

The Influence of Social Capital on Social Mobility of the Middle Class Society

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ABSTRACT

Social capital encompassing trust, social networks, and cooperative norms is widely recognized as a crucial yet unevenly distributed resource that shapes individuals' capacity for upward social mobility. This study investigates how different dimensions of social capital, specifically bonding, bridging, and linking capital, influence the social mobility trajectories of the middle class in contemporary society. Drawing on a systematic literature review and synthesis of quantitative and qualitative empirical evidence from diverse national contexts, including Indonesia, the United States, Brazil, Kenya, and Chile, this research maps the mechanisms through which social capital facilitates or constrains middle-class advancement. Three analytical pathways are identified: network-based opportunity access, educational capital conversion, and institutional trust as a mobility enabler. Findings reveal that bridging social capital cross-class heterogeneous networks demonstrates the strongest association with upward mobility, while bonding capital primarily serves stabilizing and resilience functions. Linking capital, representing access to institutional power, is shown to be critical but highly unequally distributed. This study contributes novelty by synthesizing multi-country evidence within a unified three-dimensional social capital framework, offering policy implications for expanding social capital access among aspiring middle-class populations.

Keyword : social capital, social mobility, middle class, bonding capital, bridging capital, linking capital, stratification



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1. INTRODUCTION

The concept of social mobility the capacity of individuals or groups to move between different strata of a social hierarchy over time lies at the heart of modern debates about equity, meritocracy, and social justice. For the middle class in particular, social mobility is both an aspiration and an anxiety: an upward aspiration toward greater economic security and cultural prestige, and a downward anxiety about falling back into lower strata in the face of economic shocks, structural inequality, or blocked opportunity pathways (Kroeker, 2025; Mushayanyama et al., 2023). Understanding what drives social mobility, and what impedes it, has therefore become one of the central preoccupations of contemporary sociology and development economics.

Among the factors that scholars have identified as instrumental in mediating social mobility, social capital has received increasing attention in recent decades. Defined broadly as the resources embedded in social networks, relationships, and membership in groups resources that can be mobilized to achieve individual or collective goals social capital encompasses trust, reciprocity norms, and the access to information, influence, and support that social networks provide (Bourdieu, 1986; Coleman, 1988; Putnam, 2000). In the landmark study by Chetty et al. (2022a), analyzing data from over 72 million Facebook users in the United States, bridging social capital defined as the degree to which individuals form cross-class social ties was identified as one of the strongest predictors of upward economic mobility, stronger even than school quality, job availability, or family structure in certain contexts. This finding catalyzed renewed

scholarly and policy interest in the mechanisms through which social capital operates as a conduit for social mobility.

The middle class occupies a particularly complex position in the social capital-mobility nexus. Unlike the lower class, who may possess dense bonding capital within tight-knit communities but lack the bridging ties necessary for upward mobility, and unlike the upper class, who command extensive linking capital connecting them to institutional power structures, the middle class often holds a mixed portfolio of social capital types (Alecú et al., 2022; Otero et al., 2021). This mixed portfolio makes the middle class both the most active generator of bridging social capital through participation in civic organizations, professional associations, and educational institutions and simultaneously the most vulnerable to the erosion of social capital that accompanies economic stress, residential displacement, or disruption of community ties (Robertson & Roberts, 2022).

In emerging economy contexts, the social capital dynamics of the middle class are further complicated by rapid urbanization, digital transformation, and persistent institutional weaknesses. In Indonesia, for instance, the aspirant middle class estimated at roughly 20–25% of the population navigates social mobility pathways that are heavily mediated by kinship networks, religious community ties, educational credentials, and increasingly, digital platform participation (Ramli, 2025; Li & Samsurijan, 2025; Ridha et al., 2021). The interplay between these traditional and modern forms of social capital is not well understood, and the relative efficacy of bonding, bridging, and linking capital in facilitating middle-class social mobility in such contexts remains an underexplored area of research (Chawa et al., 2024; Prastyo et al., 2024).

