Soap Opera Actors’ Social Climbing in the Digital Media: A Study of Digital Traces in Social Media

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Abstract—This paper discusses social climbing which is regarded as an attempt as self and public branding to gain attention and recognition in social media. This activity is the behavior of actors in getting social capital. By using Bourdieu’s critical discourse analysis, this paper aims at describing several links between social-climbing, mobility, and branding in an effort to strengthen the identity of cultural actors. Two of the cases discussed are instances of ‘salted fish’ by Galih Ginanjar and the public branding which is done by his wife, Barbie Kumalasarie in Indonesian social media. The discussion reveals that Galih Ginanjar and Barbie Kumalasarie could be said to have done social-climbing to increase their popularity as celebrities who had not been much involved in their artistic world. Their efforts to raise status through social-climbing actions have drawn criticisms and insults. The controversy they made is precisely considered as their capitals in terms of Bourdieu’s perspective. Thus, social-climbing can be considered as an instance of self-branding in relation to social mobility in the disruptive world of the digital age.

Keywords—social climbing; social media; social ladder; symbolic violence; digital trace; capital

I. INTRODUCTION

Discussing the life of celebrities in Indonesia is interesting when it is related to social media. Lately, there is an interesting term to be studied and researched related to their life, namely social climbing. The term can also be referred to as ‘social mobility’ as has been prompted by [1] in his The Contexts of Social Mobility: Ideology and Theory. [1] advances the term to a larger assortment of dogmas, established frameworks, and social engagements; his rational point of view is based on a prescribed scheme of grade conduit and covers a fractional principle of agility. [1] coins a notion that underscores much of one scope of his work: the changing articulation of individuals with their social structure and institutions [1]. The term social climbing is used as a tool to raise one's social rank in the context of his/her social life expectancy. If scrutinized in a wider common sense, then climbing a social ladder is also a tool to get the attention of the public which, indirectly, increases one’s popularity and capital. Hence, it can also be considered as a self-branding.

Another researcher, [2], also alludes to the ethics of living like this in a firmer term, ‘social capital’ in her book Social Capital: A Theory of Social Structure and Action. [2] confirms that to get capital in the context of social life, then a worker [labor; in the present paper the term “actor” will be used interchangeably with labor and worker] must sacrifice by performing certain social behaviors as a consequence in order to achieve that capital. [2]’s conclusion has also approved what has been prompted by [17]; [20]; and [8] before. [2] has said that social capital will be more valuable if the actor can economically draw capital that is profitable both socially and economically.

Departing from the Marxist premise, [2] puts more emphasis on the aspects of the strength of an actor’s modal in achieving social status. To be recognized as someone with a higher status, an actor must get a lot of capital and he/she must automatically work in various ways in order to increase his/her capital. However, it has to be kept in mind that not all capital is material. Popularity and public recognition are also signifiers of the achievement of social capital. Bourdieu defines ‘social capital’ as the accumulation of the actual or potential properties which is connected to ownership of a reliable grid of more or less institutionalized relationships of mutual companion and concession. In other words, the members of a group or a community will provide the support of the collectivity-owned resource, a testimonial which crowns them to a certain explanation, in many different meanings of the word [17]. With respect to [17] above views, ‘social climbing’ in this paper is an effort to increase one’s owned capital. Of course, the increasing number of social capital will also upgrade the popularity and the profit of both materially and non-materially for the actor.

Social climbing is also a part of efforts to do social branding and mobility in order to achieve existence in a world of all-erratic artistry (disruptive world). It places more emphasis on changing the social status of an individual to ascend a certain social status that is more acceptable and desirable by most people. A study on social climbing has also found out that this social phenomenon is a result of the pressure of social dominance [3]; [10]; [15]. It is due to the fact that social dominance involves a hierarchical group-based system of inequality [8]; [10]; [15]. Some researches on social climbing are, among others, have been carried out by [14]; [12]; [13]; & [19].

Two Indonesian celebrities who have been on the public front lately, Galih Ginanjar and his wife named Barbie Kumalasari, have been the subjects of conversation and controversy. Both of them are considered to be doing social climbing to increase their popularity even though in different
representations. Although both goals are the same, namely achieving social capital in the form of popularity and fame, but eventually both of them find results that are not the same socially. With respect to [17], Galih and Barbie are said to be “laborers”, “workers”, and also “actors” in terms of economic capital.

