

Digital Habitus in the Transformation of Food Processed Product MSMEs in Rural Areas: A Case Study of Kediri Young Entrepreneur (KYE) Association

Moh. Hamzah Fansuri¹, Salsabila Damayanti², Ahmad Wildan Habibi³

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Abstrak

Studi ini mengeksplorasi praktik transformasi digital pelaku usaha mikro, kecil, menengah (UMKM) produk olahan pangan perdesaan yang berasosiasi dengan Paguyuban Kediri Young Entrepreneur (KYE). Studi ini menyelidiki bagaimana pelaku UMKM produk olahan pangan yang tergabung dalam KYE mengadopsi teknologi digital untuk memperluas jaringan pasar, memperbaiki sistem, dan meningkatkan efisiensi melalui praktik sosial dan tindakan kolektif. Pendekatan interpretatif kualitatif digunakan dengan Teori Praktik Pierre Bourdieu untuk menganalisis bagaimana digitalisasi bersinggungan dengan struktur dan agensi yang kemudian membentuk jaringan sosial dalam konteks pelaku UMKM produk olahan pangan di perdesaan. Studi ini mengungkap beberapa temuan penting, yaitu; (1) praktik habitus membentuk dan dibentuk oleh struktur yang terus berkembang dan terintegrasi; (2) terjadi pergulatan simbolik berupa perebutan kuasa atas kemampuan teknologi digital di antara pelaku UMKM produk olahan pangan; (3) terjadi mobilisasi strategis baik dalam bentuk modal-ekonomi, sosial, budaya, maupun simbolik untuk mendapatkan legitimasi, memperkuat modal, dan keunggulan kompetitif. Studi ini menunjukkan bahwa transformasi digital bukan hanya perubahan teknis, namun juga transformasi sosial yang mencerminkan kecenderungan budaya, struktur kuasa, dan aksi strategis pelaku UMKM produk olahan pangan, dimana Paguyuban KYE berperan menjadi arena yang menjembatani tradisi kolektif dengan inovasi digital

Kata Kunci: *Digitalisasi, Pelaku UMKM Pedesaan, Kabupaten Kediri, Habitus Digital, Modal*

Abstract

This study explores the digital transformation practices of rural micro, small, and medium enterprises (MSMEs) food processing products associated with the Kediri Young Entrepreneur (KYE) Association. This study investigates how MSME practitioners integrate digital technologies at both the micro and macro levels. For example, they use instant messaging apps to coordinate and make group decisions, social media sites to create content, build brands, and gain market visibility through algorithms, e-marketplaces to make transactions easier and grow the market, and digital payment systems to connect operations. Drawing on Pierre Bourdieu's practice theory, this qualitative interpretive study analyzes how digitalization intersects with structure and agency and how social networks emerge among actors in rural MSME food-processing product production. This study reveals several important findings: (1) digital habitus is formed through an integrated, evolving structure in which repeated digital practices become internalized dispositions; (2) there is a symbolic struggle in the form of a struggle for power over digital technology capabilities among MSME food processing products actors; (3) strategic mobilization in the form of economic, social, cultural and symbolic capital to gain legitimacy, strengthen capital and competitive advantage. This study concludes that digital transformation, showed up in regular digital coordination, platform-based marketing, marketplace integration, and digital money management, is not merely a technical shift but also a social transformation reflecting the cultural tendencies, power structures, and strategic actions actors in MSME food processing product markets, where the KYE Association serves as an arena that bridges collective traditions with digital innovation

Keywords: *Digitalization, Rural MSME Actors, Kediri, Digital Habitus, Symbolic Capital*

¹Prodi Agribisnis, Fakultas Pertanian, Universitas Trunojoyo Madura, *email* correspondence: mohhamzah.fansuri@trunojoyo.ac.id)

²Prodi Sosiologi, Fakultas Ilmu Sosial dan Ilmu Politik, Universitas Jenderal Soedirman

³Prodi Sosiologi, Fakultas Ilmu Sosial dan Ilmu Politik, Universitas Lambung Mangkurat

Introduction

Digital technologies have massively expanded and fundamentally altered the operational landscape of MSMEs, especially in rural areas that have traditionally had limited access to digital resources (Rujitoningtyas et al., 2025; Wang, 2022). Digitalization has changed how MSMEs operate worldwide. It has helped them reach new markets beyond their own, speed up transactions, improve supply chain integration, and become more competitive through platform-based marketing and data-driven decision-making. Empirical research demonstrates that MSMEs employing digital platforms achieve measurable outcomes, such as higher sales volume, broader customer engagement, shorter transaction cycles, and enhanced resilience amid economic disruptions. In the global context, digitalization has become a survival mechanism, enabling MSMEs to integrate into global supply chains. However, in the Indonesian context, where MSMEs contribute approximately 61% to the national GDP, digital transformation remains uneven. While urban-based enterprises rapidly adopt advanced e-commerce, fintech, and digital logistics systems, rural MSMEs often experience a persistent digital divide that is less about physical access and more about utilization capability, digital literacy, and embedded social practices. Many rural MSME actors still use low-tech or semi-digital methods, which limit the economic benefits of digital tools. This situation underscores the need to understand how digital technologies are actually used, practiced, and accepted in rural social settings, rather than relying on the generalized assumption that digitalization will always produce the same effect.

In the process of digital transformation, community-based organizations play an essential role in digital adoption among MSME actors. These organizations do more than only provide people with access; they also serve as places for coordination, group learning, trust-building, and peer-to-peer knowledge exchange, which is how MSME actors gradually internalize digital practices. This research focuses on the practices of MSME actors who join one of the Kediri Young Entrepreneur (KYE) association in the digital transformation of rural food-processing enterprises, where digital adoption is facilitated by regular communication, collaborative training initiatives, and joint

participation in digital markets. Various studies on this topic generally only focus on MSME actors in urban areas, despite the fact that rural areas have also utilized digital transformation to increase sales, expand social capital, and improve the social status of MSME actors. One research (Arseto & Hutagalung, 2022; Nguyen et al., 2022; Sri, 2022) focuses on the critical role of digitalization in expanding or supporting social networks. Other studies emphasize the significance of non-technological resources, including communication and actor capacity (Carvalho et al., 2021; Pryanka & Setyari, 2022). These studies highlight the tendency to isolate these elements from digital transformation itself. This gap motivates the current study to investigate the reasons and mechanisms behind the uneven digital transformation of rural MSMEs, emphasizing organizational mediation and social processes.

