

# Face Negotiation Theory in Lived Experiences of Female Sex Workers in Former Dolly

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## ABSTRACT

This study applied face negotiation theory in the context of the intercultural communication of commercial sex workers in the former Dolly region of Surabaya. The data collection method used observations, interviews, and documentation. The research problem of this study is how female sex workers in former Dolly applied Negotiation in Communication with Significant Others (Environment, Family, Clients). How did female sexual workers apply face negotiation theory in their living practices. What are the main factors of the return of the practice of prostitution. This type of research is a qualitative study by providing a systematic description of the actual condition of the research object. The lived experiences of commercial sex workers illustrate that female sex worker is frequently a manifestation of limited access resources and jobs due to violence. Communication experience of female sex workers in carrying out the profession and the return of the practice of prostitution. The results showed that female sex workers were doing this type of work due to economic demands. The communication experience that is carried out in the family, social, and professional environment has experienced various problems, both associative and dissociative because the communication relations carried out always experience social processes that always change according to the conditions in society

**Keywords:** *face negotiation theory, female sex workers, former Dolly*

## 1. INTRODUCTION

Prostitution, often referred to as the world's oldest profession, is a major source of income for some adults in most countries around the world in the 21st century. While estimates of the number of adults who sell sexual services warrant caution because of sampling and methodological concerns and the absence of accurate population counts [1]

Kehidupan di lokalisasi prostitusi Dolly Surabaya selalu menarik untuk dikaji dari beragam aspek, termasuk saat lokalisasi ini ditutup. Menurut Noviana [2] Dolly Localization that closed by Surabaya city Government became sensational news, but because of the resistance efforts of the prostitutes and pimps, also because of the economic impact of society in the region.

Commercial sex workers dare to sacrifice themselves, their future, and their lives to earn money. Even though the money from the hard work does not become his own completely, the money must be divided among all parties involved in his work, such as money for pimps, security fees, room fees, service fees and so on. Therefore, it is reasonable to say that they are also the most disadvantaged group of sexual-contractual exchanges between sex workers and their clients[3]

Among the people most stigmatized and humiliated around the world are women who engage in prostitution. These commercial sex workers (CSWs) are belittled and discredited by the wider community and they are rarely given the opportunity to talk and talk about themselves and their experiences in life. The practice of sexuality in Indonesia is generally strictly prohibited, but is still practiced secretly and sometimes even without heeding age restrictions. Even minors can rent sexual films very easily. The practice of pornography and porno-action is prohibited in public spaces, but in hidden spaces it continues to occur[3].

According Kadir, [4] in general, there are several factors that cause a woman to become a commercial sex worker (PSK), including poverty and the fulfillment of life necessities, dissatisfaction with the work being carried out and income that is considered insufficient, because she does not have intelligence. sufficient to enter the formal sector or to pursue a higher level of education, a background of damage or incompleteness in family life, such as children who are not cared for and lack of parental affection, hurt that a husband who cheats or remarries is left behind, because he is not satisfied with previous sexual life, has physical defects.

## 2. LITERATURE REVIEW

### 2.1. Previous study

There are many studies on the theme of prostitution. Some of them are: First, research conducted by Cecilia Benoit and S. Mikael Jansson [1] on the Stigma of Prostitution and its Effects on Working Conditions, Personal Life and Health of Sex Workers. This study concludes that stigma about sex workers is a fundamental cause of inequality for those who work as sex workers. Research proves that the stigma of prostitution stems from cultural norms about gender and sexuality. Commercial sex workers often experience social exclusion, and reduce opportunities in life because of their profession. Sex workers, as active agents of their own destiny, manage stigma by utilizing available tactics. Some sex workers are actively reframing and trying to counter work stigma by engaging in collective action

The second research is Strategies of Stigma Resistance Among Canadian Gay-Identified Sex Workers [5]. In summary, it appears that some gay-identified male sex workers may challenge society's view of sex work, as it pertains to escorting, through a variety of resistance techniques. Such findings underscore the need to move beyond narrow avenues of inquiry (e.g., sex worker as vector of HIV/AIDS transmission) and to avoid reductionistic and irresolvable issues affiliated with the prostitution is good/prostitution is bad debate.

