

Habitus and Field of Massage Therapist Workers in the Entertainment Industry

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ABSTRACT: *Many people assume that massage therapy services in massage parlors in Jakarta are only slightly different from prostitution services which are dominated by sexuality services carried out by women for the needs of men. The difference is only in the type of service. The main target is, of course, the presence of men who want to meet their lust satisfaction by utilizing women's services. There is a stigma that massage parlors are identical to the practice of prostitution under the guise of a health therapy service business, because the practice of prostitution is carried out covertly and disguised. Prostitution under the guise of a health service business is a phenomenon that has existed in the world for a long time, including in Indonesia. This study uses Bourdieu's perspective in examining the habitus and field of massage therapy workers in the entertainment industry by using mixed, quantitative and qualitative, methods. Based on the results of the study, the habitus of massage therapy workers follows the tastes and lifestyles of upper dominant class. This shows that in the arena of entertainment industry, symbolic power is implemented through the structure and rules of the game that dominate workers and use communication as a mechanism for symbolic violence through the use of language to control the workers of massage therapy service.*

KEYWORDS: *Habitus and field, therapist, entertainment industry, symbolic power*

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I. INTRODUCTION

Entertainment industry is no longer taboo for metropolitan community. Jakarta, as the capital of Indonesia, has become one of the most popular nightlife tourist destinations which are packaged in various entertainment concepts. Today, the night entertainment industry provides not only lounges and pubs for those who need a place to enjoy night entertainment, but also spa and massage facilities for guests who want to feel the different atmosphere of the night entertainment industry.

Responding to the need for the entertainment industry to continue to run, humans have become valuable assets in advancing industrial operations and as a major aspect of the implementation of industrial operations to meet production and work targets to be achieved. This can be seen by the provision of young, beautiful massage therapists who have expertise in massage for health.

Massage therapists are workers who provide massage services, while massage parlors are places or meeting points between massage therapists and consumers. Massage parlors are intended for the industry that provides health care, but the health care facilities provided to customers are mild service only.

Fulfilling health needs is not enough just to use regular massage services. Along with the development of the health care industry and to increase added value, some massage parlors have modified massage services into prostitution under the guise of business, in which massage therapy service workers are the women who not only have massage skills, but also have to do "double profession", as a prostitute, with the purpose of meeting the customer's biological needs and making a profit.

Responding to this phenomenon, it is important for massage therapy service workers to beautify themselves, to lure customers with the charm of their beauty, and to show their expertise in order to have a sale value in front of their customers. Therefore, there is the formation of an unnatural lifestyle for workers in appearance in terms of fashion, cosmetics, and food consumption. On the one hand, the income of massage therapy service workers is not worth the work they do and the income earned is also not comparable to the lifestyle needs they live.

Finally, massage therapy service workers have unusual habits in their new formation in the entertainment industry. The workers are required to follow the structure of the entertainment industry and strive to fight in the entertainment industry arena that is strict with rules and norms that violate decency. This becomes

the dilemma of massage therapy service workers in the symbolic power of the entertainment industry and they are discriminated in the stratification of social classes through coercion of habitus from the upper class.

II. LITERATURE REVIEW

The number of prostitution businesses under the guise of massage therapy in the entertainment industry that provides massage parlors is growing wildly. According to West Jakarta City Government data, until 2016, massage therapy service providers were divided into several locations such as 247 massage parlor locations, 6 night club locations, 7 steam bath locations, 29 reflexology locations, and 7 spa locations.

Not all massage therapy service providers offer 'double' services of prostitution under the guise of a massage business. However, the status of their business license is only a license for a health massage parlor. So, in this case, there is a deviation from the profession as massage therapy workers and the habits of the workers in the entertainment industry.

An effort to examine massage therapy service workers in the entertainment industry can be seen through the habitus of the massage therapy service workers in the field of the lounge and pub entertainment industry that provides massage parlors. Habitus is the habit attached to someone as a member of a community. Bourdieu argues that honor and shame are habits that have been ingrained in someone as a tribe member in interpersonal relationships with other members of the community.

In the entertainment industry that provides sexual massage service, women are often in helpless and obedient position because of irrational ties that make them always subject to the domination and power of pimps. This eventually affects the habitus of massage therapy workers who in fact are also still in the restraint of domination by employers. The women who are already trapped in a job as massage therapists with "double" services are increasingly involved in the dark world because they become victims of the practice of extortion and threats from various parties.