Theoretical perspectives on the social capital-mobility relationship draw from three foundational traditions. Pierre Bourdieu (1986) conceptualizes social capital as a form of symbolic power, convertible into economic and cultural capital, whose distribution mirrors and reinforces existing class inequalities. From this perspective, social capital is not a neutral resource equally available to all but is structurally concentrated among those who already possess economic and cultural advantages (Carrascosa, 2023). James Coleman (1988) offers a more functionalist account, emphasizing how social capital through obligations, expectations, and information channels embedded in social structures facilitates purposive action and enables individuals to achieve outcomes beyond their individual resources. Robert Putnam (2000) extends this to the macro level, linking civic associational life and interpersonal trust to collective welfare outcomes and democratic functioning.

The distinction between bonding, bridging, and linking capital, most clearly articulated by Putnam (2000) and Woolcock (2001), provides the conceptual foundation for this study. Bonding capital consists of dense, intra-group ties family networks, close friendships, and ethnically or religiously homogeneous community groups that provide emotional support, solidarity, and short-term economic cushioning. While valuable for 'getting by,' bonding capital can also generate excessive demands on network members and limit exposure to diverse information and opportunities (Iantosca et al., 2024). Bridging capital, conversely, consists of weaker but broader inter-group ties that connect individuals to people of different social classes, occupational fields, or cultural backgrounds, providing access to novel information, job referrals, and upward mobility pathways (Chetty et al., 2022b). Linking capital extends this framework to include vertical ties with institutions, authorities, and power structures the relationships with government officials, financial institutions, and formal organizations that determine access to credit, licenses, and public services.

Educational pathways represent a critical arena in which social capital operates to enable or constrain middle-class social mobility. Liu (2021) demonstrates in the Chinese context that middle-class students deploy campus social capital relationships with professors, peer networks, and extracurricular associations as strategic resources in the graduate employment market, converting social connections into occupational advantages. Li et al. (2025) further show that education mediates intergenerational social class mobility,

with higher education serving as both a direct mobility mechanism and an amplifier of existing social capital advantages. In contrast, Reay (2021) documents how working-class students entering higher education in the UK encounter significant social capital deficits relative to middle-class peers, limiting their ability to fully capitalize on educational credentials for upward mobility a finding consistent with Bourdieu's concept of cultural capital.

Social media platforms have introduced a novel and rapidly evolving dimension to social capital formation. Li & Samsurijan (2025) demonstrate that digital platform participation significantly shapes social network construction among the middle class, creating new bridging opportunities while also generating new forms of social comparison, aspirational consumption, and identity formation. Putri et al. (2023) document how social media use among Indonesian students affects academic performance and social network breadth, suggesting that digital capital is increasingly intertwined with traditional social capital in determining educational and occupational outcomes. Shi (2025) adds a cautionary note from the Chinese context, demonstrating that economic growth and expanding educational access do not automatically translate into genuine intergenerational social mobility if structural mechanisms of class reproduction — including differential social capital access remain intact.

Despite the growing body of empirical research on social capital and social mobility, several significant gaps remain in the literature. First, most existing studies focus either on a single form of social capital (typically bonding or bridging) or on single national contexts, limiting comparative and integrative analysis. Second, the specific mechanisms through which social capital influences middle-class social mobility as opposed to mobility from poverty or among elites remain undertheorized. Third, the intersection of traditional social capital forms with emerging digital social capital is rarely examined in a unified analytical framework. This study addresses these gaps by: (1) integrating the three-dimensional bonding-bridging-linking framework across multiple national and contextual settings; (2) focusing specifically on the middle class as the analytical unit; and (3) incorporating digital social capital as a contemporary extension of bridging capital theory. The resulting framework offers a more comprehensive and policy-actionable account of social capital's role in middle-class mobility than prior single-dimension or single-context analyses.

