

THE INFLUENCE OF HABITUS AND CAPITAL ON THE COMMERCIAL LEVEL OF ECOPRINTERS AT THE SOLO ART MARKET

A INFLUÊNCIA DO HABITUS E DO CAPITAL NO NÍVEL COMERCIAL DAS ECOPRINTERS NO SOLO ART MARKET

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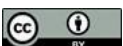
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Abstract

This study aims to analyze how habitus and capital shape the commercial success of ecoprinters within the entrepreneurial field of Solo Art Market. This study also investigates the aspect of symbolic violence among the ecoprinters that happens due to the different levels of habitus and capital. Drawing on Pierre Bourdieu's theory of social practice, this qualitative ethnographic research employs ethnographic methods with interviews, questionnaires, and field observation on the ecoprinters. The findings reveal stratified levels of commercial achievement among ecoprinters that correspond to differences in their social background and accumulated capital. Those with strong internalized cultural capital (skills, ecological knowledge, and design literacy) and broad social networks achieve higher symbolic and economic capital conversion, while those with limited resources face structural and psychological constraints rooted in their class-origin habitus. Moreover, symbolic violence manifests subtly in feelings of inferiority among lower-capital ecoprinters when interacting with dominant ecoprinters. This study concludes that entrepreneurial success in ecoprint is not solely determined by market strategy but correlated with the habitus and capital conversion, which reproduces social hierarchies even within creative ecological industries.

Resumo

Este estudo tem como objetivo analisar como o habitus e o capital moldam o sucesso comercial dos ecoprinters no âmbito empreendedor do Solo Art Market. Além disso, investiga o aspecto da violência simbólica entre os ecoprinters, que ocorre devido aos diferentes níveis de habitus e capital. Baseando-se na teoria da prática social de Pierre Bourdieu, esta pesquisa etnográfica qualitativa emprega métodos etnográficos, incluindo entrevistas, questionários e observação de campo dos ecoprinters. Os resultados revelam níveis estratificados de desempenho comercial entre os ecoprinters, que correspondem a diferenças em sua origem social e capital acumulado. Aqueles com forte capital cultural internalizado (habilidades, conhecimento ecológico e alfabetização em design) e amplas redes sociais alcançam maior conversão de capital simbólico e econômico, enquanto aqueles com recursos limitados enfrentam restrições estruturais e psicológicas enraizadas em seu habitus de origem de classe. Além disso, a violência simbólica se manifesta sutilmente em sentimentos de inferioridade entre os ecoprinters com menor capital ao interagirem com os ecoprinters dominantes. Este estudo conclui que o sucesso empreendedor na ecoprint não é determinado exclusivamente pela estratégia de mercado, mas está correlacionado com o habitus e a conversão de capital, o que



Keywords: Ecoprinter. Habitus. Capital. Field. Commercial Level.

reproduz hierarquias sociais mesmo dentro das indústrias ecológicas criativas.

Palavras-chave: *Ecoprinter. Habitus. Capital. Campo. Nível Comercial.*

1 INTRODUCTION

Ecoprint is a natural printing technique that uses plant parts such as leaves, flowers, and bark to create patterns and colors on fabric (Gunawan, et. al., 2021). This technique is part of eco-dyeing practices and has grown widely within the eco-friendly textile art movement. The process is carried out through botanical contact printing, either by steaming or hammering, without using synthetic chemicals. Modern ecoprint development has been greatly influenced by the work of India Flint, an Australian textile artist who, since the early 2000s, has explored the potential of local plants to create natural colors and patterns (Flint, 2008:12). Her works sparked an art movement that integrates aesthetics, sustainability, and ecological awareness into a single creative practice, spreading globally through the slow fashion movement.

The ecoprint phenomenon in Indonesia has shown rapid growth over the past decade. Increasing awareness of environmentally friendly products and local wisdom has encouraged the emergence of many ecoprint enterprises in various regions, including the Solo Raya area.

The Solo Raya region has significantly contributed to the development of ecoprint as part of the local creative industry. Solo is widely known as a cultural center with textile heritage such as batik and lurik, as well as an artist community that is attentive to environmental issues. One key space for the growth of ecoprint in Solo is the Solo Art Market (SAM), an art market located in the Ngarsopuro area. SAM serves as a public space that brings together artists, artisans, and the community within a dynamic creative ecosystem.

The role of Solo Art Market is not limited to being a place for economic transactions; it also serves as a space for art appreciation, workshops, and creative discussions. At this venue, ecoprint is presented not only as a fashion product but also as an art form integrated with painting, graphics, and visual narratives. Ecoprinters in Solo

have begun to shift ecoprint practice from merely a commercial product into a medium for artistic expression, highlighting environmental issues, local identity, and social critique. Thus, the role of ecoprinters becomes an important aspect in this context. Ecoprinters act not only as artisans or producers but also as cultural agents who reproduce ecological knowledge through their creative practices. Their environmental background, education, business knowledge, and ecoprint techniques play a crucial role in producing works that are not only visually appealing but also rich in deeper meaning. Cultural capital in the form of technical skills and understanding of traditional textiles, social capital in the form of art community and market networks, and symbolic capital in the form of reputation and public recognition all influence the success of ecoprint practices.