MSMEs are widely recognized as key economic engines that contribute significantly to economic growth, innovation, and poverty reduction, particularly through technology-enabled productivity and open innovation practices (Bahulikar et al., 2023; Srisathan et al., 2023). Research shows that MSMEs that implement on technology can boost income, create jobs, and make communities more resilient, especially in developing countries like Indonesia (Dewi et al., 2022; Fansuri et al., 2023). In Indonesia, MSMEs are important to the economy because they can effectively make use of local resources and connect them to larger markets. In this context, Kediri Regency was chosen as the research site because rural MSME actors, especially members of the Kediri Young Entrepreneur (KYE) Association, have been using digital technologies to turn local agricultural products into food and drinks that last longer and fetch higher prices on the market. Local social structures support these practices by offering coaching and training programs that improve product quality, market acceptance, and the long-term viability of production. MSMEs also help transform rural societies by changing how people live and do things every day through spatial and digital reproduction (Damayanti & Egalita, 2023).

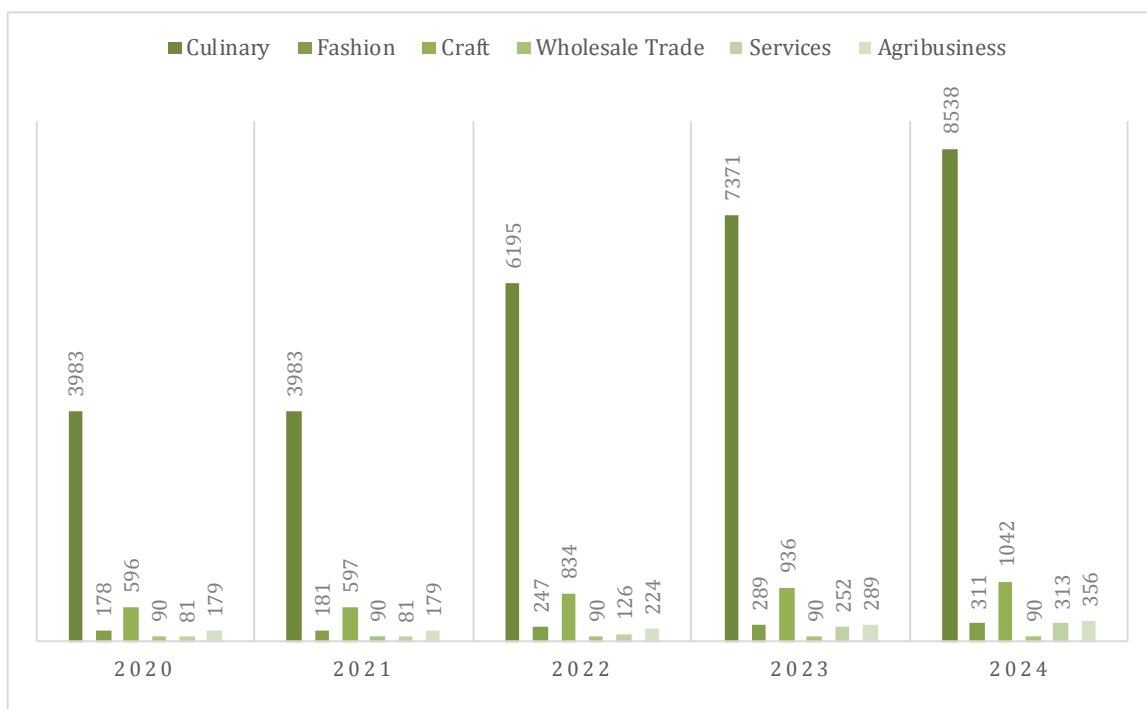
However, the lack of mobility, especially in technology literacy, in rural areas will hamper the effectiveness of promotion, marketing, and sales. Moreover, the deeply rooted perceptions

of rural communities as associated with agricultural works and a system thick with traditionalism often hinder technological integration, causing them to lag behind urban communities. Therefore, this study focuses on the practice of digitalization in MSME actors in rural Kediri Regency in carrying out economic activities, including marketing, sales, and online transactions through social media, as an essential strategy that must be taken by these business actors (Chebukhanova & Zimakov, 2022; Najib et al., 2021; Rahayu & Rahmawati, 2022). Therefore, seven factors that need to be prepared in accelerating digitalization include improved communication, long-term relationships, information sharing, awareness, commitment, agility, and overall satisfaction (Kilay et al., 2022). Recognizing the problems faced by MSMEs is vital for understanding and analyzing their financial management issues and for providing concrete, applicable solutions (Raharjo et al., 2022; Yifu et al., 2022).

