BOURDIEU'S SOCIAL CLASS AND THE PROCESSING OF POLITICAL CHOICES IN INDONESIA

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ABSTRACT

This article analyses the new model of social class in Indonesia based on the concept of capital of Pierre Bourdieu's genetic structuralism theory, with the processing of political choice based on the *Elaboration Likelihood Model* of Richard Petty & John Cacioppo. The concepts of cultural capital, social capital and economic capital from Bourdieu are used to identify the new models of social classes in Indonesia's historical context. This research on voter behaviour uses a mixture of quantitative and qualitative methods and resulted in: 1. finding four social classes in the contemporary Indonesian society, namely the elite class, the professional middle class, the traditional middle class and the *marhaen* class; 2. finding out that key informants from the elite and professional middle classes process political choice information through the central route, while the traditional middle class and the *marhaen* class process political choice information through the peripheral route.

Keywords: Bourdieu, Petty-Cacioppo, voter behaviour, social class, central route, peripheral route

INTRODUCTION

Political communication research to show the role of communication science in voter behaviour, especially the processing of information on political choices based on contemporary social classes using Pierre Bourdieu's genetic structuralism approach has posed a strong challenge in the Indonesian context (McNair, 2003: 11; Kaid and Holtz-Bacha, 2008: 812-817; Rachman, 2006). After the *reformasi* (political reformations) of 1998, the president and vice president can now be elected directly by the people of Indonesia, using a one person, one vote system. The 1998 *reformasi* was the beginning of a long struggle to realise substantive democracy, not just procedural democracy, where voters as legitimate agents holding popular sovereignty determine the future of the Republic of Indonesia directly. Elections are procedural means of substantive democracy to realise all the agendas of the May 1998 Reformation, the ideals of the 1945 Proclamation, and *Pancasila* Democracy (Aspinall and Fealy, 2010; Mietzner, 2013; Rachman, 2006).

REVIEW OF LITERATURE

Previous research on voter behaviour based on Marxist social class has been conducted by Afan Gaffar in 1985, in *Javanese Voters: A Case Study of Election Under a Hegemonic Party System* (1992). Afan Gaffar concluded that in Brobanti Village, social classes were not significant to explain voter behaviour in the village, but cultural variables were more significant (Gaffar, 1992). In rural Java, there were no large-scale landowners, and were relatively independent of the market economy; therefore non-economic factors such as religion had more role than social

class. Subsequently, Saiful Mujani, R. William Liddle, and Kuskridho Ambardi published *Voting Behaviour in Indonesia Since Democratisation: Critical Democrats* (Cambridge University Press, 2018). Mujani *et al.* concluded that social class (with the variables of education level, income level and type of work) in the selection of political parties or candidates is an important factor, while at the same time there are significant differences between voters for the legislature and the president. Neither Gaffar nor Mujani *et al.* used Bourdieu's approach regarding the formation of social classes.

Bourdieu's approach is used by a most ambitious research claimed to be the largest survey of social classes to find new social classes in modern British society, involving nine scientists from six European universities in 2013, titled *A New Model of Social Class? Findings from the BBC's Great British Class Survey (GBCS) Experiment*. GBCS was designed based on the conceptual categories developed by Pierre Bourdieu, namely economic capital, social capital and cultural capital. Its findings, based on a national-scale survey, found seven social classes in contemporary British society. "*We think that this new seven-class model recognises both social polarisation in British society and class fragmentation in its middle layers.*" However, the discovery of the seven social classes in the UK was not aimed directly at determining voter behaviour in the UK.

Pierre Bourdieu's research and theoretical work make a significant contribution to sociology in understanding social class in the modern society. Bourdieu introduces a new concept of social class, that one's social class is determined by ownership of economic capital (wealth and income), social capital (social network), and cultural capital (education, training, skills). Bourdieu's three forms of capital model is the model that can be used to identify social classes in society, including in Indonesia (Nagle and Piero, 2016: 80-81). To determine social classes in contemporary Indonesian society, researchers use a similar model using the three capitals of Bourdieu, namely economic capital, cultural capital, and social capital. The social class model using the variables of cultural capital and social capital at least breaks away from the Marxian approach, which tends to overemphasise the economic capital variable.