With this in mind, this paper is divided into several sections namely introduction; social climbing and social hierarchy; climbing the social ladder through social media, and conclusion. In this paper, the writer examines the politics of gender in texts [social media to be more specific] where it is not possible to speak openly about gender at all. It looks at accounts of climbing social ladders as complex formulations of identity, and especially of gendered identity, which had been formulated by theorists, philosophers, and writers such as [17]; [1]; [2]; [8]; [10]; and [15]. As the activity of climbing the social ladder itself, many of the texts nevertheless have helped to shape what the developed world thinks of nature, bodies, being masculine and feminine and reproductive organs. What it carves out to be a man or a woman in harsh circumstances is central to all of these discussions.

II. SOCIAL CLIMBING AND SOCIAL HIERARCHY

Bourdieu (1930–2002) was attracted in the ways in which society is produced and reproduced, and how the dominant classes retain their status. The concept of social capital has been introduced by Bourdieu in the 1970s and early 1980s. For Bourdieu, this could not be exemplified by economics itself, and he is especially well acknowledged for his explanation of cultural capital—the ways in which people would use cultural knowledge to upgrade their position in the society’s structure. This is what could be referred to as ‘social climbing’. In order to cradle to a higher social level, the actor should firstly gain social capital [17]. Bourdieu in [8] and [20], extends the ways in which the embellishments of middle-class interest and sophistication are used by people as cultural manifestations, as they attempt to pinpoint themselves with those up ‘above’ them on the social ladder, and to exhibit their distinction from those down ‘below’. This is not an especially ingenious endeavor and serves to boost those middle-class concrets. Nevertheless, [20] was pioneering as a comprehensive analysis of the ways in which cultural productions and information were taken into play, besides basic economics, in the acts of social class connections. Mirroring on this craft, Bourdieu has exemplified that social capital appears its form into three different indicators; they are ‘economic capital’, ‘cultural capital’, and ‘social capital’ [20]. He goes on articulating that social capital, “… is the sum of the resources, actual or virtual, that accrue to an individual or a group by virtue of possessing a durable network of more or less institutionalized relationships of mutual acquaintance and recognition”. [20]

Bourdieu’s notion of social capital situates the emphasis on conflicts and the function of power (the affiliations that increases the power of an actor to impetus his/her central attentions) [18]. The positions and the divisions of economic, cultural and social assets in general are constituted with the help of symbolic capital. From Bourdieuan views, social capital becomes a resource in the fraught of the actor which is taken for granted in different projections. For example, the issue of “trust” or assurance (which Bourdieu did not much explain explicitly) can be conveyed with as a part of the symbolic attempt (or the non-attendance of strives) in society. Trust or assurance as a latent component of symbolic investment can be overburdened in the practice of representative authority and interchange. This clarification, in itself, is comparable to other delineations, such as that of Putnam’s perception of social capital [4].

Where other writers see social capital as a essentially encouraging net of social bonds, however, Bourdieu [18] in one hand, makes use of it to contend the cold realities of social inequality. His term points towards a world where the leading jobs go to the posh men, who went to the exclusive schools. Bourdieu could well be precise–actually, spots of social motion extend to expose that to erratic scopes. Putnam’s conception of social wealth, on the other, has three constituents: moral requirements and standards, social principles (especially declaration) and social acquaintances (especially charitable enterprises). Putnam’s foremost scrutiny is that if a division has a well-running commercial scheme and a high directive of dogmatic integration, these are the consequence of the area’s positive accumulation of social capital [4]; [5].

In the United States, many public complications are triggered by the decline of social capital; an impulse that has being gone on for the last three decades [20]. Seligman also engraves in the same spirit that the difficulties of modern societies are incited on their “interconnected networks of trust”. The circle is then regulated by the government which serves as the catalyst [7].

The similar vocalizations are heard among advocates of American humanitarianism. Putnam’s expressions are–to a wider range–an extension of course within the American system of cross-culturalism. Alongside the exercise of the custom of social capital, it is the most distressing of the images, as its central discussion is only upon the mid and the high levels to make sure that their circles stay restrictive. Although definite from economic principal, and performing in a different fashion, it is unable to be divided from it. Here, communal investment is another apparatus in the depot of the elegant people, set up to guarantee that the ‘defame’ kind of people will not enter their whirls [17]; [18].

