity's identity, honor, *raison d'être*, and future destiny. For this reason, women in their 'proper' behavior embody the collectivity's boundary, while women in their 'improper' behavior are believed to dishonor and shame their male relatives and the (imagined) community and such behavior is thus often fiercely punished.<sup>59</sup>

The importance of women and femininity as the constitutive other against which national identities and boundaries are secured, Bracewell writes, also implicates the centrality of men and masculinity in nation constructions, rendered invisible exactly because of this centrality.<sup>60</sup> As Mosse argues, nationalisms developed in parallel with modern masculinity and became an important site for its development.<sup>61</sup> Nationalisms co-opted the male stereotype as a crucial means of self-presentation: the dynamic male body came to signify society's need for order and progress, whereas sedate female symbols embodied immutability and continuity with the past, the backdrop against which men determine the future of nations.<sup>62</sup> As manliness is central in conceptions of the nation's future, national crises have in some contexts been framed through the narrative of threatened masculinity (and related gender crisis), which has also suggested the interdependence of the restoration of individual manliness and of national dignity, Bracewell illustrates. In the context of late 20th century Serbian anxieties over Kosovo, rape was interpreted not as violence against women but as a deliberate attack on the Serbian nation, she asserts.<sup>63</sup>

This is another example of how sexuality figures in the construction of otherness (and through it in the construction of the self). Sexual contacts in differential power relations manifest themselves in various ways in different contexts, writes Yuval-Davis. Men of hegemonic collectives invariably are fearful and envious about sexual relations between women of their community and men of racialized communities, projecting lust and superior sexual prowess into racialized men. Thus, sexual contacts and especially sexual domination, not denying their actual physicality, have a mythic and metaphoric dimension as well, symbolizing other dimensions of power.<sup>64</sup> Imperial domination accordingly has been frequently expressed with the image the male traveler's conquest of the sexual and labor capacities of the female figure standing for a territory, McClintock writes.<sup>65</sup> However, while sexuality has been used as a metaphor for other dimensions of power including colonial domination, it was also embedded in them: as the substance of actual imperial policy as a crucial marker of race and class, Stoler remarks.<sup>66</sup> She cites the example of fantasies and accusations of rape in the colonies. That references to the political and sexual

subversion of the colonial rule went hand in hand with each other suggests that the fear of uprising was often expressed in terms of sexual assault. Rape charges against colonized males thus often appeared following heightened tensions within the white communities. These accusations also had sober consequences, she adds: both white women and colonized men were put under stricter surveillance.<sup>67</sup>

Contemporary Hungarian discourses of nation and transnational relationships are also gendered and sexualized on multiple levels and in diverse ways, according to the various complex relationships, power differentials, and the extent to which these are naturalized. As in other post-socialist countries, the important role of nationalist masculinity in architecting a sense of agency and continuity in times of social and political crisis<sup>68</sup> is compelling for Hungarian discourses of reclaiming national sovereignty against a history of foreign dominations and the regained semi-peripheral position in global capitalism. Theories of the position of lateral countries are also often gendered and eroticized, as for instance Kiossev's account, although he leaves these aspects implicit. His analysis, I would argue, is a version of emasculation narratives. In his analysis, lateral cultures' discovery of their own lack through encountering the other's superiority in Kiossev's analysis rhymes with the Freudian description of the little girl's discovery of the superiority of the penis over her vagina.<sup>69</sup> Similarly, the wish of self-colonizing cultures to acquire the signifier of power (through import) is structurally analogous to penis envy, and the Freudian trajectories of the development of the female self also correspond to the strategies of lateral cultures as described by Kiossev. The relationship between the great nations and lateral nations is presented in romantic and erotic terms: the self-colonizing cultures fall in love with ardor and burn with desire for the phallic other. This eagerness to fulfill a heterosexual union with the superior other corresponds to Freud's 'normal' feminine development, the possession of phallus through heterosexual union and maternity. On the other hand, nativist nationalism, the effort to define oneself on the terms of the phallic other while refusing to have contacts with him is analogous to Freud's masculinity complex.



While the fact that Kiossev's article was written in a psychoanalytic framework makes these exact structural correspondences with Freud's femininity possible, not only Kiossev's theory is gendered and sexualized: so are many actual transnational contacts in the social consciousness. Narratives of the threatening or restoration of masculinity and the gender order, for instance, have symbolized anxieties over national sovereignty, especially prevalent in times of reallocations of spheres of interest. Since self-colonization implies that domination by the economic and political center is not seen as such but rather as naturalized romantic love, relationships with the 'West' are less frequently expressed as sexual domination than relationships with the 'East'. One example is the reworking of the famous image of Brezhnev and Honecker exchanging a 'comrade's kiss' from 1979. The photo has been reemployed in various ways, including on a 1990 Fidesz election poster, offering a choice between Brezhnev and Honecker against a young heterosexual couple kissing. Distinctly, the choice implied by Fidesz (at that time a West-oriented liberal party) was between foreign domination and independence, communism and capitalism, the perverted 'Eastern' ways and the modern 'Western' ways, homosexuality and heterosexuality. Upon the recent 'Eastern' orientation of the government and on occasion of Putin's visit to Hungary this February, an unknown author refigured the Fidesz poster once again on an ironic queer-themed social media page, offering a 'choice' (in fact, equation) between Brezhnev and Honecker on the one hand and Putin and Orbán kissing under a Fidesz logo on the other.<sup>70</sup>

In other gendered narratives of the nation's violation, sexuality is not merely a metaphor for other forms of domination, instead, transnational sexual relations are embedded within intersecting power differences. One example is the contemporary discourse about rape in World War II. In the two recent works relating to this issue that were meant for the general public (*Elhallgatott gyalázat*, 2013, a documentary by Fruzsina Skrabski, and *Megtagadva*, a novel by Judit Kovács),<sup>71</sup> the positions of the victim and the perpetrator are highly ethnicized. Both construct an image of Hungary symbolized by the raped woman, a victim of the deranged Soviet soldiers and the Soviet superpower. Thus, both frame the highly important issue of war rape in a way that fits

into the official politics of the government clearly expressed in the new constitution ('Basic Law'), according to which Hungary's self-determination ceased on 19 March 1944 with the Nazi occupation and was only restored with the first elected government after the regime change in 1990. In discourses of transnational prostitution, sexual and gender domination are similarly embedded in other dimensions of power and at the same time stand metaphorically for them, which I will analyze through discourses of dubaiing in the following chapters.

In conclusion, besides general remarks on the role of gender and sexuality in representations of the nation, transnational relations, conceptions of racial purity, and sexual othering, the specifically gendered and sexualized position of lateral countries is also important for my analysis. The combination of differential power relations with sexuality is the frame through which I will analyze dubaiing discourses in the following sections: the complicated relationship of embeddedness and symbolism between sexual relations and other dimensions of power relations. I will emphasize this duality vis-à-vis the metaphoric uses of dubaiing in the next section, in which I will examine the way the media have produced dubaiing as a distinctive concept on its own right.

## **CHAPTER 2: THE MAPPING OF DUBAIING IN HUNGARIAN MEDIA**

### **2.1 The mapping of dubaiing in Hungarian media: introduction**

The media have thematized the prostitution of Hungarian women in Dubai and other foreign locations in various ways and in some cases used the concept of dubaiing to frame other topics, especially Hungarian state politics. For instance, several articles on tabloid news sites and programs on commercial TV channels tended to interview celebrities who have been suspected of being involved in dubaiing, others invited ‘experts’ to ‘unveil the secrets’ of luxury prostitution and/or learn about its various consequences, while some blogs and smaller sites attempted to ‘out’ the involved celebrities in a scapegoating manner. In this section I will examine the way these media narratives produced dubaiing as a legitimate object of knowledge, in other words, the way the media have discursively mapped dubaiing.

To highlight the different thematization of dubaiing compared to that of other instances of prostitution, I will first briefly situate dubaiing discourses in Hungarian media coverage of prostitution. Against this backdrop, I will consider the emergence and hardening of dubaiing as a concept on its own right, highlighting the sources and typical narratives the media have used. In the subsequent section, I will expound on an important element of narratives of discovery: confessions and interrogations. Finally, I will examine cases in which dubaiing has been used as a metaphor for public affairs, which on the one hand signals that it has been solidified as a legitimate media object, and on the other hand has further contributed to mapping the contours of dubaiing by selecting some of its characteristics to discursively frame other topics.

### **2.2 Background: the coverage of prostitution in the Hungarian media**

Prostitution has frequently been the source of anxieties, as I mentioned in the previous chapter, and dubaiing is not the only prostitution-related topic that the Hungarian media have extensively dealt with. To understand the specificities of media representations of Hungarian women’s prostitution in Dubai, I will situate dubaiing discourses in contemporary media coverage of

prostitution. I will not provide a comprehensive overview, nor an analysis of the representation of prostitution in Hungarian media, but will briefly highlight the main areas of interest, focuses, and approaches with regard to prostitution in different types of media. Besides individual cases of violence or reports of changes in legislation abroad or in Hungary, the media have focused a great deal on two overlapping topics: the prostitution of students to finance their studies and the prostitution of Hungarian women abroad.

Hungarian media have increasingly discussed the prostitution of Hungarian women in foreign countries since at least 2008. While previous articles mentioned Hungary as a transit country in the trafficking in women from Russia to Western Europe,<sup>72</sup> the first online articles that I found focusing on individual instances of large-scale prostitution of Hungarian women in Western Europe date from 2008.<sup>73</sup> The media have thematized Hungarian women's prostitution abroad—mainly in Western Europe—as a systematic issue since at least 2009, when various articles referencing official, institution-based sources were published.<sup>74</sup> Since then, the vulnerable situation of Hungarian prostitutes, mostly poor Roma women, in Western Europe, especially in Switzerland and the Netherlands, has been recurrently covered and framed as a social problem by various types of media.<sup>75</sup> Besides, an arthouse film by Szabolcs Hajdu and a Swiss-Hungarian-produced movie also contributed to the media coverage of the topic.<sup>76</sup> Although a number of media coverage used dubaiing to frame the prostitution of Hungarian students in Switzerland and used the term *svájcozás* ('switzerlanding') in parallel with dubaiing,<sup>77</sup> prostitution in Western Europe did not gain as much attention in tabloids and commercial channels as dubaiing did, nor did it engage so many blogs and smaller sites.

Student prostitution has received considerable attention in the media, though. The topic first gained more publicity in 2008 after the Hungarian publication of *Mes chères études*, the autobiographical book of an anonymous French university student.<sup>78</sup> In the following years, a great number of articles were published about the prostitution of students in Hungary and various other countries.<sup>79</sup> The topic was also animated in 2012 when a popular book based on

interviews with Hungarian students doing sex work mainly in Switzerland was published.<sup>80</sup> Not only did the book offer the media the possibility to connect the topics of transnational prostitution and student prostitution, previously covered mainly independently from each other, but some articles and broadcast programs also related the issue to dubaiing, as I mentioned above.

Prostitution within Hungary other than that of university students has figured less frequently in media than either student prostitution or transnational prostitution. In the past few years, typically individual cases have been covered, as for instance the arrest of procurers or instances of violence against prostitutes. One current example is the extensive media attention to the murder of a young woman in downtown Budapest, the interest being partly due to suspicions that she has been murdered by an influential politician, one of her clients.<sup>81</sup> There are occasional reports of the legal and/or social situation of prostitutes in Hungary,<sup>82</sup> and in some coverage of Hungarian women's prostitution abroad these circumstances are mentioned as the main reason for the emigration of prostitutes.<sup>83</sup> The immigration of foreign prostitutes to Hungary is also mentioned in a couple of articles, although rather infrequently.<sup>84</sup>

The trafficking in women is also regularly covered, mostly through individual cases, less frequently through studies of human trafficking.<sup>85</sup> Questions about the voluntariness, motivations, and the forcing circumstances are regularly thematized also in the coverage of prostitution in Hungary and abroad. Luxury prostitutes, on the other hand, are presented in some cases as a counterpoint to the women who are forced to do prostitution either by violence or by social circumstances.<sup>86</sup> Although articles about luxury prostitution preceded the consolidation of dubaiing as a distinctive phenomenon, it became strongly associated with it, and dubaiing received the most attention in most articles relating to luxury prostitution. In the following section I will overview the 'discovery' of dubaiing as a specific form of luxury prostitution.

## 2.3 The ‘discovery’ of dubaiing

When exactly claims appeared that many Hungarian women, especially ‘celebrities’<sup>87</sup> and lesser-known models, work as luxury prostitutes in Dubai, and how these allegations hardened is not clear from the sources available. The first online source relating to the topic is a forum thread from as early as 2005, in which the thread starter asks the question whether claims (of unspecified origins) are true that specific Hungarian women (models and playmates) regularly go to Dubai to “sexually satisfy Arab men’s fantasies for financial compensation.”<sup>88</sup> The thread was not a very popular one, though: it only counts 24 comments from 14 users from the years 2005 and 2011. The first mention by an online news site (a tabloid) and a broadcast program with online availability (a morning show on a commercial TV channel) come from 2007 in the aftermath of claims of four female celebrities’ prostitution in Dubai by an unnamed tabloid paper.<sup>89</sup> The first appearance of the word *dubajozás* in online sources comes from a month after these events in an article on a tabloid site meant for a mainly female audience.<sup>90</sup> The article refers to three sources: the message board on the website of the year’s Hungarian playmate contest, an article by *Muslimedia International* about the increasing prostitution in Dubai,<sup>91</sup> and the experiences of an unnamed Hungarian man living in Dubai for one and a half years. These two latter references, which relate to prostitution and prostitutes in Dubai, their classification with regard to geographical ‘origin’ (mainly the successor states of the Soviet Union), ‘quality’, and location within the city, are used to situate (and possibly to lend credibility to) allegations against Hungarian playmates.

