THE ROLE OF SOCIAL CLASS IN SHAPING CITIZENSHIP: AN ANALYSIS OF THOMAS MARSHALL'S WORKS

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Keywords	ABSTRACT
citizenship; inequality; social class; political participation	In the era of 21st-century disruption, fostering national character to strengthen identity and nationalism is crucial for forming inclusive citizenship. This research aims to deepen and broaden the understanding of how social class affects individuals' access to citizenship rights. This study employs a qualitative approach using the library research method, which involves compiling various references from previous studies relevant to the research subject to draw conclusions. The collected data are processed, analyzed, and presented descriptively and qualitatively in a logical and systematic manner, yielding inductive conclusions that begin with specific observations and lead to general conclusions. Inequality in access to education, disparities in employment opportunities, and limited political participation are challenges that need to be addressed to achieve inclusive and equitable citizenship. The challenges in Indonesia's education system encompass three main aspects: unequal access to educational, varying quality of education, and inconsistent allocation of budgets along with a lack of commitment from local governments to improve educational standards. These inequalities present significant challenges in realizing a fair and equitable citizenry system. This work is an essential reference for sociological, political science, and legal studies in discussing the dynamics of citizenship and social equality.

INTRODUCTION

In the modern era, the concept of citizenship has become a complex and frequently debated issue. Citizenship encompasses the rights, obligations, and identity of individuals as members of a nation (Maulana et al., 2024). One aspect receiving significant attention is the influence of social class in shaping citizenship experiences. As a fundamental concept in societal life, citizenship ideally provides equal access to rights and obligations regardless of social status. However, in reality, the implementation of citizenship often remains unequal across different societal layers. Social class serves as a primary factor influencing individuals' access to citizenship rights, leading to significant disparities (Mukmin & Sihaloho, 2024).

Along with social, economic, and political changes, the understanding of citizenship has also evolved. Citizenship is no longer confined to political rights but now encompasses broader social and economic dimensions (Wibowo & Lutfiana, 2023). In this context, social class becomes a critical element influencing the quality of one's citizenship. As a societal stratification based on economic status, education, and power, social class determines the extent to which individuals can access civil,

political, and social rights. In segregated societies, groups with higher social status tend to enjoy better access compared to those with lower status. The dynamics of liberal citizenship pose complex global challenges, particularly in ensuring equal human rights amidst social disparities and citizenship access influenced by social class (Ramadhan et al., 2024). These inequalities present significant challenges in realizing a fair and equitable citizenship system. In the era of 21st-century disruption, fostering national character to strengthen identity and nationalism is crucial for forming inclusive citizenship. This aligns with Thomas Marshall's view, which emphasizes that citizenship involves individuals' connection to national and societal values (Dewanto et al., 2023).

In his seminal work, "Citizenship and Social Class," Marshall (1950) proposed three main dimensions of citizenship: civil rights, political rights, and social rights. Civil rights include individual freedoms from state intervention, such as freedom of speech, thought, and religion. Political rights involve participation in political processes, including the right to vote and be elected. Meanwhile, social rights encompass social protection and economic welfare, such as access to education, housing, and healthcare.

Marshall (1950) also highlighted that social class plays a vital role in determining individuals' access to citizenship rights. Social class can influence the opportunities individuals have to obtain these rights. Those in higher social classes tend to have greater access to quality education, stable employment, and robust social networks. Conversely, individuals from lower social classes often face significant barriers to accessing these rights, including economic limitations and structural discrimination.

The gap between the ideal of inclusive citizenship and the reality faced by individuals from various social classes generates social injustice. An equitable concept of citizenship should ensure that all citizens have equal opportunities to enjoy formally recognized rights. However, disparities in access to education, employment, and political rights often create inequalities that limit individuals' full participation in social and political life. This presents a major challenge in achieving a truly inclusive citizenship system.

To support critical analysis of the role of social class in shaping citizenship, several theories and recent studies can be referenced (Burke, 2015). One relevant theory is Karl Marx's theory of social stratification, which highlights the critical role of social class in determining individuals' access to resources and social rights. This theory reveals that inequalities in the ownership of economic resources create social disparities that directly affect the distribution of citizenship rights.