Bourdieu’s negotiation is an important remembrance that social capital can be fashionable. However, to view it as only elegant is really out-of-the-way. It is at least a purposeless use of a hypothetically influential tactic since there is certainly nothing it could be carried out about that. As has been elucidated in his Creative Explorations, Bourdieu enjoys to enlighten about individuals fervently ‘frolicking the inclined’, but conclusively detects them as really deserted [21]. On the one hand, Bourdieu highlights the people’s independent upbringing, which he coins as the ‘habitus’, and its indigenous affiliation with the greater linking [which he later coins as the ‘field’]. However, as Jenkins has laid, Bourdieu predisposes to certify so much probable to the social framework that his
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world which infinitely united where everything may work upon individual than of a place people could arbitrate in their separable and mutual intentions [5].

Bourdieu’s insight of ‘capital’ may be roughly explained as a reserve, and the occurrence or the absenteeism of capital is a vital aspect of level dissection. Capital is convincingly an idea that backings researchers to comprehend how chances are set up or strained for people [9]. Bourdieu mostly attributed to three kinds of capital: ‘economic capital’ (economic wealth), social capital (advantageous social connections) and cultural capital (advantageous cultural properties, inclinations, and eligibilities). Cultural capital is the most disparate of the three as it takes some constitutes and lives in institutional gears (in the form of academic accomplishments), objectified belongings (in pictures, books, paraphernalia, etc) and embodied cases (as forms of the habitus) [17]. Moreover, these capitals become the fourth type of capital when they are accredited in society: symbolic capital. The ‘capital’ idea enables people to consider about properties above the economic [17]; [19]; [21]; [5]; [9].

Climbing a social ladder is not without sacrifice and effort. It is due to the fact that in society there must be a social control and pre-eminence. As has been mentioned by [8], the hierarchical group-based system of inequality is often related to the dispersing of resources, whether they are material or social. In order to survive in the social hierarchy, one must be able to dominate and manipulate social resources within the hierarchy (see also [8]; [10]; [15]). [15] again stresses that resources may be anything from money, time, support or assistance. [11] exerts an example of how individuals that are ‘bi-strategic’ will together assist others and control others in order to gain and to maintain the resources they are interested in. This bi-strategic behavior often hints to the individual not necessarily being liked by most, but being perceived as widely held. To put that in another way, the individual is said to be ‘publicly noticeable or leading’ or at least be accepted [8]; [10]; [19]; [15]; & [18].

III. CLIMBING SOCIAL LADDERS THROUGH SOCIAL MEDIA

The analysis of the actors’ social climbing in social media is based on their digital traces. [19] has defined digital trace as a cultural artifact in a simulated world. It is some form of documentation of the enterprise of a user. Individual digital traces can provide a huge vision into the descriptions of somebody’s lives-including details that could be thought as private. People tend to produce hundreds of digital traces every day. Like corporeal evidences, some of these traces are designed and obvious. These may comprise stuffs like electronic message, scripts, blogs, twitter posts, pictures, judgments under Youtube videos, or likes on Facebook. [22] argues that social media are detail type of cybernetic world which exists within Internet-based or cloud-based utilization. Social media facilitate the co-creation and dissemination of many different forms of content that are generated by the users of that media. But many traces are indistinguishable and inadvertent: records of website visits and searches, for example, or logs of people’s arrangements and mobile phone calls.

With respect to [17] & [22], the digital footprint mentioned above can be said to be a habitus for the celebrities in the present study. This is in relation with the careful examination that their habits of uploading personal subsists in the arrangement of reporting on social media as a method to promote themselves [self-branding] to increase popularity and to gain as many followers as possible. Herein lays the economic circle as mentioned by [17]. Besides habitus, symbolic violence and a closely linked concept, symbolic power, play an important function in Bourdieu’s thoughts. The cases which are discussed in this working paper encompass the discourse of ‘salted fish’ which was firstly introduced by Galih, and, the public branding which was done by his wife, Barbie Kumalasaria in Indonesian social media. The discussion found that Galih Ginanjar and Barbie Kumalasaria could be said to have done ‘social climbing’ to increase their popularity as celebrities. Galih and Barbie’s lives have been exposed to many different forms of social media such as video blogs by many different video bloggers, twitters, youtube videos, and many more. They are easily traced by the surfers in order to get to know the information about them.

