

WELL-BEING OF CHILDREN AND VARIOUS FORMS OF CAPITAL: SOCIAL, HUMAN AND CULTURAL CAPITAL*

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New criminological theory, as well as research, shows increased interest in the contribution of human, cultural and social capital for juveniles to abandon crime. Their relation is viewed in the context of stimulation of social cohesion and social justice, and elimination of negative effects of absent social and cultural capital. Indirect relation of human, social and cultural capital contributes to the process of juveniles returning to crime. Cultural capital is linked with social exclusion at various levels, and research of these links aims to promote an approach, which views culture as the means for curbing or compensating of effects of social exclusion of children and young people. This paper makes a connection between various formations of human and social capital, for the purpose of designing of public policies based on the strategy, which calls for interaction between the state, and the society in realization of social justice at all levels, especially with regard to children and young people.

KEY WORDS: social capital / human capital / social justice / children / young people

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INTRODUCTION

Sustainable human development¹ as well as well-being of social communities are based on production of various forms of capital. The concept of sustainable human development views society as a whole, whose path of development is based on broadening of the scope, selection, and participation in social life which exists outside of individual domains, but includes all individuals, forming social capital.

Within the framework of the concept of well-being, quality of life of an individual or a society is considered, i.e., individual well-being is differentiated from social well-being. Although they cannot be reduced to each other, there is a direct link between these two levels of well-being. They intertwine in a dynamic process of individual self-realization within the framework of the potential for social progress, therefore conceptualization of the term points to a direct link between social and individual well-being (Bulatovic, 2015).

The subject of this paper is analysis of interaction among human, social and cultural capital and indirect influence of these relations on children and young people. The focus on individual, but also interactive effect of various scopes and qualities of these types of capital, aims to emphasize the importance of social integration, realization of social justice and respect for the need for various social actors to participate in social life. This is about promoting of strategies for realization of voluntary forms of social regulation, based on cultivation of social relations which stimulate individuals to strive from the earliest age toward full realization of personal capabilities, through social activation, motivated by achieving of joint interests. In this sense, interaction is promoted between the state and the society, where increasing of the level of social, cultural and human capital is understood as a way for realization and maintaining of well-being for present and future generations. Neglect of indicators which indicate low levels of all forms of capital, not only economic one, leads to neglect of critical components of well-being of a community.

In the existing literature and research practice operationalization of the concept of social capital in a much larger degree relates to everyday life of grownups and their communities, than to everyday life of children and young people (Leonard, 2005). Relations which young people develop and mobilize, creating social capital, are neglected. The assumption that measures and indicators of social capital, which is generated among grownups, may be applied to young people (Leonard, 2008; Baier & Nauck, 2006, according to Boeck, 2011: 33) is also questionable. Social capital of young people is generally considered a product of relations of their parents, while social networks, which social capital of young people is made of, remain invisible (Leonard, 2005).

It should be said that the concept of social capital has been the subject of numerous sociological and political reviews which, in essence, are based on emphasizing of its factual emptiness and its usefulness for abstaining politicians from responsibility for issues of

¹ The sustainable human development concept puts the emphasis on enabling society as a whole in charge of its destiny and able to choose the development path suitable to its own circumstances; it also puts emphasis on broadening the scope of choice and participation beyond individuals, to encompass society as a whole. It has become common for countries to create a framework of sustainable development indicators (SDI) to measure progress in raising social, economic and environmental well-being of their regional and national communities. Standard practice is to place the focus on changes in stock measures of physical capital, financial capital, human capital, natural capital and social capital. It pays explicit attention to cultural well-being, alongside social, economic and environmental well-being (Dalziel et al., 2009).

social justice and inequality in the economic sphere. Complexity and unpredictability of social life and distribution of power it is permeated with, impugns the idea of a tendency to achieve transcendent unity offered by the term "social" in social capital. This is about the strive to remove historic and current reality from deep gaps in liberal democratic society along the line of race, class, gender, ethnicity and disability (Arneil, 2006). Dichotomy relating to two prevailing theoretical models of social capital is based on two completely different approaches. The first views social capital as a concept of social integration, while the second sees it as the concept of social injustice and differentiation (for more on this see: Holland, 2008).