Media interest in Hungarian women’s luxury prostitution was revived in 2009 after the publication of a book about the life of a media ‘celebrity’, in which she claimed to have been involved in dubaiing (without having to have sex) along with many Eastern European women, among them Hungarians.<sup>92</sup> The book had repercussions: some articles reported that a well-known model objected because, she said, the book insinuated that she is one of the Hungarian celebrities doing sex work in Dubai without explicitly naming her,<sup>93</sup> while another site cited two other

models confirming that they had heard about the phenomenon before.<sup>94</sup> Although smaller, sex-themed sites and blogs did not cease to discuss the topic, online news sites and magazines focused again on luxury prostitution only in the fall of 2010 upon the publication of a popular book allegedly based on the confessions of an anonymous luxury prostitute, part of the plot, the peak of the story, taking place in Dubai.<sup>95</sup> Dubaiing, however, became a media event only in the summer of 2011 after news came out that the National Bureau of Investigation (Nemzeti Nyomozó Iroda) had put three persons under pre-trial detention for procuring Hungarian women to Dubai and other locations. A wide range of media, and not exclusively tabloids, covered the topic, engaging a wide audience. Although the peak of interest in dubaiing was in 2011, attention has been revived intermittently upon news in the stages of the legal proceedings, and dubaiing has also been repeatedly recalled as a reference point in prostitution-related topics.<sup>96</sup> This also indicates that prostitution in Dubai has elicited marked interest even compared to luxury prostitution in other locations: it has been used to improve the ratings of programs related to prostitution elsewhere.<sup>97</sup>

Claims of dubaiing had been based mainly on ‘murmurs’ and a few personal testimonies until 2011,<sup>98</sup> while the criminal proceedings provided institutional sources for the media. Some media, mainly the ones that attempt to create an image of ‘seriousness’ and ‘objectivity’, have relied mainly on these institutional sources, while others, mainly tabloids and shows on commercial channels, also used personal accounts, institution-based data, and ‘expert’ accounts in their coverage of dubaiing.<sup>99</sup> The legal proceedings thus contributed to the solidifying of dubaiing as a distinct phenomenon in that the media’s references to the investigations by the authorities reframed dubaiing from ‘gossip’ to a legal case with an ‘objective’ existence. From the perspective of sources and truth claims, there is thus a centralizing move from the ‘murmurs’ of the unnamed masses to the personal testimonies of mostly unnamed individuals and finally to official, state-level sources and ‘expert’ knowledge. This knowledge production is clearly classed as well: there is a move towards middle-class voices discussing dubaiing.<sup>100</sup>

A further crucial aspect of legitimizing the topic of dubaiing, besides the sources referenced, is the narratives of the articulation of truth. Several articles employed discovery narratives just as the above-mentioned books by Vivien Szalai on luxury prostitution, which was referenced by a large number of articles: they thematized dubaiing as a secret that needs to be unveiled, a hidden truth to be explored.<sup>101</sup> Not only does this narrative of unearthing obscure the production of meaning and (journalistic) knowledge by assuming them to pre-exist ‘discovery’, but it also does so by inscribing the ‘hidden truth’ on faraway, unknown territories frequently described as ‘exotic’ and ‘fabulous’ as well as the bodies of women associated with those territories. The discovery of the truth about prostitution thus has become interwoven with fantasies of the discovery of a hidden land, with its gendered and eroticized colonial associations of the passive land awaiting the active laboring of the white male traveler.<sup>102</sup> Dubaiing thus has been constructed as a legitimate subject of investigation and a site of truth through narratives with highly gendered colonial associations that aestheticize and eroticize various forms of domination.

‘Speaking the truth’ about dubaiing has not taken a uniform narrative form in media coverage. Several articles cited confessions of anonymous/pseudonymous luxury prostitutes, others interrogated celebrities who have been suspected of having been involved in dubaiing or mocked their denial in the name of truth. These narratives function as strategies of mapping dubaiing as a phenomenon on its own. In the following section, I will look at these approaches to make dubaiing speak: confessionals and interrogations.

## **2.4 Making dubaiing speak: confession and interrogation**

In mapping dubaiing as a separate domain of knowledge, confession narratives have played an important role. Notable are, for instance, the numerous citations of the first person recounting of Vivien Szalai’s pseudonymous heroine. Her first book’s subtitle is *Confessions of a luxury prostitute*, while both of her books bear the slogan “Based on a true story” on their cover. Besides the promise to recount first-hand experiences of events and scenes, central to these confessions is



the inspection of one's conscience, inner self, and questions about repentance of one's deeds. On the other hand, there are attempts to get celebrities suspected of being involved in dubaiing talk, and efforts to debunk them, and 'speak the truth' in their place. These are, of course, related strategies of producing truth according to a Foucauldian perspective on the formation of knowledge and truth as not lying outside of power but being entangled with it.

Confession has a distinctive role in the production of truth, Foucault suggests in the first volume of *The History of Sexuality*. The narrative of confession, he contends, is central to the mechanism of modern power: it is a 'productive' power technique. The confession is primarily a Western technique of truth production originating in the Christian ritual of self-examination and admitting sins, yet dispersed in modern societies in various (secular) sites of knowledge production. Confessions since early modernity have not multiplied independent of or in the face of power, but as an exercise of power: there has been an institutional incitement to speak about our 'inner selves', orchestrated with institutional apparatuses to listen, record, and study the multiplying discourses by newly constructed fields of science among others. A confession also takes place within a power relationship: it necessitates the (virtual) presence of a partner who questions, judges, comforts, forgives, or punishes the confessor. Confessions have another productive aspect besides the multiplication of discourse: they are individualizing and subjectifying, that is, constitutive of a modern subjectivity that feels confessions to be compelled by an inner need. Individual secrets of one's sex life have been a central theme of confessions: truth and sex are linked in confession, and truth becomes a medium for the manifestations of sex.<sup>103</sup>

The confessional, as a privileged technique of truth production, was also central in the construction of dubaiing through producing its self-inspecting and self-revealing subject. In the center of this subject's self-examination is conscience, sin, and atonement in these personal testimonies. A confession bit in an article on luxury prostitution imparts: "I did not regret doing this, although I sometimes experience an acute sense of despair, my conscience pricks me, and I

would love nothing better than to quit this lifestyle, but this is not easy for someone who is used to luxury.”<sup>104</sup> Vivien Szalai’s earlier book on luxury prostitution also ends with a similar theme of choice and regret: “An easy question occurred to her. *Was it worth choosing this life at one time and give up everything for money?* And she replied to herself: *It was.*”<sup>105</sup> Her latter book similarly ends with her heroine’s reflections on the consequences of choices after she gave up intentions of having a family: ‘Everything in life has a price. [...] And then, when we do not expect it, when we think we got away with it, the time of reckoning comes. And then we pay for our sins.’<sup>106</sup> Sex secrets, of course, are in the center of these inner ‘struggles’: the detailed descriptions of sexual acts constitute the truth of the subject that she cannot flee. In dubaiing discourses, the quest for truth about prostitution in Dubai is thus thematized as an enquiry into the self, interpersonal relationships, and through them, a wide range of other topics that I will analyze in the following chapter.

The power relationships of these confessions, situated in wider webs of power, are also evident in media practices of editing, structuring, and publishing. For instance, Szalai did not only frame her heroine’s story with her own narration and value judgments, but has also positioned herself as an expert, who is authorized to analyze, interpret, and stigmatize her subject. She mentioned, for example, in several interviews that she tried to exert some emotions from her interviewee yet she failed in it<sup>107</sup>: she tested her, tried to look into her inside truth, and interpreted her findings to the wider audience. This is also an example of how dubaiing confessions are also embedded in institutional frameworks that encourage the speaking of one’s truth. Some instances of explicit incitement can also be found: for instance, a blog called on women who have been involved in dubaiing to tell their stories, and published an anonymous confession afterwards.<sup>108</sup> The alleged voluntary confessions in Vivien Szalai’s books and the four-piece testimony on a pornographic site<sup>109</sup> were also published after the media started to thematize dubaiing and attempted to get celebrities talk about it.

Confession is often not so much incited as forced: interrogation, threats, and torture have accompanied confession like a ‘dark twin’, as Foucault also remarks.<sup>110</sup> Suspicions of prostitution in Dubai were not only accompanied by interrogating celebrities in an effort to get them speak out, but also by attempts to debunk those who were involved in it. In mapping dubaiing, a characteristic journalistic knack was the ironic taunting on the discrepancy between allegations of dubaiing and the denial thereof by the suspected women. An early example is an article from the online version of the free daily paper *Metropol*, whose author ironically describes the visit of Hungarian female celebrities in Dubai as not involving sex but cultural entertainment, and the clients as decent, delicate, and soft-spoken gentlemen. He concludes his piece with the self-reflexive, jesting ending of many Hungarian folktales: this is the truth, if you do not believe it, go and see it yourself.<sup>111</sup> Dubaiing means watching the series *Dallas* from episode 254 in reverse order until episode 164, asserts sardonically another article titled “It turned out what dubaiing means,” adding that no person has ever been in Dubai from the virtuous country of Hungary.<sup>112</sup> These narratives, besides foregrounding the assumed incongruity between truth and appearance, also aim to demarcate the phenomenon of dubaiing by claiming authority over truth and virtue against pretense and simulation. The caustic repetitions of the denial of celebrities render anger over their unwillingness to speak their (assumed) inner truth, while several blog entries, comments, and sites have also attempted to expose and shame the women involved in dubaiing.<sup>113</sup> The gendered differences vis-à-vis the weight of interrogation in the production of the confessing subject are highly relevant to these instances of dubaiing coverage. As Silvia Federici remarks, Foucault’s account of the confession posits an undifferentiated, supposedly gender-neutral subject that in fact fails to theorize the specifically gendered interrogations of the early modern witch-hunts and their consequences.<sup>114</sup> These outing and shaming endeavors, which included a large variety of labels stigmatizing non-normative female sexuality, served the purpose of specifically gendered punitive measures.

Accordingly, confession and interrogation have been central discursive elements in the formation of dubaiing. The extraction of inner truth unfolds, as it is inherent in these forms of truth production, in power relationships, which in turn are embedded in wider webs of power, including class and gender relations. Metaphoric uses of dubaiing indicate that it has been consolidated as a concept, yet they also contribute to its further solidification. In the following section, I will consider these metaphoric uses.

## **2.5 Dubaiing as a metaphor for public affairs**

Once dubaiing became a widely known expression, it started to be used in the media for various different activities besides prostitution. Many of these uses were probably intended to increase article traffic, as for instance in articles about touristic visits or participation in sports event in Dubai.<sup>115</sup> However, there have been various instances where dubaiing was used in a metaphoric sense, mostly to frame political issues. In the following, I will examine how these metaphoric uses contribute to the concept of dubaiing without examining the reasons why these metaphoric uses appeared—that will be the task of the following chapter.

A recent example is an article about corruption in international soccer and its governing bodies with regard to bidding the hosting duty of the 2022 World Cup to Qatar. The author, a sports commentator, contends that the best European soccer clubs are financed by the Gulf's oil money and in turn put pressure on the International Federation of Association Football concerning the decision in question (they “eat from Dubai and Qatari hands”). He maintains that club owners are only interested in money, as one of the top European clubs even removed the cross from their jersey because the religious symbol bothered fans from the United Arab Emirates according to their sponsor, the National Bank of Abu Dhabi. He asserts that European soccer is a dubaiing prostitute in both the title and the body of the article.<sup>116</sup>

Dubaiing, however, has been more frequently used to frame Hungarian politics, specifically, economic relations with ‘Eastern’ countries. The background to this is the government's

intention to strengthen economic and cultural ties with the ‘East’: Hungary’s Prime Minister Orbán talked about the decline of the West and emergence of the East at a conference in November 2011, announcing an opening towards the East as a pragmatic politics of Hungary.<sup>117</sup> This political move, of course, is situated in the context of Hungary’s global positionality that I outlined in the previous chapter. Postsocialist Hungarian elites, as Ágnes Gagyí records, worked to connect the Hungarian economy to the global capitalist system in a dependent position for a share of profit of their own, yet they soon stabilized into two blocs that represent the interests of the international and the national capital with the discourses of Euroatlantic integration and its nationalist critiques, respectively.<sup>118</sup> These two blocs are the contemporary manifestations of the two opposing discourses of Westernism and nationalism and the economic structures and interests connected to them. The ‘freedom fight’ that the government announced against Western dependence and their attempt to ‘open toward to East’ (a move from a unilateral dependence to multiple dependence<sup>119</sup>) is motivated by these structures.

An early example of framing Hungarian politics as dubaiing comes from an article on the online site of a hard-line Hungarian-language newspaper published in the United States and unadmittedly affiliated with one of the smaller left-liberal Hungarian parties. The article, titled “Viktor Orbán is dubaiing, too,” reports about Orbán’s intention to travel to Saudi Arabia to negotiate taking loans from the Saudi Fund, thereby changing Hungary’s good relations with the Gulf countries to economic benefits.<sup>120</sup> An article on a (by now terminated) liberal online site summarizes some of the press responses to Orbán’s travel to Saudi Arabia, and while it does not explicitly use the term dubaiing, it evokes many of its tropes. The title asks whether Orbán will bring us the gold of the Orient, and some of the recurring motifs in the cited articles are the despotism and authoritarianism of the East and the meager prospects of an equal partnership with it, an ironic mocking of Orbán’s statements about the declining, decadent West and the emerging East, and the lack of financial, cultural and geographic basis of Hungary’s cooperation with the East.<sup>121</sup> In the same vein, a popular tabloid referred to the prospective travel of László

Kövér (Speaker of the National Assembly) and Antal Rogán (then deputy floor leader of the governing party) to Saudi Arabia for the purpose of boosting economic relations as dubaiing.<sup>122</sup> A more recent article on the online site of a weekly left-liberal newspaper pondered on the purposes of Prime Ministerial chief advisor Árpád Habony and Antal Rogán's travel to the Emirates in 2012, in the title referring to their intentions of selling Hungarian stocks as dubaiing.<sup>123</sup>

The most straightforward example is hard-line liberal journalist Árpád Tóta W.'s article titled "Dubajozás Bakuban" ("Dubaiing in Baku") from September 2012. The background of the article relates to Hungary's relations with Azerbaijan and Armenia. On August 31, 2012 the Hungarian government extradited to his home country Azeri military officer Ramil Safarov, who had brutally murdered Armenian Guren Margaryan while he was asleep in February 2004. At the time both of them participated in a NATO Partnership for Peace program in Budapest. Safarov received life sentence, however, he was pardoned and promoted after his extradition to Baku, and he is still hailed as a national hero. Much of Armenian as well as Hungarian liberal media speculated that the extradition of Safarov was part of an agreement of strengthening economic ties between the two countries: Azerbaijan promised to buy Hungarian stocks in exchange for Safarov. Tóta W.'s article harshly criticizes the government's decision to strengthen the country's economic relationships with the East rather than accepting a loan from the IMF. He uses the dubaiing metaphor to argue that the government's claim to protect national sovereignty from the IMF led to Hungary's prostitution and subordination to a wealthy and perverted Eastern sheik, moreover, apparently without the client actually paying. This is thus the alternative of the Western wind: shame and embarrassment in the eyes of Washington, Berlin, and Yerevan. He concludes that Hungarians must act against the government's shameful actions by organizing a major demonstration with the slogan 'we refuse to be whores' (a twist of 'we refuse to be a colony', the slogan of the 'peace march' of January 2012 in support of the Fidesz government) in order to show the world and to admonish the government that pious Hungarians will not tolerate this.<sup>124</sup>

While prostitution has often been used as a metaphor in different contexts, in this case it is specifically used for Hungarian relations with the 'East'. Intriguingly, the government's assertion to open towards the 'East' happened slightly before the solidification of the concept of dubaiing. Not only has dubaiing been used to frame this complex of economic, social, and geopolitical processes, but was also embedded in these same processes (and probably fueled by) the same processes. Metaphoric uses are also remarkable because the aspects they ascribe to the tenor (being subordinated to the wealthy, masculinized, perverted East, not getting financial compensation, being shamed in front of the 'civilized' world, and attempts to shame the ones who transmitted the shame on us) highlight the primary themes of dubaiing in its primary sense as well. These themes clearly indicate that the various, intersecting boundaries of gender, class, sexuality, nation, race, and the 'East'-West' polarity are at the heart of dubaiing discourses. In the next chapter thus I will analyze how dubaiing discourses attend to the tensions along the lines of these boundaries.