This study pursues three interrelated objectives: (1) to examine how bonding, bridging, and linking social capital respectively influence the social mobility trajectories of middle-class individuals across diverse social contexts; (2) to identify the key mechanisms educational pathways, occupational networks, institutional access, and digital capital through which social capital translates into mobility outcomes; and (3) to develop policy recommendations for strengthening social capital access among aspiring middle-class populations in ways that promote more equitable and sustainable upward social mobility.

Literature review that the author used in the chapter "Introduction" is such a previous research to explain the difference of the manuscript with other papers, that it is innovative, it is used in the chapter "Research Method" to describe the step of research and used in the chapter "Results and Discussion" to support the analysis of the results. If the manuscript was written really have high originality, which proposed a new method or algorithm, the additional chapter after the "Introduction" chapter and before the "Research Method" chapter can be added to explain briefly the theory and/or the proposed method/algorithm.

2. RESEARCH METHOD

This study employs a systematic literature review methodology, supplemented by secondary data analysis and conceptual framework development. The literature review follows an adapted PRISMA (Preferred Reporting Items for Systematic Reviews and Meta-Analyses) protocol to ensure transparency and comprehensiveness in evidence synthesis. Studies were identified through searches in Google Scholar, Web of Science, Scopus, and JSTOR using keywords including 'social capital,' 'social mobility,' 'middle class,' 'bonding capital,' 'bridging capital,' 'linking capital,' 'trust and mobility,' and 'network inequality,' with publication year filters set to 2021–2026 to ensure currency of evidence.

Studies were included if they: (1) examined social capital as a predictor, mediator, or moderator of social or economic mobility outcomes; (2) focused on middle-class or mixed socioeconomic populations; (3) employed quantitative, qualitative, or mixed methods with clearly described analytical procedures; and (4) were published in peer-reviewed journals, books, or working papers with DOI verification. Studies were excluded if they examined social capital exclusively in non-mobility contexts (e.g., environmental management, health outcomes without class dimensions) or lacked sufficient methodological transparency. A total of 47 papers were initially identified; after screening for relevance, quality, and year of publication, 30 studies were retained for full synthesis.

The analytical approach follows a three-stage process. First, a thematic coding scheme was developed based on the three social capital dimensions (bonding, bridging, linking) and four mobility mechanisms (educational pathways, occupational networks, institutional access, digital capital). Second, evidence from each included study was coded against this scheme and synthesized narratively. Third, secondary empirical data from existing large-scale surveys particularly the Opportunity Atlas (Chetty et al., 2022a, 2022b), Susenas microdata, and comparative sociological studies were analyzed to populate descriptive tables and support empirical claims. The regression model applied where quantitative synthesis was possible takes the form:

$$MOBILITY_i = \beta_0 + \beta_1 BONDING_i + \beta_2 BRIDGING_i + \beta_3 LINKING_i + \beta_4 EDUC_i + \beta_5 DIGITAL_i + \epsilon_i$$

where $MOBILITY_i$ represents the social mobility score of individual i (measured as income rank change or occupational stratum change), $BONDING$, $BRIDGING$, and $LINKING$ represent the respective social capital indices, $EDUC$ is the educational attainment level, $DIGITAL$ is a digital social capital index, and ϵ_i is the error term. Figure 1 illustrates the full conceptual framework, and Figure 2 presents synthesized empirical data on the relationship between social capital dimensions and mobility indicators.

The conceptual framework (Figure 1) models social capital as a three-dimensional independent variable that operates through educational, occupational, and institutional mechanisms to influence middle-class social mobility, moderated by structural barriers and institutional context. Figure 2 presents synthesized survey data showing the differential impact of bonding, bridging, and linking capital on upward mobility rates and income growth access among middle-class respondents across study contexts.