In this regard, MSMEs need to be empowered by fostering a business climate that supports their development, guidance, and management (Damayanti et al., 2024; Sari et al., 2023). To increase the capacity and role of MSMEs in the national economy, empowerment needs to be

carried out by the Central Government, Local Governments, and communities as a whole, synergistically and sustainably (Behera et al., 2020; Mang et al., 2023; Subiyantoro et al., 2022). In line with this, MSME actors in Kediri Regency have optimized digital technology to increase their product sales. Many MSME players have experienced significant growth in culinary and other food categories, including processed foods, as people's purchasing power has returned to pre-pandemic levels, and the ease of ordering through online shop platforms has increased. Picture 1 exhibits the number of MSME players in Kediri Regency:

Picture 1 shows that MSME actors have increased, especially since 2022, as indicated by the rise in active MSME memberships and the growing number of MSMEs that use digital marketing platforms. This growth is accompanied by a shift in support for this marketing, carried out online through several platforms, which is considered the optimal step for business actors (Scuotto et al., 2020). Empirical studies demonstrate that the implementation of digital marketing enables MSMEs to enhance visibility, reach broader consumer demographics, and expedite transaction cycles (Fansuri & Lubis, 2020; Fitria et al., 2022; Haryadi et



Picture 1. Number of SMEs in Kediri Regency
Source: Archives Data of Dikopsumik Kab. Kediri (2020 - 2024)

al., 2021). This is particularly evident in the KYE Association, where 118 members have successfully implemented digital technology in a variety of programs, aimed at improving the quality of its members through “Sinau Bareng”, through coaching from academics and related agencies. These activities fall under a clear set of MSME development goals, such as building capacity, improving digital literacy, improving product quality, and providing MSMEs with efficient access to markets. Their digital implementation has made KYE a model for other associations and earned the trust of the Kediri Regency Government.

Therefore, this study seeks to fill this void by examining how MSME actors in rural areas serve as bridges in the utilization of social networks and the mastery of digital technology in developing the products they offer. Thus, this article broadens the understanding of digital transformation contextually in the practices of rural MSME actors, while supporting the achievement of Village SDGs 8 (equitable economic growth), Village SDGs 9 (innovation and infrastructure as needed), and Village SDGs 17 (dynamic village institutions and adaptive culture) through the collective role of KYE associations.

No.	Name of Association	Location
1.	KYE Association	Kediri
2.	ASIKK Association	Kediri
3.	KUPU Association	Kediri
4.	Berdaya Association	Kediri
5.	APMMJ Association	Kediri
6.	Joyo Boyo Association	Kediri
7.	Kelud Mandiri Association	Kediri
8.	Ganesa Association	Kediri
9.	Kabida Association	Kediri
10.	ON Association	Kediri
11.	OR Association	Kediri
12.	Batik Kirana Association	Kediri
13.	Gapura Association	Kediri
14.	BMWJ Association	Kediri

Table 1. List of names of MSME associations in Kediri District

Source: Kediri Regency DiscopuSMik Archive Data (2025)

This research is fundamental because it offers both theoretical and empirical novelty by integrating Pierre Bourdieu’s social practice theory to analyze the digital transformation process of MSMEs producing processed food products in rural areas through the association as a forum. This study finds that the practice of digitalization among MSME players is shaped by digital habitus, capital structure, and symbolic struggles within local associations. This study emphasizes the rural context, which has received insufficient attention in the study of the digital transformation of MSMEs, especially in the context of superior processed food products as a local potential. Many studies emphasize the roles of individuals and the state, while the role of local value-based collectives, such as associations, in the digitalization process remains marginalized.

Theoretical Framework

Pierre Bourdieu’s “social practice theory”

Bourdieu’s thinking was greatly influenced by Aristotle, Thomas Aquinas, Hegel, Marx, Durkheim, Max Weber, Picasso, Franz Fanon, Jean Paul Sartre, Husserl, Ferdinand de Saussure, Levi Strauss, Wittgenstein, Martin Heidegger, Michel Foucault, and other figures (Ritzer, 2012). The ideas of these thinkers were synthesized into a new thinking framework that emphasized the role of actors or subjectivity, known as the structural-constructive method. Bourdieu is known for developing cultural sociology and reflective sociology or metasociology. Simply put, he perceived social reality as a dialectical relationship between individuals (agents, subjective structures) and objective structures, namely the structures themselves. This dialectical relationship involves subjective elements such as individual mentality, individual experiential structures, cognitive structures, and other concepts in dialectical relation with objective structures (Bourdieu, 1990, 1991). This dialectic produces practice, in which Bourdieu introduces concepts to explain “subjective” and “objective” structures, namely “habitus” and “field” (domain, arena). Habitus refers to “what exists and is possessed by agents (individuals)”, and the encounter of habitus in the field gives rise to capital, which can be social, economic, cultural, and symbolic. Ultimately, the three concepts of habitus, field, and capital produce symbolic power. Bourdieu’s method is based on the reciprocity between objective and subjective structures. As a dialectic, it is an attempt to move beyond the need for structural or agency distinctions in the social sciences. The practices of individuals or social groups must be analyzed

as the result of the interaction between habitus and field, with the concept (Habitus x Capital) + Field = Practice (Bourdieu, 1993, 1996).

Methods

This research uses a qualitative method with an interpretative approach. The interpretative qualitative method considers truth, reality, and real life as multidimensional and thus able to be studied from various perspectives (Johnston, 2009). This research employs Pierre Bourdieu's theory of practice to analyze digitalization not merely as a mechanism for enhancing sales but as a socially embedded practice influenced by habitus, capital, and field, especially in relation to the ongoing difficulties encountered by rural MSMEs, including restricted market access, inconsistent sales growth, and disparate digital proficiency. The focus of this research is rural food-processing MSMEs affiliated with the KYE Association in Kediri Regency.

Data were collected through in-depth interviews with food processing MSME actors who are members of KYE and observations of digital activities. Data for the research were collected using a purposive sampling approach from 20 informants who had been recommended to the Cooperative and Micro Business Office of Kediri Regency.