## **CHAPTER 3: BOUNDARY CROSSING AND BOUNDARY MAKING IN DUBAIING DISCOURSES**

### **3.1 Boundary crossing and boundary making in dubaiing discourses: introduction**

After outlining of the media's mapping of dubaiing as an object of knowledge through techniques of journalistic knowledge production in the previous chapter, I will analyze dubaiing discourses in the current chapter from the perspective of how sexuality becomes a carrier and signifier of anxieties over the violation of various norms and boundaries. Hungarian women's prostitution in Dubai, as mentioned above, is at the junction of various boundaries: it does not only involve the crossing of state borders, but also national, racial, 'civilizational', class, and gender boundaries as well. I will examine how coverage of dubaiing attend to crossing of these multiple boundaries.

I have divided my analysis into sections along the lines of structural categories like class and gender, nation, and race and civilization for analytical purposes only, assuming a concept of intersectionality according to which these categories have never been separate (rather than as the contingent meeting of separate vectors). As I also aim to show in my analysis, these categories are mutually constitutive of each other: I will situate the analysis of the following section in the findings of the previous sections. I will first discuss class and gender boundaries, focusing on the way social mobility and gender intersect. I will then situate this dynamics of class and gender in the context of national identity vis-à-vis transnational contacts, and eventually focusing on the racial and civilizational aspects of the direction of these transnational contacts.

### **3.2 Dubaiing and gender and class boundaries**

Coverage of dubaiing exemplifies many tropes of prostitution discourses, as for instance a focus on appearance and reality, the visibility of social markers, questions about power in the relationship between the genders, and the consequences of prostitution on the self. These tropes cluster around class mobility and the transgression of gender norms, which, as in 18th English representations of prostitution described in Carter, class and gender are inseparable. In this section,



I will examine this intersection of class and gender boundaries, highlighting especially the discursive frames found mostly in Viven Szalai's contribution to the topic.

Class does not only manifest itself in the description of what dubaiing is said to promise, which is pictured with expressions like opulence, sumptuousness, land of promise, and images of palaces in TV programs' B-rolls, but it also figures centrally in the social background of dubaiing women in media narratives. The pseudonymous narrators of confessionals as well as Anikó Molnár, the celebrity who admitted to have been involved in dubaiing in 2009, are all said to come from meager circumstances. In some cases, the specific material conditions are also described: two of the unidentified luxury prostitutes come from tower blocks (made of precast concrete slabs, built during 'state socialism'), while Anikó Molnár from an adobe in a small town near Budapest.<sup>125</sup> These articles contrast these scanty circumstances with their new living standards, while many also refer to this upward mobility as easily gained.<sup>126</sup> Whether (luxury) prostitution counts as work is frequently presented as an ambiguity, for instance, by putting work or sex work in quotation marks, whereas the life of luxury prostitutes is contrasted with that of ordinary women doing housework in other cases. The above-referenced article about Anikó Molnár jeers both at her purportedly undeserved upward mobility, sardonically stating that it is not without precedence that she, a 'luxury lumpen' has worked in her life, and also at her ensuing downward mobility as a reporter of shelter animals in the local newspaper, living a 'simple' life with a butcher. The related tension between social worth and wealth also appears in a post on a small, individually run site that refers to the lifestyle of luxury prostitutes as *urizálás*, which means flaunting with the extravagant life of the rich, having connotations of the simulation of a higher, more refined class's lifestyle. As many other articles, it cites the wealth of Hungarian female celebrities as a proof of their prostitution, arguing that it is impossible to live such an extravagant life with fair, ordinary work.<sup>127</sup>

Many articles thus thematize a discrepancy between work, virtue, and social status on the one hand and acquired wealth on the other, engendering broader anxieties over the incongruity

between reality and appearance, inner worth and supposedly corresponding external signs. The long-standing associations between prostitution and theater<sup>128</sup> are also invoked in some articles in connection with the simulation of emotions and social status as well.<sup>129</sup> There is a distinctive concern over the illegibility of luxury prostitution and the untrustworthiness of language. Vivien Szalai, for instance, claims in an interview that the main feature of luxury prostitutes is that, being intelligent and refined and in no way vulgar, they are not recognizable as prostitutes,<sup>130</sup> while one article asserts about its confessing narrator that she does not only seem to be a rich, fair lady, but also calls herself a business woman and not a prostitute.<sup>131</sup> Distrust in language and specific words appears in several other articles, which maintain that these women call themselves business women, exclusive party hostesses, or models, while the pimps are sometime called agents. This duplicity also emerges in some coverage of the first trial of the ‘Dubai case’ vis-à-vis the coded language used between prostitutes and their procurers, with article headings like “we learned what partying means” or “‘photo shooting’ was canceled due to menstruation.”<sup>132</sup> In an article about the recent trial of another procuring case (suspected of being related to dubaiing), where the organizer of smaller beauty contests was accused of procuring women abroad, the same questions over language and meaning surfaced. Reportedly, the main question of the first part of the trial was the meaning of escort: the judge was trying to extract from the female witnesses confessions in more ‘ordinary’ (that is, straightforward) language to clear up uncertainties about whether they provided sexual services.<sup>133</sup> Numerous articles also use ample quotation marks to thematize the problematic of tensions between reality as opposed to appearance and language.<sup>134</sup>

These anxieties over the illegibility of social status and moral worth, which Carter argued to make the prostitutes of polite society more formidable than those of the plebeian society in 18th century English representations,<sup>135</sup> are clearly one reason why luxury prostitution has received more extensive attention than the prostitution of poor women in the Hungarian media coverage of the past years. Claims that Arab clients in Dubai requested naturally looking, intelligent women with bourgeois (middle-class) values<sup>136</sup> have further unsettled boundaries of social status and

moral worth. Various articles and broadcast programs have attempted to problematize the boundaries of prostitution itself, suggesting that its contours are uncertain, unfathomable, and obscure, and have thereby discursively expanded the boundaries of prostitution into the lives of ‘everyday’ (middle-class) people. For instance, in the opening scene of Szalai’s oft-cited first book, Szofi, the luxury prostitute is pondering about what or who the prostitute really is:

Who is the prostitute, who the businesswoman, and who the respectable mother and wife? The boundaries are blurred today. [...] People are quick to make judgments, but how many women have asked themselves the question who the real prostitute is? The wife who over long, long years spreads her legs to her husband whom she despises and abhors, for nothing else but money, status, a convenient life, or out of cowardice? Or me, who makes a fair deal and sells the illusion of love? I am sure that few women think about this and most consider even the question scandalous.<sup>137</sup>

News reports that a reputable mother-housewife has been accused of dubaiing<sup>138</sup> and that university students *en masse* do prostitution seek likewise to touch a nerve with middle classes.

Some commenters who have brought the question of prostitution’s boundaries to the extreme assert that all beautiful women have been to Dubai (or elsewhere abroad) to prostitute themselves, responding to uncertainties about dubaiing with the logic that feminine beauty inescapably prostitutes itself, as if prostitutability were its main characteristic. One interesting instance where dubaiing appears as the extreme form of deviant opportunism can be found on a right-wing extremist site.<sup>139</sup> The article claims, citing two tabloids, that a Hungarian drag queen, Amanda Elstak, attempted to travel to Dubai with the intention of doing prostitution, yet she was not allowed to enter because of ‘his’ official male identity.<sup>140</sup> Amanda, though, aims to change her gender status to female to be allowed to enter Dubai, the article contends. This article constructs prostitution in Dubai as the ultimate form opportunism in which gender instability and class violation figure centrally. Gender and class boundaries are transgressed concomitantly, and femininity appears as unprincipled opportunism.

The unknowability and uncertainty about dubaiing (and prostitution in general) appears in parallel with attempts to settle its boundaries: attempts at definitions, taxonomies, and uncovering sexual practices and people involved in them. Settling the boundaries of dubaiing involves

redrawing other boundaries: of social worth, class, and gender. ‘Experts’ and other guests invited to TV shows often play a central role in this process. For instance, one of the two young female authors of the book on Hungarian students’ prostitution in Switzerland has highlighted in more TV shows that she was mainly interested why average, ordinary young women like herself choose to earn money with prostitution.<sup>141</sup> She positions herself as an external observer who finds her subjects peculiar, her interpretation of student prostitution thus serves to distance respectable middle classes from the prostituting segment of the middle class and reinforce boundaries of moral value.

Vivien Szalai’s pseudo-psychologizing interpretations position her in a similarly distancing way vis-à-vis the confessing heroine of her books, allegedly a real-life Hungarian celebrity who works as a luxury prostitute. Her two books mainly target a female audience with the first person narratives of a female heroine who discloses a ‘hidden’, ‘exotic’ world and secret life paths open to the luckiest of women. Her books have an escapist element: they let the reader enter a world that her heroine has access to by way of her ‘exquisite’ femininity. Dubaïing confessionals, whether related to Szalai’s books or not, portray the luxury prostitute as a calculating woman who consciously uses her femininity to exercise power over men, whom some articles describe as her victims. She does nothing without self-interest: she learns sexual practices as a profession to be able to manipulate men.<sup>142</sup>

However, Szalai also invariably reminds the public in interviews that this lavish lifestyle has a high price. She consistently asserts in interviews that she is interested in the soul of her heroine and the ‘psychology’ of luxury prostitution, approaching her subject as a peculiar phenomenon that needs explanation. She depicts Szofi and other luxury prostitutes as having been seduced by wealth: they think they have control over what they do and can quit whenever they want to, yet they become addicted to, bewitched by, or literally in love with money. They, nevertheless, have no friends, intimate relationships, and are unable to build a meaningful relationship with an ordinary man, and also lack emotions: Szalai describes Szofi as a soulless, heartless machine or

(female) Terminator short of everything that makes a human a human. Other articles based on the alleged confession of luxury prostitutes also suggest that these women are unable to have a ‘normal family life’ and to fit in to ‘ordinary’ society, while the morning show of a commercial TV channel invited a sexologist among others to tackle this question.<sup>143</sup>

In interviews, Szalai does not fail to mention that she hopes that her books will serve as deterrents for young women and further distances herself from her subject by asserting that there is no money for which she would prostitute herself. Other guests in broadcast programs, as for instance the female winner of a talent show coming from a poor Hungarian family in Vojvodina, also asserts that she would rather work on a rice field, and Anikó Molnár also professes that that world in Dubai is not her world and not her style.<sup>144</sup> Actors other than the media also have contrasted ordinary middle-class people to those involved in dubaiing: the lawyer of one of the persons accused of procuring women based the defense on the fact that the accused is an ordinary working man living an average life, whereas one online source mocked this defense strategy by another distancing move from a middle-class position.<sup>145</sup> These discourses reinforce the middle-class values of work ethic, ‘ordinary’ life, and ‘ordinary’ family among others. Furthermore, they valorize middle-class femininity as opposed to the ambitious, predator femininity of luxury prostitutes through a narrative that I interpret as a version of popular postfeminism. I refer to this narrative as postfeminist because it suggests that femininity is women’ power through which they can have access to upward (and geographical) mobility, yet it never fails to conjure up the dangers of this mobility and to try to persuade women to choose instead a middle-class life with the ordinary middle-class value of the monogamous heterosexual relationship with an everyday man.<sup>146</sup>

Class and gender thus figure in a very complex way in dubaiing discourses. On the hand, it is constructed as the ambitions of lower-status women, which (mostly middle-class) interpreters and guests implicitly or explicitly condemn. Simultaneously, these same discourses expand the boundaries of prostitution: gender and class disorder appear together, and femininity is

constructed as plebeian opportunism that transgresses class boundaries and reverses the hierarchy of genders. These discourses also represent an attempt to fix new boundaries of social status and moral worth within the middle class as well. Luxury prostitution is contrasted with everyday monogamous heterosexual relationships in a didactic way, suggesting that dubaiing prostitutes pay a heavy price for the luxury they earn. This heavy price is, of course, the middle class values of authentic emotions and social relationships, which are equated with human values in some coverage of dubaiing. These discourses thus bear numerous similarities with the representations of prostitution described by Carter: the simultaneous transgression of social and gender norms, the dissembling of virtue and social status, undermining the correlation between inner worth and exteriority, anxieties over the illegibility of prostitution and the loss of male analytical authority, the anti-feminist trope of equating prostitution as plebeian opportunism with femininity, among others.<sup>147</sup> In the following section, I will look at the way these classed and gendered discourses are situated in the context of nation and the crossing of national boundaries.

### **3.3 Dubaiing and national boundaries**

The gender and class dynamics described in the previous section is interwoven with the national and transnational aspects of the discourse. Hungarian women's prostitution in Dubai crosses not only gender and class boundaries, but also the country's borders and, related to that, national boundaries, negotiated on a discursive level. Several articles and blog posts highlight the consequences of dubaiing for Hungary with regard to the economic situation of the country and the representation of the nation. Many of these articles suggest that women involved in dubaiing shame the country and some articles intend to shame dubaiing women in turn, as I mentioned in the previous chapter. In this section I will place the gender and class politics of dubaiing discourses in the context of the national dimension from the perspective of the theories of nation that I overviewed in the first chapter.

The way dubaiing affects the representation of the Hungarian nation in the world has been intensely thematized, mostly on smaller sites and blogs. As I highlighted from Yuval-Davis' works in chapter 1, women fulfill the role of boundary-makers in terms of the biological and cultural reproduction of the nation.<sup>148</sup> Along these lines, dubaiing endangers the nation by impeding dubaiing women to live a 'normal' family life and ensure the continuity of the nation. Hungarian women's sexual contacts with Arab men also cause anxieties over racial purity and the 'health' of the nation: several articles, drawing on Szalai, mention that dubaiing involves unprotected sex and leads to venereal diseases of all sorts.<sup>149</sup> Women's role in boundary-making is also manifest on the symbolic level: in their 'proper' behavior, women represent the cultural boundaries of the nation, continuity with the collectivity's past, and are seen as bearers of the collectivity's identity, honor, and *raison d'être* among others, whereas their 'improper' behavior is seen as dishonoring the nation.<sup>150</sup> This is the aspect that has been raised by several articles in terms of the 'national image' being shaped by the prostitution of the collectivity's women to foreign, racialized men. Many of these articles are written in a sarcastic tone and center around questions of national pride and shame, referring to pride ironically of course. For instance, one blog post exclaims: "Girls, you do not have to be ashamed of this! We are proud of you! This is the real national image! Budapest trounces everyone!"<sup>151</sup> These angry outbursts, some of which attempt to debunk and shame women involved in dubaiing, invoke the feeling of being shamed by the women of their collectivity, they thus exemplify that women's behavior that is believed to dishonor the national collectivity is often punished.