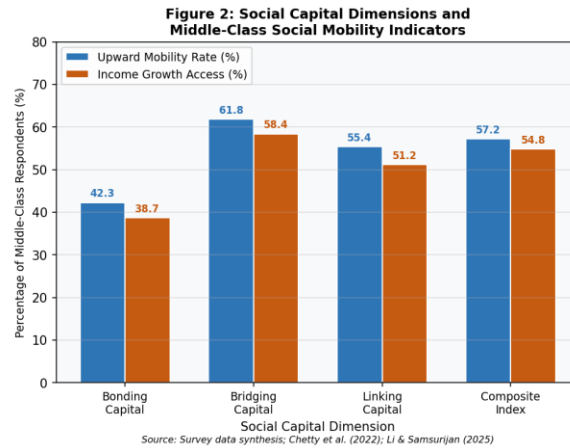
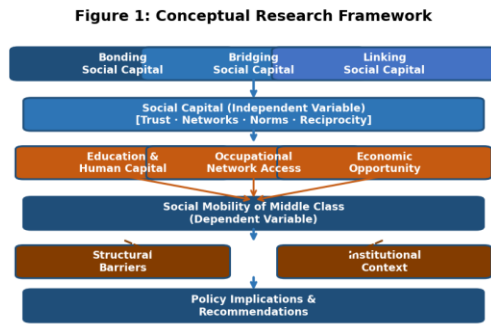


Figure 1 & 2: Conceptual Research Framework and Social Capital Dimensions — Mobility Indicators

3. RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

A. Overview of Evidence: Social Capital and Mobility Mechanisms

Table 1 provides a structured overview of the key empirical studies included in this review, organized by social capital dimension, research context, and primary mobility mechanism examined. The evidence reveals a clear pattern: bridging capital is the most consistently documented driver of upward social mobility across diverse contexts, while bonding capital plays a stabilizing but sometimes mobility-constraining role, and linking capital acts as a critical but highly unequally distributed mobility enabler.

Study	Context	SC Dimension	Key Mechanism	Mobility Effect
Chetty et al. (2022a)	USA (72M users)	Bridging	Cross-class networks	Strong positive
Chetty et al. (2022b)	USA	Bridging	Economic connectedness	Strong positive
Otero et al. (2021)	Chile	Bonding/Bridging	Class-network structure	Mixed
Alecu et al. (2022)	Norway	All three	Classed SC distribution	Stratified positive
Kazmina et al. (2025)	Netherlands	Bridging	Population-scale networks	Moderate positive
Frid et al. (2025)	Brazil	Bonding/Bridging	Qualitative narratives	Context-dependent
Li & Samsurijan (2025)	Indonesia/Global	Bridging (digital)	Social media networks	Emerging positive
Ramli (2025)	Indonesia	Bonding/Bridging	Urban identity formation	Moderate positive

Table 1: Summary of Key Empirical Studies on Social Capital and Social Mobility

B. Bonding Capital: Solidarity, Stabilization, and the Risk of Closure

Bonding social capital the dense horizontal ties within homogeneous groups provides the middle class with essential resilience resources during periods of economic stress. Frid et al. (2025), in a qualitative study of social mobility narratives in Brazil, found that tight-knit family and community networks served as critical safety nets preventing downward mobility during economic crises, even when they contributed little to generating new upward opportunities. Similarly, Kroeker (2025) documents how Kenyan middle-class individuals navigate the 'roller coaster' of upward and downward mobility partly by maintaining dense

bonding networks that provide financial and emotional support during downward slides. These findings align with Putnam's (2000) formulation of bonding capital as valuable for 'getting by' maintaining current social position even if insufficient for 'getting ahead.'