3. a. Galih Ginanjar and Body Shaming

The issue is an interesting instance since it encompasses how gender and sex could be used as public branding. Since gender is shaped by social demand, its existence is fluid and closely related to the changing paradigm of society. It is due to the fact that society requires gender to behave in such a way it is essentially determined. However, being fluid is not without any counteraction since the political situation will also give respond to the development of gender roles. What Galih has done in Rey Utami and Pablo Benua’s video blog is noted as gender war against Fairuz no matter what point of view is used to overlook at it. The issue has raised some critical comments and arguments from different layers of society.

The issue of ‘salted fish’ has been reported in Malaysian’s World Buzz magazine on July 5th, 2019 with headline’s title “Man Faces 6 Years Jail Saying Wife’s Vagina Smells like Salted Fish” [23]. It was because what Galih has said was immoral. The wicked sayings were accessed and have been commented on by thousands of surfers. The shameful video blog was then considered as a digital trace by which Galih and Rey were sentenced to jail due to Fairuz failed the police headquarters to report those actors of the video. Fairuz was accompanied by celebrity attorney Hotman Paris Hutapea who was chosen as her lawyer [24].

According to World Buzz magazines [25], Galih had shared and discussed his sexual life with Fairuz when they were still husband and wife. In the segment of the interview Galih had described the condition of their marriage life which was noted as plain and ordinarily common life as a young couple. He even revealed his wife’s sexual organ for being smelled like “salted fish”. That was the point which made Galih had to be filed with law issue.
Galih Ginanjar, during the interview in the video blog, was noted to be taking revenge over Fairuz's action to divorce him several years before. It was because Galih could not give her proper family financial support for their marriage. Galih was said to be in deep hurt since he has not had much involved in many activities related to his being an actor. His emergence in Rey and Pablo's video blog was his revenge over the insult.

The video blog is noted as Galih's habitus to gain popularity. Galih is Barbie's second husband. As a celebrity who no longer has many roles in his profession as a soap opera performer, Galih has become an Indonesian celebrity whose name became viral due to his controversial statements. He exposed his private life with his ex-wife which is said to be dissipate in the video blog. Since Galih is a male actor and Fairuz is a female one, the problem then becomes crystallized gender inequality. In this kind of opposition, Fairuz was noted to be defeated both sexually and psychologically. And that was what made Galih have to deal with ITE laws that plunged him into prison.

What Galih was doing in the blog was a porn revenge which has been done by an ex-husband to an ex-wife. It should be underlined here that Galih's effort was to provide information to the public of what was actually happening in his domestic life with Fairuz. This revenge attack was Galih's self-defense mechanism against all accusations addressed to him. This was because he never revealed before why he was divorced by the wife who had given her a son. Basically, Galih wanted to get sympathy from the public [netizens] related to his domestic life with Fairuz. But he did not realize that what he had done in Rey and Pablo's video blog had left a digital trace that could not be deleted and forgotten.

What made Fairuz felt harassed as a woman was when Galih explained the scent of her genitals when they were both having sex. Both Galih and Rey had laughed at this situation in the video blog they recorded and shared to online world. He addressed sexual shaming to Fairuz and it invited strong reactions from surfers. As a man, Galih felt that this was as common as sexuality as a laughing stock and a joke. But for women, this is sexual harassment and even sexual shaming.

In addition to sexual shaming, Galih has also conducted body shaming of Fairuz. The emergence of Galih in Rey Utami's video blog was also an attempt to increase popularity as well as public branding. However, because what he talked about was not something that was neutral and seemed vulgar, Galih had received protests from both fellow artists and the public. This is, indeed, a gender war. In gender war [or the battle of sexes to more specific], women are always defeated and oppressed.

3. b. Barbie and her social climbing strategy

Besides Galih, Barbie Kumalasarie is another actor or actress whose name is always connected to salted fish issue. Like Galih, Barbie’s life also generates controversies. It is because she always makes comments and statements which produce criticisms and insults. By her nature, she is a laughing stocks for other celebrities such as Nikita Mirzani, Nagita Slavina, Uya Kuya, Billy Syahputra, and even Hotman Paris Hutapea, a celebrity county lawyer. The issues could be about the brands of the accessories she put on; the jewellerys she wears; and even the prices over the customes she dresses. All of them produce insults and even mockeries since what she has said to reporters that what she has put on her body are famous and expensive brands. Hence, she has been condemned as doing social climbing by promoting the prices over the brands.