No.	Name	Years	Description	Regency
1.	RAT	34	MSME players	Kediri
2.	DIN	37	MSME players	Kediri
3.	MUN	34	MSME players	Kediri
4.	NUR	41	MSME players	Kediri
5.	HAR	34	MSME players	Kediri
6.	RAZ	29	MSME players	Kediri
7.	RIK	31	MSME players	Kediri
8.	RIF	28	MSME players	Kediri
9.	NEN	32	MSME players	Kediri
10.	WIN	39	MSME players	Kediri
11.	ULN	37	MSME players	Kediri
12.	LAN	42	MSME players	Kediri
13.	JIR	31	MSME players	Kediri
14.	ERW	40	MSME players	Kediri
15.	RIS	27	MSME players	Kediri
16.	IZZ	23	MSME players	Kediri
17.	FIT	26	MSME players	Kediri
18.	NIN	24	MSME players	Kediri
19.	ARN	20	MSME players	Kediri
20.	LIN	22	MSME players	Kediri

Table 2. List of informant names

Source: Author, 2025

The selection of informants in this study does not aim to describe general population characteristics as in quantitative research, but rather to focus on the representation of social phenomena in the field (Patricia, 2014). Therefore, the informants gathered for this research were selected on the following criteria: (1) rural food processing MSME actors in Kediri Regency; (2) members of the KYE (Kediri Young Entrepreneur) association; (3) able to operate digital technology in selling with various online shop platforms; and (4) active participation in training or mentoring programs, with business performance either improving or remaining stable after digital adoption. To help people understand the context better, there were also informants from other government agencies, employees, and consumers. The number of informants was chosen because it had reached informational saturation. Data processing was carried out by grouping themes that emerged from in-depth interviews and field observations, including patterns of technology use, social relations built, forms of capital mobilized, symbolic power dynamics, and various narratives related to changes in business practices. Subsequently, data were analyzed using Pierre Bourdieu's theoretical framework of practice.

Result

Habitus Practice as an Integrated Form of Structure

The informants express that the internalization process of both business actors and social structures can proceed without problems in the implementation process, in which the structure participates in the social and institutional world. However, in practice, it does not always reflect harmony and cooperation, but can also have characteristics of resistance, reproduction of oppressive conditions, creativity, and reflection (Whitfield & Staritz, 2021). Concepts such as objection, capital accumulation, capital ownership, and other habitus can also be used to explain practices in the KYE association in Kediri District.

The process of internalization occurs through adaptation to conditions, atmosphere, and new networks, where existing social structures are formed or are forming. This process can be relatively brief among KYE Association members due to their shared identities and awareness of each other's. Having similar goals helps reduce

the risks of conflicts and division, as conveyed by NUR and MUN, as follows;

“For now, the association that stands out in technology is KYE because the members of the MSME actors are very enthusiastic, and I observe that they are very compact when there are exhibitions or training activities. In a way, I myself follow this habit.” (Interview, NUR)

“Yes, little by little it also forms my character who is enthusiastic in carrying out activities because seeing friends who often close their products I am also increasingly eager to process together with the products we sell respectively.” (Interview, MUN)

The results of these interviews explain that the formation of internalization in food-processing rural MSME actors in Kediri District, especially among KYE Association member, is primarily affected by the duration of membership and level of activeness of individual member. After using digital platforms for a long time, MSME practices shifted to more structured routines. For example, they started producing content on a schedule, using instant messaging to talk to customers regularly, and packaging and labeling their products to meet online market standards. The new practices led to better product quality and higher sales. Habitus is thus a “structuring structure”, or “the structure that structures” social life, which gives birth to and is produced by social practices. Digital habitus serves as both the internalization of established social structures and a structuring force that reconfigures work practices, peer relationships, and market orientation within the rural MSME ecosystem. Habitus is a historical product that is formed after humans are born and interact with society in a certain time and space (Ritzer, 2012).

The Scramble for the Arena of Digital Technologies

Rural food-processing MSME actors in Kediri hold full control over their business because it fully belongs to business actors (agents). Nevertheless, they are also bound by structures that provide convenience in running their business, from training support to funding. However, the habitus can persist for a long time and shape a collective life despite changes business actors always seek improvement for the businesses they run. This is due to the existence

of an arena that can provide convenience in the implementation of the digital era, where mastery of digital technology is dominantly able to control the arena in sales, marketing, and even contributing to improving the social status of MSME actors, as conveyed by RAT and RIF as follows;

“ There are many, and in the past, I had participated in other associations but I just didn’t get along with the people. There are many “paguyuban” and many variations. However, the association I chair now is mostly made up of young people. I myself am always optimistic about what I do, optimism is one form of commitment to what I do. Especially the development in this digital era.” (Interview, RAT)

“ Finally..... I upgraded myself to be able to utilize digital technology. From this provision, I am able to master everything, especially in the use of digital technology with several platforms that I use.” (Interview, RIF)

The insights from these interviews explain that agents and structures shape each other. By participating in the KYE Association in Kediri Regency, rural food-processing MSME actors can bring benefits to their businesses. Structure is formed by agents who have dominant power in terms of knowledge, capital, and qualified resources. Individual social capital depends on the ability of individuals to maintain their social relationships for self-interest or strategic reasons (Kisliuk & Wei, 2023).

When MSME actors in Kediri Regency are proficient in digital technology, they can use social media to promote their products and interact with customers, online marketplaces to handle transactions and reach more customers, and digital payment systems to improve efficiency and build trust with customers. These skills establish their positions in the digital world by enabling them to access more markets, making their business practices more responsive, and boosting their sales performance.

Strategies for Expanding Social Networks by Strengthening Capital

The strategy to expand social networks using a variety of strategies carried out by rural food-processing MSME actors in Kediri is aimed at optimally increasing the sales of products.

First, economic capital is related to the means of production and the development of the products sold. Second, social capital is created by multiplying networks from the smallest to the largest level in the social structure or agent. Third, mental capital is a reinforcement for the business that is run through the closest person or within oneself. Fourth, symbolic capital is achieved by giving trust to its products through awards, legality, or other forms that can attract attention as a form of power domination.