The third research is CRACK AND PROSTITUTION: GENDER, MYTHS, AND EXPERIENCES (Erickson et al., 2000). This research concluded that the study of 30 crack-using prostitutes refutes the view that cocaine makes these women "sexually licentious," as was believed in earlier eras. It is clear that they work in the sex trade to get money and/or crack to support their own usage when few other sources of income are available to them. Far from enjoying sex while intoxicated, they describe it as aversive. Nor was their use of crack the main impetus to a career on the streets—most were involved in both the drug and sex trades previously, but crack intensified that life and led to more dangerous and perverse sexual activities. Nor has research on women who use crack and lead otherwise conventional lives indicated any particularly positive effect of cocaine on their sexual activities [6]. Nevertheless, it is possible that women in the lower echelon of the sex trade, many of whom have histories of early childhood and adolescent sexual and physical abuse, may be less inclined to take pleasure in sex, irrespective of cocaine use.

### 2.2. Prostitution

According to Connelly [7], prostitution is one phenomenon in social life. It grows despite the consequence that it arises conflict in the society because of moral perspective, particularly in religious teaching and health reason. Commercial Sex Workers (Pekerja Seks Komersial =PSK) is someone who sells his services to have sexual relations for money. Usually this service is in the form of renting out the body. In Indonesia, prostitutes

as prostitutes are often referred to as bitches or sundels, which shows that the behavior of the harlot is very bad and despicable and becomes an enemy of society. [8].

In addition, Ismadi (2009, p. 4) says that in Indonesia, where the main religion is Islam which does not condone prostitution, the profession is thriving to a point that the business of selling and buying of sex is done openly. In other side, Liem says that the biggest brothel complex in Asia in terms of the number of active prostitutes is in Surabaya.

### 2.3 Female Sex workers

According to Benoit [1] there is evidence from the studies we reviewed that sex workers also perpetuate (intentionally and nonintentionally) the very stigmatizing notions related to their work that have been inflicted upon them. This is observable through their attempt to manage the stigma they are faced with by differentiating themselves from other workers with more discreditable characteristics (street-based sex workers, exploited or trafficked sex workers, substance users, ethnic minorities, and so on) [9]. Escorts also play this game by frowning on street-based workers (Surratt et al., 2005). This type of social distancing is commonplace and creates a vicious cycle in which sex workers, in their struggle to escape prostitution stigma, perpetuate harmful stereotypes which in turn feed back into the very stigma they are burdened with at interpersonal, institutional, and structural levels.

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### 2.4. Stigma

Stigma is one of the most important problems in sex work. It is omnipresent in sexual commerce, although its substance and intensity vary somewhat by gender, by occupational sector, and by national context. Research on sex workers, their managers, and their clients offers abundant evidence of the harmful consequences of stigmatization [10]. Stigma has been described as an imputation of inferior status to those who have either a visible discrediting trait (e.g. physical disability) or some perceived moral defect. Erving Goffman defines stigma as "an attribute that is deeply discrediting," but what is key is not the attribute itself: instead stigma is a product of a relationship between at least two actors, not something inherent in a type of behavior or physical condition [11].

Erving Goffman [11] defines stigma as a social attribute or sign that separates individuals from others based on socially given judgments. Stigma is an assessment that discredits and reduces a person's credibility because it is considered to have been tainted. Stigma has been shown to have a negative impact on self-concept and identity formation, which affects the degree of

social connectedness. Stigma results in difficulty engaging in normal relationships due to shame.