To understand political information processing by individuals in social classes formed through the Bourdieu model, researchers used the *Elaboration Likelihood Model* (ELT) of Richard Petty and John Cacioppo. ELT is highly dependent on the way the message is processed by the recipient of the message; in this study the recipient of the message means voters in general elections, especially the presidential elections in Indonesia. There are two routes for processing information in ELT, namely the *central route* and the *peripheral route*. Elaboration or critical thinking occurs in the central route, while absence of critical elaboration occurs on the peripheral route. According to Petty and Cacioppo, people will process information through a central route argumentatively when the topic is relevant and they have knowledge of the topic, so they can produce high quality arguments before making certain choices. Whereas, voters will take the peripheral route, which does not require critical argumentation, when they find reliable sources, observe the reaction of the majority in producing consensus on an issue, and even the existence of external rewards for a choice.

RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

This study uses a mixed method using both qualitative and quantitative techniques. The mixed method is needed by researchers assuming that the two forms of data present different types of information, where *open-ended* data are qualitative and *closed-ended* data are quantitative. Mixing and blending the two techniques can provide a stronger understanding of the

formulation of the problem, than if done using a single technique. This idea is the core of mixed method research (Creswell, 2016). The sequential explanatory mixed method approach involves a two-phase project, in which the researcher collects quantitative data in the first phase, analyses the results, and then uses the results to plan (or conduct) the second phase, i.e. the qualitative phase. Quantitative results generally inform the types of participants to be deliberately selected for the qualitative phase and the types of questions that will be asked to the participants.

The quantitative research as the first step to determine social class in Indonesia uses secondary data provided by Statistics Indonesia (BPS) in the form of the National Labour Force Survey (*Sakernas*) in February 2018. The *Sakernas* was carried out in all provinces in Indonesia. The number of *Sakernas* samples in February 2016 was 5,000 census blocks or 50,000 households to obtain data estimates up to the provincial level. The parent sampling frame of *Sakernas* activities in 2018 was approximately 180,000 census blocks (25 per cent of the population), withdrawn *probability proportional to size* (PPS) with the size of the number of SP2010 households of a master frame of approximately 720,000 census blocks. The sampling framework for *Sakernas* activities can be defined as follows: 1. The first phase of the sampling frame is the SP2010 ordinary census block list; 2. The second phase of the sampling frame is a list of 25 per cent of the 2010 SP census blocks that has a standard code called the parent sampling frame; 3. The third phase of the sampling frame is a list of households that have been updated from each selected census block. The sample design was selected by the *two stages one phase stratified sampling* method: Stage 1: select 25 per cent of the population census block with *Probability Proportional to Size* (PPS) with the size of the number of SP2010 households in each stratum; Stage 2: select n census blocks according to a systematic allocation in each urban/rural strata per regency/city per employment stratum; Stage 3: select 10 households that have been updated by *systematic sampling*.

Then the sample for the provincial estimation of *Sakernas* is a subsample of the regency/city estimation for *Sakernas* and is selected using the *two stages stratified sampling* method as follows: Stage 1: select 5,000 census blocks by *systematic sampling* of 20,000 regency/city estimation census blocks according to allocation and considering the sample distribution in each stratum at the regency/city level; Stage 2: select 10 households that have been updated, by *systematic sampling.* Data collection from selected households is done through face-to-face interviews between enumerators and respondents. Of each selected household, data regarding the general information of each household member including name, relationship with the head of the family, gender, month and year of birth and age are collected. Particularly household members aged 10 years and over will be asked for information about marital status, education, nationality, place of residence 5 years ago, disability, main activities of the past week, activities to find work/prepare new business, main and additional occupation, working hours of all jobs, work experience and additional questions related to the new concept of employment.

After the social classes in contemporary Indonesian society have been discovered, qualitative research is then conducted through in-depth interviews with key informants representing each of the four social classes found through quantitative research. The data collection technique is in the form of *maximum variation (heterogeneity). Purposive sampling* or *judgment sampling* is a type of non-probability sample, the sample is selected with specific objectives and considerations. This sample is an improvement of convenience sampling in which the researcher or interviewer can choose anyone (Patton, 2015: 264-265).

RESEARCH FINDINGS AND DISCUSSION

Based on the National Labour Force Survey (*Sakernas*) by Statistics Indonesia (BPS) in February 2018 in all of Indonesia or 34 provinces involving 51,735 respondents who have complete data in accordance with the variables presented in the BPS *Sakernas* survey. The selected variables in accordance with this research design only amount to 6 (six) variables, namely: 1. Income; 2. Education Level; 3. Occupational Area; 4. Standard Classification of Type of Work; 5. Regional Classification; and 6. Status of Main Occupation. Based on statistical processing with the six variables, four social classes in Indonesia are found, namely the elite class amounting to 13,071 households or 25.3 per cent, the professional middle class with 17,370 households or 20.6 per cent, the traditional middle class with 10,665 households or 20.5 per cent, and lastly the *marhaen* class with 10.629 households or 20.5 per cent.