“In addition to the facilitators provided by the agency, in this association I also feel as a facilitator internally. I also recently won the 2nd RU UMKM Award and the Radar Kediri Award 2023, which made me even more enthusiastic in going through the twists and turns of this life. I also hope that in the future I will be more victorious and more successful with this routine that I live.” (Interview, DIN)

“Yes, there are definitely obstacles such as lack of capital at the beginning, but how can everyone get through it so that they can improve the products they sell.” (Interview, HAR)

The interviews with HAR show that MSME actors use digital platforms optimally, such as by promoting their products on social media, exhibiting them online, and making their digital certifications more visible, to reach more consumers and institutions. These digital practices not only potentially improve product quality, but they also turn into symbolic capital (trust, recognition, and awards) and economic capital (more sales and market access). Digital technologies such as online product catalogs, social media showcases, and digital communication platforms help improve a product's readiness for sale through better packaging, standardized presentation, and responsive service. The results show that symbolic capital is apparent in the practice of obtaining product legality and public recognition, which makes the product more credible and makes it easier to get economic capital, like grants and loans, through institutional networks. Practicality and product convenience are also other contributing factors. Nonetheless, there are still many untapped insights from Bourdieu by being agentive, rather than ignoring them based on social determinism (Joseph, 2020b).

Pierre Bourdieu's framework is particularly relevant for explaining reproduction and slow change in social organizations and structures (Beaupré et al., 2022).

Economic Capital

For rural food-processing MSMEs in Kediri Regency, economic capital comes from more than just personal savings. KYE helps these businesses connect with institutions digitally to receive financial aid, which requires them to have an online presence, documented sales performance, and proof that their products are legal. Digital transformation is a way to convert social and symbolic capital into economic capital, helping businesses grow and sustain sales.

“There is other support, physical assistance in accordance with the needs of MSME players and even as a form of our concern in improving the products of MSME players, we also have a large enough budget for none other than a support system for MSME players who really want to move forward and process in developing the products they sell. This assistance can come from grants or other assistance.” (Interview, ERW)

“What is certain is that it has increased, from the beginning I was still selling like a reseller, only 2-4 bottles with minimal personal capital, now I have quite a lot of honey boxes to produce myself, this cannot be separated from the role of the relationship.” (Interview, RIF)

Interviews with RIF revealed that economic capital is significant in supporting business development, particularly through KYE's facilitation of digital marketing and online sales. Informants conveyed that their business scale could expand because of economic capital, from both personal capital and grant funds, to increase sales and production numbers. Apart from this, the importance of social capital as a form of relationship in recognizing other social structures is highlighted. While MSMEs proved to be highly relevant, it was important for them to build strong relationships within their communities. Joining professional associations and attending trade fairs and sectoral meetings can help expand professional networks and improve cohesion and relational orientation. Local development programs that support entrepreneurship can also play a role

in expanding and strengthening networks of entrepreneurs, connecting multiple networks, and building cohesion and a relational climate among businesses (Hernández-carrión et al., 2020).

Social Capital

The role of social capital is very important in business, especially in having proximity to agents and structures to assist in the development of the products being run. Rural food-processing MSME actors in Kediri Regency really need the role of social capital, with related structures, such as joining the KYE association, to obtain more social capital. This is done for economic motives to increase sales and product visibility through online advertising, group-based information sharing, and platform-enabled coordination, which over time creates a shared digital habitus among business actors.

“Support each other with the products that I or they sell. If this is as fellow MSME players, especially MSMEs in Kediri District because we formed this association as a forum for MSME players so that it is facilitated in business and facilitates and can connect information from the office easily and I believe that if we make it easier for someone then our lives will also be made easier.” (Interview, RAT)

“For myself, it is more about always being friendly to anyone because I was educated from childhood to be good to anyone and this has been inherent in my personality and I teach my children to behave like that. To the institution we are also always friendly and always respond quickly regarding bookings, or other things that are asked of me. In the end, I can get along with each other” (Interview, MUN).

The results of interviews with RAT and MUN explain the social networking of business actors in Kediri Regency in building closeness and trust among business actors within associations and agencies, as well as with other stakeholders to establish cooperation. Participation in community groups and associations has been effective in increasing social capital and natural resources. Social capital is also considered important in rural development and the economic growth of a nation (Sabet & Khaksar, 2020).

Cultural Capital

In the context of KYE, cultural capital is created through online learning processes, such as training in digital marketing, product design, and online branding. These processes improve the skills and professional identity of MSME actors. These skills learned online serve as cultural capital that people can use to improve the quality of their products and their social standing in the local market.

“In our association there is also a ‘sinau bareng’ which contains complaints from several MSME actors who are still struggling in what aspects so that they will be taught in detail by members who are already proficient, this is the reason I am happy in this MSME because we support each other.” (Interview, DIN)

“We facilitate the development of MSME players, especially the use of digital technology, marketing and product design and other forms of training.” (Interview, ERW)

The interview with ERW shows that the facilitation demonstrates how digital training creates cultural capital, especially skills in digital literacy and design, which can then be used to make products look better and gain credibility in the market. The results show that KYE members' cultural capital is increasingly shaped by digital practices, where repeated participation in online marketing training, design improvement, and platform use leads to shared attitudes toward professionalism and innovation. Habitus formed by class status and human capital tends to form social ties with people of the same status. High human capital is an advantage for them in social integration.

Other research explains that cultural capital serves as a background to position them in Canadian society (Chuatico & Haan, 2022). Interaction patterns affect the accumulation and production of social capital, and higher interaction is associated with greater production (Li et al., 2022). Habitus plays a vital role in attitudes and the use of digital technology, but research on this is limited and needs further examination. Its culture and socio-economic background strongly influence the adoption of digital technology. Further examination is required to understand the influence of habitus on digital pedagogy (Blume, 2020).

Symbolic Capital

This explanation aligns with the actors of food-processing rural MSMEs in Kediri Regency: symbolic capital provides public recognition of the products of these business actors, and the existence of symbolic capital creates power and trust among consumers and social structures, leading them to believe that these products have quality and strength, as evidenced by labels from these social structures. KYE members create symbolic capital through digitally mediated institutional recognition, especially through online product legality systems and formal certification, as ERW explains:

"I recently won the 2nd RU UMKM Award and the Radar Kediri Award 2023, which makes me even more enthusiastic in going through the twists and turns of this life. I also hope that in the future I will be more victorious and more successful with this routine that I live." (Interview, DIN)

"In addition, we also provide convenience to MSME players in product legality for free, the most important thing is that this is to make it easier and provide the best facilities to MSME players in Kediri District and hope that the future prospects for digitalisation users will be able to maximize the MSME players." (Interview, ERW).