The combination of capital and habitus is essential for the advancement of ecoprinter enterprises. These aspects enable ecoprinters to create works with unique characteristics and varying market values. The more aesthetically appealing the work, the more it attracts market interest. Moreover, when commercial goals are achieved, the sustainability values embedded in the creation of ecoprint works are also communicated to the public.

Therefore, it is important to recognize that the existence of ecoprint cannot be separated from its practitioners (ecoprinters). Their background, life journey, and consistency in building their enterprise significantly affect the commercial levels of the ecoprint itself.

2 LITERATURE OVERVIEW

Previous studies on Bourdieu's theory of social practice have been widely conducted in the field of entrepreneurship, focusing primarily on the entrepreneurs themselves. Earlier research has demonstrated the role of habitus and capital in the development of an individual's business. Furthermore, within the entrepreneurial field, appropriate forms of capital, such as cultural capital (knowledge about business and the chosen field of enterprise) and social capital (connections with markets or consumers, fellow entrepreneurs, and suppliers), play a crucial role in achieving economic capital (profit) and symbolic capital (prestige and public recognition of the entrepreneur) (Hong & Wu, 2022; Purwanto, 2016; Brandle *et al.*, 2025).

However, in the aspect of symbolic violence, no previous study has yet explored this issue within the entrepreneurial field. Studies on symbolic violence have generally been conducted in domains with clearer structures of power and inequality, such as corporate environments where employers hold greater capital and authority compared to employees with lower levels of capital (Habibi *et al.*, 2023). Thus, such disparities in capital and power naturally give rise to symbolic violence, manifested through the subordinate's internalized perception of the superior's dominance.

In light of previous research, this study seeks to offer novelty by examining the role of capital and habitus within the entrepreneurial field, focusing specifically on ecoprinters operating in the Solo Art Market (SAM). The distinction of this research lies in its in-depth exploration of the backgrounds and life journeys of six ecoprinters at SAM, which are analyzed through their respective habitus and forms of capital to understand how these shape the commercial levels of their ecoprint enterprises.

2.1 Theoretical framework

Pierre Bourdieu, in his work *Distinction: A Social Critique of the Judgment of Taste* (1984), discusses how the cultural preferences of French society, from food, music, and art to lifestyle, are not neutral choices but the result of habitus, capital (economic, cultural, social, and symbolic), and an individual's position within the social field. Bourdieu's major contribution lies in demonstrating how everyday practices function to differentiate and reproduce social classes. He later developed these concepts more theoretically in his article *The Forms of Capital* (1986).

2.2 Habitus

Habitus refers to the habits, dispositions, and ways of thinking that are ingrained within individuals through life experiences, education, and social environments (Bourdieu, 1984). It shapes how a person perceives and responds to the surrounding social reality. For example, merchants from the lower, middle, and upper classes have different perspectives and life strategies due to variations in their economic and social experiences. The lower class tends to emphasize hard work and endurance, the middle class adds

elements of innovation and education. while the upper class adopts more strategic and reflective approaches because of their access to broader resources and networks.

2.3 Capital

Capital refers to the resources that determine an individual's position within a given field (Bourdieu, 1986).

There are four main types of capital:

2.3.1 *Cultural capital*

Cultural capital includes the knowledge and skills possessed by individuals and is divided into three forms:

- a. Embodied (internalized knowledge and competence).
- b. Objectified (cultural objects such as artworks). and
- c. Institutionalized (formal recognition such as diplomas or certificates).

2.3.2 *Economic capital*

Economic capital consists of assets and financial resources that can be converted into other forms of capital. for example. funding education or building social networks.

2.3.3 *Social capital*

Social capital comprises relationships, networks, and connections that provide support and opportunities.

2.3.4 *Symbolic capital*

Symbolic capital refers to social recognition in the form of honor, reputation, and prestige, which only functions when acknowledged by society.

2.4 **Field**

A field is a social space where individuals and groups compete for resources. Each field, such as art, education, or economics, has its own rules and values. An individual's position within a field is determined by the compatibility of their habitus and the volume of capital they possess.

2.5 **Symbolic violence**

Symbolic violence occurs when differences in habitus and capital create unconscious inequalities (Bourdieu, 1984). This power operates subtly through norms, language, and symbols, leading individuals to accept their social position without resistance. In the context of ecoprint, for instance, artisans with higher cultural, social, and symbolic capital are more likely to gain public recognition and dominant status. In comparison, others with lower capital may experience feelings of inferiority despite producing works of similar quality.

3 **RESEARCH METHOD**

This study employs a qualitative research design. It adopts a multidisciplinary cultural studies approach within the framework of cultural consumption research, utilizing ethnographic methods such as interviews and questionnaires (Spradley, 2016). Qualitative research is used to understand phenomena experienced by research subjects, such as behaviors, perceptions, motivations, and actions, to be examined in greater depth.