Habitus is also seen from the conflict and struggle between economic capital and cultural capital, as well as the symbolic capital formed or produced by the therapist. In the dialectic, there is a connecting field. Relatively autonomous fields free the dominant classes from necessity because of direct control. Habitus has a close relationship with social position in a field. The field is an arena of strength in which there is an effort to struggle for resources (capital) and for gaining certain access that is close to the hierarchy of power.

Agents can control the fields more adequately through indirect means, such as access to education, artistic tastes, lifestyles, and the like. Values or norms underline the habitus in the form of ethos, the principles or values practiced, and the forms of moral interpreted. Habitus is obtained through spontaneous exercises but not mechanistic movements that are ignorant of the socio-historical setting, including lifestyle.

The massage therapy workers in the entertainment industry must have supportive capital in order to be able to maintain their position in the arena of massage parlors. Through habitus, the massage therapy workers need capital as an effort to live their lives in the structure of the social world created by the entertainment industry. The capital needed includes economic capital (material such as property), cultural capital (expertise), symbolic capital (beauty and self-charm), and social capital (social relations). The capitals are used to map power relations in society.

The increase in capital needed by massage therapy workers is a strategy to be in the structure of the entertainment industry. It can be seen that the increase in capital needed by the workers is a form of forced habitus from upper class. So, there is a social class gap in it. According to Bourdieu, each class has different attitudes, tastes, habits, behavior and even capital. This difference leads to the emergence of unequal relations between classes.

The workers can be easily classified according to their class only from their culture or way of life. The massage therapy workers from the lower class must try to adapt themselves to the habits, tastes, attitudes and behavior of upper class society.

Bourdieu states that tastes, lifestyle in "choosing food, fashion, and make-up", and the conception owned by each class, especially in the matter of the social role, are closely related to the social class which is influenced by the ownership of symbolic capital and cultural capital. So, in this case Bourdieu maps social classes into 3: the dominant class, the small bourgeoisie, and the popular class. [4]

Every social class is not only seen from the upper level to lower, or vice versa. However, among massage therapy workers also have differentiating stratification from each group of workers. Massage therapists have a tendency to be a differentiator in the order of stratification to have the qualities desired by the dominant classes. Upper class domination is a symbolic power for workers below them to bring benefits to the dominant class or the owner of the entertainment industry and the customers.

The symbolic power is often beyond the knowledge of the workers. Even though they do not like it, these actions strengthen the domination experienced by the dominated people themselves, because the dominated people accept the rules imposed on them.

Domination relationship depends on the situation, the resources (capital), and the strategies of the actors. Mapping power relationship is based on the ownership and the composition of the capital. As suggested by Bourdieu, the composition of capital includes interrelated individual capital. The dominant class behavior patterns usually distinguish themselves from the petty bourgeoisie class and the popular class. Among the dominant classes there is another difference between industry bosses and educators.

One way to distinguish oneself from the other two classes is through three consumption structures: food, culture, and appearance. The consumption structures have meaning in power relations. [3] The massage therapy workers unconsciously live in a dominated condition and accept symbolic violence, in which they are not aware of the violence. This is an attempt conducted by the dominant people to control the massage therapy workers in the entertainment industry arena. The workers, through their habitus, are pressured by the domination structuring on the workers. This can be seen in the practice of massage therapy workers in the lounge and pub entertainment industry.

Practice is the result of meeting between habitus (following its disposition) and capital (in various forms) in a particular field. According to Bourdieu, practice can be sorted by three characteristics. First, practice is always in a specific time and space. Second, practice is not consciously organized or orchestrated by the agent. Third, practice has an erratic liquid character, it is an improvised art. On daily activities, social life is always diverse and complex. Practice does not work on the basis of strict rules or norms.

Power domination by industry players will not apply without communication in it. In this case, communication not only serves as a means of delivering messages, but also uses language to become an instrument of power. So, language enters the agent market with elements of Doxa or provides coercion without resistance, and issues rules that must be obeyed by therapy workers without any exceptions or no objections, and are legitimate.

III. RESEARCH METODOLOGY

This study used a mixed method. Quantitative method was used to identify fields that included differences in social stratification. According to Bourdieu, the purpose of using descriptive statistics in a study is not complex speculation about cause and effect. So, the reality and statistics models are primary data to determine what the reality of social practice is.

Data collection and statistical interpretation were ways to find out the social world of massage therapy workers in entertainment industry, while collection and analysis of statements were other things. Data collection method was conducted using surveys to 103 non-therapy service workers, and 33 therapy service workers. The data presentation technique used in this study was frequency distribution and cross tabulation to measure category relationships.

