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**PSYCHOLOGICAL MECHANISMS OF RISKY BEHAVIOR IN
ADOLESCENCE**

**Psychological Sciences in the specialty:
5.3.7-Developmental psychology**

Abstract
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INTRODUCTION

Topicality of the topic

In the last 60 years, there has been a conceptual search for an answer to the question of the mechanisms, causes and possibilities of predicting risky behavior in adolescence. Risky behavior has been described in the framework of psychoanalytic, personal, behavioral, clinical, sociological, epigenetic and environmental approaches, in deviantology, as well as in cultural and historical theory and in cognitive theories of different generations. All these approaches have made a significant contribution to the study of the problem of risky behavior psychology, but each of them has its own limitations. A partial explanation of the phenomenon was obtained, but the prevention systems built on the appropriate models do not give a high result, although they show a certain decrease in the severity of the problem. However, some facts remain unexplained. The limitations of these approaches are the search for one or more key factors that regulate risky behavior, while it is obviously of a systemic nature. All these theoretical approaches and their limitations are discussed in detail in the first chapter of the paper.

Current concepts do not allow us to form a systematic understanding of risky behavior. There are no satisfactory explanations for reaching the peak of risky behavior in adolescence, there are no applied tools that allow predicting the manifestations of this phenomenon, as well as practical assistance programs. Existing ideas that are phenomenologically close to the concept of risky behavior do not allow us to describe the existing phenomenon, or they require significant reservations. These include ideas about deviant behavior (Dozortseva E. G. et al.), about risky behavior in a reduced understanding of a direct behavioral act (Ilyin E. P. et al.), about pathopsychological personality traits (Lichko A. E.), about cognitive disorders of various origins (Bandura A., Timula A., Van den Bos U., Gertwig R. et al.), and on the behavioral test (Polivanova K. N.).

As a basic concept, we propose to use the idea of **risky behavior** as a complex phenomenon that is characteristic of a person throughout his life and is observed most characteristically and clearly in the adolescent period. ***Risky behavior in adolescence is a system of voluntary, both conscious and unconscious actions, actions whose outcome is not fully defined.*** Their implementation can cause physical, psychological or social damage, but also bring material or social benefits, open up new opportunities or form abilities. Risky behavior ***can be normative, or it can go beyond borders, violating implicit and/or explicit rules and / or normative ideas about behavior that are relevant to the social group to which the teenager belongs, or tied to his socio-cultural environment.*** ***Risk-taking behavior can be neutral, prosocial, or antisocial. The expected consequences of risky behavior can be positive or negative for the social, psychological, and physical well-being***

of the adolescent in the short or long term. In particular, the consequences determine whether it is a question of social adaptation or maladaptation, a violation or improvement of health, a loss or strengthening of social prospects, causing social or psychological damage, delaying or accelerating individual development.

The semantic component of risky behavior can be defined in the motivational sphere - risky behavior can be a way of self-affirmation, seeking recognition, demonstrating autonomy, testing one's own boundaries, getting new impressions, and feeling in control of the situation. with the desire to overcome internal or external limitations, test yourself, get social support or approval. From the perspective of relations with society, risky behavior allows you to protest against existing rules, express yourself, and determine your place in the group or society. Risky behavior is determined by the norms and values that are relevant in a given social group or culture. Risky behavior will be associated with the development, formation of new skills, independence, personal growth, but also contains the possibility of maladaptation, and the meaning of risky behavior may also be the search for a way out or the desire to change a difficult situation.

The appearance of the phenomenon of risky behavior as belonging to the class of psychosocial phenomena in the field of psychological science as a separate and necessary phenomenon will ensure the development of scientific thought in this area.

The scientific novelty consists in the fact that a new direction has been created-risky behavior is described as a single phenomenon in psychology, and a theoretical concept has been developed that describes and explains risky behavior as a polydeterministic phenomenon characteristic of adolescence. The author's enactivist-ecological model of risky behavior proposed in this paper takes into account existing theoretical concepts and relies on the obtained empirical data. The proposed model generalizes for the first time the factors that determine risky behavior and connect their patterns. This makes it possible to identify targets for studying possible interrelations of specific factors in individual forms of risky behavior. The study reveals the role and way of interaction between a teenager and society through risky behavior. Individual components of the proposed model of risky behavior in adolescence were empirically tested.