Taking into consideration the contexts of privileges, as well as class, gender and ethnic membership, which have a large influence on the approach to social and cultural capital, the paper starts from the assumption that young people are capable of generating their own social capital, which should be institutionally supported. Also, maintaining and promoting of social capital of young people is a process which includes critical creativity, positive approach to life and trust, which help them live through various situations in life and take risks necessary for their own dynamic development. In this sense, social capital of children and young people has an important role in lives of young people, both for their well-being and creation of new opportunities, and for development of solidarity, trust, creativity and resilience. The paper also discusses negative sides of social capital, which appear as direct and indirect effects of various levels of human and cultural capital an individual disposes of, and his/her immediate and broad social environment.

1. SOCIAL, HUMAN AND CULTURAL CAPITAL

Social capital is a theoretical concept based on the idea that trust, solidarity and reciprocity in social relations, as well as their predictability, bring about well-being and prosperity, both for individuals and for the social community. Social capital is generated from social networks established in voluntary associations, encouraging and developing individual and general reciprocity of trust (Putnam, 1993). Social trust and civic engagement appear as two principal indicators of social capital, defined as increasing function of participation in civic life. A series of useful properties and effects of social capital derive from these assumptions, in various fields of social life (increase of economic efficiency, decrease of transaction costs, reliability during conclusion of contracts, civic participation in political life, development of democracy, sharing of joint norms and values, social control and cohesion). Social capital may be understood as almost every form of human interaction and every level of social management. Plentitude of literature on social capital, and multitude of empirical and disciplinary instances which observe it, point to its flexibility and multiple meanings.

Formal and institutional foundation of social capital in its productive form imply a high degree of predictability and reciprocal well-being among variously positioned social actors. The property, which separates social capital from other types of capital (economic, human, and cultural), is that it is made of social relations in which an individual is sunk, as an individual, as a group member, and as a citizen. The degree of emotional inclusion, rational and instrumental motivation, or situational solidarity, changes in connection with the type of social capital which is analyzed, but available resources of social capital always present to an individual a smaller or larger possibility for exploitation of social networks, regardless of their properties (formal-informal, communitarian-non communitarian, family-

institutional, intragroup-outgroup). High level of social capital implies a high level of sociability. In fact, zero point in individual disposal of social capital implies full social isolation of an individual. However, many economic, social and developmental capacities of a society shall depend on the type of sociability.

Human capital is defined as an individual good made of knowledge, skills, intellectual and physical capabilities of an individual, primarily viewed through the degree of education and health status. It includes actions, skills, physical and mental health of people in a certain region. In theories on human capital, the repertoire of knowledge and the capability to implement it adequately are believed critical for professional development of individuals and operation of businesses they are employed in. High and sustainable level of human capital implies continual learning, being well-informed, cultivation and creative implementation of knowledge (Rastogi, 2002). Higher level of human capital ensures higher cognitive capabilities, makes individuals more productive and increases their potential and efficiency in performing of activities (Becker, 1964; Mincer, 1974).

Human and social capital are closely linked, and may be mutually supported, realizing positive effects on economic growth, social control and support, and better governing policy. It is assumed that the degree of social inclusion rises with better education, broadening networks of participation in various associations, as well as sharing the same system of values. Higher degree of human capital makes individuals more confident, which gives them greater motivation in various spheres of economic and social activities. Social capital appears as the point of gathering of actors who use external links to benefit and promote relations of trust in organization of social and business activities (Adler & Kwon, 2002). Social capital increases capabilities of actors to better place human capital they dispose of, using the potential of social networks.