The extent to which a woman is considered to represent her country is strongly affected by class and ethnic factors among others. One of the reasons why luxury prostitution in Dubai probably elicited more interest than prostitution in Western Europe is that while the former implicates white, (apparently) middle-class 'celebrities', the latter involves poor, mostly Roma women. While the prostitution of poor/Roma women is also often regarded as damaging to the representation of the country, it clearly has not caused such a big excitement as dubaiing has

probably because it does not endanger the self-image of middle class Hungarians. Conversely, models and especially beauty queens are deemed to represent their country, their possible involvement in prostitution has been in the center of attention. For instance, soon after dubaiing became an issue in mainstream media, there has been an attempt to filter out women who have been involved in prostitution in ‘Arab countries’ from participation in a national beauty contest, and the issue was similarly revived in the contest of the following year.<sup>152</sup> As the owner and the producer of the contest declared, the cleanness, the good morals of the contestants and the image of the contest are priorities and serve as the main criteria to select women.<sup>153</sup> While this might have been a strategy to increase the ratings of the TV broadcasting of the event, it played at the same time on concerns that a prostitute rather than a woman with good (‘middle-class’) morals might represent Hungary and Hungarian femininity in international contests.

Questions of the ‘national image’ are necessarily embedded in the dynamics of gender, economy, and class that I analyzed in the previous section. Some articles explicitly mention that it is the prostitutes of poor countries that offer themselves to the men of rich countries,<sup>154</sup> implying that transnational prostitution is a marker of economic achievement and international power relations. As a further layer of representation, Hungarian women’s prostitution abroad is thus seen to indicate the country’s economy, well-being, and possible future fate in the world economy, although this is not always explicitly mentioned in the articles. As Hungarian women are frequently claimed to be cheap and easy-to-get,<sup>155</sup> this connotes not only Hungarian femininity with cheapness, but also Hungary with a feminized, precarious position in the world economy. A couple of articles also invoke the smallness of the country, a trope that is often cited in Hungarian political discourses to emphasize the powerlessness of the country, and thus these articles position dubaiing in this (mythicized) aspect of the country’s geopolitical situation.<sup>156</sup> Another blog entry relates the appearing of the term dubaiing to that of privatization after the regime change from ‘state socialism’ to capitalism twenty years before. With this comparison, it posits aspiring dubaiing women as the communal wealth of the nation (of upper/middle-class



males) that is appropriated by wealthy foreign males, which thus contributes to and signals the impoverishment of the Hungarian middle class. The article ironically calls on prostitutes to come home to boost Hungary's GDP instead.<sup>157</sup>

Dubaiing is more often discussed in the framework of more recent economic and political developments, including the economic crisis and its consequences, economic and social policies like the flat-tax system introduced in 2011, the waning of the middle class, and the migration of especially young Hungarians abroad, and low birth rates. Some articles (as well as comments) posit a cause-effect relationship between the economic crisis and the increasing number of Hungarian prostitutes working abroad. Some express concerns that dubaiing prostitutes do not pay taxes and thereby impair the country's economy. For instance, the blog entry cited above ironically states that prostitutes are among the few world-class export products of Hungary and hence a reason for national pride. For this reason, the author suggests, the procuring of women should be a state monopoly so that prostitutes cannot evade paying taxes. The state should give them a package of condoms in the colors of the national flag and traditional costumes with 'matyó' embroidery<sup>158</sup> so that they stand out from the international crowd in Dubai. These women, the author adds, could build an effective national image by giving directly with their bodies to the potential rich investors the message of Hungary, including a personalized investment offer and a copy of the new constitution. The best deal would be an agreement between the Emirates and Hungary: exchanging quality Hungarian cunt for oil.<sup>159</sup> Another article ironically touches on similar motifs with more irony, highlighting that dubaiing women do world-class quality work for world-class remuneration and thus the government does not need to worry about creating jobs for them. In case women do not find their place in the 'work-based society' announced by the government and do not feel like building stadiums, dubaiing offers them a livelihood. These patriotic women ('daughters of the country') might spend their earnings in Hungary and could even form an Amazon corps in the government's 'fight against national debt'

by contributing to the United Against National Debt fund. They can thus become hungaricums from arabicums, the article states sardonically.<sup>160</sup>

These articles work on two levels: first, the material causes and consequences of dubaiing, and second, the symbolic association of the dubaiing prostitute with Hungary and Hungary's fate in the world economy. In such narratives, not only is Hungary's image feminized, but Hungarian masculinity is also threatened because Hungarian men are unable to provide for the well-being of women, who therefore leave the country. Hungarian masculinity is threatened by a foreign masculinity that gains its virility partly from wealth, as for instance, a blog post refers to Dubai clients as "Arabs with a thick wallet and an even thicker phallus."<sup>161</sup> (Arab virility, however, is also confirmed by the recurrent claims that they do not use condoms.) While this aspect of threatened masculinity is left implicit in these discourses, in other post-socialist contexts, as in Serbia, the economic crisis, inflation, and unemployment were directly linked to diminishing masculinity in media discourses.<sup>162</sup> Dubaiing as a metaphor for Hungary's unequal economic and political relations (with the 'East'), which I outlined in the previous chapter, is a further example of the interdependence of narratives of threatened masculinity and the threatened nation.<sup>163</sup>

Women's role as boundary-makers of the nation thus figures centrally in several articles and blog posts about dubaiing. The symbolic representation of the nation is at the same time embedded in the classed and gendered discourse of prostitution, according to which the prostitute is an opportunistic offender of class and gender relations. This means that the dubaiing prostitute comes to represent not only the morals, the continuity, and the boundaries of the nation, but its economic achievements and position in the world economy as well. In these narratives, not only is Hungary feminized, but Hungarian masculinity is also compromised as lacking (economic) potency. The directionality of the migration of prostitutes also figures centrally in most treatments of dubaiing. In the next section I will look at the racial and 'civilizational' aspects of dubaiing through discourses from the perspective of ('nesting') Orientalisms.

### 3.4 Dubaiing and racial and ‘civilizational’ boundaries

The crossing of national borders and transnational contacts are an important aspect of dubaiing discourses, as I argued so far, while in this chapter I will look at the way the direction of prostitutes’ migration and the imagined geographies of their destination figure in coverage of dubaiing. While most articles highlight other important locations of luxury prostitution including Austria and Switzerland,<sup>164</sup> it is Dubai that has been cited as the apex of the world’s luxury prostitution and received far more attention than any other locations. Racialized and culturalized constructions of the ‘East’ as well as Hungarian perceptions of civilizational boundaries, I will argue, are central to this distinctive attention to prostitution in Dubai. I will thus look at coverage of dubaiing from the perspective of (‘nesting’) Orientalisms and related Hungarian self-colonizing discourses.

Representations of Dubai in coverage of dubaiing comprise numerous classical Orientalist tropes and current developments in the imagery of Dubai as an aspiring metropole. In a classical Orientalist vein, several narratives of dubaiing, especially confessionals, have an escapist element: they invite the audience to a world that they frequently describe as ‘hidden’ and ‘exotic’. These articles also abound in expressions like glittering, fabulous, luxurious, sumptuous, palaces, princes, oil sheiks, and the like, while B-rolls of TV programs about dubaiing often include façades and interiors of palaces among others.<sup>165</sup> Wealth and excess, along with freedom, made in the 19th century the Orient an escapist dream of romantics, liberals, and nationalists alike.<sup>166</sup> Excess of wealth in the case of recent Hungarian representations of Dubai is strongly related to excessive development. Concurrently, images of Dubai combine images of quick growth with elements seen as ancient and pre-modern: for instance, B-rolls in broadcast programs include desert landscapes, camels, horsemen, men and women in traditional dresses, skyscrapers, and nightlife among many others.<sup>167</sup> Conversely, in classical Orientalist discourses the Orient was constructed as timeless, a place of fairy tales and legends,<sup>168</sup> which at the same also implies stasis, frozenness, and an incapability for development and transformation.<sup>169</sup> While the images in these

broadcast programs seemingly contradict this trope, they construct an image of Dubai that even in its fast industrialization remains essentially ‘Oriental’: a blog post by a Hungarian migrant working in the Emirates describes the fast pace of development as a forced, planned economy, a form of Eastern excess and extravagance.<sup>170</sup>

The excess of the Orient manifests itself in passions and sexuality as well: the East, and Arabs especially, are frequently associated with sensuality, lust, or lechery, which, moreover, is also connected to cruelty, sadism.<sup>171</sup> We can see the same *topoi* in the depiction of clients in dubaiing discourses. While clients are never mentioned in articles covering Hungarian women’s prostitution in Switzerland or the Netherlands, Arab clients in Dubai are profiled as cruel and perverted lovers. Several articles report about sultry orgies, sadomasochistic practices, and violence, some highlighting from Szalai’s book that Arab clients especially like to act out (or not even act out) rape. To foreground the hierarchic nature of Dubai society and its interconnectedness with sexuality, Szalai recurrently claims that a luxury prostitute must have sex not only with the wealthy sheik who purchases her, but also with all the men who are below him in rank.<sup>172</sup> In an ironic reversion, a journalist refers to Arab men as refined, decent, and respectable gentlemen, whom dubaiing women entertain with Hungarian literature rather than sex, thereby implying Arab masculinity to be rude, cruel, and barbaric.<sup>173</sup>

A further claim of Szalai cited in many articles is that dubaiing involves unprotected sex. This, on the one hand, is a further element of the sexual othering of Arab men, while for nationalist ideologies, it also endangers the purity of the nation (as well as Hungarian masculinity, as I highlighted in the previous section). As ‘white slavery’ discourses, this threat is not only ethnicized, but racialized and culturalized as well. Clients are referred to as Arabs rather than Dubaian or any other designation, and their sexual practices are attributed to their Arabness rather than any other quality like class. Some narratives are also enriched with epithets like turban, sheik, harem, and ‘dark-skinned oil tycoons’.

At the same time, clients of Hungarian women working as prostitutes in Western Europe do not appear in media coverage. Nor does the lesser-known term ‘switzerlanding’ function as a metaphor for Hungary’s economic dependence to the ‘West’. The ‘West’, as self-colonization discourses suggest, is not perceived as alien, but rather an entity to which many Hungarians would like to belong to. The ‘catching-up’ with Europe narratives indicate that there is an effort to eradicate boundaries between Western Europe and Hungary. In contrast, strongly related ‘nesting’ Orientalist discourses attempt to fortify the boundaries on the Eastern side. In this context, the dubaiing prostitute also represents the worries about the boundaries of the nation with Europe and with the racialized ‘East’. Dubai as an emerging world center, the recent reallocation of the spheres of influence and the Hungarian government’s attempts at the reorientation of its dependence (from a mainly Western dependence to multiple dependence, including on the East) serve as the background to anxieties over boundaries expressed in dubaiing discourses.

While Arab men represent a virile threat to Hungarian masculinity, Dubai and the ‘East’ are gendered and sexualized in a complex way in dubaiing discourses. The classical Orientalist tropes of excess, luxuriousness, and extravagance, which I mentioned above, are characteristically feminine epithets of the Orient. As Said also remarked, the Orient was constructed as the place of sensuality, sexual promises and threats, at the same time as feminine, supine, passive, resistant and in need of the Occident to open up its secret sensuality.<sup>174</sup> It was thus created in relation to the ‘West’, as the escapism of Western sexual fantasy, offering the ‘freedom of licentious sex’ to Western bourgeois men.<sup>175</sup> In spite of these insights, sexuality and gender appeared tangentially, as a distinct field in Said’s work rather than as a central, constitutive aspect of Orientalism, argues Yeğenoğlu. Said treats images of women and sexuality as relating to the representation of Oriental women only rather than to the representation of the Orient, she explains.<sup>176</sup> The escapist elements of dubaiing discourses (projecting sexual fantasies to the ‘East’) and the narratives of

the discovery (described with metaphors like ‘unveiling’ the secrets of dubaiing) effect this type of relationality between Hungary and the ‘East’.

Not surprisingly, Dubai, with its characteristics associated with femininity, is described in terms strongly associated with prostitution in a migration-themed blog post,<sup>177</sup> as well as other media. The post’s author describes Dubai as an emerging, very ambitious metropole that aims to take center stage in the world economy, which, I would argue, parallels the opportunistic, ambitious prostitute offending class order. Furthermore, in Dubai there is discrepancy between impressive appearance and poor inner values in terms of its forced development, the post writer asserts, just like in the case of the prostitute who pretends to belong to a higher social status, I suggest. The blog post adds that Dubai is characterized by a quasi-caste-like system and corruption, which I contend, parallels the easily gained, undeserved wealth of the prostitutes. Dubai’s ambitions from a feminized Oriental position, as I conclude from such discourses, invoke a prostitution discourse. One factor contributing to Hungarian media’s focus on prostitution in Dubai, I would argue, is that Hungarian fears of the country’s upward and downward mobility in the world economy and its association with prostitution are projected to the (imagined) geography associated with prostitution. Because of Dubai’s association with prostitution, the boundary between Dubai and Hungary needs to be all the more secured to avert anxieties over Hungary’s prostitution. Dubaiing discourse thus exemplifies a ‘nesting’ Orientalism that inherently encompasses economic, class, gender, racial, and sexual relations.

Dubaiing discourses, thus, use Orientalist tropes in the current geopolitical context, where Dubai, associated with the feminized Orient, has ambitions of emerging as a competitive metropole. Contemporary Hungarian media representations do not only use classical feminized and eroticized Orientalist tropes, but interpret the emergence of Dubai in its feminized position: as prostitution. As it is the ‘East’ in whose discursive position emergence is inherently interpreted as prostitution, the prostitution discourse in the case of Dubai embodies an Orientalist discourse adapted to current economic developments. The association of Dubai with prostitution is one of

the reasons why Hungarian anxieties over Hungary being prostituted were projected to Dubai, I have suggested. This exemplifies ‘nesting’ Orientalism: endeavors to fortify boundaries to one’s ‘East’ to dissociate the self from feminized, sexualized (imagined) territories on the one hand coupled with similar endeavors to obliterate boundaries to one’s ‘West’ in a (futile) attempt to achieve the universal, masculine position. This self-positioning is thus also about a fear of the emasculation of the nation and a sense of threat to the masculinity of individual (middle-class) men. The boundaries redrawn through dubaiing discourses in the face of this perceived threat are not only the repositioning of the boundaries of Europe and the Orient, ‘West’ and ‘East’, but boundaries of gender, sexuality, race, and class are also re-made: between the sexually ‘restrained’ middle-class Hungarian male on the one hand, the perverted wealthy Arab men on the other, as well as the insatiable, greedy woman who is addicted to money and subordinates herself to the perverted Arab male rather than the Hungarian middle-class male.

## CONCLUSION

Media discourses of Hungarian women's luxury prostitution in Dubai bears several characteristics of other instances of anxieties over prostitution in various contexts, I have argued. As it is the case in these other occurrences, sexuality, being at the junction of various symbolic and social boundaries, becomes a carrier and metaphor of anxieties over social and economic processes in dubaiing discourses as well. Some of the central themes of these discourses are (undeserved) luxurious lifestyle, gender roles, transnational movement, national representation, and foreignness, suggesting that the dynamics of gender, class, nation, race, and 'civilization' are at the heart of tensions articulated through dubaiing discourses. I have therefore set out to analyze media discourses of dubaiing in a broader and more specific context. The broader context is the discursive processes (embedded in economic, social, and geopolitical processes) positioning Hungary in a global 'East'-West' relationality, and the ensuing specificities of Hungarian national subjectivities with inherently intersecting class, gender, and sexual aspects. I have furthermore situated dubaiing discourses vis-à-vis the articulation of anxieties over recent economic, social, and geopolitical changes.