Table 1: Four Clusters of Social Classes in Indonesia and Their Mean Income

Social class	N	% of Combined	Average Income (*Mean*)
Elite	13,071	25.3%	IDR 3,315,159.00
Professional Middle	17,370	33.6%	IDR 1,834,733.00
Traditional Middle	10,665	20.6%	IDR 1,615,256.00
Marhaen	10.629	20.5%	IDR 1,269,624.00
Total	51,735	100.0%	-

Then the researcher conducted in-depth interviews with eleven key informants who represented the four contemporary Indonesian social classes with the *maximum variation* (*heterogeneity*) key informant retrieval technique. Table 2 shows the heterogeneity of key informants in qualitative research to represent the four social classes in Indonesia supplemented by *17 Categories of Employment Areas* issued by Statistics Indonesia (BPS) to show all employment areas in Indonesia where the individuals in the four social classes in the table above work throughout Indonesia.

Four Social Classes in Indonesia

The eleven key informants in qualitative research, besides representing a number of employment areas in Indonesia, are also complemented with the titles of positions/jobs in each of these areas, as well as the highest-level education they have finished. Table 2 shows that the elite class is represented by four key informants (3 females, 1 male) with job titles such as Chief Executive Officer (CEO)/Founder, managing director, producer/CEO, and student, with master's and bachelor's degree education, as well as still in university (millennial); the professional middle class is represented by two key informants (female and male) with the title of Expert Staff in a Ministry and the Head of Subdivision in a State Agencies, with masters' education; the traditional middle class is represented by 3 key informants (2 males, 1 female) with one being a security officer (a high school graduate without a certificate), and the others a husband/wife pair of small traders/scavengers with no education; and the *marhaen* class is represented by two key informants (2 males), one working as a handyman graduating from elementary school graduates, and the other a scavenger of used goods, with no education.

Table 2: Number and Heterogeneity of Key Informants

Social class	Number	Gender	Occupational Area	Job Title/Occupation	Education
Elite	4	Female	15	CEO/Founder	S2
		Female	11	Managing Director	S2
		Female	10	Producer/CEO	S1
		Male	-	Student/Millennial	Doing S1
Professional Middle	2	Male	14	Institution Expert	S2
		Female	14	Head of Subdivision	S2
Traditional Middle	3	Male	17	Security (no certificate)	High
		Male Female	5	Small traders/scavengers	No school
Marhaen	2	Male	17	Handyman (odd jobs)	Elementary
		Male	5	Scavenger	No school
Total	11	-	-	-	-

Based on the results of the qualitative research analysis of the eleven key informants from the four social classes, the researchers describe the four social classes in Indonesia as follows:

a.   *Elite class*

This social class is at the top of the social pyramid because of their ability and success in accumulating economic capital, cultural capital, and social capital in large numbers and composition, and varied portfolios. They have a comprehensive and very high level of ownership and composition of economic capital, including monthly income, ownership of luxury homes, household savings, ownership of luxury vehicles, and even expensive art objects. Quantitative research in this study found that around 25.3 per cent of Indonesians are part of this elite class. The results of data processing are then studied in more depth through the qualitative research on three key informants to prove that this elite class has a household income of around IDR 500 million – IDR 1 billion every month. The three key informants from the elite class also have luxury homes in luxury housing complexes with a market value of around IDR 5 billion – over IDR 10 billion, and have savings between IDR 1 billion – over IDR 10 billion, also a car worth between IDR 500 million – over IDR 1 billion for each of the family member husband and wife, as well as the children of the elite class. The three key informants from this elite class are husband and wife couples who work, both as owners of large private companies, as well as high-income professionals in large private companies and large state-owned enterprises.