The ethnographic method in the Cultural Studies approach to cultural consumption research involves both interviewing and observational techniques. The interview method entails face-to-face interaction between the researcher and the

informant. where the researcher directs the conversation through questions related to specific topics to gain a better understanding.

In this study, two forms of interviews were used: oral interviews and written interviews (Salmaniah Siregar, 2002). Oral interviews were conducted by meeting and speaking directly with the informants, namely, the ecoprinters at the Solo Art Market. Each informant was interviewed individually using a personal and respectful approach. Additionally, questionnaires were distributed for further data collection. The informants were selected based on the criterion that they consistently engage in ecoprint as a commercial enterprise.

The ethnographic method was also carried out through observation of the daily practices of ecoprinters in producing ecoprint works, as well as an exploration of their backgrounds to identify their habitus and forms of capital, in order to achieve the research objective of understanding the degree of their commercial success. Through this approach, the researcher was able to gain a deeper comprehension of the interrelationship between body, capital, and habitus, and how these factors contribute to differences in the commercial achievements of ecoprinters at SAM.

4 RESULT AND DISCUSSION

4.1 Result

a. Ecoprint Business in Solo Art Market

1) Denny Djoko as the owner of New Coral Ecoprint

Denny was born and raised in a middle-class family whose parents worked as merchants and owned their own shop. Although his parents were not involved in businesses related to culture or the arts, they had a deep appreciation for traditional Javanese art forms such as wayang (shadow puppetry) and batik. As a result, Denny had already acquired an internalized form of cultural capital in the form of entrepreneurial knowledge and an understanding of Javanese art and culture. His interest in art and culture later led him to pursue higher education in the Department of Graphic Design, Faculty of Art and Design (FSRD), at Jakarta State University (UNJ).

Denny's early career began in the world of batik, where he already possessed internalized cultural capital derived from his family's habitus and his academic background. However, over time, he encountered various challenges such as a declining market, frequent plagiarism of his designs, and economic pressures. These experiences prompted him to seek alternative paths. In 2020, he participated in a paid ecoprint workshop at Plasa Palur for a fee of Rp150.000. This marked the beginning of his journey into the world of ecoprint.

“My encounter with ecoprint marked the beginning of a turning point in my life. At that time, the batik industry I had been working in was experiencing a severe downturn, and my products could no longer compete in the market because too many people had entered the same industry.”

(Interview with Denny Djoko, September 2, 2025)

Armed with his experience as a batik craftsman, he began shifting from synthetic dyes to natural materials. In addition, he conducted extensive experimentation on product models and unique designs to make his works more competitive in the market. His business journey grew significantly after he first exhibited his works at the Solo Art Market (SAM) in 2020. Since then, he has regularly participated in various exhibitions, both domestically and internationally. He now owns two outlets or galleries, one at Adi Sumarmo Airport and another at The Alana Hotel.

His works are well-received by the middle to upper class market segment, sold at fixed prices that are non-negotiable due to their quality and uniqueness. Denny's products can reach prices in the millions of rupiah, with peak revenues totaling hundreds of millions. This indicates that his works have attained a high level of symbolic capital, as their quality and distinctiveness have been widely recognized by both ecoprint enthusiasts and fellow entrepreneurs. Consequently, Denny has the confidence to set fixed prices without allowing buyers to bargain. It can thus be said that he has successfully converted his symbolic capital, derived from the artistic value of his ecoprint works, into substantial economic capital.

Denny realizes that the ecoprint market remains largely confined to the upper-middle economic class, those who appreciate craftsmanship, sustainability, and the philosophy behind each product. Nevertheless, he chooses to maintain his artistic

idealism rather than lowering prices merely to reach a broader audience. believing that doing so would compromise the quality. artistic integrity. and ecological principles of ecoprint itself.

He also empowers the local community by employing permanent workers to assist in the production and sewing processes. In this regard. Denny leverages his social capital. his connections with the community. to create job opportunities that help raise the economic capital of those around him. This. in turn. positions Denny as an individual with strong symbolic capital. recognized by society as an influential. prestigious. and socially impactful figure.

However. in terms of networking with fellow traders or ecoprint practitioners. Denny admits that he is not very active. At SAM. he rarely interacts directly. often delegating tasks to his employees. Still. he maintains that he strives to keep good relations with everyone. To this day. Denny continues to innovate and hopes that ecoprint can bring people closer to nature. He emphasizes that an ecoprinter must be creative and not merely imitative. For him. art is not just about meeting consumer demand but also a path toward sustainability. prosperity. and gratitude to the God.

Based on Denny's journey. it is evident that he has achieved upward social mobility into the upper class. This is reflected in his symbolic capital. marked by high recognition from both the public and his peers. as well as in his elevated economic capital compared to his parents. His broader social networks and refined cultural capital further illustrate how his previous habitus has transformed through success.