Empirical research also provides strong evidence of the influence of social class on citizenship. Studies show that individuals from higher social classes are more likely to enjoy better access to quality education, stable jobs, and active political participation. On the other hand, those from lower social classes often face limited access to these rights, reinforcing social inequality. This reality underscores that citizenship is not uniformly applied across different societal layers.

A critical analysis of the role of social class in shaping citizenship, based on Marshall's work, opens new insights into this study area. This research aims to deepen and broaden the understanding of how social class affects individuals' access to citizenship rights. By integrating contemporary theories and research, this analysis will explore the complex dynamics between social class and citizenship and identify the challenges and inequalities that arise among various social classes.

Several prior studies provide valuable insights into the concept of citizenship, albeit with different focuses from this research. For instance, the study by Suaedy (2018) highlights the role of Nahdlatul Ulama as a key exponent. This study was analyzed using Marshall's theoretical framework. Another study by Kurniasih (2023) examines the practice of citizenship education at the Abdullah Faqih Institute (INKAFA), covering formal, informal, and experiential curricula, also referencing

Marshall's work. These studies differ from this research as they include religious classifications in their analysis, whereas this study is conducted generally with an emphasis on social class classification.

This study seeks to delve deeper into the role of social class in shaping citizenship through a critical analysis of Thomas Marshall's work. By exploring Marshall's arguments on the relationship between social class and access to citizenship rights and integrating modern theories and research, this study aims to identify the gaps between the ideals of citizenship and the realities faced by individuals from different social classes. The scholarly contribution of this research lies in developing the concept of citizenship as a multidimensional phenomenon encompassing civil, political, and social rights. Marshall emphasized that social class not only influences access to these rights but also shapes an individual's citizenship experience. This perspective broadens the understanding of social disparities in the distribution of citizens' rights and responsibilities while serving as a foundation for examining social injustice and advocating for more inclusive policy reforms. Therefore, this work is an essential reference for sociological, political science, and legal studies in discussing the dynamics of citizenship and social equality.

METHODS

This study employs a qualitative approach using the library research method, which involves compiling various references from previous studies relevant to the research subject to draw conclusions (Hartanto & Dani, 2020). The process includes data collection in libraries, reading, taking notes, and processing research materials based on the gathered data. Literature data collection techniques are used as the primary step in obtaining information. The collected data are processed, analyzed, and presented descriptively and qualitatively in a logical and systematic manner, yielding inductive conclusions that begin with specific observations and lead to general conclusions.

RESULTS

One of the key findings of this study is the impact of unequal access to education on citizenship. Individuals from higher social classes have greater opportunities to access quality education, enabling them to develop the knowledge and skills necessary for active participation in society. In contrast, individuals from lower social classes often face significant barriers to education, such as limited resources and opportunities. This inequality hinders their ability to fulfill their roles as active citizens while widening existing social gaps.

In addition to education, access to employment also reveals significant patterns of inequality. Individuals from higher social classes tend to secure stable jobs with adequate incomes, whereas those from lower social classes often find themselves trapped in precarious jobs with poor conditions and economic instability. This disparity further reinforces social stratification and obstructs the creation of inclusive citizenship.

The gap in political participation is another critical issue. Individuals from higher social classes are more active in political activities, such as elections and campaigns, due to their access to political resources and extensive networks. On the other hand, individuals from lower social classes often face barriers stemming from a lack of representation and limited access to political activities. This situation results in political decision-making that is less inclusive and fails to fully address the needs of the broader society.

Thomas Marshall's perspective on citizenship encompasses three key dimensions: (1) the right to participate in political decision-making; (2) access to public courts that operate based on the principle of justice for all citizens; and (3) guarantees of minimum social and economic conditions

(Wahab & Sapriya, 2011). These three dimensions serve as pillars in shaping an inclusive and equitable concept of citizenship. By incorporating social and economic rights into the framework of citizenship, Marshall emphasizes the role of the state in not only protecting political rights but also creating equal opportunities for all individuals to thrive socially and economically. This idea aligns with the efforts of modern nations to foster more just and inclusive societies. In the context of sociology, Marshall's theory of citizenship reflects the empirically rational nuance characteristic of the British intellectual tradition, which prioritizes observation and mastery of knowledge as its main foundation.