The wealth of this elite class is tens of times of the social class below it, the professional middle class, especially in relative comparison to the economic capital owned by individuals in the social class. Informant A1 is the Chief Executive Officer (CEO) or founder/owner as well as managing director in a company owned by the couple. Informant A2, besides a film producer, is also the CEO of several private companies with her husband. Informant A3 was formerly working in national and international MNCs, and now works for a major SOE. This elite class also has social capital in the form of a very broad social network both in number, range and composition. With the large amount of cultural capital and economic capital that they have, they easily access all types of 17 Categories of Employment Areas and recognise a number of individuals in each of these business fields. The use of the Internet to expand and strengthen social networks, also for activities related to the main occupation in this elite class, depends on the type of work in the 17 Categories of Employment Areas. In addition, efforts to strengthen,

expand and maintain social capital, this elite class generally conducts professional meetings domestically and internationally at least twice a year, some even more than five times a year.

The cultural capital of the elite is also extraordinary, the three informants of this research have parents who are also entrepreneurs and professionals who are well paid and come from well-known universities. The three informants themselves have educational backgrounds from the best private and public universities in Indonesia, and take advanced professional education in the best universities in Europe and the United States. Likewise with their children, and thus reproduction of cultural capital both in the form of cultural capital embodiment (trained as entrepreneurs and professionals, English language skills and so on, non-physical mentality), objectified cultural capital (ownership of physical cultural objects, such as private libraries, expensive paintings or sculptures from famous painters, and others) as well as institutionalised capital (educational diplomas and prestigious courses) are indicators of this elite class culture. Vacationing, generally abroad, is the choice of elite class families, at least twice a year.

b.   *Professional Middle Class*

This social class under the elite class actually has quite a striking difference in the number and composition of economic capital. The amount of household income, where the two key informants from the professional middle class are a working husband and wife couple, is between IDR 10 million – IDR 50 million. The house they live in, is being paid in instalments with a value of around IDR 500 million – IDR 1 billion, while another informant said that he still lives in his parents' house, is trying to find his own home that is suitable for the income and care of their young children, who in the meantime have been entrusted to his parents. The savings held are around IDR 10 million – IDR 50 million, which is the accumulation of the remaining household income per month. The positions of both in the ministry and in the state agency are still in the early stages of career development, informant B1 as an expert in a ministry, and informant B2 as a head of a subdivision in a state agency. Both of them have a car worth between IDR 100 million – IDR 300 million being paid in instalments, in addition to motorbikes.

The accumulation of cultural capital is still in a moderate stage and begins to develop, liking art objects and accessing popular, R & B culture, even the regional Betawi culture which is mixed with religion but has been modernised like *Marawis* in Jakarta. Their place of work provides graduate scholarships for the development of capabilities and expertise related to the enlargement of cultural capital in renowned universities in Indonesia. They also undertook undergraduate studies in major universities in Indonesia, where through the cultural capital they can pass civil servant exams in ministries and prestigious state agencies, then rapidly obtain career positions as well as scholarships from the State. This condition fosters the belief that education is the main pathway for social mobility in addition to accumulating economic capital and subsequent social capital in the future. This reproduction and development of cultural capital is based on the background of their parents who both work, are high school graduates, and have careers as middle professionals in private companies and civil servants.

Having extensive social capital based on recognition of all parties working in the 17 Categories of Employment Areas; yet they have a limited social network within the country, generally family, alumni, and religious networks. Both are very active in accessing mass media both old media and new media, but new media is the priority choice because of the ease of access via the Internet. The professional middle class is a much high user of Internet access in Indonesia compared to the elite class, and is generally associated with the main occupation they

do. This professional middle class can be said to be a social class that relies heavily on the development of the Internet and the digital world in Indonesia.

c. *Traditional Middle Class*

Economically, the traditional middle class found in this study has rather limited economic capital both in terms of number and composition. The works of these two traditional middle class informants are highly dependent on physical strength rather than certain abilities. Informant C1 works as security without certificate, more precisely as a guard of a housing complex, working 8 hours a day and sometimes up to 12 hours, alternately day and night. The monthly household income is IDR 1,500,000, with the responsibility of a wife and child. During the last two years, he has relied on his own salary, and living in the wife's parents' house. In 2018, his wife was accepted to work as a garment factory worker with a salary according to the Regional Minimum Wage (UMR) of IDR 2,600,000. Now they are buying a house worth IDR 120 million with an area of 30 square meters and building area of 60 square meters from President Joko Widodo's Million Houses Programme. The monthly instalments of IDR 900,000 are paid through the banking system. In order to make the house instalment payment smooth, they have a savings of IDR 1.5 million from the accumulated remaining salary of the husband and wife each month.