However, high individual competence and achievements may be disturbed in realization of social success by the very limits of social capital which derive from its intragroup or minority nature. Individual human capital includes social capabilities of individuals, which are developed, distributed, and awarded in a specific social context (Schuller, 2000).

The exclusive focus on education as a private positioning good, which increases competitiveness at the labor market, neglects the importance of education for a broader social community, as well as the importance of total knowledge and education for the individual. Human capital, as private good of an individual, may present a part of social capital, of which Coleman speaks when he identifies social capital as important for educational outcomes (Coleman, 1988). And if human capital presents a property of an individual (individual achievement, competence and competitiveness), making his/her non-material asset, productive link with social capital implies trust and sharing of joint norms among people and requires various forms of cooperation among them (Coleman, 1990).

The fact that social capital appears as a resource, which actors meet in a specific social structure and use it for their personal interests, reduces the importance of the density of social networks and contacts. Individual mobility is more efficiently realized in less dense networks, while social capital only provides a chance to make use of financial and human capital (Burt, 1992: 9). Individual performances of an individual, which make his/her intellectual, human and cultural capital, become more significant in circumstances created by new markets. However, easier and more intense access to significant social contacts

helps individual careers "which implies the strength of close powerful contacts" in contrast to "the strength of weak contacts" of which speaks Granovetter (1974, 1985). Good education becomes a guarantor for professional success if an individual has contacts with people at high social positions. Although traditional models of human capital (Becker, 1962; Mincer, 1974) focus on the close link between education and income, new studies have shown that social networks can ensure access to useful information on the labor market and thus be of help in finding better and better paid jobs (e.g. Loury, 1977; Bourdieu, 1980; Coleman, 1988; Burt, 1992).

The need for research on young people and social capital derives from various manifestations of inequality, discrimination and being deprived (Williamson, 2007). Polarized distribution of life opportunities in various sub-populations of young people becomes an ever more frequent topic in public and youth policies through which lack of social justice for young people is observed.

Dahrendorf's differentiation of entitlement and provision, which is based on seeing the distinction between "material economy" and "material goods" from "positioning economy" and "positioning goods", points to the specific type of classification where the importance of human capital for successful economic and social positioning of an individual is emphasized. The former are the subject of economic growth in a traditional sense, while absence of the latter makes essential deprivation (Dahrendorf, 1990: 13). Social provisions include terms such as innovation, incentive, competition, selection and opportunities for education, health care - all that we could call life opportunities. Social progress appears as the struggle of social groups for opportunities in participation and access to active public and social life. The essence of new social conflicts consists of unequal distribution of "life chances" which are the result of power structure (Dahrendorf, 1990: 27). In this sense, the relation of human and social capital ceases to be complementary, because their mutual effect becomes the result of individual advantages or frustrations mediated by lack of cultural capital. The elite and non-elite separate during educational process by confirmation of belonging to a social class through acquiring of academic qualifications. Those with greater cultural capital achieve success and thus reproductive process is renewed of a hierarchical society (Bourdieu & Boltanski, 1981). Education plays a central role in reproduction of social hierarchy, while cultural and human capital gain real economic value.

Social capital, on one hand, is defined by norms and values (cognitive component), and on the other hand, by "the aspect of informal (or formal) social organization which presents a productive resource for one or more actors" (Coleman, 1994: 170).

Cultural capital, which was introduced in theory by Pierre Bourdieu (Bourdieu, 1986), presents a concept which in later theoretical and research elaboration obtained various dimensions. Accordingly, three main tendencies in defining of cultural capital are: first, that cultural capital derives from the strength and quality of networks through which members of ethnic, religious and minority groups connect (e.g. in larger family structures); second, that cultural capital is a collection of values, norms, traditions and behavior, which a certain group and members of a group develop as means and resources for stimulating of economic, political and social well-being. For instance, through conversion into other forms of capital, or creating infrastructure which promotes social cohesion through the culture of production and consumption, like festivals, ethnic markets, etc.; the third is that cultural capital is made of cultural norms and values which present permanent and stable forms of cultural capital (Dalziel et al., 2009). Cultural capital is an important aspect of social capital

and vice versa. Social capital is based and developed on norms, values, networks and way of activity which make the core of cultural capital.