The results of these interviews show that symbolic capital is important for food-processing rural MSME actors in Kediri Regency in running their businesses, as one strategy for strengthening capital. By using digital systems for product legality, online certification, and platform-based visibility, MSME actors gain symbolic capital in the form of institutional recognition and public trust. The integration makes their business more legitimate and helps it grow.

Discussion

This chapter examines digitalization as a form of habitus integrated through its role as both an agent and a structure that shape each other to achieve goals. Specifically, this chapter analyzes the strategies employed by rural food-processing MSME actors in utilizing social networks to strengthen economic, social, cultural, and symbolic capitals. The analysis aims to systematically explain how digitalization practices are formed and maintained among rural food-processing MSMEs in Kediri Regency within a hybrid rural digital context. Chart 1 highlights social capital as an intermediary variable between structural pressures and individual strategies, illuminating the relational process by which digital habitus is produced within a hybrid rural digital context.

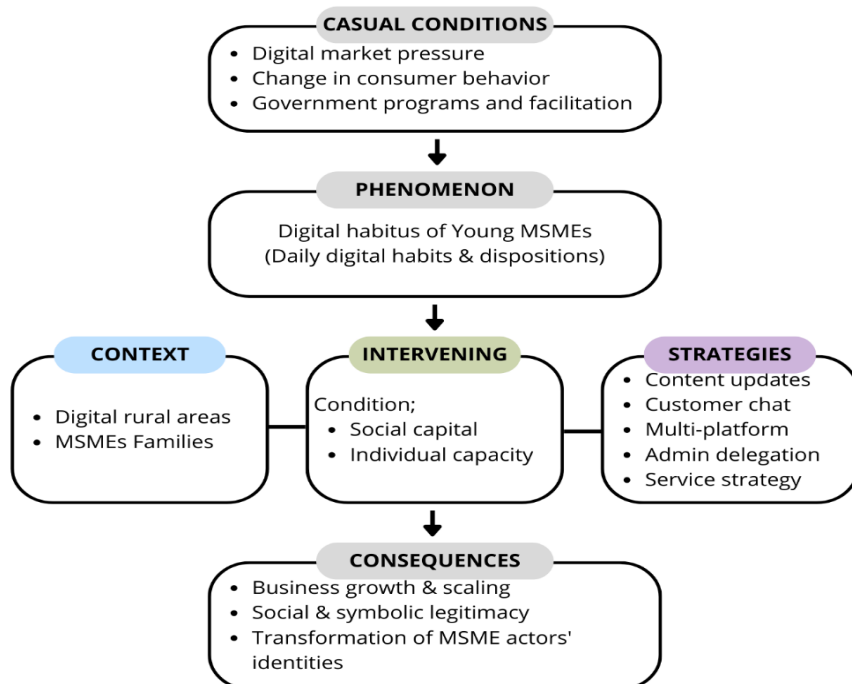


Chart 1. Digital Habitus Formation in a Hybrid Rural-Digital Context

Source: Research results, 2025

Digital transformation is not just a technical change; it occurs when MSME actors internalize external pressures like market digitalization, changing consumer behavior, and state facilitation. Digital habitus, at the core of the model, is a collection of enduring yet flexible dispositions shaping daily entrepreneurial activities, influenced by personal experience and sustained involvement in the digital domain. This process occurs within particular rural and familial contexts that both facilitate and limit action, while social and cultural capital, especially networks, collective learning, and individual competencies, mediate the conversion of digital dispositions into tangible strategies. Through practices like engaging with customers across multiple platforms, increasing customer interaction, and changing their roles as needed, MSME actors manifest digital habitus into tangible outcomes, such as business growth, increased legitimacy, and symbolic recognition. In Bourdieusian terms, the model shows how habitus, capital, and field work together to create digital practices that not only respond to structural pressures but also strengthen actors' positions in the changing digital economy.

Digital habitus is formed through an integrated, evolving structure in which repeated digital practices become internalized dispositions

One of the essential conceptions in Bourdieu's habitus theory is "learning probability" (Fowler, 2020; Joseph, 2020a). Bourdieu reveals critical elements such as temporal experience, practice, and qualitative consciousness in science that are considered inferior and despised. This shift changes the traditional hierarchy of knowledge and introduces the concept of probability, which reverses the established order. Bourdieu uses internalized probability as a substitute for "rational practice" gained through learning probabilities that do not require technical tools. In explaining internalized probability, Bourdieu cites Husserl's terms "habit" and "experience". Thus, Bourdieu expanded his concept of habitus to include an understanding of probability and experience as the basis for forming habitus (Bourdieu, 1990).

The process of internalizing the habitus of MSME actors, as stated by Bourdieu, requires analyzing agent-construction actions to examine the social origins of the cognitive structure the agent implements. Bourdieu's approach

extends the analysis beyond the arena to one that recognizes actors as social actors. Understanding the positions of individuals and groups, and the composition of their capital and habitus, is essential for understanding their social and historical trajectories. The construction of social space helps establish relationships between groups (Bourdieu, 1993). In addition, Bourdieu's theory distinguishes between material, institutional, and symbolic forms of power (Husu, 2022). Habitats produce and are influenced by social life, so they have the nature of social structures and also structured structures (Ritzer, 2010).