Barbie and Galih’s cases are then singled out by their digital traces which of course connected to sex and sexuality which of course are controversial. They said that they could have sex eight times a day. As a digital trace, this statement is habitual since this issue is easily traced back and related to their past life experience of marriage. This is also, unintentionally, revenge porn over Fairuz’s divorce. Their sex life also becomes propaganda of the symbolic power which in fact is used to gain public attention and recognition. Barbie is said to be labor who actually has gained her public capital by admitting this kind of private life with her husband.

Barbie’s transformation in terms of being an artist is that she was enrolled in “Bidadari” tv miniseries or soap opera who acted out as “Ijah”, a housemaid, who always performed as an insult stock of “the darky” than of a beautiful young protagonist. Her transformation from being “Ijah” to “Barbie” [her psuedoname] is noted as a great step. She changes her look and performances by showing her diamond jewels, big house, branded accessories, and fantastic bank account as her capitals. Once again, with respect to the digital traces, those capitals are questionable ones though.

Barbie's life is interesting to witness in social media events in Indonesia in the mid-2019 until the end of August, 2019. As an artist who is raised by a role in the TV soap opera, Barbie’s life whose real name is Kumalasarie Muslikhah is indeed experiencing a social upswing. This is caused by the controversy of her personal life which she always boasted through many different social media, including her window shopping to traditional markets, eats and drinks in junk food restaurants, as well as putting on some fake brands. Those digital traces, of course, have triggered various responses and issues surrounding her private life.

Barbie was not firstly very well known at the beginning of her appearances in social media and Indonesian national tv shows. Her personal life was revealed after announcing her second marriage to Galih Ginanjar. Kumalasarie has changed her name into Barbie Kumalasarie after she drew a series of plastic surgeries that alternated her appearance from a fat and a dark-skinned woman who played the supporting character of "Ijah" in “Bidadari” tv series, into a beautiful woman with a slim, racy body and a fair complexion. Like a living Barbie doll who has perfect beauty, she changed her entire mindset and lifestyle into a famous celebrity. This is supported by her glamorous appearance and always wears jewels and accessories which according to her are worth billions of rupiah such as diamond rings; diamond necklaces; branded goods such as bags, shoes, clothing; and beauty types of equipment which are worth hundreds of millions of rupiah.
Barbie’s lifestyle is also supported by her healthy lifestyle with exercise, beauty treatments at expensive beauty salons and consuming healthy food as if making her always agrees to a world-class celebrity lifestyle. She said that the cost of her beauty treatment was worth hundreds or even billions of rupiahs which had given her a complete change from a darkly “maid” to a beautiful “Barbie”. This transformation invited various reactions and comments from various groups of celebrities and also surfers.

To be able to turn herself into a socially ‘accepted’ artist, Barbie Kumalasari must carry out a secret mission called social climbing. This is what is referred to as social mobility efforts. With a choice of social behavior like that, then Barbie Kumalasari has gained social capital valued in popularity and public recognition even though she must accept various scorns and ridicules because she is considered to have done social-climbing.

Related to the above discussion, [11] may be one of the useful references. It sightsees working-class women’s experiences and expands on this indulgent of gendered investment, building a circumstance for womanly cultural wealth. It should be taken into consideration that [11]’s ideas have some connotations with what has been undertaken by Barbie. [11] sees that working-class women, to explain Barbie in this larger sense, dynamically chase and practice her womanliness as investment for ‘halting losses’. Therefore, feminineness is a ‘discursive position’ that is taken up and resisted by females in manifold behaviors [24]. Furthermore, in one of the chapter of the book which is subtitled as ‘Context and Background: Pierre Bourdieu’s Analysis of Gender, Class, and Sexuality’, [9] disputes that gender uniformity as gendered capital works differently for boys and girls. She asserts that gender ordinariness offers a limited form of capital for girls whereas it is legalized in schools and is therefore emblematic wealth and provides masculine supremacy for boys. In this way, gender is an ‘asymmetrical’ form of investment.