### **2.5 Face Negotiation Theory**

“Face” is generally conceptualized as how we want others to see us and treat us and how we actually treat others in association with their social self-conception expectations. Face is a multilayered phenomenon: On the surface level, it connotes politeness rituals to embarrassment repair issues; on the deep level, it connotes pride–shame, honor–disgrace, to identity respect–disrespect issues. In everyday communication, individuals are constantly making conscious or semiconscious choices concerning face-saving, face maintenance, and face-honoring matters across interpersonal, workplace, and international contexts. While the concept of face is about an assessment of the “worthiness” of social image identity issues, facework is about verbal and nonverbal behaviors that protect/save self-face, other-face, mutual-face, or communal-face within a sociocultural situation [12].

Face negotiation theory is a theory that explicitly recognizes that people from different cultures have different thoughts about the “faces” of other people. This thinking causes them to face conflict in different ways [13]. The face negotiation theory was coined and developed by Stella Ting Toomey. This theory provides a basis for predicting how a face works in a different culture. The face is an essential feature in life, and a metaphor for its owner. Faces are associated with positive self-values or projecting other values in interpersonal situations. Faces are conceptualized like how someone wants others to see themselves and treat themselves and how someone treats others together with the expectations of their own social conception [14]. The face shows the appearance of a civilized front to another individual and the face is an identity defined by two people simultaneously in an episode of a relationship. Stella Ting Toomey [14] concluded that faces are a cross-cultural phenomenon, where every individual in a culture has and manages faces. Ting-Toomey [14] concluded that faces are a cross-cultural phenomenon, where every individual in a culture has and manages faces. Ting-Toomey [15] argues that face refers to a person’s sense of favorable selfworth or self-image experienced during communicative situations. Face is an emotional extension of the self-concept and is considered a universal concept; that is, people in all cultures have a sense of face, but the specific meanings of face may vary across cultures.

There are several assumptions of face negotiation theory that include important components in this theory: face, conflict, and culture [13], including: 1. Self-identity is important in interpersonal interactions, and individuals negotiate their identities differently in different cultures. 2. Conflict management is mediated by faces and culture. 3. Certain actions threaten one’s self-image (face).

The first assumption emphasizes self-identity or personal characteristics. William Cupach and Sandra Metts [16] when discussing faces, observed that when people meet, they present their self-image in an interaction. This

image is the identity that he hopes for and wants that identity to be accepted by others. Self-identity includes a person’s collective experience, thoughts, ideas, memories, and plans. Self-identity is not stagnant, it will be negotiated in interactions with other people. Culture and ethnicity influence self-identity, the way in which individuals project their own identity also varies in different cultures. This first assumption is the belief that individuals in all cultures have several different self-images and they constantly negotiate self-images. The second assumption of face negotiation theory deals with conflicts that can damage one’s social face and can reduce the closeness of the relationship between two people. In managing conflict, there are several styles including: avoidance, comply with, compromise, dominate, and integrate. In avoidance, people will try to stay away from agreements and avoid exchanges with others. The obliging style includes passive accommodation that seeks to satisfy the needs of others. Compromise style, individuals seek to find a middle ground to overcome dead ends and use a give-take approach so that a compromise can be reached. The integrating style is used to find solutions to problems. The third assumption of negotiation theory deals with the impact that an action has on faces. Ting Toomey and Mark Cole developed a threat to face process: face saving and face restoration. Face rescue includes efforts to prevent events that could create vulnerability or damage a person’s image. Meanwhile, facial recovery occurs after losing face. From Ting Toomey and Cole’s observation that people try to recover face in response to an event.

As social beings most of us have the experiences of blushing, feeling embarrassed, awkward, shameful or prideful. Many of these feelings are face related issues. When our social poise is attacked or teased, we feel the need to restore or save face. When we are being complimented or given credit for a job well done in front of others “[e] in an individualistic culture# we feel our social selfworth is enhanced and stroked. Losing face and saving face are some of the key concerns of face negotiation theory [17].