Informants C2 are a husband and wife couple who work as scavengers in Jakarta and slept inside a cart. The researchers included in the category of traditional middle class because previously they were vegetable traders in a traditional market, but because they were bankrupt and in debt, they decided to become scavengers to repay their debt. They owned two simple houses occupied by themselves and their children worth around IDR 50 million – IDR 75 million, but both houses were used as loan collaterals, estimated to be paid off in three years, after which they plan to quit being scavengers and returning to being vegetable traders. Their three children also followed in their footsteps as small traders. One of the children also owns a motorcycle.

The social capital of these two traditional middle class informants is also very limited, generally only associating with the work environment, family, and environment around the house, even only greeting them, because they are at work all the time. The informant working as a security guard only uses a simple mobile phone to contact the immediate family. He once joined a political party organisation as a task force member, but quit after having children, while the husband and wife scavengers have no cellphones at all, but in their village they are members of the Nahdlatul Ulama religious organisation. This very limited social network limits the expansion and accumulation of social capital to be transformed into economic capital and cultural capital.

The cultural capital of the two traditional middle class informants is also very limited, the security is graduated from high school, while the scavenger husband and wife do not go to school at all, but their three children finish high school, then become small traders following in their footsteps. Their work does not require any diploma, and their expertise only requires certain habits, both as a certificate-less security guard and vegetable traders in a traditional market. They only watch television when they return home, and almost completely lack art objects, and never planned any vacations.

d.   Marhaen class

The social class at the bottom of the socio-economic pyramid of contemporary Indonesian society is truly poor in their lack of economic capital, cultural capital, and social capital. The two key informants were practically unemployed, or half unemployed. The first informant was a handyman (according to the 4-digit Standard Classification of Type of Work, coded 9622. Similar work is included in the category of *odd jobs),* and only work if someone asked for help working in a housing developer or housing complex where he had worked before. The second informant was a scavenger of used goods who live inside a cart, and previously was a cigarette butts collector. The 85-year old man has done both jobs since migrating to Jakarta in 1959.

The monthly income of the informant D2, a scavenger, is between IDR 1,800,000 – IDR 2,100,000 or IDR 60,000 – IDR 70,000 per day, while informant D1, working odd jobs, mentions that when he has work, the income is IDR 100,000 per day. But it should be noted that the monthly income is erratic, even sometimes in a whole month the informant does not work at all, or according to the scavenger, the sale of used goods is often only done every three days. The handyman has a simple 14 square meter house, living with his wife and three children in the village, while the scavenger lives in a cart, and every 2-3 months returns home to a 3 x 8 meter house with bamboo walls, tile roof, and makeshift cemented floors in the village. There are no special skills needed in seeking income, but limited to physical strength alone, without any guarantee, so that if they are sick they do not have any income. Everyday informant D2 spends IDR 15,000 for three meals, IDR 5,000 for each meal at a *Warung Tegal* paid in cash.

This class has extremely limited cultural capital, from no school at all to only graduating from elementary school, while their children also graduated from elementary school (all eight children of the scavenger), and the child of the handyman is a junior high school graduate and is now also a handyman as well. All of the children of the scavenger are married and working as labourers in the cigarette and insect repellent industries. They do not have objects of artistic value, do not read books and newspapers, do not have cellphones, but watch television at home in the village because both of their houses have electricity (connected to the electric network of a neighbour's house, and paying around IDR 50,000 – IDR 60,000 per month. The parents of the two informants did not go to school at all and are farm labourers in their villages. Thus the education path for these two informants is not a means for social mobility or accumulation of cultural capital, not even economic capital and social capital. The social capital of the two informants is also very limited, because they spend their time finding work and they work without a schedule.

Table 3: Indonesian Social Classes, Percentages and Descriptions

Social class	Percentage (BPS, 2018)	Description
Elite	25.3%	Have huge economic capital, wide and varied social capital in the country and abroad, and extraordinary cultural capital.
Professional Middle	33.6%	Ownership of economic capital, cultural capital and cultural capital is developing. In particular, relying on cultural capital for social mobility
Traditional Middle	20.6%	Have fair amounts of economic capital, cultural capital and social capital, but still relying on physical strength and sometimes acceptance of dominance.
Marhaen	20.5%	Almost no economic capital, cultural capital, and social capital. Only relying on physical and muscle strength and acceptance of dominance

The elite class has a very good strategy in an effort to maintain and accumulate, and even reproduce all types of capital: economic, cultural and social capital, to their children. The professional middle class, even though their economic capital is far behind the elite class, has a good individual trajectory to maintain and expand economic capital, cultural capital and social capital. Even in a certain time scale it is possible for a number of individuals in the professional middle class to experience social mobility to the elite class as indicated by one informant in the elite class who experienced his individual trajectory through accumulation of cultural capital and social capital. This professional middle class relies heavily on cultural capital to maintain class position and to perform social mobility to the elite class.