Inequality in Access to Education

Education is a fundamental element in shaping a bright and sustainable future for the nation. Article 31 of the Constitution of the Republic of Indonesia affirms that every citizen has the right to education. Specifically, clauses 3 and 4 emphasize the government's obligation to provide national education to enlighten the lives of its people. By ensuring equitable and quality access to education, the government can address inequality, expand opportunities for marginalized groups, and create significant societal changes. Even in the global context, education plays a strategic role in achieving sustainable development goals.

However, education in Indonesia remains unevenly distributed. National development that has long been concentrated on Java has led to disparities in other regions, particularly in frontier, outermost, and underdeveloped areas (3T regions). Many areas within these regions lack adequate access to education. The challenges in Indonesia's education system encompass three main aspects: unequal access to education, varying quality of education, and inconsistent allocation of budgets along with a lack of commitment from local governments to improve educational standards.

In this context, the conflict perspective provides a deeper understanding of these inequalities. Achieving equity and expanding access to education must become a public policy priority for both the central and regional governments. Consequently, the government must ensure the implementation of compulsory education programs. Achieving equitable access to education requires comprehensive collaboration among the government, society, and various other stakeholders within the nation.

The conflict perspective views educational inequality as a result of structural injustice and competing interests between social groups. Karl Marx argued that society is divided into two main classes: the bourgeoisie (owners of the means of production) and the proletariat (workers) (Rohman, 2020). This theory, known as Functional Conflict Theory, highlights the role of conflict in influencing the dynamics of social systems. It explains how social, economic, and power inequalities exacerbate disparities in access to education, particularly in remote areas.

The challenges faced by urban and remote communities in obtaining quality education differ in nature but stem from similar issues. These disparities demand greater efforts to overcome educational barriers across Indonesia. Understanding the existing social context and conflicts can raise public awareness of this issue and drive more fundamental changes.

Factors contributing to educational inequality-such as economic disparities, inadequate infrastructure, and varying school quality-have a significant impact on society. Inequalities in access to education not only amplify social and economic disparities but also create gaps in opportunities for individual potential development. This indicates that educational inequality is not merely a geographical or quality issue but also a result of competing interests between powerful social groups and marginalized communities. The conflicts arising between these groups underscore the need for a more inclusive and equitable approach to ensure education is accessible to all members of society.

The Role of Social Class in Shaping Citizenship

This discussion emphasizes the importance of understanding the role of social class in shaping citizenship. Inequality in access to education, disparities in employment opportunities, and limited political participation are challenges that need to be addressed to achieve inclusive and equitable citizenship. By delving into the ideas of Thomas Marshall and other relevant works, as well as referring to contemporary theories and research, various strategies and policies can be developed to reduce social class disparities and strengthen the practice of just citizenship in society.

Globalization, marked by rapid advancements in information technology, has significantly weakened the sense of nationalism among younger generations. This phenomenon is evident in the decline of patriotism, behavioral shifts misaligned with Pancasila values due to foreign cultural influences, and the diminishing appreciation for local traditions and culture (Hude et al., 2019). Such trends manifest in increased negative behaviors, including distrust and hatred, lack of respect for parents, teachers, and leaders, prevalent youth violence, low work ethic and responsibility as citizens, improper language use, and the erosion of moral guidance leading to self-destructive actions (Dewi & Najicha, 2022).

Social class plays a crucial role in shaping citizenship, as explained by Thomas Marshall through his concept of social citizenship. Marshall identifies three fundamental rights that underpin citizenship: civil rights, which protect individual freedoms such as freedom of speech and thought; political rights, which guarantee participation in political processes, including voting and being elected; and social rights, which encompass access to education, housing, healthcare, and other public services. However, access to these rights often depends on an individual's position within the social class hierarchy. Those in higher social classes typically have greater opportunities to access quality education and better public services, thereby enhancing their participation in politics and the protection of civil rights.

Conversely, individuals from lower social classes often face structural barriers that limit their access to basic rights, creating inequality in the practice of citizenship. Understanding the relationship between social class and access to citizenship rights is vital for building an inclusive and equitable society. Comparing citizenship disparities in the West, as analyzed by Marshall, and in Indonesia reveals differences in the dominant factors influencing these processes.