Cultural values shape our meanings and punctuation points of salient facets of social self and personal self. In some cultures social self “[e] the public self is expected to be closely aligned with the personal self “[e] the {private self. In other cultures the social self is expected to engage in optimal role performance regardless of what the inner personal self is experiencing at that interaction moment. The conceptualization of self and hence or face is the generative mechanism for all communicative behaviors [17].

### **3. METHODS**

This study, through the use of phenomenological analysis, examines the experiences of women who were previously involved in prostitution and takes a phenomenological approach to assessing the life experiences of commercial sex workers (CSWs) and how these women understand their experiences. Informants were selected with the

maximum variation among women previously involved in prostitution in the Dolly brothel, Surabaya. Personal interviews were conducted with each participant to obtain in-depth information from their experiences. This paper examines three applications of identity negotiation theory as the main themes that emerge in this study: (1) In their family relationships (2), relationships with clients, (3) relationship with the surrounding environment.

This type of research is qualitative, with a phenomenological approach. This research was conducted in the former Dolly brothel, Surabaya. The selection of informants in this study was determined by purposive sampling, namely informants were selected according to the criteria and principles of suitability and adequacy. The criteria for informants in this study were based on the availability of being interviewed, knowing the problem clearly, being reliable and being a good source of data, being able to express their opinions properly and correctly. The main informants were 3 commercial sex workers in the former Dolly area.

## 4. RESULTS AND DISCUSSIONS

### 4.1. Face Negotiation of Former Dolly Sex Workers

The community tends to insult, criticize, and make fun of the existence of Commercial Sex Workers (CSWs). CSWs are marginalized and discriminated against by society because society considers CSWs to be immoral because they are against the norms of decency that apply in society [18]

The facts that have happened to CSWs provide an illustration of how CSWs live under the pressure they get from their surroundings, both from their family and community circles, and must accept various kinds of negative stereotypes aimed at them. CSWs who consciously or unconsciously also want to be recognized as humans who have basic needs and desires like other humans in general, that is, humans definitely want to live happily so that whatever is done in the end is just to make their life happy (Kartini, 2005). The researcher used Stella Ting Toomey's face negotiation theory to analyze prostitutes in interacting with customers and the environment. Through face negotiation, the researcher tries to analyze the face work pattern or facework, both verbally and non-verbally by the prostitutes towards clients and their environment. Stella Ting Toomey [17] defines the face as one's self image in the eyes of others (one's self image in the presence of other). This face involves the appearance of a civilized front to the individual and the face is an identity that is defined by two people simultaneously in every relationship context. The face in this study is the daily identities of the prostitutes in the former Dolly brothel. The existence of these prostitutes in their daily lives makes various interactions with customers, families and the community. This is done in order to be recognized and to be able to coexist and be involved in intense interaction with the community so that

they negotiate face to face. In face negotiation theory, the definition of negotiation is a process of transactional interaction in which individuals in an intercultural situation try to affirm, define, contrast, change, or support the self-image that they and others want.

Based on the results of the research, some CSWs during their lives are aware of the negative views they get from their surroundings, but continue to live their lives for several reasons such as economy, family, past trauma. This economic reason was revealed by (Informant S):

*"The main factor is actually money. Formerly the family of the richest people in the Jombang area. But at that time, there was a bankruptcy and frequent crop failure and then got into debt. Like it or not, you have to work outside the city to earn a lot of money. That reason is what drives us to make money quickly"* (Informant S)

Family reasons are also the reason for these prostitutes to carry out their profession. Parental divorce traumatizes them deeply and forces them into this profession. This statement was conveyed by Informant R:

*"The divorce factor for my parents and life, which is always regulated by my family, makes people run away from home to find their original identity and continue their education to the university that I have always dreamed of. Whether you want it or not, because the only thing you need is large amounts of money, I want to take this job. To meet the needs of my boarding house children too"* (Informant R)

When interacting with customers, these prostitutes negotiate their faces with the appearance of makeup, how to dress, seduce, act spoiled. In this way, they hope to please and satisfy their customers. This will have an impact on increasing their income. The ability to seduce someone is not in doubt. Workers are very apt to do their job and understand how to use seduction. Flirting requires the ability of every sex worker who wants a level of satisfaction in serving guests. The various methods that are used by the prostitutes, from the voice to the perfume used are ways in the context of seducing guests.