Confidence in expression of own cultural identity is a part of well-being of a community and is defined as cultural confidence which does not differentiate age, generation, gender, sexual, professional, socio-economic, ethnic, religious, physical and spiritual limitations. Insecure cultural practice includes all actions which reduce, annul or limit cultural identity and well-being of individuals (Dalziel et al., 2009). This means that members of a community may participate in cultural life of their community and creatively self-express themselves in freely chosen cultural activities which require respect of basic human rights and cultural diversity at the level of the whole society.

Solidarity, trust and civic engagement cannot be achieved by politically inspired programs which praise romanticized past of an organic community in which social capital flourished. Principal qualities of social capital, which are generalized trust and pro-social values, may also be perceived as hindrance and weakness. Social distrust, moral cynism, as well as normative relativism of the new cultural ethos (neoliberal market order) are based on individual (frequently negative) experience of an individual. Individual predatory (criminal) capital may be linked with the presence/absence of various forms of capital (economic, social, human and cultural capital) and their mutual relations. Same mechanisms that are involved in creation and maintenance of positive human and social capital are involved in creation and maintenance of negative human and social capital. One accumulates negative human capital through education and training of criminal activity (Putnam, 1995; Lochner, 1999; Western et al., 2000; McCarthy & Hagan, 2001; Lochner, 2004, according to Swofford, 2011: 15). Illegal income is advanced by previous offending, prior arrests, conviction and probation (McCarthy & Hagan, 2001). Research effects of criminal human capital point to the need of specialization of criminal skill sets. Viewed at a broader social-cultural level, the ability of an individual to commit an offence, violate norms, and "swim well" presents individual advantage in the new "cognitive peisage" which is characterized by questionable relation between the legal and the legitimate (Pavicevic, 2014).

2. HUMAN, SOCIAL AND CULTURAL CAPITAL – INTERACTION IN THE CONTEXT OF DEPRIVILEGED CHILDREN AND YOUNG PEOPLE

Structural component of social capital, which defines it as a resource determined by class stratification and position of an individual in it, is consistently ignored in Putnam`s concept². Bourdieu, who was among the first to introduce the concept of social capital into the theory, views the essence of this concept in relations of power which determine it and unequal access to benefits it brings. Bourdieu defines social capital as "the aggregate of the actual or potential resources which are linked to possession of a durable network of more or less institutionalized relationships of mutual acquaintances and recognition - or in other words, to membership of a group - which provides each of its members with the backing of

² Still, soon after publishing of his pioneer paper, Putnam noticed the need for purification of the concept, because it was evident that not all associations demonstrate benign social effects. In the attempt to solve the problem arising from existence of social connections and sharing of norms which do not know general interest, Putnam introduced a distinction between the bonding and the bridging social capital. Putnam pointed to the distinction between the formal and informal, strong and weak, social capital oriented toward inside and outside (Putnam, 2000; Putnam & Goss, 2002: 10).

the collectively-owned capital"... The volume of social capital possessed by a given agent thus depends on the size of the network of connections he/she can effectively mobilize, and on the volume of the capital (economic, cultural or symbolic) possessed in his/her own right by each of those to whom he/she is connected (Bourdieu, 1986: 248–249). He stresses that the value of social capital is not the same for all actors, that it is not a public good equally accessible to the privileged ones and the deprived ones. There are tendencies of privileged individuals to maintain their privileged positions using their connections with other privileged people (Bourdieu, 1986). Discussing Bourdieu`s theory of human capital (Becker, 1964) with the emphasis on different capabilities and different investments in education, Bourdieu concluded that "From the very beginning, a definition of human capital, despite its humanistic connotations, does not move beyond economism and ignores, inter alia, the fact that the scholastic yield from education action depends on the cultural capital previously invested by the family" (Bourdieu, 1986: 17). Human and cultural capital are in essence reflected in individuals into whom time and effort must be invested in order for their accumulation to be realized. This process potentially begins in infancy, but depends critically on the cultural and economic capital already possessed by parents (Bourdieu, 1986: 25).