The importance of habitus adaptation of MSME actors and how they adapt to individual and social change. Habitus refers to individual patterns of thought, perception, appreciation, and action, which play an important role in practice and adjustment. These habitus adaptations are based on individuals' interpretations of changes in individual and social structures, as well as the situations in which they operate. This study shows that there is an ongoing exchange between business actors and the fields they encounter in their daily lives evident in real changes in-work habits, ways of communicating, and how businesses interact with the market after they began using digital technologies. With the help of social media, online marketplaces, and digital payment systems, MSME actors went from doing business in an irregular, local way to having more organized production planning, standardised product presentation, and constant communication with larger consumer networks. These digital practices not only changed how people thought about being an entrepreneur (like how they managed their time, how quickly they responded, and how they learned), but they also changed the social structures within the KYE association by making coordination mechanisms, collective learning processes, and shared norms of digital professionalism stronger. However, habitus does not change if individuals perceive the changes as minor (Çakmak et al., 2021). Habitus is not natural or inborn but is the result of learning and association in society. Individuals are neither completely free agents nor passive products of social structures (Davies & Potter, 2022; Reed & Johnson, 2023). Social actors internalize existing social structures to function effectively. Actors or agents in acting are not like puppets or machines that move

when someone tells them to. Agents are free to move as they wish. On the one hand, agents are individuals bound by a structure or collective/social, but on the other hand, they are individuals free to act (Ritzer, 2012).

There is a symbolic struggle in the form of a struggle for power over digital technology capabilities among MSME food processing products actors

Bourdieu's conception of the field should not be understood according to the word's literal definition of a fenced area but as a field of power. His definition of the concept derives from the demand to see the field as dynamic and with various potentials. The field is a partially autonomous realm of power, and a realm in which jockeying for position takes place (Jandrić, 2023; Nguyen-trung et al., 2023). When positions are achieved, they can interact with habitus to produce different postures that have different effects on the economy of the field. The concept of realm, or arena, or field is a particular space or social universe in which social agents/actors compete with each other (Cahill, 2016; Detzen et al., 2023). In the sphere/arena, agents compete for resources and symbolic power. The competition aims to increase the resources available to agents, thereby creating a difference between them (Braun & Unger, 2023; Gebesmair et al., 2022). Within the realm, agents/actors compete for various forms of material and symbolic resources. The aim is to ensure distinctions that will guarantee the status of social actors (Alemán et al., 2022).

Bourdieu describes capital as the power inherent in objective or subjective structures, which underlie the regularity of the social world. Bourdieu offers a theory of social transformation and recognizes the importance of power (Ritzer, 2012). He emphasized two key elements to understand historical transformation: symbolic revolution to replace existing thinking, and the concept of universal corporatism involving the role of intellectuals and professionals in seeking social justice and universal goals. Bourdieu also combined the symbolic revolution with materialist analyses of social preconditions, including explanations of social crises (Fowler, 2020; Mudd et al., 2023; Petzke, 2022).

Bourdieu defines capital as probability about arena and habitus (Bourdieu, 1991). Objective position in a particular field depends on the

accumulation of capital formed through inherited strategies. Objective probabilities also shape expectations and risks in one's involvement in the field. The explicit, rationalized, and codified formation of objective probabilities influences the expectations and risks associated with predictable courses of action (Strand, 2022).

In Bourdieu's studies of symbolic capital, he describes several examples that share standard features. Although not all of these examples are explicitly referred to as "symbolic revolutions," and not all of them exhibit all of these features, Bourdieu's understanding of symbolic capital recognizes that each example has characteristics distinct from others (Bourdieu, 1990). Symbolic capital is the status given to individuals by receiving recognition from society. It is this symbolic capital that, in the process, can change from economic capital to symbolic capital, producing power independently, not through coercion (Ritzer, 2012).

The research shows that awareness and courage to participate in global affairs, as well as having an inclusive and proactive mindset in improving the quality of business actors (Liu et al., 2023). Bourdieu's framework can assist in defining and protecting the profession as a credible entity, and in reinforcing the belief that business people are part of the profession. By adopting theoretical frameworks and concepts from outside of their profession, MSME actors can develop new ways of thinking within it (Mcknight, 2023). Other research explains policies in the dominant habitus that tend to be objectivistic and affective. MSMEs have not achieved full autonomy and have not developed interdisciplinary judgments that seek to provide input for improvement (Koch & Tetley, 2023).

Strategic mobilization in the form of economic, social, cultural, and symbolic capital to gain legitimacy, strengthen capital, and competitive advantage

The managerial implications of entrepreneurs' use of relationship networks include the strategic mobilization of economic capital through digitally mediated networks. Digital platforms such as social media promotion, online marketplaces, and digital payment systems help the KYE association increase its economic capital by making products more visible and transactions faster. This process requires an investment of time and effort to

expand and enrich networks and make good use of them (Stahl et al., 2023). Economic capital includes the assets, resources, and means of production that help businesses grow. Optimizing these factors will allow businesses to improve their sales (Beaupré et al., 2022).

Social capital is situational, reflecting positions in formal and informal aspects of an issue (Guardaro et al., 2022). Studies on social capital generally cover cooperation, participation, and trust. However, few studies deepen the behavioral patterns and social phenomena underlying social capital. Social capital is associated with information, trust, and norms of reciprocity in social networks. Views on social capital are divided between community values and solidarity, and forms of power and domination (Bourdieu, 1993). Social capital is a social network resource that benefits local communities by connecting them to other actors. It also enhances their ability to work together in groups and organizations with common goals, and facilitates coordination and collaboration.

In a management context, social capital is used to describe how individuals draw resources from their social networks. In MSMEs, social capital is related to the relationships between businesses and their families, friends, co-workers, and communities. Social capital can be viewed from a cognitive perspective that facilitates information exchange, collective action, and decision-making through social rules and structures. In developing countries, greater investment is needed to build trust in relationships amid uncertainty. In developed countries, strong institutional qualities encourage the development of social capital (Hidalgo et al., 2021).

Internal social capital is known to influence output through collaboration strategies (Pan et al., 2023). Szreter and Woolcock (2004) suggested three different types of social capital: bonding, bridging, and connecting. Bonding social capital is related to relationships of trust and cooperation among members who see themselves as the same person. Bridging social capital includes relationships between people who know they are different, while connecting social capital is related to norms of respect and networks of trusting relationships between people who interact across formalized power or authority in society (Pitas & Ehmer, 2020).