2) Hida Singgih. the owner of the ecoprint business reRonce

Hida was born and raised in a family with an upper-class habitus as an only child. Her father was an expert staff member at the Ministry of Public Works. who was later transferred to Solo to assist in the construction of the Gajah Mungkur Dam. However. not long after the transfer. her father passed away. Hida experienced symbolic violence in the form of the absence of a father figure and feelings of inferiority. as she no longer had a father like her peers.

Nevertheless. economically. she did not face hardship because her mother was able to sustain the family through her entrepreneurial endeavors. Essentially. Hida's mother possessed internalized cultural capital in the form of adaptability and intelligence. having come from a civil servant family within an upper-middle-class habitus. She also

had economic capital in the form of financial resources and objectified cultural capital in the form of commodities that could be utilized for business. Among the many ventures she pursued. Hida's mother managed various businesses. ranging from catering services and contractor projects to timber trading and diamond sales.

Furthermore. considering the environment in which her family lived in the city of Klaten. Hida was accustomed to interacting with people from various social strata. from the lower class (farmers. small traders. etc.). the academic class. to the upper class (aristocrats. large merchants. etc.). This diverse social setting shaped Hida's worldview from an early age and made her adept at adapting to layered social environments.

“I have many friends from various backgrounds. both old and young. At my home in Klaten. I usually socialize with vegetable sellers. *jamu* drink sellers. and farmers. they've all become close to me.” (Interview with Hida Singgih. August 13. 2025)

In addition. Hida's internalized cultural capital in the form of intelligence and sensitivity made her a compassionate and critical thinker. This was evident when. during junior high school. she noticed that a vacant lot near her house was gradually being filled with piles of garbage. She realized that the empty land should not be used as a temporary waste disposal site because it disrupted the comfort of local residents. Therefore. Hida took a bold step by sending a letter to the government office to seek a solution to the problem. With her intelligence and ambition. Hida also excelled academically. She completed her undergraduate studies at Universitas Sebelas Maret (UNS) and continued her master's degree in Management at Universitas Gadjah Mada (UGM).

Meanwhile. Hida's interest in ecoprint began with her love for nature and plants. which led her to visit an exhibition in Surakarta. She found the field of ecoprint fascinating because it uses flora as a medium to create motifs on fabric. For Hida. ecoprint serves as a way to combine idealism and creativity. transforming natural materials into commercially valuable works while raising awareness about environmental preservation. Her curiosity and eagerness to learn new things also fueled her attraction to ecoprint.

“I am a person with a strong sense of curiosity. and I always want to learn something new. The downside is that I get bored easily. However. unlike other fields. with ecoprint I don't get bored. I believe that the new patterns I can create through

ecoprint awaken a new spirit within me.” (**Interview with Hida Singgih. August 13, 2025**)

She diligently learned various ecoprint techniques (internalized cultural capital), starting from simple processes until she was able to produce works in the form of fabrics, clothing, and fashion pieces priced between Rp100.000 and Rp500.000. However, for Hida, ecoprint is not merely a business; it is a manifestation of her idealism. She wants to emphasize that her creations can serve as a medium to convey ecological messages. With her high curiosity, she continuously explores knowledge related to plants, environmental preservation, ecoprint techniques, and entrepreneurship.

Through her continuous learning across these fields, Hida has become someone who generously shares her knowledge. She is frequently invited as a speaker at various workshops and training sessions on environmental conservation, ecoprint, and entrepreneurship. This demonstrates that her internalized cultural capital, her knowledge of ecoprint, her management education, and her strong public speaking skills have allowed her to fulfill her inner desire to contribute to society. Moreover, her reputation as a highly educated ecoprint entrepreneur with excellent communication abilities positions Hida as a figure with significant symbolic capital, widely respected by others.

Hida also does not depend on ecoprint as her main source of income. She already possesses substantial economic capital in the form of assets such as rental properties, rice fields, and land, and her husband also earns a high income. It can be said that she already enjoys passive income, allowing her to focus her life on benefiting society by sharing knowledge and actively promoting environmental sustainability.

Meanwhile, in her social relations with fellow ecoprint entrepreneurs, especially at Solo Art Market, Hida feels that she maintains good relationships with everyone. However, the potential for symbolic violence still exists. Hida’s background as someone from an upper social-class habitus, reflected in her confidence, resilience, and strong principles, can sometimes make other entrepreneurs feel inferior or “unequal” in that field. The symbolic capital attached to Hida (as a UGM graduate, workshop speaker, and member of the upper social class) may generate perceptions of inequality among her peers. This form of symbolic violence is unintentional on Hida’s part but may be experienced by others as feelings of intimidation, lack of confidence, or even marginalization within social interactions.

3) Tontor Sri Harjanto (Hari), the owner of *Alas Jati* ecoprint

Hari was born and raised in a small village on the eastern side of Mount Merapi, specifically in Sawit District, Boyolali Regency. He is the son of Sri Soetarso, a successful farmer, and Siti Sarmiyati, a trader. Within the social field of his village, Hari and his parents were considered part of the middle-class habitus, as both parents had progressive views on education. From a young age, Hari was encouraged by his parents to pursue his dreams and higher education. Moreover, growing up in a rural environment surrounded by nature, Hari developed a deep bond with the flora and fauna around him. He often played in rivers to catch fish, climbed hills, and showed a particular fascination with birds.