Whereas the traditional middle class and *marhaen* class are two social classes that find it very difficult to carry out social mobility or accumulate capital to get out of the confines of their social classes. The three generations of the informants from the *marhaen* class revolved in the confines of the same social class, their fathers and mothers did not go to school and worked as landless farm labourers, then the informants only going to elementary school or did not have any education at all, then continued by their children who can only add some cultural capital in their elementary and junior high school education. Even these children also worked odd jobs and worked as industrial labourers without any skills. Three generations of the *marhaen* class are confined to the social class, relying solely on physical prowess and acceptance of domination from generation to generation. They are drowned in social immobility, in the silence of three, even more, generations.

Political Information Processing

Further, this study determines how political information processing is carried out by elite class, professional middle class, traditional middle class, and *marhaen* class using the *Elaboration Likelihood Model* (ELT) from Richard Petty and John Cacioppo. This analysis and interpretation is based on qualitative research through in-depth interviews with 11 key informants representing the four social classes in Indonesia.

a. *Elite class*

The general description of the elite class is having huge economic capital, wide and varied social capital in the country and abroad, and extraordinary cultural capital both in special educational backgrounds, which generally also come from abroad, Europe and the United States. Privileges in all sizes and the diversity of types of Bourdieu's capital allow this elite class to have the potential of utilising all sources of information and all channels of information to process political choices. The portfolio of the three types of Bourdieu's capital is in the most optimal and profitable position, divided proportionally domestically and abroad.

There are three key informants from the elite class, with additionally a millennial youth who inherit and reproduce all types of capital from their parents. The tendency of members of the elite class to maintain, inherit, reproduce, and accumulate all types of capital in increasing amounts and composition causes a very striking difference to the professional middle class below. However, both social classes are well aware that the most profitable investment in cultural capital is in the world of education. Education becomes an individual trajectory to maintain position in the social classes, as well as an individual trajectory for social mobility, allowing members of the professional middle class to rise to the elite class. The elite class

reproduces and accumulates social capital through the best higher education abroad, especially in Europe and America.

With their control of all types of Bourdieu's capital, the key informants are able to process political information to make political choices. Of course, there is no doubt that the informants have the most extensive means to obtain political information, and in processing political information, they are often helped by the best experts in their social networks, because of the large amount of social capital they have inside and outside the country. This elite class is a class that is outward looking, while the professional middle class, despite being a 'digital class', remains inward looking, mainly when observed in the capital portfolio they have.

The three key informants from the elite class use the central route through critical elaboration with the carrying capacity of all their capital to process political choices. The three have voted for Joko Widodo in the presidential election on 17th April 2014, and say they will vote for him again on 19th April 2019. The three are willing to state the criteria related to the ideal presidential candidate for the 2019 elections. Informant A1, a CEO states that the presidential candidate should be able to maintain stability and security. Informant A2, a CEO and film worker, whose husband is also a CEO, states that the president must be one 'who works sincerely.' While informant A3, a high-income professional (as well as her husband) who does not have her own company states that the president should have high integrity, capability and leadership. The opinion of the millennial youth, added to explore the individual trajectory of children of elite class members, describes that the millennial generation tends to be apathetic to politics, but states that they will vote for Joko Widodo in 2019, as in 2014.

b. *Professional Middle Class*

This class is characterised by the development of two types of capital, namely cultural capital and social capital, which gradually become an individual trajectory to accumulate economic capital and even encourage social mobility to rise to the elite class. The key research informants who represent the professional middle class in individual trajectories have successfully entered renowned universities in Indonesia at the undergraduate level, are accepted in a prestigious ministry and state agency, regularly get promotions and obtain government scholarships to improve capability and expertise in handling main work and to become the basis for the next promotion. Regarding social capital, the professional middle class shows the most prominent use of the Internet both for personal needs and occupational needs, therefore, it can be called a "digital class".