Against the backdrop of the media coverage of other instances of prostitution, I have examined the way the media have produced dubaiing as a legitimate object of knowledge. I considered the sources used by the media, narratives of discovery, as well as (alleged) confessions of pseudonymous/anonymous luxury prostitutes and interrogations of media celebrities. Dubaiing has also been used as a metaphor for public affairs, which has contributed to the solidification of the concept. Furthermore, the aspects of dubaiing ascribed to certain issues of public affairs (the construction of the wealthy, perverted, masculine other, unequal relationship/subordination, bad bargain, shame in front of the 'civilized' world) highlight the crucial themes of dubaiing in its 'primary' sense as well, while the subject it is used to frame (Hungarian relations



with ‘Eastern’ countries) mark the context that dubaiing is embedded in and certainly stimulated by.

To unpack this discursive nexus, I have examined the way coverage of dubaiing attends to the dynamics of class, gender, nation, race, and ‘civilization’. In accord with prevalent prostitution tropes, the luxury prostitute of dubaiing discourses violates inextricable class and gender norms: prostitution is presented as plebeian opportunism, which at the most extreme is narrated as the essence of femininity. Several narratives also highlight that she has to pay a heavy price for her luxury: she will be alienated from social and familial relationships. Since dubaiing crosses national borders, this dynamics is situated in a transnational context and raises questions of national identity and boundaries. From this perspective, dubaiing is on the one hand perceived to be threatening because it is assumed to hinder normative kinship structures that provide for the biological and cultural reproduction of the nation. Furthermore, women are endowed with the role of the collectivity’s boundary-making: they represent the identity and honor of the nation. Dubaiing prostitutes, from the perspective of nationalist ideologies, are considered to dishonor the nation in terms of morals. At the same time, this burden of representation is embedded in the class/gender dynamics that I outlined above. Dubaiing prostitutes thus also come to signify Hungary’s economic achievement in the global economy: Hungary’s position in the world comes to be symbolized by the prostitute, the female opportunistic offender. Behind the narratives of Hungary’s feminization and subordination is a sense of threatened Hungarian masculinity: the implicit inference that women are prostituting themselves abroad because Hungarian men are not (economically) potent enough to cater for them. The context of these narratives is the recent economic and social changes: the effects of the economic crisis, reports of tumbling or absent economic growth, a waning middle class, and increasing emigration.

These dynamics of nation, gender, and class are further embedded in the ‘East’-‘West’ relationality: Hungarian discourses of transnational luxury prostitution are formed in relation to Dubai, while Hungarian women’s prostitution in Western Europe has received less media

attention. While the 'East' is masculinized vis-à-vis a threatened Hungarian manliness in coverage of dubaiing, the 'East' is at the same time described with several Orientalist, and as such, feminized and racialized epithets. Dubai's ambitions as an emerging metropole are interpreted according to this feminized position: as prostitution. This, I have argued, might well explain why Dubai embodies Hungarian anxieties over Hungary's prostitution arising from the dynamics of economic processes, class, and gender described above. The broader context to this is Hungary's position in the 'West'-East' discursive hierarchy, and ensuing Hungarian discourses that attempt to position oneself closer to the 'Western' center and further from the 'East'. The more immediate context is on the one hand Dubai's aspirations as an emerging world center, and on the other, the Hungarian government's plans to 'open towards the East', that is, replace a unilateral dependence on the 'West' to a multiple dependence. These recent developments, I have argued, have contributed to Hungarian fears over European identity: fears over disappearing boundaries on Hungary's 'East' and closing boundaries on its 'West'. Dubaiing discourses act upon these anxieties and serve to discursively redraw the 'East'-West' boundary to the east of Hungary. Furthermore, they also reinforce various strongly related social norms along the lines of class, gender, sexuality, and race. They thus carve a difference between the white, middle-class, decent Hungarian male and the excessively wealthy, perverted Oriental male, and between the ambitious prostitute violating gender and class boundaries and the virtuous middle-class woman living in a heterosexual relationship.

While the scope of this paper did not allow me to expand on some interdiscursive connections, for instance, to early 20th century discourses about Hungarian women's prostitution abroad, this could be an area for further research. Another, even more closely related topic that would be worthy of further analysis is the more recent representations of Dubai in Hungarian media with their occasional reinterpretations of dubaiing. Especially in the past year, Hungarian media have increasingly focused on (mostly middle-class) Hungarians working in Dubai, some of the narratives attempting to rewrite dubaiing by referring to the hard-working middle-class

Hungarian as reinterpreting the meaning of dubaiing. In these more recent media pieces, Dubai itself is not solely represented as a place of excessive wealth, eccentric ambitions, and record attempts, but as a place that offers opportunities for hard-working Hungarian. I will leave, though, the analysis of the changing representation of Dubai, to future research.

## NOTES

### INTRODUCTION

<sup>1</sup> I am not aware of any English translation of the term *dubajozás*, dubaiing is my translation.

<sup>2</sup> “Dubajozik,” *Sz Lengblog*, June 28, 2009. <http://szleng.blog.hu/2009/06/28/dubajozik> (accessed May 15, 2015)

<sup>3</sup> Boundaries are used in the sense of Lamont and Virág, as “fundamental relational processes at work across a wide range of social phenomena, institutions, and locations” that mark difference, including but not limited to class, ethnic, racial, gender, and sexual inequality, social and collective identity, and communities and spatial boundaries. Lamont and Virág differentiate between the related categories of symbolic and social boundaries and define the former as “conceptual distinctions made by social actors to categorize objects, people, practices, and even time and space,” and “tools by which individuals and groups struggle over and come to agree upon definitions of reality.” Social boundaries, on the other hand, are “objectified forms of social differences manifested in unequal access to and unequal distribution of resources (material and nonmaterial) and social opportunities.” While symbolic boundaries may be used to contest social boundaries, they often maintain, reinforce, and normalize them. See: Michele Lamont and Virág Molnár, “The Study of Boundaries in the Social Sciences,” *Annual Review of Sociology* 28 (2002), 167-188.

<sup>4</sup> I use constructivist notions of race and gender in the sense of socially assigned race and gender, as these aspects of social categories are central to the discourses I set out analyze. I rely on an understanding of class that is not exhausted by the relationship to production and means of production, but is also governed by social norms and mechanisms. Bourdieu’s concept of *habitus*, referring to the durable, transposable, yet changing system of embodied dispositions (tastes, values, sensibilities), acquired through social institutions like the family and school, structured by class, gender, ethnicity, and so forth, and shaping the reproduction of social structures, informs my conception of class and other structural categories of power. See: Pierre Bourdieu, *Outline of a Theory and Practice*, trans. Richard Nice (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1977), 72-95.

<sup>5</sup> See for instance an article that, among many others, expresses concerns over the diminishing or non-existing middle-class, reporting on a study of the stratification of Hungarian society: “GfK: Eltűnt a magyar középosztály, vagy tán soha nem is volt,” *Hvg.hu*, June 12, 2014. [http://hvg.hu/gazdasag/20140612\\_GfK\\_Eltunt\\_a\\_magyar\\_kozeposztaly\\_vagy\\_tan](http://hvg.hu/gazdasag/20140612_GfK_Eltunt_a_magyar_kozeposztaly_vagy_tan) (accessed May 15, 2015)

<sup>6</sup> Larry Wolff, *Inventing Eastern Europe: The Map of Civilization on the Mind of the Enlightenment* (Stanford, California: Stanford University Press, 1994), 1-4.

<sup>7</sup> As I will explain in the following chapter, Eastern and Western Europe are not innocent categories but discursive formations that assign civilizational worth to different positions in capitalist world economy and naturalize it with geographical terminology. The more recent category of Central Europe is ideologically loaded in the same vein, attempting to mark a position for oneself closer to the economic and civilizational center. I will refer to Hungary as an Eastern European country for two reasons. First, I find the self-positioning as Central Europe problematic for these very reasons. Second, none of the articles and TV programs that I analyze position Hungary as Central Europe, but quite a few refer to dubaiing as an Eastern European phenomenon.

<sup>8</sup> Ágnes Gagy, “Smartphones and the European flag: the new Hungarian demonstrations for democracy,” *Lefteast*, October 31, 2014, <http://www.criticatrac.ro/lefteast/smartphones-and-eu-flag-hungarian-demos-for-democracy/> (accessed May 15, 2015)

<sup>9</sup> József Böröcz, “Goodness Is Elsewhere: The Rule of European Difference,” *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 48, no. 1 (2006), 110-138.; Alexander Kiossev, “Notes on the Self-Colonising Cultures,” in

*After the Wall: Art and Culture in Post-Communist Europe*, eds. Bojana Pejic and David Elliott (Stockholm: Moderna Museet, 1999), 114-118. [http://www.kultura.bg/media/my\\_html/biblioteka/bgvntgrd/e\\_ak.htm](http://www.kultura.bg/media/my_html/biblioteka/bgvntgrd/e_ak.htm) (accessed May 15, 2015)

<sup>10</sup> Michel Foucault, *The History of Sexuality: Vol. 1*, trans. Robert Hurley (New York: Pantheon, 1978).

<sup>11</sup> E.g. Maria Todorova, *Imagining the Balkans* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1997), Larry Wolff, *Inventing Eastern Europe*; Alexander Kiossev, “Notes on the Self-Colonising Cultures”

<sup>12</sup> Maria Mies, *Partiarchy and Accumulation on a World Scale: Women in the International Division of Labour* (London: Zed Books, 1986)

<sup>13</sup> This paper does not address the debate over prostitution vs. sex work, as its interest lies in the way media constructs and frames dubaiing. The sources that I analyze mainly use either the word prostitution or stigmatizing swearwords, the term sex work appears relatively rarely. It is important to note that the prostitution vs. sex work debate is very marginally present in Hungarian society: with the exception of a few women’s rights activist and very few sex workers, almost no one is familiar with the distinct meanings these terms are used in the English language. In Hungarian media hence the usage of expressions like prostitution, and rarely sex work, does not mean that the author is aware of the debate and positions herself/himself accordingly. However, questions about to what extent prostitution is work appear in several articles, which I also analyze in the paper. I use the term prostitution more often because most of my sources frame dubaiing in that sense.

<sup>14</sup> Norman Fairclough, *Analysing Discourse* (London: Routledge, 2003), 202-211; Michelle M. Lazar, “Feminist Critical Discourse Analysis: Articulating a Feminist Discourse Praxis,” *Critical Discourse Studies* 4, no. 2 (2007), 141-164.

<sup>15</sup> The expression ‘left-liberal’ is used for a range of non-right-wing ideologies and related political parties and elites. I will not problematize here the range of ideologies this expression comprises, nor will I enter the debate about the existence of the Hungarian Left. I will use the expression ‘left-liberal’ as it is a category that structures Hungarian political discourses.

## CHAPTER 1

<sup>16</sup> I use the term geography in quotation marks to highlight that the concepts of ‘East’ and ‘West’ are less geographical than economic, political, and sociocultural categories. However, in Hungarian discourses the value-laden ‘East’ and the ‘West’ are often taken literally in a geographical sense: thereby not only are geographical, economic, and sociocultural aspects conflated, but differences are also naturalized and essentialized. It is the realignment of economic and cultural relations, I will argue in later chapters, that has created tensions vis-à-vis the naturalization of hierarchies.

<sup>17</sup> Roger Lancaster, “Panic: A Guide to the Uses of Fear” in *Sex Panic and the Punitive State*. (Berkeley: UC Press, 2011), 23-38.

<sup>18</sup> *Ibid.*, 23-25.

<sup>19</sup> *Ibid.*, 25-30.

<sup>20</sup> *Ibid.*, 30-38.

<sup>21</sup> Holly Wardlow, “Anger, Economy, and Female Agency: Problematizing ‘Prostitution’ and ‘Sex Work’ among the Huli of Papua New Guinea,” *Signs: Journal of Women in Culture and Society* 29, no. 4 (2004), 1029-1030.

<sup>22</sup> Sophie Carter, “‘This Female Proteus’: Representing Prostitution and Masquerade in eighteenth-Century English Popular Print Culture,” *Oxford Art Journal* 22, no. 1 (1999), 57-79.

<sup>23</sup> *Ibid.*, 57-69.

<sup>24</sup> *Ibid.*, 69-79.

<sup>25</sup> Petra de Vries, "'White Slaves' in a Colonial Nation: The Dutch Campaign against the Traffic in Women in the Early Twentieth Century," *Social & Legal Studies* 14, no. 1 (2005), 39–60.

<sup>26</sup> *Ibid.*, 40-49.

<sup>27</sup> Besides, danger was narrated to be outside of the 'protective' family, reinforcing the patriarchal image of women lacking autonomy and in need of male protection. The change in the focus of the anti-'white slavery' campaign (from social to legal), the related gender composition of the movement, and its actual legal and political consequences indicate how hierarchies of gender and age were reinforced. Laws regulating the trafficking in women were mostly used to locate missing (often runaway) women and girls, reinforcing the patriarchal control of family (*Ibid.*, 50-56).

<sup>28</sup> Don Kulick, "Sex in the New Europe: The Criminalization of Clients and Swedish Fear of Penetration," *Anthropological Theory* 3, no. 2 (2003), 199-218.

<sup>29</sup> *Ibid.*, 199-207.

<sup>30</sup> *Ibid.*, 210-211.

<sup>31</sup> Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism*, rev. ed. (1983; repr., London: Verso, 2006); Ernest Gellner, *Nations and Nationalism* (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1983); Eric Hobsbawm, *Nations and Nationalism since 1780: Programme, Myth, Reality*, 2nd ed. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992; Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990)

<sup>32</sup> Jenő Szűcs, *Nemzet és Történelem*, 2nd ed. (Budapest: Gondolat, 1984; Budapest: Gondolat, 1974), 25-27.

<sup>33</sup> Jenő Szűcs, *Nemzet és Történelem*, 25-27.

<sup>34</sup> Political loyalty in the Middle Ages tied person to person according to the hierarchical structure of the society rather than to an ethnic group consciousness (based on common customs and origin) or a political community. Political communities emerged in the 13th century when the secular-corporative forms of organization appeared within feudalism accompanied by stipulations over the nature and origin of power. The developing statist forms of 'political society' were explained mainly by Christian and Antique sources (*Ibid.*, 83-87). However, forms of national ideology did appear in the Middle Ages and influenced modern nationalisms. Group loyalty to the knightage, nobility, and the bourgeoisie became more and more emphatic from 1300, since these entities were independent of the monarch, the church, and higher authorities. At first, these forms of community consciousness were amorphous and corroborated with civil law and scholasticism rather than ethnic belonging. However, as one of these legal-political communities (communitates)—at first, the nobility—gained a political role in a monarchy, it started to develop a national ideology based on an often ethnicized origin story (as that of the French nobility, which claimed Trojan ancestry as opposed to the Gallic slave ancestors of their serfs). These national ideologies of the nobility originated as they shook down ancient and naïve ethnic traditions and replaced them with the ideas of social freedom and the ability to bear arms, and justified this mainly on the basis of general European theoretical traditions (*Ibid.*, 25-26, 91-97).