“When I was a child, I had a very adventurous spirit. Since I lived in the mountains where there wasn’t much entertainment, I loved exploring and socializing with my friends.” (**Interview with Hari, August 24, 2025**)

During his school years, Hari was known as a bright student. He consistently earned good grades and was actively involved in student organizations. He continued his education at the Faculty of Engineering, majoring in Architecture, at Universitas Sebelas Maret (UNS). While in college, he became active in outdoor activities, especially after joining the UNS Mountaineering Club (*Mapala UNS*). His hobby of mountain climbing further deepened his love for nature, which later became closely connected to his choice of pursuing ecoprint.

Drawing from his internalized cultural capital, his mother’s trading skills and his deep appreciation for nature, Hari eventually ventured into business. His journey as an ecoprint entrepreneur began in 2020. His first artwork was purchased by a specialist doctor in Jakarta for a remarkable price, marking a significant turning point in his career. Since then, Hari has become increasingly productive, and his works have gained wide recognition through social media. Several fashion designers have collaborated with him, including Mardiana Ika, an Indonesian designer based in Hong Kong who frequently showcases her collections in global fashion cities. As his business became more established, Hari began participating in numerous exhibitions both in Soloraya and at the national level.

Hari's ecoprint products are sold at prices ranging from Rp100.000 to Rp5.000.000. with his most expensive piece reaching Rp10.000.000. However, for him, price is not the main goal. What matters most is exploring new creative fields and expanding his network. Even though some of his works are sold at high prices, Hari finds greater satisfaction in the creative process itself rather than the profits.

Additionally, coming from a family with high social capital, Hari carried this advantage into his business endeavors. He founded the Ecoprint Indonesia community and joined Jawara Ecoprint, which expanded his professional network within the field. This demonstrates how Hari, as a highly sociable individual, easily benefits from the social capital he possesses. His entrepreneurial journey, however, was not without challenges. He learned ecoprint from the ground up—starting by taking courses (internalized cultural capital), purchasing high-quality ecoprint tools (objectified cultural capital), building connections with individuals who could support his business (social capital), and conducting trials to determine the branding (symbolic capital) of his products.

Hari's perseverance paid off when he established strong business relationships with designers and ecoprint enthusiasts (social capital). Through these networks, he was able to gain higher economic capital and symbolic capital in the form of recognition and appreciation for his works. In addition to ecoprint, Hari, driven by courage and entrepreneurial spirit—also opened other businesses. Once he had accumulated sufficient economic capital, he purchased land in his hometown to develop into rice fields and gardens.

“I can't focus on just one field. For me, trying new things, especially those related to entrepreneurship, is a challenge worth pursuing.” (Interview with Hari, August 25, 2025)

From his life journey, it is evident that Hari successfully achieved upward social mobility into the upper class by accumulating higher levels of economic, social, symbolic, and cultural capital than his parents.

4) Bustanul Arifin, the owner of Syirka ecoprint

Bustanul Arifin was born in Sukoharjo to Munawir Hanafi and Sri Sujarah. His father was self-employed in the Javanese bridal makeup and traditional costume rental

business. while his mother was a civil servant who worked as a kindergarten principal and also assisted her husband with the bridal makeup business. Meanwhile, Bustanul's maternal grandfather, Moch Nawawi, was a well-known batik artisan and one of the leading producers of traditional batik in Surakarta at that time.

“My grandfather owned a famous batik business in Solo. Javanese culture ran deeply through all his children. I remember that my grandfather and his workers could print sheets and sheets of batik cloth. The business was very successful, its reputation spread far and wide. However, my mother didn't inherit the business; she chose to go into business with my father instead. It was my aunt who continued my grandfather's batik enterprise.” **(Interview with Bustanul Arifin, September 3, 2025)**

From Bustanul's background, it is evident that he grew up in an upper-class habitus strongly embedded in Javanese culture. His father's work in Javanese traditional attire and bridal services, his mother's role as both an educator and a bridal stylist, and his grandfather's success as a renowned batik entrepreneur in Surakarta collectively endowed Bustanul with internalized cultural capital, comprehensive knowledge and skills deeply connected to Javanese art and traditions.

Academically, Bustanul earned a Diploma in Accounting from Diponegoro University (UNDIP). However, his professional career did not begin in the arts or environmental sector but in the media industry. He once worked as a manager at Solopos, a media company based in Surakarta. Feeling unfulfilled in that field, he eventually resigned and sought a more meaningful entrepreneurial path aligned with his interests and cultural background. This decision marked the beginning of his journey as an ecoprint entrepreneur.