Based on the analysis carried out using non-probability statistics, the most dominant factor shaping the massage therapy workers' lifestyle was social capital or social relations in the workplace environment. There were 5 clusters of the characteristics of massage therapists in the lounge and pub night entertainment industry which were divided into 2 regions in Jakarta Province: West Jakarta and East Jakarta.

Based on the 5 clusters, the data were analyzed using a qualitative approach through in-depth interviews with 5 informants in accordance with the five clusters found and non-participant observation for the two massage parlors in West Jakarta and one massage parlor in East Jakarta with initial MR.

The Double Hermeneutic Method was used as a qualitative data analysis tool in this study and served to analyze the integration of micro (individual subjects / actors of massage therapy workers in the entertainment industry) and macro (the structure in the entertainment industry that provides massage parlor and the structure in the massage therapy workers). Generative Structuralism is a relational method used by Bourdieu to analyze from two sides: subjective and objective. Case study was used as an approach to explore the unique cases in the massage parlor night entertainment industry.

IV. FINDING AND DISCUSSION

Massage therapy workers are within the scope of the sub-ordinate class as the dominated party. Massage therapy workers are part of the subordinate structure of workers of lounge and pub entertainment industry who are dominated in organizational structures that prioritize more on profit and squeeze the massage therapy workers by only providing income such as commissions from the guests per day.

Employers in the lounge and pub entertainment industry including stakeholders as well as the structures in the middle class that are able to dominate the massage therapy workers make every effort to get a large profit. This effort also applies to the leader of the organization and the owners of domination and power for economic interests.

The habits carried out by therapists outside the massage parlor in lounge and pub entertainment industry are also inseparable from the strong influence of pressure in the structure of the massage parlor and the legitimacy that must be received and fulfilled by the therapists voluntarily even though this is contrary to the

conscience of the workers. Legitimacy is of course born from the domination power of the owner of the massage parlor, and there is the delegation authority from the head of the massage parlor to the lower line which is then trusted to coordinate and manage.

Massage therapists are not formal workers like workers in the industry in general. Massage therapists only get status as informal workers whose income is not a monthly salary or honorarium given on a certain date, but depending on the number of guests they serve.

For each guest she serves, a massage therapist gets a commission from a predetermined service rate. For example, in SR message parlor, each therapist gets a commission of IDR100,000 per guest. There are some therapists who get a commission of IDR 50,000 per guest. There are even therapists who only get a commission of IDR 30,000, - per guest. If the customer or guest gets a full service, the guest is charged an additional rate of up to IDR 500,000. Additional commissions obtained by a therapist can reach IDR 300,000, if the therapist practices full service secretly. As some message parlors do, a therapist can get a net additional income of IDR 500,000.

The size of the income depends on how active the therapist is in working and her willingness to serve guests at any time without rejection or not closing the service number. This is then used by the manager of the message parlor to encourage the therapists to remain stand by and willing to serve guests at all times. As said by each massage supervisor to the therapists, "If you want to get more income, you must be diligent in serving customers and always willing to provide additional services to guests."

The presence of generous guests is an opportunity for therapists to get more income through the fees given. The therapists always try to beautify themselves to look more attractive, fashionable, and feminine in the eyes of customers so that customers are interested in ordering their services.

In this case, the massage therapists need to change their way of life to follow the way of life of the upper class to form symbolic capital as a form of prestige that they obtain. Besides, they also change lifestyles that follow the tastes of the upper class that will bring benefits. They then use the benefits they obtain as economic capital to continue their new way of life in accordance with the tastes of the dominant class.

From the practice of massage therapy in the lounge and pub entertainment industry that provides massage parlors, it can be seen that there is an upper class habitus on massage therapy workers. Most massage therapy workers come from the village. They do not know how to look and dress up. but after entering the entertainment industry, they live in the circle of social structure of the entertainment industry that demands to follow the way of life of the middle class and perform according to the taste of dominant group.

Workers in the entertainment industry are required to be able to use makeup, buy their own cosmetic needs, and choose fashion that attracts men's eyes in which the patterns are determined by the entertainment industry. Likewise, in choosing the type of cosmetics, they are not permitted to determine the type of cosmetics as they want to, but must follow instruction or recommendation from the massage parlor, especially in terms of quality and make up brand which is of course very expensive.