With the consistently growing development of cultural capital and social capital, the amount and variety of information is also growing. Access to all sources of information, both old media and new media, is part of professional work and everyday life. All information sources can be obtained free of charge, according to the two key professional middle class informants. Social relations with all circles and all levels of positions are carried out intensively in their respective offices, and they have WhatsApp groups specifically for office colleague, in addition to those for families, graduate and postgraduate alumni, and friends from middle and high school. Thus we can conclude that the informants take the central route in processing information. Although it must be noted that informant B1 still has a sequence of interests in deciding political choice, with the order of religion, impartiality and programme.

Informant B2 from the professional middle class is a woman, who with her husband works as professionals who are just developing themselves in their respective workplaces. They have potential cultural capital to continue to develop, especially education in well-known state

universities. The informant is also very active in looking for political information from various media sources, old media and new media, even discussing it with friends at work on Facebook and WhatsApp group. Digging political information through new media and old media and opening discussions with anyone about political choice, according to the researchers, are indicators that informant B2 processes political information through the central route. As agents or voters, the two professional middle class informants process information, think actively and weigh all new information, in other words the voter as an agent considers their argument carefully. The two key informants carry out critical elaboration in the central route in processing political information. This is possible because of the adequacy of economic capital, cultural capital, and domestic social capital.

c.   Traditional Middle Class

Actually this class is not much different from the *marhaen* class in the processing of political information, namely through the peripheral route, because of the similarities in the lack of ownership of economic capital, cultural capital, and social capital. The traditional middle class has a permanent job, but without any guarantees for survival, for example when entangled in debt, the vegetable trader couple immediately went bankrupt, quit their activities and "fell" into becoming scavengers who lived in a cart. The security guard, if suddenly there is a change in the management of the housing complex to require, for example, certified security guards (those with proper police training and examination), the non-certified security guard will immediately lose his job. Both informants do have possession of motorised vehicles: used motorcycles. The social capital among them is also very similar, at least the security guard recognises the various professions in the housing complex and the relationship with the police, RT, RW, subdistrict and district offices. Informant C1 has a mobile phone with which to contact residents of the housing complex, "Also for playing Facebook, when guarding the post." Previously he was a member of a certain party's task force, but quit after marriage and working permanently. Informant C2, the former vegetable traders, do not have a cellphone, but have a television in their home in the village, and recognise neighbours who were police, civil servants, soldiers, and have membership cards of Nahdlatul Ulama (NU).

Informant C1, a security guard without certificate in a housing complex and a high school graduate, voted for Joko Widodo as president on 9th April 2014, which according to him was the president of choice in his home area, and even in the village of the informant, a statue of Soekarno has been erected. In addition, the cultural capital of being a high school graduate is also sufficient capital to understand a variety of community issues, but working as a security guard, spending 8 hours to 12 guarding a housing complex day and night, is very restrictive for developing social capital and cultural capital. As a result, economic capital, for the past three years, has not developed much. The ability to buy a 30/60 house (on credit) has only occurred in 2018 after his wife began working as a garment factory worker, and there was the *Million Houses Programme* from President Joko Widodo. Thus, the position of economic capital is very vulnerable; the work is without a permanent guarantee of pension, as his wife's work in the garment factory. If there is a change in the policy of the housing complex, the security without the certificate will immediately lose his job and almost half the income of the household, resulting in possible loss of the house they are trying to buy.

Informant C2, the former vegetable trader who now feel the loss of their permanent job, and even falling to become scavengers and 'cart people' in Jakarta, due to being caught in debt. Informant C2 states that they discover the information, "from friends from Madura who they

often meet in Jakarta." The husband and wife, who had never taken elementary school education, but fluent in reciting the Koran because they took part in recitation in their village, and are registered members of the Nahdlatul Ulama, have never tried to find other sources of information or other resource persons, because they do not have a cellphone, read newspapers, not listen to radio and television; from dawn to dusk spending time scavenging, only trusting the Madurese social network.