The batik-making tradition passed down from his grandfather became a crucial form of internalized cultural capital for Bustanul. As a grandchild, he had been taught various batik techniques and motifs. Additionally, his parents' expertise in floral arrangements and Javanese bridal aesthetics, rich with natural motifs, helped sharpen his sensitivity and knowledge of flora. Since childhood, he had been encouraged to plant trees, both ornamental and fruit-bearing, nurturing an intimate connection with nature that would later influence his ecoprint business. In pursuing ecoprint, Bustanul was fully committed. He was willing to invest in expensive natural dye formulas (objectified

cultural capital). attend workshops. and practice diligently on different types of fabric (internalized cultural capital). Through continuous experimentation. he discovered a unique artistic identity. which led him to establish his brand. Syirka. in 2018. named after his daughter. Initially. he planted his own trees to source leaves for his work. but after selling his land. he chose to empower local communities to supply the leaves and flowers instead.

Bustanul's approach reflects his inherited habitus. as his grandfather had also employed many local residents in his batik enterprise. Similarly. Bustanul demonstrates social responsibility by empowering the community and improving their economic well-being (economic capital). This commitment has earned him symbolic capital. as he is respected and admired for creating employment opportunities and contributing to local prosperity. As an entrepreneur. Bustanul manages large-scale production. setting him apart from many ecoprinters who struggle to meet high order volumes. He can handle orders of thousands of fabric sheets by engaging community members and staff. He also developed appropriate technology-based tools to streamline the production process. Despite this. he personally oversees the creative direction. selecting leaves. arranging compositions. and determining color layers and dyeing frequency.

Bustanul regards ecoprint as both an art form and an environmentally friendly product that carries a go green and slow fashion message. signifying timelessness. He emphasizes that every ecoprint creation is inherently unique because it relies on natural materials.

“No two fabrics are ever exactly the same. and that's precisely what makes ecoprint both an art form and a distinctive product. That's why I always educate consumers that the colors and motifs of ecoprint will never be as uniform as chemically dyed textiles. In essence. the patterns will never be generic. even if they're made with the same leaves or flowers.”. **(Interview with Bustanul Arifin. September 3. 2025)**

Thanks to the uniqueness of his work. Bustanul's products have reached international markets. He has participated in major exhibitions such as Inacraft. events in Bali. and business-matching sessions with foreign buyers in Bali and BSD Tangerang. as well as various local fairs in Surakarta. His ecoprint products are priced between Rp200.000 and Rp1.800.000 for fabric. and Rp200.000 to Rp3.500.000 for garments. On

average. he earns hundreds of millions of rupiah per month. positioning his creations among the most valuable in the Solo Art Market. on par with Denny Djoko's works from New Coral.

Through his long and dedicated journey. Bustanul Arifin has successfully fused his family heritage. love of nature. and ecological vision into the art of ecoprint. He seeks to demonstrate that each ecoprint fabric is not merely a commercial product but a unique representation of Indonesia's botanical richness. something to be both celebrated and preserved.

Moreover. Bustanul's extensive social network (social capital). spanning resellers. foreign buyers. and fellow entrepreneurs. combined with the high market value of his works. has earned him two forms of symbolic capital:

- a. Recognition as a successful and respected figure in the ecoprint industry.
- b. The prestige of his products. viewed as sustainable. fashionable. and exclusive.

Bustanul's entrepreneurial success exemplifies how he has accumulated significantly higher capital than his parents. His habitus. shaped by an entrepreneurial family environment. instilled in him determination. discipline. and innovative thinking. qualities that strengthen his business. Supported by his internalized cultural capital. knowledge of fashion. culture. and business strategy. these factors have enabled Bustanul. to attain high levels of capital and establish his place in the creative industry.

5) Dhewy the owner of Alodie ecoprint

Dhewy was born in Wonogiri on July 13. 1973. She is the fourth of seven siblings. with a father who was a retired teacher and a mother who worked as a trader. From a young age. Dhewy grew up in a modest family belonging to the lower social class habitus. This was due to her parents' limited income (low economic capital). which was insufficient to support all seven children. From these circumstances. Dhewy aspired to change her life through higher education.

Since childhood. Dhewy had developed internalized cultural capital in the form of patience and skill in crafting. including embroidery. sewing. and various forms of handicrafts. She inherited this internalized cultural capital from her mother. whom she often saw sewing diligently and creating handicrafts from leaves and natural materials found near their home with her children. This internalized cultural capital allowed Dhewy to excel in arts and crafts subjects during school. which can be seen as symbolic capital

within the educational field. However, Dhewy did not consider these skills as her future career path; instead, during her school years, she dreamed of studying nursing. Unfortunately, due to limited economic capital, her parents could not afford to finance her education. Dhewy had to give up that dream and stopped her studies after high school.

At that time, given her and her family's lower-class habitus, the only way Dhewy saw to improve her life was through marriage. Fortunately, this path brought her social mobility to the middle class, as her husband's family was relatively well-off. Her parents-in-law owned a successful store and asked Dhewy and her husband to help manage it. This meant that her husband had higher economic, cultural, and symbolic capital than Dhewy. However, her in-laws' insistence that she work only in the family shop and their prohibition against her seeking outside employment created symbolic violence for Dhewy. She felt restricted and lacked autonomy in determining her own path, so she courageously refused their demand. Dhewy decided to take courses in sewing, makeup, and hairstyling to prove to her in-laws that she could work and earn independently. From these classes, she gained additional internalized cultural capital in the form of skills in makeup artistry, sewing techniques, and hair styling. Through her social capital, connections with people in these skill-based fields, she successfully found work in a salon while continuing her role as a housewife.