To look beautiful, the therapy workers often have to do beauty treatment outside of daily treatment with cosmetics devices they buy every day. There are also some therapy workers who spend their big money on injection to whiten their body skin and some even take body skin whitening supplements. This is done solely to increase their selling value and high bargaining value in order to generate more profits.

The role of the massage therapy worker is in a subordinate position with a dominated habitus and is not autonomous to form a free habit. The massage therapy workers are not given the freedom to choose their habits in their early dispositions when they were still plain and simple women.

The way to dress up and makeup that does not pay attention to the quality of appearance then changes after following the rules that apply in the massage parlor that include the quality of the appearance of the therapists in front of customers. The way the massage therapists look is a form of forced taste. This includes choosing the type of fashion and buying branded cosmetics that are not in accordance with their own tastes.

The dominant position seeks to dominate workers with the rules and norms that apply in the entertainment industry. Work operation standards as parts of the procedure rules that therapist workers must adhere are always beneficial for the message parlor. So in this case, the message parlor owner and the privilege owner give a form of cultural capital to the massage therapists in order to work in accordance with expectations and the needs of the message parlor.

Effort made by the message parlor to achieve these goals is by imposing the system of practice of power and dominance from top to bottom. So, the communication pattern emphasized and put forward is the communication pattern from top to bottom with the aim of enforcing the dominant power of the dominant classes such as customers and the message parlor itself.

The pattern formed in the power relationship between employer and worker occurs in a one-way flow pattern that has dominating nature. While between the workers themselves there is a circular pattern or communication pattern and the formation of feedback between speakers. This is a form of synchronization between therapists in daily conversation.

Massage therapy workers are not allowed to carry out other work outside the work in the massage parlor such as having a side job or further education. This aims to cover the appearance of the occupants or workers of the massage parlor so that it is not visible outside. In addition, it also aims to ensure the security of the massage parlor and the guise of prostitution in it. As a result, the workers get a strong legitimacy on this matter, in which they are actually forced so that they do not unmask outside. With the rules and regulations, workers cannot complain of anything.

The cultural production arena is formed by the opposition of two sub-arenas: limited-scale production arena and large-scale production arena. The limited-scale production arena includes the Massage Parlor itself, while the large-scale production arena includes the lounge and pub entertainment industry that provides massage parlor and spa massage. The arena of the entertainment industry also covers a wide scale in which the entertainment industry itself must also be able to develop strategies in establishing external relationships such as with government agencies, law enforcement agencies, and the wider community.

In this sub-arena there is competition among agents who risk symbolic things such as prestige and dedication. Meanwhile, in the non-physical arena, there is a fight in the form of competition among massage therapists in dealing with customers as an effort to fight for the right to life, build good social relations, thus requiring mature social capital. This social relationship includes relationships with customers, social relations with workers in the entertainment industry, both therapy and non-therapy workers, and the relationship between superiors and the social environment outside.

In an effort to build a mature social capital, it is necessary to establish good prestige such as beautiful appearance, ability to speak, ability to make others fascinated, high selling value, beautiful fashion, and beautiful accessories that appeal to the customers. In addition, they modify hair color or lengthen hair to make it look long-haired as one of the charms of attractiveness to customers, so that this can have a selling value that can be beneficial for the therapist and for the massage parlor itself.

Beauty is a symbolic capital that is indeed a virtue of a therapist. Therefore, the therapy workers are required to have enough economic capital to look beautiful. Even frequently it is found that the massage therapy workers voluntarily do irrational things to beautify their body parts even though it is very costly. In addition to building a prestige, the massage therapy workers also need a cultural capital such as expertise.

In this case, expertise includes the ability to massage or therapeutic expertise to customers. When they are able to provide a reciprocal effect of massaging such as giving a positive effect on health, comfort, and a sense of pleasure or enthusiasm to the customer, it can be said that the massage therapy workers have good cultural capital and have the potential to shape their prestige.

Massage therapy workers are in the limited-scale production arena, that is, in the massage parlor itself. The scope of the message parlor in the lounge and pub entertainment industry is the smallest of all forms of facilities provided by the entertainment industry. Therefore, a massage therapist sometimes has to work outside of the limited scale, and enter the large-scale area such as in the lounge and pub serving as a public relation for guests who want to be accompanied by female therapist, particularly when the lady escort or lady companion (LC) in charge is absent while the number of guests arriving continues to grow.

It is not only in the scope of the lounge and pub. The karaoke facilities owned by all the night entertainment industries studied also have lady companion (LC) whose job division is separate from massage therapy workers. Massage therapy worker also often replaces the position of LC who is absent and of course this makes her work time increase, while the income earned is not appropriate.