The theoretical significance of the work is the conceptualization of risky behavior. The concept of risky behavior is introduced; forms and categorizations of risk behavior are described. For the first time, a systematic theoretical model of risky behavior is understood and formulated, which is based on an enactivist-ecological approach. This model describes the behavioral response to stress resulting from frustration of needs or increased arousal, using already mastered behavioral and communication skills, and as a reaction to the possibility of developing new skills or ways of organizing life, realizing the advantages of the social-material environment, and in the context of specific abilities. A model of risky behavior formation as a person grows up is described, and groups of determining interrelated and mutually influencing social, biological, and psychological factors are identified. The role of adolescence in the development of risky behavior is described, and both individual and social functions of it are presented. Forms of risky behavior are described and categorized by social orientation: both antisocial and prosocial – normative, neutral. The relationship between the direction of risky behavior and some forms of coping behavior is presented. Factors of the genesis of antisocial cyber-risky behavior in adolescence are described.

The practical significance of the work is that the generalized theoretical data allow integrating the proposed author's model into the organization of social and psychological assistance to adolescents, as well as creating preventive tools depending on the social environment and individual context of the teenager.

The aim of the study is to develop and empirically test the author's theoretical model of risky

behavior formation in adolescence as a systemic phenomenon that integrates ideas about the manifestations of risky behavior, its prerequisites and consequences.

Object of research: risky behavior of adolescents.

Subject of the study: the structure of risky behavior (delinquency, suicidal and self-harming behavior, extremism and propensity to violence, alcohol and drug addiction behavior, digital risky behavior) and the patterns of its formation in adolescence.

The main **theoretical hypothesis** of the study is that various forms of adolescent risky behavior (for example, delinquency, aggression, suicidal, self-harming, addictive and cyber-risky behavior) have common psychological mechanisms recorded within the enactivist-ecological model.

Particular theoretical and empirical hypotheses will be considered in the third and fourth chapters of this paper.

Provisions submitted:

1. The phenomenon of risky behavior is a systemic psychosocial phenomenon that is formed in the social environment under the influence of changing needs and individual characteristics of a person.
2. Risky behavior can be represented as a model of behavioral response to stress resulting from frustration of needs or increased arousal using already mastered behavioral and communication skills, and as the implementation of opportunities for developing new skills or ways of organizing life based on the affordances of the social-material environment, taking into account the characteristic social practices inherent in this social group.
3. Risky behavior is formed as a person grows up and is determined by interrelated and mutually influencing social, biological and psychological factors. It is the characteristics of the system of such factors that will determine the characteristics of risky behavior.
4. The theoretical model proposed by the author makes it possible to describe and predict the development and direction of risky behavior by identifying individual characteristics and abilities, elements of the social landscape in which a teenager exists, available opportunities and their mutual influence.
5. The special significance of risky behavior for adolescence is determined by the intensity of changes in the motivational and need sphere, which determines the individual selectivity of perception of the landscape of social-material affordances and the patterns of formation of this landscape, which provides opportunities and social orientation of individual development of a teenager.
6. Risky behavior has a number of individual functions: the development of emotional regulation abilities, the formation of new social skills, ways of communicating with family members and peers, changing one's social status, meeting needs and, at the same time, approving a new way of satisfying them, and forming identity.
7. The social functions of risky behavior include the development of new ways of self-regulation within group behaviors and, at the same time, the search for new resources, the restructuring of the social landscape, and the determination of the trajectory of social development and status.
8. Risky behavior can take both antisocial and prosocial forms, including normative (neutral) forms. The prosocial or antisocial orientation of risky behavior is associated with certain forms of coping behavior, manifestations of aggression, and features of accepted norms in the social environments in which a teenager develops.
9. Antisocial risk-taking behavior in the form of addictive behavior in adolescence is associated with an anxious attachment style and is amplified by long-term severe illness of

close relatives. It is associated with the attitude to death as a way to escape from experiences.

10. The genesis of antisocial cyber-risky behavior in adolescents is determined by relationships with peers, beliefs about cyber aggression, emotional experiences of the situation, and the experience of the victim and aggressor.