One day, using her internalized cultural capital, Dhewy decided to participate in a batik competition held in her area. Unexpectedly, she won fifth place. Following this, a friend who worked at the local subdistrict office (social capital) offered her a project to design a batik pattern unique to Wonogiri, using a stamping technique made from cassava. This experience demonstrated how Dhewy's internalized cultural capital, her craftsmanship skills, enabled her to enhance her economic capital. Afterward, Dhewy became more active in her community, creating crafts together with local women. Her interest in ecoprint began when she met students from Universitas Gadjah Mada (UGM) who were conducting community service (KKN) in her village (social capital). The students admired Dhewy's batik and crafting skills and introduced her to ecoprint, a field with less competition than batik. They then connected her with a lecturer from Yogyakarta who conducted workshops and classes in ecoprint. After acquiring internalized cultural capital in the form of ecoprint-making techniques, Dhewy began considering starting her own business.

Dhewy's journey with ecoprint began during the COVID-19 pandemic in 2020. Using tools she purchased online (objectified cultural capital), she continued to practice and experiment until she mastered the craft. During this period, she experimented with various local plants to understand their natural properties. She also attended several ecoprint exhibitions to seek inspiration and learn from others. After five years of dedication, by 2025, Dhewy's ecoprint business had grown significantly. Her products were now marketed in Wonogiri and Yogyakarta, with prices ranging from Rp65.000 for vests to Rp350.000 for blouses, and up to Rp750.000 for lined tunics. For fabrics, her most expensive item was silk, sold through pre-order, while cotton fabric (2.5 meters) was priced at Rp250.000. In a month, Dhewy could earn an average profit of Rp7.000.000. She also implemented a zero-waste concept by repurposing leftover fabric into keychains, brooches, and necklaces upon customer request.

Dhewy actively participated in exhibitions, both locally, such as Solo Art Market (SAM) and Magetan Expo 2023, and in national events like Inakraf in Yogyakarta. Although she had not yet exhibited her work in larger cities, she remained determined to expand her market. She was also involved in ecoprint communities, though her social experiences were mixed, some supportive, others critical, which led her to limit her social interactions. However, this did not discourage her; instead, it strengthened her focus on improving product quality. Dhewy admitted that she had no intention of competing with others in the ecoprint industry and was content with her current level of success. From her long journey, it is evident that the ecoprint business has improved Dhewy's quality of life and elevated her to the middle social class. However, her business has yet to achieve upper-class mobility due to financial and transportation limitations (economic capital) that prevent her from marketing her products in larger cities. Moreover, her monthly income from this business remains modest.

Meanwhile, Dhewy's habitus as an individual from a lower social class remains deeply embedded, even as she operates within the business field. Individuals from lower classes often experience symbolic violence in the form of feelings of inferiority, inadequacy, or alienation when operating in fields dominated by those with higher capital. This remains true for Dhewy, who still feels small and unequal compared to more successful entrepreneurs. As a result, the symbolic violence she experiences manifests in

her limited social engagement within the ecoprint business community, including at the Solo Art Market.Market.

5 DISCUSSION

In the context of the ecoprint industry at the Solo Art Market (SAM), the varying levels of commercial success among ecoprinters demonstrate a strong relationship between habitus, cultural capital, and social capital possessed by each individual. Denny Djoko occupies the highest position, achieving remarkable milestones such as opening two showrooms at Adi Sumarmo Airport, exporting his products internationally, and targeting the upper-middle-class market with prices reaching millions of rupiah. His success reflects a middle-class habitus and a Javanese cultural background that enrich his cultural capital. Following him, Bustanul Arifin ranks second, producing ecoprint fabrics on a large scale and generating revenues of hundreds of millions of rupiah. This accomplishment aligns with his inherited cultural capital, stemming from a family deeply rooted in batik and business traditions, and his academic background in economics.

Next, Tontor Sri Harjanto (Hari) occupies the third position, combining cultural capital derived from his family's background as traders and farmers with academic experience in architecture and environmental activism, producing ecoprint artworks valued in the millions. Below him is Dhewy, who comes from a lower-class habitus but has successfully built a home-based ecoprint business generating millions of rupiah per month through perseverance, creativity, and the internalization of cultural capital in sewing and handicrafts. Lastly, Hida holds the lowest commercial position but stands out for her social and ecological contributions. Rather than focusing on profit, she uses ecoprint as a means of empowerment and environmental education, embodying an upper-class habitus oriented toward social, intellectual, and ecological values. Overall, these rankings indicate that the commercial success of ecoprinters is determined not solely by economic capital but also by their ability to convert cultural, social, and symbolic capital in accordance with their habitus.