Some feminists assert that women not only accumulate capital, but they also possess their own feminine forms of principal. Moreover, those feminists also grasp gender as cultural capital; these experts discern femininity as culturally cultured. This signifies that while girls may be reassured to take up this form of capital more than boys, it is a capital that is feasible to boys as well as girls. In her 2009 article, [16], Huppatz also disputes that gender is cultural capital but enticements on research with paid caring workers to discriminate female and womanly resources. Huppatz suggests that there is a gap between the amenities that drift from being signaled as female–usually through recognition of bodily distinction–and the favored positions that progress from femaleness, so that in making use of the impression of ‘gender capital’, womanliness and femininity should not be consolidated. In short, female capital and male capital connect to the gender asset that is clichéd from being grasped to have a female or male body, whereas feminine and masculine capitals relate to the gender leverage that is borrowed from a constitution or skill set, or from simply being addressed as feminine or masculine [16].

Galih Ginanjar, on the other hand, has experienced different stages of life as a celebrity compared to his wife, Barbie. Galih’s past experience of being Fairuz’s husband was noted unsuccessful. He was an actor who had not many jobs dealing with his being an art labor. Fairuz then divorced him for not giving her life support for the family. The family conflict then made their marriage ended up in divorce. Some years later, Galih remarried Barbie Kumalasarie for she could support him financially. This instance approves what Skeggs and Huppatz above claim [24]; [25]; & [16]. It should also be taken into consideration that what Galih Ginanjar has said about the smell of his ex-wife’s private organ is a mechanism of self-defense or as a reason why he had to divorce from his first wife. Then why does it become a problem that is able to drag him into the realm of law is because he actually wants to introduce himself to the public that he is able to change himself, from a husband who only gives up on the ordinary “sex menu”, even the wife’s vagina tends to smell like salted fish. He then becomes Barbie’s husband who makes him becoming individually and financially free. However, these freedoms are also still questionable since Barbie Kumalasarie is also considered to be a social climber for her efforts to reach popularity is by pretending to be rich. As has been stated in the above arguments, Bourdieu’s idea is that economic, cultural, and social capital become essential and socially effective only through the process of symbolic interpretation. That is why symbolic power, the power to make different entities exist by symbolic classifying, becomes unquestionably important within the overall system of power. Insight of the social settlement becomes the object of political and ideological combats. Influencing the categories and distinctions through which the world is understood becomes a major channel of alternating (or “modifying”) the social sphere. It is by viewing things in the authentic way that the unspoken can be made outspoken, and possible groups converted into substantial groups. The practice of figurative control is profitable when predominating ‘disinterested’ formations are comprehended by actors with the help of classifications that are the outputs of the same objective constructions (see also [8]; [10]; & [15]). This would upshot in the most infinite admission of authority; because everyday life is seized as self-evident of “embodied structure” [11]. This thought is what extricates Bourdieu’s locus of model of ‘social capital’ equaled to his adversaries in post-Marxist discursive points.

IV. ConClusIon

The purpose of this paper is to explain and to re-examine social-climbing among celebrities in social media. Two actors [Bourdieu uses the term “labor” but in the paper, the term “actor” is also used interchangeably] are analyzed and explored about their lives in current Indonesian social media. Two actors/laborers who are being discussed in the paper, have left their digital traces in the forms of statements and
comments. Those statements and comments are noted as their “fightings” for gaining popularity, attention, recognition, sympathy, and even fame. Although the content of their statements and comments are controversial, the actors thus have gained their public recognition in different forms and manifestations.

Bourdieu’s main theoretical interests are in the examination of social combats or struggles about the capitals in different occupations; structures of power/violence; and constructions of domination and dispossession. Social climbing is one of the tunnels to increase social capital. Social capital is not only physical but also non-physical one such as social recognition and appreciation, and even social shaming. Barbie and Galih have been approved gaining their popularity by social climbing as well as social shaming. Social climbing, on the other hand, can be said to be one of the channels to do self-branding with respect to social mobility in digital media.

The analysis of the paper grounds its exploration on the social-climbing which is undergone by the Indonesian celebrities in Indonesia. They are Galih Ginanjur and his wife, Barbie Kumalasarie. The paper does not discuss other celebrities who also involved in the behaviors which lead these two actors to have climbed the social ladder in the artistic world. Though, it could not be neglected that these two actors behave in such a way to be also connected with other actors’ behaviors. It is due to the fact that gaining social capital requires many actors and powers which are interconnected and interrelated. For future researchers, it is suggested that the analysis will encompass the factors of using social media to climb the social ladder.

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