More precisely, it is because the cultural capital that is effectively transmitted within the family itself depends not only on the quantity of cultural capital, itself accumulated by spending time, that the domestic group possess, but also on the usable time (particularly in the form of the mother`s free time) available to it (by virtue of its economic capital, which enables it to purchase the time of others) to ensure the transmission of this capital and to delay entry into the labor market through prolonged schooling, a credit which pays off, if at all, only in the very long term (Dalziel et al., 2009).

Membership of a social class and scope of cultural capital, which children and young people dispose of daily, give guidelines which shape attitudes and behavior relating to school, and thus life cycle of an individual. Children from poor communities are isolated from forming close relations with highly educated grownups (Wilson, 1987), are in a state of cultural deficit, reduced participation in cultural contents which are determined by status of parents` or school, have a low volume of cultural capital. They are not familiar with contents of middlebrow and highbrow culture - drawing, photography, needlework, theatre, museums, and art galleries. They are prone to divert to less respectable subcultural search, which is to compensate for the lack of social and cultural capital (Hagan, 1991). The difference in cultural activities has various implications in subsequent status trajectories of grownups. Parents and school, as well as different volumes of social and cultural capital (Coleman, 1961;1988; Bourdieu, 1977; DiMaggio, 1982) have an influence on educational and occupational achievements of adolescents, supporting or reducing efforts which adolescent invests, but their directions are often unpredictable and hard to understand.

Efforts in achieving social visibility, overcoming of circumstances of their parents` life and acquiring of confidence in circumstances of class background which disfavors them at many plans, bring adolescents from lower social layers closer to adolescent delinquent subculture, as the intervening variable between social origin and status and their striving for achieving success in school and life. At this point adolescent subculture appears as an inter-space which distances adolescents from the influence of the "family taste", attitudes and behavior established by family origin and presence or absence of various types of cultural capital as "acquired dispositions for differentiation and evaluation" (Bourdieu, 1984: 466).

Importance of human and social capital relates to the ability for acquiring skills and ability for binding, which enable individuals to enjoy higher levels of economic and social status and avoid stigmatization after unfavourable events such as after being incarcerated. It has been proved, through research of adolescent population, that the influence of class stratification should be viewed through a longer period of time, and that analysis of their link is a very important aspect of the life perspective of an individual. Later life preoccupations, which are crystalized in adult age, in a smaller or larger degree, may be determined by delinquent episodes in the adolescent age, and very often depend on class membership of an individual (Pavicevic, 2013). Adolescent subcultural preferences reflect transitional cultural experiences, while link with the existing background and contingent of advantages may establish a longterm life course, both for those well oriented, and those drifting adolescents (Hagan, 1991). In this statement link is suggested which exists between the universal transitional property of adolescence as an age, and class membership made by social and cultural background, extremely important for life course of an individual. In other words, trajectories of members of different classes shall be more or less conditioned by delinquent episodes from the adolescent period.