The findings reveal that the level of success among SAM ecoprinters is significantly influenced by the capitals they possess, economic, cultural, social, and symbolic, as well as by their habitus, which shapes their outlook and entrepreneurial

strategies. A clear stratification can be observed, aligning with previous research suggesting that high capital ownership, particularly cultural capital supported by an appropriate family habitus, facilitates individual success in entrepreneurship (Vigerland & Bord, 2018; Jayadi, 2018). In the process of capital conversion, cultural, social, and symbolic capitals play a pivotal role in achieving commercial success (economic capital). Cultural capital in the form of business and ecoprinting skills enables product creation, while social capital facilitates connections with business partners, customers, and investors. Once strong social capital is established and product quality is recognized, symbolic capital emerges in the form of prestige and legitimacy. When the quality, prestige, and aesthetic value of an ecoprint product are acknowledged by the market, this recognition transforms into economic capital through increased consumer purchasing power.

This process shows how knowledge and expertise (cultural capital) can be transformed into economic profit (economic capital). These findings are consistent with Zaharijevski et. al. (2018), who explains that education, environment, and skill, as forms of cultural capital, serve as essential tools for conversion toward improved economic standing. Likewise, Pret *et al.* (2016) argue that when knowledge and skills are embodied in socially recognized products, they acquire prestige that holds economic value. Within an entrepreneurial field such as SAM, economic capital represents the highest form of conversion because the logic of the market inherently measures success through material indicators such as profit, sales growth, and purchasing power (Venter, 2012; Purwanto, 2016). Although ecoprinters begin with cultural capital, including artistic, business, and ecological knowledge, these capitals only attain full legitimacy when converted into tangible economic outcomes. In other words, cultural, social, and symbolic capital achieve their highest effectiveness when manifested in the form of income or financial profit recognized by the market. Therefore, an ecoprinter's success or commercial standing can be measured by economic indicators such as business scale, product price, revenue, and other financial metrics.

Bourdieu (1986) explains that every field has a dominant principle of capital, the form of capital that most determines an actor's position and power within it. In SAM's entrepreneurial field, dominance lies not merely in product creation but in the ability of ecoprinters to integrate various forms of capital into their business practices to achieve

commercial growth (economic capital) and sustain their enterprise. This is consistent with previous studies emphasizing that commercial success (economic capital) reflects an individual's possession of the appropriate forms of capital, which in turn elevates their social position within the field (Smaguc & Vukovic, 2023; Pret *et al.*, 2016; De Clercq & Voronov, 2009).

Furthermore, the SAM field itself can be understood as a site for enhancing cultural capital (business and ecoprint knowledge) through social capital (connections with fellow ecoprinters). This dynamic provides valuable opportunities for ecoprinters with lower capital to acquire additional resources for business development, which may lead to upward social mobility through the accumulation of economic capital. However, ecoprinters with low levels of capital and commercial performance often struggle to increase their capital due to symbolic violence and the constraints imposed by their class-based habitus. This supports the findings of Krstic *et al.* (2025), who reveal that individuals from lower socioeconomic backgrounds frequently face challenges in transforming their habitus when entering new social environments that demand values, ethics, and lifestyles different from those of their origin. These barriers are not only economic but also psychological and cultural, as individuals carry ingrained habits, perceptions, and identities shaped by their original class positions.

Sharlamanov *et al.* (2024) further strengthen this notion by arguing that social inequality reinforces habitus according to one's class position within the social structure. Habitus formed in environments with limited access to capital tends to hinder change, particularly in terms of innovation or economic expansion. In SAM's context, this explains why ecoprinters from lower social classes remain confined to small-scale production and struggle to reach broader markets, their habitus, molded by prior life experiences, restricts confidence, social networking, and entrepreneurial risk-taking. Moreover, disparities in capital ownership within SAM inevitably produce symbolic violence. As previous research shows, individuals with greater capital, intentionally or otherwise, generate perceptions of inequality, inferiority, and marginalization among those with less capital. Any dominant form of capital within a field carries the potential to reproduce symbolic violence (Kapoor, 2024; Firdaus & Agustin, 2019), contributing to the limited social mobility and capital accumulation of ecoprinters with low commercial standing in the SAM field.

6 CONCLUSION

Research focusing on the aspect of social practice reveals that individual ecoprinters exhibit varying levels of commercial achievement. These differences are influenced by their class-based habitus and the types of capital they possess, particularly internalized cultural capital related to business skills and ecoprinting techniques. Ecoprinters with limited capital often face barriers in the form of symbolic violence and restrictive habitus, which shape their attitudes and perspectives toward their entrepreneurial endeavors. Conversely, those with higher capital are able to maximize their resources to generate greater commercial value. These findings highlight that success in ecoprint entrepreneurship is largely determined by the ecoprinter's social origin and the degree of embodiment and understanding they bring into the process of creating their ecoprint works.

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Authors' Contribution

All authors contributed equally to the development of this article.

Data availability

All datasets relevant to this study's findings are fully available within the article.

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