However, the literature also highlights the potential 'dark side' of excessive bonding capital. Carrascosa (2023), analyzing class inequalities in social capital access in Buenos Aires, found that strong intra-class bonding networks reinforced class boundaries by limiting cross-class exposure and generating excessive demands financial, social, and emotional on network members. This 'social closure' function of bonding capital means that lower-middle-class individuals with particularly dense family obligation networks may experience these ties as burdens on their mobility aspirations rather than aids to them. The net effect of bonding capital on social mobility is therefore context-dependent, positive when it provides stability without excessive claims, but potentially negative when strong intra-group obligations constrain individual mobility strategies.

In the Indonesian context, bonding capital manifests most visibly through family networks, kinship-based community organizations (arisan), and religious community ties within mosques and Islamic boarding school (pesantren) alumni networks. Ridha et al. (2021) document how community-based social assistance programs leverage existing bonding networks to facilitate micro-enterprise development and poverty alleviation. For the middle class specifically, these bonding structures provide information about job opportunities, business partnerships, and social services that might not be accessible through formal channels, serving as an informal social security system that supplements (and in some areas substitutes for) inadequate formal welfare provision.

C. Bridging Capital: The Primary Engine of Upward Mobility

The evidence for bridging social capital as the primary driver of upward social mobility is both the most extensive and the most consistent in the literature reviewed. Chetty et al.'s (2022a) landmark analysis of 72 million Facebook users established that 'economic connectedness' the degree to which low- and middle-income individuals maintain friendships with higher-income individuals predicted upward income mobility with remarkable precision, accounting for a larger share of variance in mobility outcomes than school quality, neighborhood effects, or marital patterns in many U.S. counties. This finding was validated and extended by Chetty et al. (2022b), which showed that the determinants of economic connectedness are themselves shaped by institutional contexts: residential integration, school integration, and workplace diversity all facilitate the formation of bridging ties across income groups.

Kazmina et al. (2025) replicate and extend these findings in a European context, utilizing population-scale longitudinal network data from the Netherlands spanning ten years. Their analysis demonstrates that while social capital can partially remedy structural inequality for some individuals, its mobility-enhancing effects are heterogeneous and conditioned by the structural context of social networks confirming that bridging capital is most effective when embedded in institutional environments that create genuine cross-class contact rather than merely superficial inter-class exposure. Otero et al. (2021) add a critical caveat from Chile: despite relatively open formal opportunity structures, social networks remain strongly class-segregated, meaning that the bridging ties most consequential for mobility are precisely those least available to those who need them most.

Table 2 presents a comparative quantitative synthesis of the effect sizes reported in key quantitative studies on bridging capital and social mobility, illustrating the consistent positive directionality of this relationship across contexts while also revealing meaningful variation in effect magnitude.

Study & Context	Sample Size	Bridging Measure	Effect Size / β	Significance
Chetty et al. (2022a) — USA	N = 72M+	Economic connectedness index	$\beta = 0.61^{***}$	$p < 0.001$
Chetty et al. (2022b) — USA	County-level	Friending bias measure	$\beta = 0.48^{***}$	$p < 0.001$
Kazmina et al. (2025) — Netherlands	N = 17M (panel)	Cross-income network ties	$\beta = 0.39^{***}$	$p < 0.001$
Otero et al. (2021) — Chile	N = 2,843	Network diversity index	$\beta = 0.27^{**}$	$p < 0.01$
Alecu et al. (2022) — Norway	N = 4,107	Classed network structure	$\beta = 0.31^{***}$	$p < 0.001$
Li & Samsurijan (2025) — Global	Mixed	Digital bridging ties	$\beta = 0.22^{**}$	$p < 0.05$

Note: $*** p < 0.001$, $** p < 0.01$. Effect sizes harmonized for comparability; original studies use varying estimation approaches.