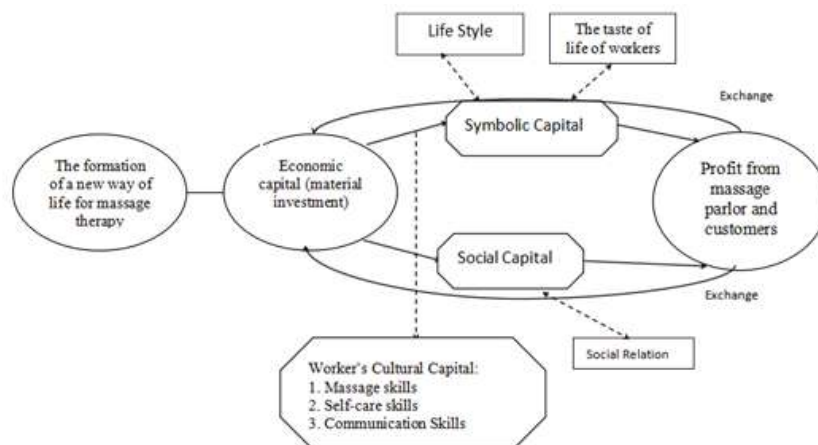


Figure 1: Exchange Strategy of Massage Therapist in Lounge and Pub Entertainment Industry
Source: Researcher, 2019

Even though the exchange, as a feedback, obtained by the massage therapy workers is in the form of profit or payment of services given by the customer, the exchange of the therapy workers only maximizes the exchange to the title of the best worker who gets the status of being prima donna. Through the title, she is often offered to customers to fully booked, and of course there are benefits she will get.

In order to gain large profits, massage therapy workers use economic and symbolic investment strategies that are directly directed in relation to struggle in the social scope. Symbolic strategy is carried out to maintain or enhance social recognition. This strategy aims to produce perceptions and assessments that support the peculiarities, for example the title as prima donna in the massage parlor.

Massage therapy workers in the lounge and pub entertainment industry that provides massage parlor really keep up their appearance so that they can attract the eyes of customers and bring them profit. This is what is called an exchange strategy, the way of life which is instilled to shape the therapist's lifestyle. This way of life includes building a high consumption culture, such as choosing a classy cosmetic device so that she will be seen as high-quality woman.

In companies, such as in the lounge and pub entertainment industry, symbolic trading activities are all self-presentation strategies to individuals. In order to be done properly, these activities require not only extreme attention to physical appearance, but also persuasion dispositions.

These dispositions are indeed in accordance with the role that is very traditionally given to women. In general, it can be understood that people can entrust some certain functions to women in the production or consumption of assets and symbolic services, or more precisely in the production and consumption of distinctive signs, ranging from cosmetic products or services (such as hair styling, facial makeup, consumption of supplements, and so on) to high couture or culture. People can do this by simply expanding the traditional role of women.

The functions provided to women are often subordinated, even though the cultural sector is one of the few sectors in which women can occupy leadership positions. In the entertainment industry itself, massage therapy workers also convert from economic capital to symbolic capital. That is why they have been predisposed to enter the permanent dialectic between pretension and distinction.

In that dialectic, fashion is one of their favorite regions, and fashion is also a motor of cultural life that is understood as an eternal movement to always strive to be superior and a promise to always be superior. The movement is symbolic which means that the movement of workers is not natural, but there is a structure that controls it and forms the workers' habitus.

The consumption structure has meaning in power relations. Types of food, the amount, and the place to eat determine or indicate which social class they come from. Fashion, quality of accessories, types of jewelry, and self-confidence possessed determine the relationships and closeness with family or friends. Therefore, cultural consumption expenditure is the reference for the dominant class.

Lifestyle is part of the foundation of workers' readiness to live in the entertainment industry with symbolic capital owned by workers to create the prestige of therapy workers in the entertainment industry. Workers must be able to adjust to the surrounding environment such as in a friendship environment that becomes an arena that is strong enough for therapy workers to shape their lifestyle.

It can be seen the formation of a cluster of therapy workers from social relations between therapy workers and friendships in different professions such as friendship with non-therapy workers in the parlor or friends in one profession both in the same and different ethnicity. In the network of worker relations in the parlor, each therapy worker shows her ownership of attribute, and how a prima donna, as a reference, can provide more value.