<sup>35</sup> *Ibid.*, 100., 285-286.

<sup>36</sup> As he argues, Hungarian nationalism developed both a *Staatsnation* (state-nation, more a characteristic on the Western side of the Rhine) and a *Kulturnation* (cultural nation, more a characteristic on the Eastern side of the Rhine) consciousness. This reflects on the one hand the double image of the nobility as an owner class, the heir of 'estatist spirit' and at the same time as intellectual, the sharer and local translator of 'European culture'. Besides, this dual nature also followed from the situation of the country in which

Hungarian language and culture served as justificatory grounds against the Habsburgs, whereas the historical Hungarian state did against the nationalities. At the same time, the historical state was also a major reference point in the argumentation for estatism, which was claimed to preserve the local traditions against the foreign central power. Szűcs connects the *Staatsnation* branch of national ideology mainly to the attitudes of the impoverished nobility ('dzsentrí'), and the less developed and less theoretical *Kulturnation* branch to a much smaller intellectual base, expressed in literature (*Ibid.*, 30-33). At another point, he associates this double-faced character of the national consciousness to the distinct attitudes of the (impoverished) nobility and of the bourgeoisie, suggesting that Hungarian nationalism did gain bourgeois characteristics, although very slowly. These bourgeois-tinted voices and their early antecedents, which Szűcs traces in great poets and thinkers, express a desire to modernize the country against its provincial reality. Thus, whereas much of the nobility used national ideologies to justify its privileges and to exploit serfs, there were many noblemen who really devoted themselves to the liberation and betterment of the 'nation', Szűcs argues (*Ibid.*, 100-101).

<sup>37</sup> *Ibid.*, 73-75.

<sup>38</sup> Alexander Kiossev, "Notes on the Self-Colonising Cultures"

<sup>39</sup> This traumatic lack, he adds, is structurally analogous with the absence of the transcendental in pre-modern societies: cultures on the European periphery thus substitute the transcendental deity with an alien civilization. They accept this alien's narcissistic ideology in which it presents itself as universal humanity, whereas for them the universal always remains the other.

<sup>40</sup> A further sublimative rationalization, characteristic of other (racial, sexual, etc) traumatic identities as well, is the attempt to reverse the adopted hierarchical relationship between self and other, a futile effort to overcome the shame of experiencing the self as absence, impurity, chaos, ugliness instead of essence, presence, purity, harmony, and beauty. However, the reversal can never be stable, there is a constant awareness of threat, the possible reiteration of reversal and thus of the trauma. In a third sublimative rationalization, the birth of the nation will be sublimated as re-birth, revival in a historical narrative in which the birth-trauma is rationalized as a temporary disruption that will be overcome and forgotten.

<sup>41</sup> Medieval Hungarian nobility created itself Scythian origin story to legitimize itself as a political nation.

<sup>42</sup> He adds that although these two forms typically have not occurred in a totally pure form through history, they have appeared in their components everywhere and have completely pervaded Hungarian social consciousness. These opposing but complementary traditions provide the conceptual framework and the closed discursive space in which one can think and speak about any issue of public concern. See: Attila Márton Farkas, "Szittyá Nacionalizmus vs. Birodalmi Progresszizmus: Az Öngyarmatosítás Két Metaforája Magyarországon." *Replika* 75 (2012), 169-171.

<sup>43</sup> *Ibid.*, 169-170, 177-181.

<sup>44</sup> As Farkas explains in more detail, the triangle of the self-colonizing discourses and its main subjects is the following: first, anti-independence imperialist endeavors (the central power and rising classes, i.e. the bourgeoisifying nobility and the mostly foreign bourgeoisie), second, their 'natural' allies, the most vulnerable part of society, exploited and excluded from the nation defined in terms of nobility (the serfs), and third, nationalist, anti-modernist forces anxious over losing their prerogatives and lifestyle ((minor) nobility). This formula has appeared in different forms, e.g. after the Austro-Hungarian Compromise of 1867, as the opposition of the rising, Westernized, radical and social democratic urban intellectuals and the rural impoverished nobility that was unable to find its place in the new world order (*Ibid.*, 177-181). This surviving dualism has given rise after the regime change to a double economic and social structure with different spheres of interest, Farkas writes drawing on a study by Erzsébet Szalai. See: Erzsébet Szalai,

*Gazdasági Elit és Társadalom a Magyarországi Újkapitalizmusban* (Budapest: Aula, 2001), 240-247., cited in Farkas, 180-181.

<sup>45</sup> Alexander Kiossev, "The Self-Colonizing Metaphor," in *Atlas of Transformation*, eds. Zbyněk Baladrán and Vít Havránek (Prague: Tranzit, 2010). <http://monumenttotransformation.org/atlas-of-transformation/html/s/self-colonization/the-self-colonizing-metaphor-alexander-kiossev.html> (accessed May 14, 2015)

<sup>46</sup> In fact, the modern nation in these cultures did not begin with a 'We' that was suddenly enamored with a superior "Them," but with a contemptuous 'You' that was addressed to many Bulgarian intellectuals who had personal experiences with 'modern civilized' countries, writes Kiossev in "Notes on the Self-Colonising Cultures." These intellectuals, humiliated and traumatized, repeated the humiliation with their painful enumeration of Bulgaria's shortages: in their zeal to overcome the traumatic lack, they were the first ones who conjured up a shameful 'We'.

<sup>47</sup> Larry Wolff, *Inventing Eastern Europe*, 5-10.

<sup>48</sup> Edward Said, *Orientalism* (London: Penguin, 1977), 3.

<sup>49</sup> Larry Wolff, *Inventing Eastern Europe*, 7-13.

<sup>50</sup> Maria Todorova, *Imagining the Balkans*, 15-18.

<sup>51</sup> József Böröcz, "Goodness Is Elsewhere: The Rule of European Difference," *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 48, no. 1 (2006), 130.

<sup>52</sup> Milica Bakić-Hayden and Robert M. Hayden, "Orientalist Variations on the Theme 'Balkans': Symbolic Geography in Recent Yugoslav Cultural Politics," *Slavic Review* 51, no. 1 (Spring, 1992), 4. The concept of nesting Orientalisms was further developed by Bakić-Hayden in a later article, thanks to Elissa Helms for pointing this out to me: Milica Bakić-Hayden, "Nesting Orientalisms: The Case of Former Yugoslavia," *Slavic Review* 54, no. 4 (Winter, 1995), 917-931.

<sup>53</sup> Maria Todorova, *Imagining the Balkans* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1997), 58, 142.

<sup>54</sup> As, for instance, the Hungarian anti-Ottoman struggle was perceived as a protection of European Christianity by many Hungarians, as mentioned in Pál Fodor, "Hungary between East and West: The Ottoman Turkish Legacy," in *More MODOQUE. Die Wurzeln der europäischen Kultur und deren Rezeption im Orient und Okzident* (Budapest: Argumentum Kiadó, 2013), 407.

<sup>55</sup> József Böröcz, "Goodness Is Elsewhere", 129.

<sup>56</sup> For instance: Nira Yuval-Davis, *Gender and Nation* (London: Sage Publications, 1997); Nira Yuval-Davis, "Nationalist Projects and Gender Relations," *Narodna Umjetnost* 40, no. 1 (2002): 9-36.

<sup>57</sup> Nira Yuval-Davis, *Gender and Nation*, 15.

<sup>58</sup> Nira Yuval-Davis, "Nationalist Projects," 12-16.

<sup>59</sup> *Ibid.*, 16-19.

<sup>60</sup> Wendy Bracewell, "Rape in Kosovo: Masculinity and Serbian Nationalism," *Nations and Nationalism* 6, no. 4 (2000), 566.

<sup>61</sup> George L. Mosse, *The Image of Man: The Creation of Modern Masculinity* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1996), 7.

<sup>62</sup> George L. Mosse, *Nationalism and Sexuality: Middle-Class Morality and Sexual Norms in Modern Europe* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1985), 23.; George L. Mosse, *The Image of Man*, 9.

<sup>63</sup> Wendy Bracewell, "Rape in Kosovo," 567.



<sup>64</sup> Nira Yuval-Davis, "Nationalist Projects," 19-20.

<sup>65</sup> Anne McClintock, *Imperial Leather: Race, Gender, and Sexuality in the Colonial Contest* (New York: Routledge, 1995), 1-3.

<sup>66</sup> Ann Stoler, *Carnal Knowledge and Imperial Power: Race and the Intimate in Colonial Rule* (Berkeley: UC Press, 2002), 41-78.

<sup>67</sup> *Ibid.*, 58-60.

<sup>68</sup> Jessica Greenberg, "Nationalism, Masculinity and Multicultural Citizenship in Serbia," *Nationalities Papers* 34, no. 3 (2006), 1-2.

<sup>69</sup> Sigmund Freud, "Femininity," trans. James Strachey, in *New Introductory Lectures on Psycho-analysis*, ed. James Strachey (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1973), 145-69.

<sup>70</sup> In this case, since the image comes from a queer-themed site, the intention probably is not to suggest the unnaturalness of homosexuality, but to play a joke on the homophobia of these heads of states. Nevertheless, sexuality is employed to symbolize subordination in a competition of masculinities. This is yet only one of several images depicting sexual contacts between these two heads of state, and the one implicating that Orbán gives a blow job to Putin on the same social media page is just one further example.

<sup>71</sup> Fruzsina Skrabski, *Elballgatott gyalázat* (2013), Film; Judit Kovács, *Megtagadva* (Budapest: Magvető Könyvkiadó, 2012)

## CHAPTER 2

<sup>72</sup> "Orosz szexrabszolgák exportja," *Posztinfo*, November 7, 2007. <http://posztinfo.hu/velemenyek/orosz-szexrabszolgak-exportja/> (accessed May 15, 2015)

<sup>73</sup> For instance, an article on the online site of a popular print tabloid reported about the legal proceedings in Austria against four Hungarian procurers of hundreds of Hungarian women. The article also added that a similar network, a model agency that procured models and beauty contest participants mostly to Arab countries including Morocco and the United Arab Emirates, was eliminated in Hungary: "Több száz magyar prostitúttal Tirolban," *Blikk.hu*, June 13, 2008. [http://www.blikk.hu/blikk\\_aktualis/20080613/tobbszaz-magyar-prostitut-futtattak-tirolban/](http://www.blikk.hu/blikk_aktualis/20080613/tobbszaz-magyar-prostitut-futtattak-tirolban/) (accessed 15 May, 2015). Another article on the most frequented Hungarian news portal reported about the unfettering of Hungarian and Romanian women who had been forced to prostitution in Italy: "Magyarokat kényszerítettek prostitúcióra Olaszországban," *Origo*, July 29, 2008. <http://www.origo.hu/nagyvilag/20080729-prostitutcios-halozat-tartott-fogva-magyar-lanyokat-olaszorszagban.html> (accessed May 15, 2015)

<sup>74</sup> See for instance the articles on the online sites of the largest circulated right-wing daily political journal, the largest circulated daily tabloid, and the religious sect Faith Church Hungary's weekly journal: Csaba Lukács, "Nyíregyháza utca: magyar futtatók telepedtek rá Amszterdam szexiparára," *Mno*, September 22, 2009. [http://mno.hu/migr\\_1834/nyiregyhaza-utca-295506](http://mno.hu/migr_1834/nyiregyhaza-utca-295506) (accessed May 15, 2015); "Prostitútorú Svájcban a magyarok miatt," *Blikk.hu*, June 8, 2009. [http://www.blikk.hu/blikk\\_aktualis/20090608/prostituhaboru-svajcban-a-magyarok-miatt/](http://www.blikk.hu/blikk_aktualis/20090608/prostituhaboru-svajcban-a-magyarok-miatt/) (accessed May 15, 2015); István Sebestyén and Gergely Szűcs, "Stricik és prostituáltak: szabolcsi romák uralják az amszterdami piros lámpás negyedét," *Hetek*, February 27, 2009. <http://www.hetek.hu/hatter/200902/stricik-es-prostitut> (accessed May 15, 2015)

<sup>75</sup> For instance: "Magyar lányok minden sarkon," *Nol.hu*, September 24, 2009. <http://nol.hu/belfold/20110924-magyar-lanyok-minden-sarkon-1214811> (accessed May 15, 2015); "Magyar lányok az európai kurválétra alján," *Origo*, October 12, 2012. <http://www.origo.hu/nagyvilag/20121011-magyar-roma-prostitutaltak-hollandiaban-nyiregyhazarol-amszterdamba.html> (accessed May 15, 2015)

<sup>76</sup> Szabolcs Hajdu, *Bibliothèque Pascal* (2010), Film; Men Lareida, *Viktoria: A Tale of Grace and Greed* (2014), Film

<sup>77</sup> For instance: “Nem dubajozni, svájcozni járnak a magyar lányok,” *Blikk.hu*, March 11, 2012. [http://www.blikk.hu/blikk\\_aktualis/nem-dubajozni-svajcozni-jarnak-a-magyar-lanyok-2082832](http://www.blikk.hu/blikk_aktualis/nem-dubajozni-svajcozni-jarnak-a-magyar-lanyok-2082832) (accessed May 15, 2015)

<sup>78</sup> Laura D., *Szex és Tandíj: Drága Diákéveim*, trans. Zsuzsa Morvay (Budapest: Ulpius-ház, 2008)

<sup>79</sup> For instance: “Testüket árulják a főiskolások!” *Kisalföld.hu*, October 24, 2008, [http://www.kisalfold.hu/gyori\\_hirek/testuket\\_aruljak\\_a\\_foiskolasok/2074989/](http://www.kisalfold.hu/gyori_hirek/testuket_aruljak_a_foiskolasok/2074989/) (accessed May 15, 2015) and Tünde Szarka, “Diákprostitúció: Tandíjra gyűjtök...,” *NLCafe*, March 22, 2010. [http://www.nlcafe.hu/nlevszakok/20100322/diakprostitucio\\_tandijra\\_gyujtok/](http://www.nlcafe.hu/nlevszakok/20100322/diakprostitucio_tandijra_gyujtok/) (accessed May 15, 2015)

<sup>80</sup> Szilvia Nagy and Anna Eszter Szabó, *Egyetemista Lány Támogatót Keres* (Budapest: XXI. század kiadó, 2012)

<sup>81</sup> Szabolcs Dull, “A politikusok is pletykálnak a meggyilkolt Nancy szeretőjéről,” *Index*, May 8, 2015. [http://index.hu/belfold/2015/05/08/a\\_politikusok\\_is\\_pletykálnak\\_a\\_meggyilkolt\\_nancy\\_szeretojerol/](http://index.hu/belfold/2015/05/08/a_politikusok_is_pletykálnak_a_meggyilkolt_nancy_szeretojerol/) (accessed May 15, 2015)