In Western countries, Marshall highlights the role of the economy as the primary cause of citizenship inequality, particularly through the distribution of wealth and access to social rights such as education and healthcare. These disparities demonstrate how social class differences restrict individuals' ability to participate equally as citizens. Meanwhile, in Indonesia, the factors contributing to inequality are more complex, involving religion, ideology, and culture. These factors often reinforce group identity differences, which impact access to citizenship rights. In Indonesia's multicultural society, these challenges are addressed by upholding Pancasila values and the spirit of *Bhinneka Tunggal Ika* (Unity in Diversity) as principles of social integration.

The role of social class in shaping citizenship lies in the distribution of civil, political, and social rights granted to individuals based on their position in the social hierarchy (Marshall, 1950). In Western societies, these rights were gradually expanded, beginning with civil rights in the 18th century, political rights in the 19th century, and social rights in the 20th century. However, the resulting inequalities highlight the system's limitations in equitably distributing social rights. In Indonesia, these disparities are more influenced by religious and cultural values, which sometimes hinder citizenship integration. Therefore, Marshall's approach remains relevant for analyzing how structural factors, both economic and non-economic, affect the experience of citizenship in diverse social and cultural contexts.

The sociology of citizenship considers the significant role of social institutions such as schools, mass media, and families in shaping individuals' understanding and orientation toward citizenship (Mardizal & Ramatni, 2024). This field also actively analyzes contemporary issues related to human rights, pluralism, multiculturalism, and social dynamics affecting social and political order within society. By focusing on social interactions, social construction, and cultural understanding of citizenship, the sociology of citizenship significantly contributes to deepening our understanding of how individuals and communities engage in political processes and how these relationships shape social dynamics in modern society.

Understanding citizenship values includes recognizing fundamental principles such as democracy, justice, equality, tolerance, and respect for human rights. With this understanding, students are expected to internalize these principles in their daily interactions, both in school and society. Citizenship education also aims to develop students' critical and analytical thinking skills, enabling them to analyze social and political issues in depth (Ahmed & Mohammed, 2022). An individual's social life greatly impacts their mindset and behaviors. In Indonesia, the spirit of Bhinneka Tunggal Ika is highly emphasized, with various traditions, customs, and local values forming an integral part of the nation's identity.

Citizenship encompasses not only political rights but also social rights, such as access to education, healthcare, housing, and employment (Marshall, 1950). This perspective evolved as a response to the social and economic challenges faced by increasingly complex industrial societies, where inequality in access to basic services can exacerbate social disparities. By broadening the definition of citizenship to include social rights, Marshall underscores the importance of the state in creating a fair and inclusive system and providing a social safety net for all its citizens, beyond merely protecting political rights.

The role of social class in shaping citizenship is evident in the unequal access to social rights. Individuals from higher social classes generally enjoy better access to quality education, healthcare services, stable employment, and adequate housing. Conversely, individuals from lower social classes often face resource limitations that hinder their ability to enjoy equal social rights. These disparities widen the gap between citizens in attaining comparable quality of life and participating in equal social engagement (Soeseno, 2010).

From Marshall's perspective, citizenship is closely tied to individuals' legal status and position within the political community. Social class influences a person's legal status as a citizen, with those from higher classes often enjoying privileges that provide them with greater advantages in terms of access and legal protection. Meanwhile, individuals from lower classes are often marginalized in the legal system and have limited access to rights that should be part of full citizenship. Thus, social class not only determines an individual's social position within society but also influences the extent to which they can enjoy and engage in full and equal citizenship (Anjani et al., 2024).

CONCLUSION

Based on the discussion above, it is evident that unequal access to education represents a fundamental challenge in realizing inclusive citizenship, as articulated by Thomas Marshall through the concepts of civil, political, and social rights. Geographical disparities, economic inequalities, and differences in education quality exacerbate social gaps, particularly in 3T (frontier, outermost, and underdeveloped) regions, where individuals from lower social classes often face significant barriers to accessing quality education. This limitation impacts their access to other social rights, such as healthcare and employment. Therefore, ensuring equitable access to education through the involvement of all stakeholders is crucial to addressing these inequalities, fostering a more just

society, and strengthening citizenship in Indonesia. Further research is recommended to adopt a holistic approach by incorporating primary data collection methods, such as interviews and surveys, to delve deeper into the relationship between social class and citizenship. This includes exploring various related aspects, such as the cultural, economic, and political contexts that shape the citizenship experiences of individuals across different social classes.

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