The tight work schedule, the vulnerability of the existence of jobs, the absence of free time, and the very limited economic capital make the social capital of the traditional middle class very limited. This limitation makes them unable to take advantage of the opportunity to take the central route, leaving them with the peripheral route, even though they have the potential, or at least for informant C1 the potential is higher than in the other informant, because the cultural capital is more than adequate as a high school graduate.

d. Marhaen class

The researchers obtain research findings about the *marhaen* class, the lowest class in Indonesian society, through a key informant, a scavenger of used goods in Jakarta, who resided in a cart, informant D2. The informant voted for Joko Widodo as President of the Republic of Indonesia on 9th July 2014, because he always remembered the kindness and friendliness of Joko Widodo while serving as the Governor of DKI Jakarta

Informant D2 had no education whatsoever, is practically illiterate, coming from a small village in Kediri and have no access to political information through old media or new media. Every night he sleeps in a cart, after working collecting used goods from dawn at 04.00 until 18.00 West Indonesia Time, never reading newspapers, not having a cellphone/smartphone, not watching television, not listening to the radio, practically almost closed from all means of communication. Informant D2 will vote on 19th April 2019 and firmly states that he will again vote for Joko Widodo as president of the Republic of Indonesia. What is the reason? Informant D2 states that aside from "remembering the politeness and kindness" of Jokowi, he also heard from his children and neighbours that,

Informant D1 works odd jobs, drifting between work and unemployment. "*If you are willing to work, you may be able to get it, if you don't want to work, you can't eat,*" said the 45-year-old man with an unemployed wife and three children, an elementary school graduate with parents who are farm workers who have never attended school. Since the time of Soeharto he always participated in general elections, and always supported General (ret.) Soeharto, or voted for Golkar, because during the New Order there were no direct presidential elections. In 1997, this *marhaen* class informant voted for Soeharto's party, Golongan Karya, "*In 1997, what party did you give your vote for*?" He replied, "*Soeharto's Party. Golkar.*" The reason was, "*Soeharto was a general. He was calm.*" During the direct 2004 and 2009 presidential elections, the informant also voted for General (ret.) Soesilo Bambang Yudhoyono as president, "because he was a general like Soeharto."

On 9th April 2014, informant D1 voted for Lieutenant General (ret.) Prabowo Subianto as president. According to him, the choice was made for the presidential candidate with an army background, because "*Ha... ha... he was a defender of the nation.*" He also states his views on the meaning of the general election or presidential election for him, "*Never expected anything from election results.*" With a background of primary school education, and very limited economic capital because of lack of permanent employment, of course this informant cannot access any source of information, except watching television if he has time at home, even

though he stays more at the workplace if he has a job in a housing developer or housing complex.

These two informants from the *marhaen* class process political information through a peripheral route and only capture certain surface impressions or symbols such as the main marker in their reasons for voting for a candidate in the presidential election. In this case, the surface impression captured by both is "remembering kindness and friendliness" and "the general is a defender of the nation". According to the researchers, these two informants are very vulnerable to being targeted by certain propaganda in politics through symbolic manipulation and individual psychology such as "fear appeal, the granfalloon technique, influence of one flower given, mystique of phantoms, etc." or propaganda to frighten voters, group violence, 'dawn raids' (distribution of money on the dawn of the election day) and unreasonable promises (Pratnakis and Aronson, 2001) because they have absolutely no interest and do not have the ability to think rationally, systematically and structurally, only able to capture surface impressions based on emotions alone, and choosing the peripheral route as a route for processing information.

Table 4 : Social Classes, Information Processing Routes and Political Options

Social class	Gender	Occupational Area	Job Title/Occupation	Education	Political Choice
Elite	F	15	CEO/Founder	S2	01
	F	11	Managing Director	S2	01
	F	10	Producer/CEO	S1	01
	M	-	Student/Millennial	Doing S1	01
Professional Middle	M	14	Institution Expert	S2	R
	F	14	Head of Subdivision	S2	01
Traditional Middle	M	17	Security (no certificate)	High	01
	M/F	5	Small traders/scavengers	No school	02/02
Marhaen	M	17	Handyman (odd jobs)	Elementary	02
	M	5	Scavenger	No school	01
Total	-	-	-	-	-

* C = Central; P = Peripheral
* 01 = Joko Widodo; 02 = Prabowo; R = Secret

CONCLUSION

This voter behaviour research uses a mixture of quantitative and qualitative methods to find a new model of contemporary social class in Indonesia based on the concept of capital of Pierre Bourdieu's structuralism theory and the relationship between social class and information processing routes according to the *Elaboration Likelihood Model* of Richard Petty and John Cacioppo. Quantitative research using Bourdieu's concept, cultural capital, social capital and economic capital succeeded in identifying four social classes in the context of history in Indonesia. The four social classes found in this study are the elite class, the professional middle class, the traditional middle class and the *marhaen* class. Then, through qualitative research, it was found that key informants from the elite and professional middle class process political choice information through a central route, while the traditional middle class and the *marhaen* class processed political choice information through the peripheral route.

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