Phenomenological interpretations of adolescent delinquency, which view it as playing with normative culture and its values in search for exceptionalism and excitement of the not-allowed, reduce the importance of the class and social context (Katz, 1988). Katz puts the greatest accent on the dynamics of individual motivation of actors, which cannot be ultimately explained by structural-class, race or ethnic background of actors. Perpetrators of crimes share with other people a need to feel worthy of attention, as well as the tendency to base the feeling of their own worth on the concept of higher meaning. Because of this need, they abandon the real environment, creating a "magical environment" in which crime, even when it is the most brutal one, is not any more a banal act, but has a transcendental meaning for the perpetrator (Katz, 1988). According to Katz, phenomenological-logical purpose of crime primarily lies in this individual motivation, and only then variables of social context may be considered. In accordance with this, he believes that social distribution of "street elites" cannot be universally explained by the status of minorities, class tension or stresses of adolescence (ibid, 155). However, Katz also concludes that men - members of lower classes - are prone to violently (which is an irony) defend traditional values of middle class, while men from higher classes have several different options to avoid humiliation, regardless of there being no evidence which would be sufficient to explain this assumed relation (Katz, 1988: 45-47).

In his research of adolescent preferences, Hagan starts from several assumptions which relate to specific characteristics of delinquent behaviour in connection with social stratification and social status of adolescents. The search for excitement and entertainment, as the motive of adolescent cultural preferences characteristic for the transitional period within the life course, includes a set of subcultural preferences of which some are much more deviant than others. If there is a distinct remoteness from highbrow culture (including education), as well as absence of grownups (especially parents), adolescent is in a much greater danger from sliding into cultural ranges with reduced institutional control, characterized by delinquent and other forms of subcultural membership. It is recognized as a "symbolic membership in a new role in selection of clothes, speech, posture, and manirism which in certain cases stress social visibility (Lemert, 1951, according to Hagan, 1991). Subcultural preferences, according to Hagan, negatively relate to efforts directed toward acquiring of education and expected success in that plan, as well as to parental effort to control their children in the adolescent period. Subcultural preferences directly

weaken school and family connections and have relating consequences in establishing of trajectories of the life course, where cultural deficit of volatile adolescents may be critical for their further life preoccupations.

Class membership, on one hand determines cultural capital an adolescent disposes of, while cultural deficit which is in connection with subcultural preferences affects members of lower classes in a larger degree (Pavicevic, 2013). On the other hand, adolescents from middle and higher classes, through parental status, various forms of status connecting of well-being, prestige and power, more rarely lose respect and respectability even when they slide into deviant subculture and crime. It may be concluded that the possibility for "getting another chance" and the "open structure of opportunities" is reserved for members of higher classes (Jessor, 1991). Benefits which, according to Matza`s suggestion, have less serious subcultural inclinations, in the sense of curbing larger deviant inclinations, simultaneously perform the function in adolescent sexual maturing and socialization (Matza, 1964). However, Hagan concludes that these subcultural elements (partying, drinking, search for contents which are separated from educational orientations), are exclusively useful and fruitful for members of middle and higher classes because they increase social cohesion for them, strengthen connections which will be important in future business environment, in a word, will be crystalized as a cultural resource for men which are not of workers` origin (Jessor, 1991).

Collective yield of a low level of human, cultural and social capital in direct social environment was researched within the project *Social and Human Capital: Contributing Effects of Incarceration on Neighborhoods* (Swofford, 2011). Certain effects of incarceration are arguably more damaging than others. Concerns for neighborhood effects, community and social cohesion, as well as the increase or decrease of human and social capital, tend to dominate the literature surrounding the economic impact of incarceration on communities (Swofford, 2011). Studies suggest that incarceration is more prevalent among under-skilled minority males. In addition, a large earnings deficit, or employment penalty incurred by incarceration, will deepen racial, educational and economic divides among men (Loury, 1989; Arrow, 1998; Western et al., 2001; Clear, 2001, according to Swofford, 2011).