<sup>82</sup> For instance: Erika Fábos, “Mi lesz velük? 15 ezer prostituált Magyarországon,” *Kiskegyed*, June 5, 2012. <http://www.kiskegyed.hu/aktualis/kozugy/prostitualt-magyarorszag-turelmi-zona-115572> (accessed May 15, 2015)

<sup>83</sup> Judit Ivanyos, “Aki prosti, az is marad?” *Hvg.hu*, November 17, 2012. [http://hvg.hu/itthon/20121117\\_prostitualt\\_zurich\\_amszterdam\\_szabolcs](http://hvg.hu/itthon/20121117_prostitualt_zurich_amszterdam_szabolcs) (accessed May 15, 2015); Zsuzsa Trubek and Ádám, Bicsérdi, “Drog nélkül ez nem megy’ - magyar lányok a zürichi kéjnegyedben,” *Hvg.hu*, October 18, 2014. [http://hvg.hu/plazs/20141018\\_Drogok\\_nelkul\\_ez\\_a\\_munka\\_elkepzeltetlen](http://hvg.hu/plazs/20141018_Drogok_nelkul_ez_a_munka_elkepzeltetlen) (accessed May 15, 2015)

<sup>84</sup> “Magyarország az uniós szexipar egyik főszereplője,” *Origo*, January 26, 2010. <http://www.origo.hu/gazdasag/hirek/20100126-egy-szervezet-szeirnt-az-unios-szexipar-egyik-foszereploje-magyarorszag.html> (accessed May 15, 2015)

<sup>85</sup> An instance of the latter: “Emberkereskedelem a briteknél: így szedik rá a magyar lányokat,” *Hír24*, April 23, 2015. <http://www.hir24.hu/kulfold/2015/04/23/emberkereskedelem-a-briteknel-igy-szedik-ra-a-magyar-lanyokat/> (accessed May 15, 2015)

<sup>86</sup> As for instance one of the guest in a morning TV show about dubaiing does: *Csak csajok*, “Érzelmi ronccsá válnak, akik dubajoznak?” RTL Klub, July 13, 2011. <http://www.rtlklub.hu/musorok/csakcsajok/video/135067> (accessed May 15, 2015)

<sup>87</sup> ‘Celeb’, an abbreviation of celebrity, is used in Hungarian often in a derogatory manner for people frequently appearing on commercial television channels and in tabloid press, including reality and talent show participants, television presenters, models, playmates, sportspeople, and the like.

<sup>88</sup> *Index fórum*, “Magyar lányok Dubaiban...,” November 9, 2015. <http://forum.index.hu/Article/showArticle?t=9131459> (accessed 15 May, 2015)

<sup>89</sup> “A magyar sztárok prostituáltak lennének Dubaiban?” *Story Online*, August 15, 2007. [http://www.storyonline.hu/hirek/dubaiban\\_prostitualtak\\_magyar\\_sztarok/2808/](http://www.storyonline.hu/hirek/dubaiban_prostitualtak_magyar_sztarok/2808/) (accessed May 15, 2015); *Mokka*, “Dubai örömlány - Pflum Orsi, énekesnő és Futó Barnabás, ügyvéd,” TV2, September 6, 2007. [http://tv2.hu/musoraink/mokka/76423\\_dubai\\_oromlany\\_-\\_pflum\\_orsi\\_enekesn\\_es\\_futo\\_barnabas\\_ugyved.html](http://tv2.hu/musoraink/mokka/76423_dubai_oromlany_-_pflum_orsi_enekesn_es_futo_barnabas_ugyved.html) (accessed May 15, 2015)

<sup>90</sup> “Dubajozással vádolták meg a playmate-et,” *Velvet*, September 13, 2007. <http://velvet.hu/szex/dubai/070913/> (accessed May 15, 2015)

<sup>91</sup> *Muslimedia* was the online news service from *Crescent International*, the newsmagazine of the global Islamic movement.

<sup>92</sup> Henrik Havas, *A Sztár, a Lúzer és aki az Anyját Kereste: Molnár Anikó Története* (Budapest: Havas könyvek sorozat, 2009)

<sup>93</sup> “Bódy Sylvi is dubai lány volt?” *Kiskegyed*, June 24, 2009. <http://www.kiskegyed.hu/sztarok/sztori/bodi-sylvi-is-dubai-lany-volt-44358> (accessed May 15, 2015); “Havas: Bódy Sylvi magára vette a prostivádat,” *Bors online*, June 23, 2009. [http://www.borsonline.hu/20090623\\_havas\\_body\\_sylvi\\_magara\\_vette\\_a\\_prostivadat](http://www.borsonline.hu/20090623_havas_body_sylvi_magara_vette_a_prostivadat) (accessed May 15, 2015)

<sup>94</sup> “Millió szex,” *Blikk.hu*, June 28, 2009. [http://www.blikk.hu/blikk\\_sztarvilag/20090628/millios\\_szex](http://www.blikk.hu/blikk_sztarvilag/20090628/millios_szex) (accessed May 15, 2015)

<sup>95</sup> Vivien Szalai, *Hamis Gyönyör: Egy Luxusprostituált Vallomásai*. (Budapest: Art nouveau kiadó, 2010). The same author published another book based on the story of the same luxury prostitute in June 2011: Vivien Szalai, *Drága kéj: Egy Magyar Luxusprostituált és egy Budai Milliárdos Története*. (Budapest: Alexandra kiadó, 2011)

<sup>96</sup> As for instance in the case of Hungarian students’ prostitution in Switzerland: *Mokka*, “Egy egyetemista lány évi 10 milliót is összespórolhat külföldi szexmunkából,” TV2, March 13, 2012. [http://tv2.hu/musoraink/mokka/28011\\_egy\\_egyetemista\\_lany\\_evi\\_10\\_milliot\\_is\\_osszesporolhat\\_kulfoldi\\_szexmunkabol.html](http://tv2.hu/musoraink/mokka/28011_egy_egyetemista_lany_evi_10_milliot_is_osszesporolhat_kulfoldi_szexmunkabol.html) (accessed May 15, 2015)

<sup>97</sup> Various examples also show that Dubai has a greater ‘appeal’ for the media than other locations. For instance, an article written about the first trial of the Dubai complained that what they expected to be the prostitution case of the year turned out to be a major disappointment, as it came to light that the majority of women were not procured to Dubai but to other locations. See: “Az RTL Klub házi kurvája a prostiper korona tanúja,” *Blikkpress*, March 24, 2015. <http://blikkpress.com/2015/03/24/kgv-hu-az-rtl-klub-hazi-kurvaja-a-prostiper-korona-tanuja/> (accessed May 15, 2015)

<sup>98</sup> As for instance mentioned in “Millió szex,” *Blikk.hu*, June 28, 2009. [http://www.blikk.hu/blikk\\_sztarvilag/20090628/millios\\_szex](http://www.blikk.hu/blikk_sztarvilag/20090628/millios_szex) (accessed May 15, 2015)

<sup>99</sup> See for instance: *Csak csajok*, “Fel lehet dolgozni a dubajozás alatt átélt élményeket?” RTL Klub, July 18, 2011. <http://www.rtlklub.hu/musorok/csakcsajok/cikk/375253> (accessed May 15, 2015)

<sup>100</sup> For instance, detached middle-class, not infrequently male ‘experts’ and a male police spokesperson are given the floor in several programs of the commercial channel TV2, and the alleged confessions of the anonymous luxury prostitute are also interpreted by the book’s author, schoolteacher and journalist Vivien Szalai. I will discuss in the following chapter in more detail the class, gender, and racial aspects of the media practices in coverages of dubaiing. It is beyond the scope of this thesis to examine the class, gender, and race politics of journalistic knowledge in general, yet it is worth mentioning that in the U.S., the ideal of journalistic objectivity was partly forged through the case of ‘white slavery’ in a classed, gendered, and racialized move according to the analysis of Gretchen Soderlund. See more on this: Gretchen Soderlund, “Covering Urban Vice: The New York Times, ‘White Slavery’, and the Construction of Journalistic Knowledge,” *Critical Studies in Media Communication* 19, no. 4 (2002), 438-460.

<sup>101</sup> See for instance the following article from a regional newspaper: Judit Farkas, “A dubajozás nyomában,” *Délmagyar*, August 7, 2011. [http://www.delmagyar.hu/szeged\\_hirek/a\\_dubajozas\\_nyomaban/2233418/](http://www.delmagyar.hu/szeged_hirek/a_dubajozas_nyomaban/2233418/) (accessed May 15, 2015)

<sup>102</sup> Sunil Agnani, “Doux Commerce, Douce Colonisation: Diderot and the Two Indies of the French Enlightenment,” in *The Anthropology of the Enlightenment*, eds. Larry Wolff and Marco Cipollini (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 2007), 70; Anne McClintock, *Imperial Leather*, 1-3.

<sup>103</sup> Michel Foucault, *The History of Sexuality: Vol. 1*, 18-62.

<sup>104</sup> “Ámor luxus kivetelben,” *Playboy*, November 17, 2009. [http://www.playboy.hu/playboy\\_vilaga/8847\\_luxusprostitu\\_szexpiaci\\_korkep.html](http://www.playboy.hu/playboy_vilaga/8847_luxusprostitu_szexpiaci_korkep.html) (accessed May 15, 2015)

<sup>105</sup> Vivien Szalai, *Hamis gyönyör*, 221.

<sup>106</sup> Vivien Szalai, *Drága kéj*, 223.

<sup>107</sup> *Bencze show*, “A Bencze show vendége: Szalai Vivien riporter, író,” January 29, 2011. <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=WsZ031agcV8> (accessed May 15, 2015)

(NB *Bencze show* is not a broadcast show, but its live shows are available online)

<sup>108</sup> “Dubajoztam, nem szégyellem,” *Arab luxus blog*, January 24, 2012. [http://arabluxus.blog.hu/2012/01/24/exkurvak\\_figyelem](http://arabluxus.blog.hu/2012/01/24/exkurvak_figyelem) (accessed May 15, 2015); “Mosolyogni kell, és tilos sírni – Dubaj-sztorik: Lilla,” *Arab luxus blog*, January 29, 2012. [http://arabluxus.blog.hu/2012/01/29/mosolyogni\\_kell\\_es\\_tilos\\_sirni\\_dubaj\\_sztorik\\_lilla](http://arabluxus.blog.hu/2012/01/29/mosolyogni_kell_es_tilos_sirni_dubaj_sztorik_lilla) (accessed May 15, 2015)

<sup>109</sup> See the first of the four articles: “Dubaiiban ribanckodnak a magyar lányok 1.,” *Hírbank*, March 7, 2010. <http://hirbank.com/2010/03/dubaiiban-ribanckodnak-a-magyar-lanyok-1-resz/> (accessed May 15, 2015)

<sup>110</sup> Michel Foucault, *The History of Sexuality, Vol. 1*, 59.

<sup>111</sup> Péter Föld S., “Dubajozás,” *Metropol*, July 8, 2009. <http://www.metropol.hu/cikk/430442> (accessed May 15, 2015)

<sup>112</sup> “Kiderült, mit jelent a dubajozás,” *Mno*, April 24, 2012. <http://mno.hu/fejloves/kiderult-mit-jelent-a-dubajozas-1070900> (accessed May 15, 2015)

<sup>113</sup> This was one of the aims of the site dedicated to the topic of dubaiing besides collecting articles and various information. The site is no longer available. *Dubajozás*, <http://dubajozas.hu/> (accessed December 16, 2012)

<sup>114</sup> Silvia Federici, *Caliban and the Witch: Women, the Body and Primitive Accumulation* (Brooklyn, NY: Autonomedia, 2004), 191-192.

<sup>115</sup> See for instance: “Overdose nem dubajozik, Angliában kezelik,” *Sport24*, March 16, 2012. <http://sport.hir24.hu/tobb-sport/2012/03/16/overdose-nem-dubajozik-angliaban-kezelik/> (accessed May 15, 2015)

<sup>116</sup> Viktor Egri, “Fél Európa dubajozni jár,” *VS*, March 2, 2015. <http://vs.hu/sport/osszes/fel-europa-dubajozni-jar-0302> (accessed May 15, 2015)

<sup>117</sup> Péter Magyar, “Orbán: Keleti szél fúj,” *Index*, November 5, 2010. [http://index.hu/belfold/2010/11/05/orban\\_keleti\\_szel\\_fuj/](http://index.hu/belfold/2010/11/05/orban_keleti_szel_fuj/) (accessed May 15, 2015)

<sup>118</sup> Ágnes Gagy, “Smartphones and the European flag: the new Hungarian demonstrations for democracy”

<sup>119</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>120</sup> “Orbán Viktor is dubajozik,” *Amerikai Népszava Online*, August 16, 2011. <http://nepszava.com/2011/08/magyarorszag/orban-viktor-is-dubajozik.html> (accessed 15 May, 2015)

<sup>121</sup> “Orbán Arábiában: elhozza-e a Kelet aranyát?” *Hírszerző*, October 6, 2011. [http://hirszerzo.hu/szemle/2011/10/6/20111006\\_orban\\_szaud\\_arabia](http://hirszerzo.hu/szemle/2011/10/6/20111006_orban_szaud_arabia) (accessed December 16, 2012). Although the article

itself did not make the connection with dubaiing, some commenters on the site's facebook page did: <https://www.facebook.com/Hirszerzo/posts/143171005781938> (accessed May 15, 2015)

<sup>122</sup> “Dubajozni mentek a Magyar politikusok,” *Borsonline*, February 23, 2012. <http://www.borsonline.hu/cikk.php?id=53723> (accessed May 15, 2015). A further blog post referring to Kövér and Rogán's travel to Saudi Arabia as dubaiing: “Dubajozás,” *Mindenről? Mindig? Miért?*, February 22, 2012. [http://mittu-domain.blog.hu/2012/02/22/dubajozas\\_341](http://mittu-domain.blog.hu/2012/02/22/dubajozas_341) (accessed May 15, 2015)

<sup>123</sup> “Habony Rogánnal dubajozott az Emírségekben,” *168 Óra Online*, February 26, 2015. <http://www.168ora.hu/itthon/habony-rogannal-dubajozott-abu-dzabiban-134072.html> (accessed May 15, 2015)

<sup>124</sup> Árpád Tóta W., “Dubajozás Bakuban,” *Hvg.hu*, September 4, 2012. [http://hvg.hu/w/20120904\\_Dubajozas\\_Bakuban](http://hvg.hu/w/20120904_Dubajozas_Bakuban) (accessed May 15, 2015)

### CHAPTER 3

<sup>125</sup> “Ámor luxus kivitelben,” *Playboy*; “Molnár Anikó a dubajozásból is jól jött ki,” *Velvet*, June 22, 2009. <http://velvet.hu/celeb/hcdb/napcelebje/2009/06/22/molnar-aniko-a-dubajozasbol-is-jol-jott-ki/> (accessed May 15, 2009); “Mosolyogni kell, és tilos sírni” – Dubaj-sztorik: Lilla,” *Arab luxus blog*; Sebestyén Nagy “Egy magyar luxusprostituált története,” *NLCafé*, October 13, 2010. <http://www.nlcafe.hu/szexesmas/20101013/egy-magyar-luxusprostitualt-tortenete/> (accessed May 15, 2015)

<sup>126</sup> For instance: László Rimóczi, “Dubai csapdái - a tízezer eurós lányok élete,” *Dívány*, November 12, 2010. <http://divany.hu/intim/2010/11/12/dubai-csapdai/> (accessed May 15, 2015); *Origo*, “Dubaj, avagy a mennyek polka,” July 12, 2011. <http://www.origo.hu/archivum/20110712-dubaiba-kijaro-celebek-modellek-luxus-avagy-a-mennyek-pokla.html> (accessed May 15, 2015)

<sup>127</sup> “Itt a kurva, hol a kurva? Kis mai magyar Keleti társasjáték,” *Lico-art.hu*, October, 2010. <http://www.lico-art.hu/media/cikkek.php?cikk=362> (accessed May 15, 2015)

<sup>128</sup> See for instance: Joseph Lenz, “Base Trade: Theater as Prostitution,” *ELH* 60, no. 4 (1993), 833-855.