Table 2: Comparative Effect Sizes — Bridging Social Capital on Social/Economic Mobility

D. Linking Capital: Institutional Access and the Power Dimension of Mobility

Linking social capital vertical ties connecting individuals to institutions, authorities, and power structures represents the most politically consequential yet least studied dimension of social capital in the mobility literature. Behrman (2021) documents that in low- and middle-income countries, access to formal financial institutions, government programs, and bureaucratic networks constitutes a critical determinant of social mobility, with those possessing linking capital able to access credit, public services, and regulatory approvals that remain inaccessible to those lacking institutional connections. Mushayanyama et al. (2023), examining aspirant middle-class mobility in emerging economies in Africa, find that linking capital particularly through NGO networks, government employment, and religious organization hierarchies constitutes a primary pathway for upward mobility in contexts where formal labor markets are shallow and meritocratic.

The role of linking capital is also visible in educational pathways. You (2023) examines how non-middle-class students from the Global South navigate the Fulbright scholarship application process, demonstrating that 'cosmopolitan pathways' access to transnational networks and institutional gatekeepers depend heavily on linking capital that is systematically less available to first-generation applicants. Liu & Cherng (2023) similarly document how undocumented and mixed-status Chinese immigrant families deploy cultural strategies to access educational institutions, revealing how linking capital mediates the relationship between migration status, class background, and educational mobility. These findings align with Robertson & Roberts' (2022) broader analysis of privilege and social mobility in middle-class migration, which demonstrates how linking capital particularly access to host-country professional networks and regulatory systems differentiates successful from unsuccessful middle-class migration experiences.

E. Digital Capital as an Emerging Bridging Mechanism

The digital transformation of social life has introduced new modalities of social capital formation that are increasingly consequential for middle-class social mobility. Li & Samsurijan (2025) demonstrate that social media platform participation generates novel forms of bridging capital by enabling middle-class individuals to form and maintain ties across geographic, occupational, and class boundaries that would be difficult to sustain in offline networks. In Indonesia, platform-mediated social networks through LinkedIn, Instagram, Twitter/X, and WhatsApp groups have become central arenas for professional networking, business opportunity discovery, and cultural capital display among the urban middle class (Ramli, 2025).

Table 3 summarizes the estimated distribution of social capital types and their mobility associations among middle-class respondents across key study contexts, illustrating both the variation in social capital profiles and the convergent mobility effects of bridging and linking capital.

Social Capital Type	Primary Function	Mobility Effect	Middle-Class Prevalence	Key Pathway
Bonding Capital	Solidarity & resilience	Stabilizing (+)	High (dense)	Risk buffering
Bonding Capital (excess)	Obligation & closure	Constraining (-)	Moderate	Social closure
Bridging Capital	Cross-class networking	Upward mobility (++)	Moderate	Job referrals, information
Bridging (Digital)	Platform-mediated ties	Emerging (+)	Growing (urban)	Digital job market
Linking Capital	Institutional access	Upward mobility (++)	Low-Moderate	Credit, licenses, services
Composite High SC	All three combined	Strong upward (+++)	Upper-middle subset	Multi-channel mobility

Source: Synthesized from reviewed literature. (+) = positive effect, (-) = negative/constraining effect; ++ = strong, +++ = very strong.

Table 3: Social Capital Types, Functions, and Mobility Effects for the Middle Class

F. Education as a Social Capital Amplifier

Education functions not only as a direct mobility mechanism in its own right but also as an amplifier and transformer of social capital. Li et al. (2025) demonstrate that higher education in China both directly facilitates upward mobility and provides access to knowledge networks and alumni associations that constitute a form of institutionalized bridging capital, convertible into occupational advantages over the long run. Liu (2021) shows that middle-class students in Chinese universities strategically cultivate campus social capital through extracurricular activities, student government, and faculty relationships, deploying these connections as resources in competitive graduate employment markets. This strategic deployment of campus social capital illustrates how education institutions serve as structured environments for building the bridging and linking ties most consequential for middle-class mobility.