The study hypothesizes the existence of a mediating relationship between human and social capital indicators (2000) and the rates of receiving formerly incarcerated persons (1997-2002) and juvenile arrest (2006-08) in 92 Portland, Oregon neighborhoods. Portland, Oregon receives more formerly incarcerated persons from Oregon`s state correctional facilities than any other city or county in Oregon. Using neighborhood rates of residents with household income above 50K, high school graduation, and annual income type: retired or government assistance, as proxies for human capital measures and neighborhood rates of residents employed by non-profit organizations, number of churches, and self-employment as proxies for social capital measures, OLS regression and bivariate correlations tested for a mediating effect between human and social capital on rates of re-entry and juvenile arrest rates. Findings indicate neighborhoods with increased rates of returnees have higher rates of juvenile delinquency. In addition, mediating human and social capital indicators affect the direct relationship between re-entry and juvenile crime: neighborhoods with more residents receiving retirement income, higher percent of self-employed residents, non-profit employees, or higher rates of residents earning income above 50K had lower rates of returnees in their communities. Greater rates of Portland neighborhoods which house residents with high proportions of household incomes above

50K per year see increases in the rate of juvenile crime. Rates of neighborhood churches showed a positive correlation with both returnees and juvenile crime; obtaining a high school diploma was also associated with increased returnee rates and juvenile crime. Neighborhoods with more residents who are self-employed or employed by non-profit organizations had reduced rates of returnees and juvenile crime. Future research and recommendations are discussed to examine the impact of these findings on neighborhoods with formerly incarcerated persons, levels of human and social capital and juvenile crime in Portland, Oregon.

The research has shown that the importance of human, cultural and social capital is far-reaching. Acquiring of skills and capabilities for networking are critical in realization of young individuals to enjoy higher levels of economic and social status, and especially to avoid stigmatization after being incarcerated.

CONCLUSION - CONTRIBUTION TO STIMULATION OF SOCIAL CAPITAL OF YOUNG PEOPLE

The complexity of social, cultural and economic risks which characterize lives of young people bring them into situations which they cannot influence and cannot control. Fluidity and fragmentation of social structures stress continual sociological relevance of class, gender and position in understanding of experiences of young people (McDonald et al., 2005; Furlong & Cartmel, 2007). Reviewing of manners and rules according to which social networks function is important for analysis of mutual influence of young people and social capital. Networks of families, cousins and piers are important aspects of analysis of transition of young people. Social capital is not the same as social networks, but insights obtained from analysis of social networks are important for understanding of social capital. Focus is especially important on reciprocities which derive from networks, as well as focus on their value in achieving of joint goals (Baron et al., 2001). The issue of promotion of social networks of young people, their life opportunities and participation in civic society, is linked with development of their social capital. Locating of social capital of young people within issues of social justice and inequality is accepted by the Bourdieu's contestual approach which views social capital as deeply rooted in processes and practices of everyday life (Morrow, 1999; Ecclestone, 2004; Holland, 2007; Leonard, 2004; Koca et al., 2009, according to Boeck, 2011: 36).

Wealth and complexity of social capital of young people make the process of negotiation be in a continuous interaction between self, situated activity, social settings and contexts (Boeck, 2011). Policy and practice oriented toward developing of available social and cultural capital which will play a part in strengthening of individual capital should be based on activities of young people. Promotion of social capital is achieved through strengthening of existing resources, support networks, and opening of access to new resources. Institutions should support taking of positive risk, cultivating of relations with significant others, and improving of the attitude of young people to life. Institutional support is especially important if levels of human and social capital are damaged by a lack of educational achievements and exclusion from the legal labor market because they were incarcerated.

The key topic of studies of young people and social capital is the degree in which young people approach social capital and generate it as the means for realization of the perspective of social justice and social inclusion. In the centre of this approach is