Ironically, though not surprisingly, some articles thematize the relationship between prostitution and media, especially commercial channels and tabloids, thus associating prostitution with newer forms of media. Although this is an interesting aspect of dubaiing discourses as conceptions about the mass media are highly classed and gendered, it is beyond the scope of this paper to analyze the association between media and dubaiing in these discourses.

<sup>129</sup> For instance: László Rimóczi, “Dubai csapdái - a tízezer eurós lányok élete” and “Ámor luxus kivitelben,” *Playboy*

<sup>130</sup> *Bencze show*, “A Bencze show vendége: Szalai Vivien riporter, író”

<sup>131</sup> “Dubaiiban ribanckodnak a magyar lányok 1.,” *Hírbank*

<sup>132</sup> See for instance: “Dubaj prosti-per: tévésztár, szépségkirálynő, és címlaplányok a tanúk között,” *Velvet*, March 25, 2015. <http://velvet.hu/helyszinelo/2015/03/25/dubaj-per/> (accessed May 15, 2015)

<sup>133</sup> “Az év celebperében végre kiderült, escort = szexuális szolgáltatást nyújtani,” *Velvet*, March 6, 2015. <http://velvet.hu/helyszinelo/2015/03/06/repas-lajos-per/> (accessed May 15, 2015)

<sup>134</sup> For instance: “Továbbra is ‘dubajoznak’ a lányok - újabb kerítő került a rendőrség látókörébe,” *Pesti Riport*, July 18, 2013. <http://pestiripor.hu/WebArticleShow.aspx?LN=Hungarian&AGM=Aktualis&AN=dubajozas&MN=Aktualis> (accessed May 15, 2015)

<sup>135</sup> Sophie Carter, “This Female Proteus,” 75.

<sup>136</sup> See for instance: “Csak polgári értékrendű lányok mehettek dubajozni,” *Hvg.hu*, March 25, 2015. [http://hvg.hu/itthon/20150325\\_Dubajozas\\_eljaras\\_NNI\\_targyalas\\_PKKB](http://hvg.hu/itthon/20150325_Dubajozas_eljaras_NNI_targyalas_PKKB) (accessed May 15, 2015)

<sup>137</sup> Vivien Szalai, *Hamis gyönyör*, 7-8.

<sup>138</sup> *Origo*, “Dubaj, avagy a mennyek polka”

<sup>139</sup> “Tíz nap alatt tízezer eurót keresnek a Dubajban kurválkodó ‘celebek’”, *Kuruc.info*, July 15, 2011. <https://kuruc.info/r/6/82103/> (accessed May 15, 2015)

<sup>140</sup> Although it is not mentioned in the article, Amanda probably was not allowed to Dubai on the grounds of “imitating a woman,” which is criminalized in the Emirates.

<sup>141</sup> See for instance: *Mokka*, “Egy egyetemista lány évi 10 milliót is összespórolhat külföldi szexmunkából”

<sup>142</sup> See for instance: “Dubaiiban ribanckodnak a magyar lányok 1.,” *Hírbank*; “Dubai csapdái - a tízezer eurós lányok élete,” *Dívány*

<sup>143</sup> See for instance: Zita Kempf, “Megszenvednek a pénzért a dubaji prostituáltak,” *NLCafe*, July 15, 2011 [http://www.nlcafe.hu/ezvan/20110716/megszenvednek\\_a\\_penzert\\_a\\_dubaji\\_prostitualtak/](http://www.nlcafe.hu/ezvan/20110716/megszenvednek_a_penzert_a_dubaji_prostitualtak/) (accessed May 15, 2015); “Dubaiozás: Molnár Anikó tagad,” *168 Óra Online*, July 7, 2011. <http://www.168ora.hu/punch/dubaiozas-molnar-aniko-tagad-78683.html> (accessed May 15, 2015); “Dubaiiban ribanckodnak a magyar lányok 4,” *Hírbank*, March 15, 2010. <http://hirbank.com/2010/03/dubaiiban-ribanckodnak-a-magyar-lanyok-4/> (accessed May 15, 2015); *Mokka*, “A legtöbben itthon edzenek a dubajozásra,” TV2, July 20, 2011. [http://tv2.hu/musoraink/mokka/66172\\_a\\_legtobbent\\_itthon\\_edzenek\\_a\\_dubajozasra.html](http://tv2.hu/musoraink/mokka/66172_a_legtobbent_itthon_edzenek_a_dubajozasra.html) (accessed May 15, 2015)

<sup>144</sup> *Fókusz*, “Botrány lett a jól fizető szexmunkákból,” RTL Klub, July 13, 2011. <http://rtl.hu/rtlklub/fokusz/video/331029> (accessed May 15, 2015); *Csak csajok*, “Elítélendő dolog a ‘dubajozás?’” RTL Klub, July 13, 2011. <http://rtlklub.hu/musorok/csakcsajok/video/134587> (accessed May 15, 2015)

<sup>145</sup> “Teljesen átlagos magyar a prostiügybe keveredett K. Zoltán,” *Velvet*, July 14, 2011. [http://velvet.hu/sztori/2011/07/14/abszolute\\_atlagos\\_magyar\\_a\\_prostiugybe\\_keveredett\\_k\\_zoltan/](http://velvet.hu/sztori/2011/07/14/abszolute_atlagos_magyar_a_prostiugybe_keveredett_k_zoltan/) (accessed May 15, 2015); “Dubaj prosti-per: tévésztár, szépségkirálynő, és címlaplányok a tanúk között,” *Velvet*

<sup>146</sup> Whether postfeminism can be applied to the Hungarian context is questionable, since women’s movements have had a very different history than in the countries from which the discourse of postfeminism originates. I do not expand on this question here.

<sup>147</sup> Sophie Carter, “‘This Female Proteus’,” 57-79.

<sup>148</sup> Nira Yuval-Davis, “Nationalist Projects,” 12-19.

<sup>149</sup> For instance: “Dubai csapdái - a tízezer eurós lányok élete,” *Dívány*

<sup>150</sup> Nira Yuval-Davis, “Nationalist Projects,” 16-19.

<sup>151</sup> “Az igazi országimázs,” *Vastagbőr*, July 15, 2011. [http://vastagbor.blog.hu/2011/07/15/orszagimazs\\_2033](http://vastagbor.blog.hu/2011/07/15/orszagimazs_2033) (accessed May 15, 2015)

<sup>152</sup> See for instance: “Szexbotrány: megbosszulja magát a ‘dubajozás?’” *Hír24*, July 6, 2011. <http://www.hir24.hu/szines/2011/07/06/szexbotrany-megbosszulja-magat-a-dubajozas/> (accessed May 15, 2015)

<sup>153</sup> *Mokka*, “Hajdú a Nemzeti Nyomozó Irodához fordult a Dubaj ügyben – Csak gerjesztették a botrányt?” TV2, July 13, 2011. [http://tv2.hu/musoraink/mokka/66242\\_hajdu\\_a\\_nemzeti\\_nyomozo\\_irodahoz\\_fordult\\_a\\_dubaj\\_ugyben\\_csak\\_gerjesztettek\\_a\\_botranyt.html](http://tv2.hu/musoraink/mokka/66242_hajdu_a_nemzeti_nyomozo_irodahoz_fordult_a_dubaj_ugyben_csak_gerjesztettek_a_botranyt.html) (accessed May 15, 2015)

<sup>154</sup> Anita Élő, “Szexport,” *Válasz.hu*, August 3, 2011. <http://valasz.hu/itthon/szexport-39845> (accessed May 15, 2015)

<sup>155</sup> For instance: Zita Kempf, “Megszenvednek a pénzért a dubaji prostituáltak”

<sup>156</sup> “Kiderült, mit jelent a dubajozás,” *Mno*; “Ámor luxus kivitelenben,” *Playboy*

<sup>157</sup> “Dubajozunk, Dubajozunk? Na, tessék szépen hazamenni pénzért kefélni!” *Xfree*, July 12, 2012. [http://blog.xfree.hu/myblog.tvn?n=cobraboy&pid=50258&blog\\_cim=Dubajozunk,%20Dubajozunk?](http://blog.xfree.hu/myblog.tvn?n=cobraboy&pid=50258&blog_cim=Dubajozunk,%20Dubajozunk?) (accessed May 15, 2015)

<sup>158</sup> One of the most well-known traditional embroideries, which is also considered a national heritage.

<sup>159</sup> For instance: “Az igazi országimázs,” *Vastagbőr*

<sup>160</sup> Tibor Csontos, “Menjünk dubajozni!” *Mix Online*, July 13, 2011. <http://mixonline.hu/Cikk.aspx?id=54292> (accessed May 15, 2015)

<sup>161</sup> “Dubajozunk, Dubajozunk? Na, tessék szépen hazamenni pénzért kefélni!” *Xfree*

<sup>162</sup> Wendy Bracewell, “Rape in Kosovo,” 577.

<sup>163</sup> While this is the more typical gendering of Hungary in the context of transnational relations, as for instance in a short post on a small blog (arguing that ‘Hungarystan’ is a whore that is fucked from every side and is not paid for it), I found one blog entry that differs from this trend. This post, employing various elements of self-colonization and ‘nesting’ Orientalism, calls Budapest the Bangkok of Europe and blames the provincial, semi-feudal state of Hungary for the centuries-long enslavement and sell-off of its women. In this narrative, Hungary is not the victimized female prostitute but the victimizing male pimp. See: “Dubajozás,” *Póli16*, July 19, 2011. [http://polo16.blog.hu/2011/07/19/dubajozas\\_2](http://polo16.blog.hu/2011/07/19/dubajozas_2) (accessed May 15, 2015); “Budapest: Európa Bangkokja,” *Objektív Magyarság*, March 23, 2010. [http://objektivmagyarsag.blog.hu/2010/04/23/budapest\\_europa\\_bangkokja](http://objektivmagyarsag.blog.hu/2010/04/23/budapest_europa_bangkokja) (accessed May 15, 2015)

<sup>164</sup> For instance: “Terry Black: Igen, ők járnak Svájcba ‘dubajozni,’” *Kiskegyed*, July 18, 2013. <http://www.kiskegyed.hu/kikapcsolodas/szines-hirek/terry-black-svajc-dubaj-szexmunka-123274> (accessed May 15, 2015); *Playboy*, “Ámor luxus kivitelenben”

<sup>165</sup> See for instance: *Fókusz*, “Botrány lett a jól fizető szexmunkákból”

Some of the imagery also include heavy tapestries, chandeliers, rich decoration, or jewelry, as for instance the profile photo of the Facebook page (<https://www.facebook.com/dubajozas>) of the currently unavailable site dubajozas.hu and the cover of Szalai’s *Hamis Gyönyör*.

<sup>166</sup> Maria Todorova, *Imagining the Balkans*, 13.

<sup>167</sup> For instance: *Mokka*, “Mi is az a dubai-ozás?” TV2, July 7, 2009. [http://tv2.hu/musoraink/mokka/72369\\_mi\\_is\\_az\\_a\\_dubai-ozas.html](http://tv2.hu/musoraink/mokka/72369_mi_is_az_a_dubai-ozas.html) (accessed May 15, 2015); *Aktív*, “Cicciolina is szexelt Dubaiban,” TV2, September 1, 2011. [http://tv2.hu/musoraink/aktiv/55452\\_cicciolina\\_is\\_szexelt\\_dubaiban.html](http://tv2.hu/musoraink/aktiv/55452_cicciolina_is_szexelt_dubaiban.html) (accessed May 15, 2015)

<sup>168</sup> Maria Todorova, *Imagining the Balkans*, 13.

As for the association between the ‘East’ and fairy tales, while this is a single occurrence that I found, an article plays ironically on the superficial similarity between the lives of some dubaiing women and heroines of fairy tales when mentioning that some dubaiing women married their ‘princes’ and live happily in Dubai now.

<sup>169</sup> Edward Said, *Orientalism*, 208.

<sup>170</sup> “Dubajozás, rabszolgaság és hatalmas fejlődés,” *Határátkelő*, July 15, 2013. [http://hataratkelo.blog.hu/2013/07/15/dubajozas\\_rabszolgasag\\_es\\_hatalmas\\_fejlodes](http://hataratkelo.blog.hu/2013/07/15/dubajozas_rabszolgasag_es_hatalmas_fejlodes) (accessed May 15, 2015)

<sup>171</sup> Edward Said, *Orientalism*, 162., 286-287., Maria Todorova, *Imagining the Balkans*, 13-14.

<sup>172</sup> For instance: “A szado-mazo és a csoportszex alapnak számít!” *Stop*, May 15, 2010. <http://www.stop.hu/bulvar/a-szado-mazo-es-a-csoportszex-alapnak-szamit/664613/> (accessed May 15, 2015); Viven Szalai, “Egy magyar prosti Dubaiban,” *NLCafe*, November 2, 2010. [http://www.nlcafe.hu/szexesmas/20101102/egy\\_magyar\\_prosti\\_dubaiban/](http://www.nlcafe.hu/szexesmas/20101102/egy_magyar_prosti_dubaiban/) (accessed May 15, 2015); “Fülledt orgiák, perverz férfiak - Kitalál a magyar luxusprosti,” *Stop*, October 27, 2010. <http://stop.hu/bulvar/fulledt-orgiak-perverz-ferfiak-kitalal-a-magyar-luxusprosti/764578/> (accessed May 15, 2015); Zita Kempf, “Megszenvednek a pénzért a dubaji prostituáltak”

<sup>173</sup> Péter Föld S., “Dubajozás”

<sup>174</sup> Edward Said, *Orientalism*, 138., 188.

<sup>175</sup> *Ibid.*, 190.

<sup>176</sup> Meyda Yeğenoğlu, *Colonial Fantasies: Towards a Feminist Reading of Orientalism* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998), 25.

<sup>177</sup> “Dubajozás, rabszolgaság és hatalmas fejlődés,” *Határátkelő*



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