Factors such as social capital, social networks, knowledge, care, and attitudes (Xu

et al., 2024). Social capital and development vision are important in enterprise management to improve rural economic growth in Indonesia, and require local policies to increase community participation and human resources (Aritenang, 2021). Another study describes the social capital stock in the Basque Country, Spain, to analyze the values underlying community engagement in the region. Therefore, although there are many public organizations that play an important role, further steps need to be taken to improve connections between different actors in the regional innovation system (Etxabe, 2022).

Cultural capital consists of a person's social assets that promote social mobility in the stratification of society. Cultural capital functions as social relations in economic practices (exchange systems), consisting of all material and symbolic goods, regardless of whether society considers them rare and valuable. In the exchange system, social relations and cultural capital accumulate cultural knowledge that provides social status and power (Ritzer, 2012).

Cultural capital is the way people engage with one another and economic resources. Cultural capital is created through values, traditions, beliefs, and language. There are three subtypes of cultural capital, namely "embodied", "objectified", and "institutionalised". However, in the context of MSMEs, there are two: (1) "embodied" cultural capital, which can be consciously acquired or passively inherited, exemplified by language capital, the mastery of and association with language, as an inherited cultural capital (2) "institutionalised" cultural capital, acquired through institutional recognition, especially in the form of academic credentials. The process of institutional recognition facilitates the conversion of cultural capital into economic capital, which sellers and buyers can use to describe the capital they possess or need (Bourdieu, 1993).

The results can be theoretically integrated utilizing Pierre Bourdieu's constructs of habitus, capital, and field. Chart 2 depicts a Bourdieusian conceptual model that demonstrates how digital habitus is formed through the interplay of structural field conditions and diverse forms of capital, and how this habitus manifests in digital practices that transform rural MSMEs. These types of capital do not function autonomously; instead, they are relationally integrated within the digital domain. Social capital

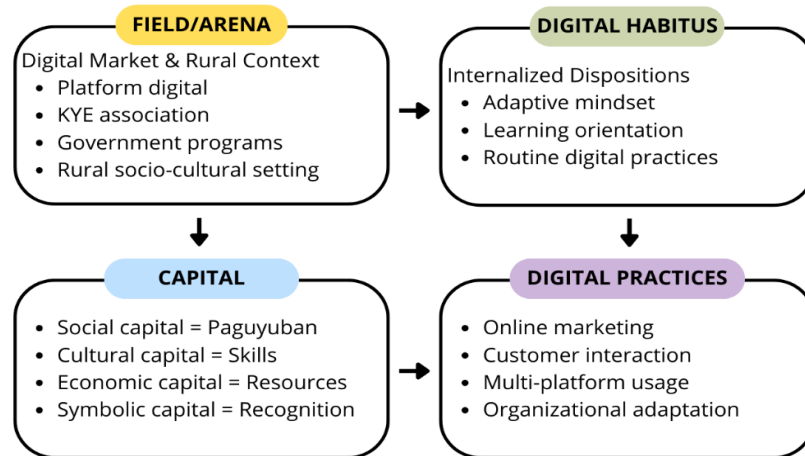


Chart 2. The Formation of Digital Habitus and Its Roles in the Transformation of Rural Food Processed MSMEs

Source: Research result, 2025

serves as a mediating factor that facilitates the transformation of cultural and symbolic capital into economic outcomes through digital practices.

The digital arena, which includes platform-based markets, KYE association, and local government actions, is a structured environment that creates opportunities, imposes constraints, and exerts adaptive pressures, particularly through changes in how people behave and how the digital economy operates. The ongoing engagement of MSMEs actors in this domain cultivates a digital habitus characterized by internalized dispositions regarding technology-driven cognitive frameworks, attitudes, and professional practices, which are perceived not merely as technical instruments but also as integral components of the identity and operational methodologies of emerging MSMEs. This process is facilitated by capital ownership, specifically social capital via community networks, cultural capital manifested as digital literacy and experience, and economic and symbolic capital that facilitate the transformation of digital practices into legitimacy and business expansion. Digital habitus and capital are manifested through specific digital practices, including online marketing, multi-platform utilization, and enhanced customer engagement, illustrating the interplay between internal dispositions and resources within the digital domain. This visualization indicates that the change in rural MSMEs is not solely attributable to the adoption of new technology, but a complex social process through which digital habitus is

created, shared, and repeated within specific social structures.

Conclusion

This study shows that digital transformation among MSME actors in processed food products is not only a reflection of technology adoption but also the result of interactions within complex social practices that originate in local social structures. The practice of digitalization can expand the network of business actors formed from habitus. Internalization is done consciously to increase the capital of each business actor, who can be integrated without significant problems. Therefore, the capital owned by MSME actors can be strengthened by first strengthening economic capital related to production tools and the development of products sold. Second, social capital increases the network from the smallest to the most significant level in the social structure or agent. Third, cultural capital reinforces the business through the closest people or within themselves. Fourth, symbolic capital is achieved by giving trust to its products through awards, legality, or other forms that can attract attention as a form of power domination.

This study confirms that digital transformation at the grassroots level tends to be non-linear, depending on the collective capacity and power relations within the local community. Therefore, the KYE association becomes a social field for negotiations between traditional values and digital innovations. The practice of digitalization within KYE associations forms a habitus that reflects not only technical skills

but also social dispositions, local wisdom, and collective strategies for survival in a constantly changing economic field. MSME players in processed food products who have access to economic, social, cultural, and symbolic capital are more adaptable and better at social mobilization in the face of digital transformation. Power struggles in the field of digitization are evident in various forms of symbolic domination, in which MSME actors with greater digital literacy gain recognition and a more central position within the association structure. Digital transformation must be understood as a social process that requires a participatory, community-based approach, rather than just technological intervention from the outside. Strengthening digital literacy capacity can be achieved through not only technical training but also reflective discussion spaces, so that MSME actors have a better understanding of technology. This goal is important to maintain sustainable empowerment and minimize new gaps. Digital transformation in rural MSMEs is a socially embedded process that allows for the conversion of different types of capital within local community-based fields through digital habitus.

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