Economic investment strategies are not always used by massage therapists in obtaining exchange. However, there are massage therapy workers who rely on their social relations to get customers. This method is done as a strong social network between therapy workers and their customers. Even with good communication skills and satisfying services, they can bring customers, either ordered through regular or special ways.

Every worker's activity is of course inseparable from the role of communication. Communication utilizes language as a tool for dominating from the upper class and instrument of symbolic power. According to Bourdieu, language is one of the most important human attributes. Language is not only a means of communication and cultural capital, but also a social practice. Language as a social practice is the result of active interaction between objective social structures and the linguistic habitus of social actors.

According to Bourdieu, language is related to power. The process of euphemism and censorship, as a mechanism for symbolic violence, is very effectively practiced by social actors to control each other, with the aim of creating a desired world. So, language becomes an important instrument that must be owned by social actors to be able to socialize with other social actors. Furthermore, the meaning of words will be formed and absorbed into individual consciousness through socialization.

On the other hand, language is the reflection of social status. A person can show his social status through the language he uses, including the choice of words and how to pronounce them. Language reflects

culture, lifestyle, habits, ownership, and millions of other class symbols. The grammar used in the massage parlor is focused to form a power relation in the new formation of massage therapy workers in the parlor and also follow the directions in the parlor itself. Language is used by dominant groups in the entertainment industry, especially by the manager and supervisor of the parlor such as pimps or customers by imposing high-class habitus.

Communication also forms a social interaction in it. With reference to the results of this study, there is a meaningful constitution. In this case, the communication that occurs spontaneously in the massage parlor contains the meaning that is valued as the meaning of communicative action. This can be seen in the idea of John Langshaw Austin, as supported by Bourdieu in the idea of communication.

According to John L. Austin, the use of illocutionary action and illocutionary power has become both threat and goodness. As Giddens stated, Austin himself has been collided with the fact that saying something does not mean expressing something. Massage parlor manager always tells the massage therapy workers, "You have to look beautiful, so you will get more offer, and you will be booked by the guests." And the guests usually say, "Your massage service is good, so I'll take the sex package."

Utterance is not a description of an action, but being 'offered' which is then followed by being 'booked' is an action. From that case, something in ipso facto means something in action. It will appear that there seems to be a single and powerful form of the meaning that makes us not need to make a difference between doing something and saying something.

V. CONCLUSION

Habitus is the habits of massage therapy workers in the community. The habits include the way of life of the workers both in the massage parlor of the entertainment industry and in the community outside the entertainment industry, such as in friendships or social environments and in family environment.

The way of life of massage therapy workers also shapes the lifestyle of the workers in the entertainment industry, where the workers' lifestyles are formed through their habitus in the entertainment industry and the occurrence of a new debriefing in the social arena of the entertainment industry and in their social environment.

The workers who are on a heterogeneous social structure in the massage parlor industry have unconsciously created a competition among the massage therapy workers themselves through how the massage therapy workers adhere to standard rules and adapt in a structure that binds within the entertainment industry and created an arena for the struggle. So, the workers can determine the strategy how to survive in the arena of the massage parlor and the entertainment industry and how to build better social relations to get more profit.

The dominant class, by emphasizing the ideology of capitalism, seeks to maximize profits through the means of cultural, symbolic and social capital of massage therapy workers to bring benefits to the entertainment industry itself. So capitalism uses its symbolic power to suppress the massage therapy workers as a means of reification for the parlor to bring profit.

The massage therapy workers themselves are also marginalized. They are in a cornered position, in which they are shackled in their alienation from their production, that is, from what is capitalized to them, such as symbolic investment and cultural capital which are not really for themselves, but for the interests of the massage parlor.

Symbolic power is owned by the entertainment industry, where industry has a class structure in it, which then forms a structure below it as a way of dominating massage therapy workers. The difference in the stratification of social classes in the entertainment industry arena also forms new debriefing on massage therapy workers. In this case, there is coercion of the habitus from the upper social class stratification to the lower social class stratification. So, the workers also enter the stratification and adopt it in the form of new habits.

Based on interviews with five massage therapy workers, they actually know that the work they are doing is full of risks, involving health consequences, reputation, and the status of their work that does not have legality. But they do this because, according to them, there is nothing wrong with the service to customers, as long as the work they do is able to make money instantly and easily rather than having to work hard using the brain but taking long time to get money.

It seems that the massage therapy workers have no choice to get out of the habit, except to adapt to new habits in the entertainment industry environment. The capital possessed by the massage therapy workers is the capital requirement to be able to maintain their position in the entertainment industry. Through the habitus, the workers also have some capital.

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