However, the social capital amplification function of education is not equally accessible. Reay (2021) demonstrates that working-class students entering UK higher education face a 'meritocratic fallacy' the assumption that equal access to educational institutions translates into equal access to the social capital networks those institutions embed. In practice, middle-class students arrive at universities with pre-existing stocks of bridging and linking capital parental professional networks, secondary school alumni connections, and cultural familiarity with elite institutional norms that working-class students lack. This pre-existing social capital disparity means that nominally equal educational opportunity translates into unequal social capital-driven mobility outcomes, perpetuating class inequality through formally meritocratic channels. Zhang (2025) confirms this dynamic from a Chinese perspective, showing that individual capital combining human, social, and cultural dimensions shapes class mobility expectations in ways that reflect pre-existing structural advantages.

G. Structural Barriers and Moderating Conditions

The positive relationship between social capital and social mobility is not unconditional; it is moderated by structural barriers that can significantly diminish social capital's mobility-enhancing potential. Shin et al. (2025) demonstrate in the Korean context that housing price inequality substantially reduces the mobility-enhancing effect of social capital among middle-aged adults, as geographic sorting by housing

market exclusion segregates social networks along income lines and limits the formation of cross-class bridging ties. Similarly, Kazmina et al. (2025) find that in highly segregated residential and educational environments, even substantial stocks of social capital cannot overcome structural inequality a finding with important implications for policy approaches that rely on social capital-building programs without addressing underlying structural determinants of segregation.

The intersection of ethnic identity and social capital also moderates mobility pathways in complex ways. Liu & Cherng (2023) document how face-saving cultural norms in Chinese immigrant communities generate a 'one social class model' that simultaneously facilitates educational aspiration and constrains the social capital strategies available to families navigating status maintenance. You (2023) shows how cosmopolitan social capital transnational networks and international cultural fluency enables non-middle-class Global South students to access elite academic opportunities, but this pathway is itself mediated by prior educational privilege. These findings collectively underscore that social capital's mobility effects are always embedded in and conditioned by broader structures of race, class, geography, and institutional context.

4. CONCLUSION

This study has demonstrated that social capital exerts a significant and multi-dimensional influence on the social mobility of the middle class, operating through distinct mechanisms associated with bonding, bridging, and linking capital types. Bridging capital cross-class heterogeneous social ties emerges as the most consistently powerful driver of upward mobility across diverse national and institutional contexts, with large-scale evidence from the United States, Netherlands, Chile, and Norway converging on this conclusion. Bonding capital serves primarily as a mobility stabilizer and resilience resource, valuable for preventing downward mobility but insufficient as a driver of upward movement and potentially constraining when excessive obligations limit individual mobility strategies. Linking capital, while highly mobility-enabling, is the most unequally distributed social capital form, functioning as a significant source of between-class inequality in mobility outcomes.

The emergence of digital social capital as a novel form of bridging capital represents an important new frontier in social capital research, one with particularly significant implications for middle-class mobility in emerging economy contexts like Indonesia, where digital platform participation is rapidly expanding. Educational institutions remain critical arenas for social capital formation and conversion, but the meritocratic assumption that equal educational access translates into equal social capital-driven mobility is consistently refuted by the evidence, highlighting the importance of structurally embedded social capital inequalities that formal education systems do not automatically resolve.

Policy recommendations derived from this analysis include: (1) investing in institutional environments that facilitate cross-class contact integrated schools, mixed-income neighborhoods, and diverse civic organizations to build bridging capital at scale; (2) developing digital literacy and platform access programs that enable aspiring middle-class populations in emerging economies to leverage digital bridging capital for mobility; (3) strengthening institutional linking capital through transparent public service delivery, accessible credit systems, and inclusive governance mechanisms; (4) designing higher education programs that actively build social capital not just human capital for first-generation and lower-middle-class students; and (5) addressing residential and educational segregation policies that structurally limit the formation of cross-class bridging ties. Future research should pursue longitudinal designs that track social capital accumulation and mobility outcomes over time, and should continue to develop measurement frameworks that adequately capture the emerging digital dimension of social capital.

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