*"Tips from me for seduction, I get clients to have a nice chat on the street while shopping, invite to eat and wear miniskirts. Just ordinary perfume. Sometimes I also want to be spoiled in bed and hopefully the guests are satisfied, I'm also good."* (Informant R)

*"Need seduction or something special. Use nice face and seductive like that, spoiled"* (Informant LS)

When interacting with families, there are two types of facial negotiations they do. For CSWs whose families know their real profession, they appear normal without any burden with their partners (husbands or girlfriends do not mind their profession). This was stated by the following informants:

*"I told my husband, bro. It's hard at first, but it's okay. my husband is okay too. Now it is hard to get a job. With my parents, I've never had any more contact anymore" (Informant MS)*

Meanwhile, for those who live their profession secretly, without the knowledge of their family, they prefer to take a silent attitude and avoid meeting with extended families. They are shy and more avoidant to protect the family's good name. They generally also rarely return to their extended family homes in their hometown. This was conveyed by the following informant R:

*"I really don't want to tell the story with my family. I had a big fight with my younger brother. "I'm just going home. But I just want to be with my playmates first. If I meet my parents once a year, but really lazy (informant R)*

In their interactions with their environment, the conflict that arises is when the prostitutes confront the official wives of their customers. This incident was experienced by the informant LS.

*"I wew a mistress. But instead I bumped into my customer's wife (Informan LS).*

#### **4.2. Conflict style dimensions of womens sex workers and others**

Ting-Toomey and Oetzel [19] maintain that the five primary conflict styles overlook some of the subtle fine distinctions of conflict behavior used across cultures and consequently have added three secondary styles, including emotional expression, third party help, and neglect. According to [19], emotional expression refers to how one might use his or her emotions to guide conflict. This is demonstrated by the type of person who listens to his or her base feelings and proceeds accordingly. Third-party help is the extent to which a person would engage an outsider to act as a go-between in the conflict. Neglect is the use of a passive-aggressive approach where one might ignore the conflict but attempt to elicit a response from the other via aggressive acts. For example, this person might insult the other or say things that might damage the other's reputation.

Ting-Toomey and Oetzel [20] state that the five main conflict styles ignore some subtle differences of conflict behavior used across cultures and consequently have

### **5. CONCLUSION**

The use of Face Negotiation Theory by female commercial sex workers to interact with clients, family and the environment. From the experiences of CSWs experienced in general, bad stereotypes or negative stigmas emerge

added three secondary styles, including emotional expression, third party assistance, and neglect. According to Ting-Toomey [19] emotional expression refers to how a person can use his emotions to guide conflict. This is demonstrated by the type of person who listens to his basic feelings and moves on. Third party assistance is the extent to which a person will engage an outsider to act as an intermediary in a conflict. Ignorance is the use of a passive-aggressive approach in which one person may ignore the conflict but try to elicit a response from the other through aggressive action. For example, this person might insult or say things that could damage another person's reputation.

The conflict that occurred in the life of a prostitute arose because the prostitute had betrayed the customer's legal wife, as well as a conflict with the customer because there were cases of customers who did not want to pay after the sexual transaction was completed. This was conveyed by the Informant LS.

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*"I was traumatized, before I was not paid, even though I have played with various styles. it turns out he has no money Not everyone who brings a car can pay. I am angry" (Informant LS)*

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from society. The prostitutes negotiate faces with customers through make-up, fashion style, spoiled attitude. Meanwhile, with the family face negotiations they do have two options, namely being silent or open about their profession. Meanwhile, face-to-face negotiations with the environment are carried out, including through the act of bullying their customers' legitimate wives. The feeling of being superior to the legal wife makes sex workers desperate to take this action.

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