democratic strengthening and realization of rights of children and young people, as well as ensuring of their civic freedoms. Social capital is viewed both as a "hindrance" and as a means for overcoming of contextual and economic limitations. Promotion of human, social and cultural capital gives power to young people, and stimulates them to face challenges of everyday life, where they pass from subjective into critical and creative agency (Boeck, 2011). At the sample of young people who participated in the study *Young people and social capital* it was proved that young people see themselves as independent and not too prone to piers` pressure (Boeck, 2011). Respondents generally had a feeling that they knew what they wanted to achieve in life. In this sense, results could be interpreted as an expression of potential disharmony between a relatively optimistic life attitude and limitations young people shall face because of limitations of their social and economic background. However, the author of the research points out that these results indicate that not only structural factors, but also located activity, have a strong influence on the subjective sense of the agency (Boeck, 2011). Policy and practice interventions should build on young people's situated activity and turn the spotlight away from young people's networks as problems in themselves (ibid, 294). The process of strengthening should recognize the capacity of existent competencies of young people. This research has shown that helplessness is not a dominant feeling of young people, and perception of helplessness of grownups should not be transferred to young people. Essentially, the (re)integration of young people into normative social structures has been seen as a question of improving their social networking and life chances – the development of their social capital. However I would argue that this is not the arena where youth policy is best placed. Reflecting on young people's 'creative agency' policies should support rather than punish young people, and turn the spotlight around from young people networks as problems in themselves, to the problems young people encounter, enabling them to see opportunities to develop a much wider range of options for action and change (Boeck, 2011).

It is important to emphasize that strengthening implies inclusion, not exclusion, especially with regard to young people who had problems with incarceration. Their renewed inclusion into community is often characterized by inclusion into cohorts of criminal social capital and return to criminal activities (Swofford, 2011). Acquiring of human and social capital is in close connection with social reproduction, social disorganization and finally, increased crime rate. Limited level of human capital potentially produces low levels of cultural capital and generating of negative (criminal) social capital. Inclusion of young people into cohorts of criminal social capital leads to increase of violent crimes, spreading like an infection to increase of distrust among members of a community, eroding social organization and increasing the level of social disorganization (Swofford, 2011). The circle closes with the increase of violent crime, closing and new reducing of the level of human, cultural and pro-social social capital. Institutional support to promotion of the level of social capital included in strategies of public policies which relate to children and young people at various social positions should start from the idea that young people have the capability to produce their own social and cultural capital with the available support based on cooperation with governmental and social institutions. Increase of prosocial social capital of young people is based on recognition and respect of competencies, vitality, ability to recover and belief in new and equal life opportunities. Building of available prosocial social capital reduces the influence of criminal social capital which has significant correlations with reductions in thoughtful and reflective decision-making (TRDM) capacities or fatalistic beliefs (Kenneth Moule, 2016). Activation of prosocial social capital implies strengthening of young people to undertake responsibility,

reciprocal trust and support, through the feeling of connection and competence, annulling the effects of social reproduction of unfavorable individual, social and cultural positions.

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DOBROBIT DECE I RAZLIČITI OBLICI KAPITALA: SOCIJALNI, HUMANI I KULTURNI KAPITAL

U novijoj kriminološkoj teoriji, kao i u istraživačkoj praksi postoji pojačan interes za doprinos koji humani, kulturni i socijalni kapital imaju u odustajanju maloletnika od kriminala. Njihov odnos se posmatra u kontekstu podsticanja socijalne kohezije, socijalne pravde i eliminisanja negativnih efekata nedostajućeg društvenog i kulturnog kapitala. Posredni odnos između humanog, socijalnog i kulturnog kapitala utiče na proces povratka maloletnika u kriminal. Kulturni kapital ima različite nivoe povezanosti sa socijalnom isključenošću, a istraživanje ove relacije ima za cilj promociju pristupa koji kulturu vide kao sredstvo za suzbijanje ili nadoknadu efekata socijalne isključenosti dece i mladih. U radu se uspostavlja veza između različitih formacija ljudskog i društvenog kapitala u cilju osmišljavanja javnih politika zasnovanih na strategiji koja poziva na interakciju između države i društva u ostvarivanju socijalne pravde na svim nivoima, a posebno kada su u pitanju deca i mladi.

KLJUČNE REČI: društveni kapital / humani kapital / socijalna pravda / deca / mladi