CHAPTER 1. THEORETICAL APPROACHES TO STUDYING THE PROBLEM OF RISKY BEHAVIOR IN ADOLESCENCE

This chapter sets the context in which the study of risk behavior in adolescence will be presented, and defines the content and boundaries of adolescence. In many early works that do not have enough empirical data, the essence of adolescence is described as breaking boundaries, marginality, risky behavior, development by going beyond, and destroying the old. At the same time, there are no concepts that would explain the emergence of risky behavior, reveal its social and functional meaning, and describe what mechanisms of individual characteristics and social environment are involved in the formation of risky behavior.

1.1. INDIVIDUALISTIC AND PERSONAL APPROACHES TO THE STUDY OF ANTISOCIAL RISK BEHAVIOR

This section discusses some aspects of determining the duration of adolescence, presents data on the relationship with the manifestations of risky behavior and adolescence in S. Buhler, E. Spranger, V. V. Zenkovsky, Z. Freud, A. Freud, V. Stern, L. S. Vygotsky, L. I. Bozhovich, D. B. Elkonin, D. A. Leontiev and others. Studies of the influence of unfavorable childhood experiences or psychological traumas, adversities occurring in the childhood period on the process of developing ideas about the formation of risky behavior are given. The article describes the existing ideas in epigenetic theories and personal approaches. It is shown that the role of other factors, including socio-environmental, individual and family factors, as well as the peculiarities of the formation of sensitivity to reward and punishment, and the search for sensations, remains insufficiently studied. Thus, the above theories take into account a limited number of factors, take into account those features of the individual that can become his abilities, but do not give an answer to the question of the formation and direction of risky behavior.

1.2. COGNITIVE AND COGNITIVE-BEHAVIORAL APPROACHES TO THE STUDY OF ANTISOCIAL RISKY BEHAVIOR

The cognitive theories discussed in this section reveal the important roles of cognitive aspects, reveal risky behavior associated with adolescence, and describe the dynamics of risk behavior in the context of uncertainty. Existing cognitive theories rely on the concepts of mental models, etc., but at the same time do not offer a general view of risky behavior, the absence of which did not escape the attention of the authors of these cognitive works.

1.3. ECOPSYCHOLOGICAL APPROACHES TO THE STUDY OF ANTISOCIAL RISKY BEHAVIOR

This section examines the ideas of K. Levin, E. Durkheim, L. S. Vygotsky, R. Hevinghurst and other authors focused on the interaction of the environment and the adolescent. They partially explain the role of factors influencing its development, and suggest various mechanisms to explain risky behavior. It is important to note that the authors emphasize the significant contribution of risky behavior to the development of the individual and society. But despite this, there is still no clear and unified model of the genesis of risky behavior, and the presented models are fragmented.

1.4. ADOLESCENT CHALLENGES AND RISK-TAKING BEHAVIOR

Relying on the ideas of social constructivism, cultural and historical concept and theory of activity,

as well as perceiving psychological changes that occur with a teenager as a process of interaction with the social environment (Vygotsky, Leontiev, Jerdgen, Polonnikova, Obukhova), allows us to explain the relationship between development tasks in adolescence and risky behavior using ideas about the social situation of development and leading activity. Actual ideas about the tasks of development in adolescence are highlighted in the approaches of Hevinghurst, Erickson, L. S. Vygotsky, D. B. Elkonin, T. V. Dragunova, L. I. Bozhovich, K. Levin, V. Stern, J. Grych, P.. Due and others. Risky behavior allows you to solve many problems of adolescence, but you cannot talk about risky behavior as the main neoplasm. Ideas about risky behavior can be indirectly related to ideas about the social situation of development, since risky behavior can be just the way through which development is realized. However, it is worth noting that the attention of researchers is more attracted to the antisocial, rather than pro-social orientation of risky behavior.

1.5. APPROACHES TO THE PROBLEM OF ANTISOCIAL RISK BEHAVIOR ADOPTED IN MEDICAL PSYCHOLOGY AND HEALTH PSYCHOLOGY

In medical psychology, risk behavior is traditionally considered as a factor that determines the development of lifestyle-related diseases, such as stress, smoking, alcohol and drug use, risky sexual behavior, and increased functional and mental loads. A key point in understanding risky behavior within the medical approach is the division **between healthy and pathological functioning**, which creates significant limitations. Although this approach, based on the nosologically principle, allows us to detect some mechanisms and factors associated with risky behavior, it does not allow us to reveal either the general mechanisms or the genesis of risky behavior.

1.6. APPROACHES TO THE PROBLEM OF ANTISOCIAL RISKY BEHAVIOR ADOPTED IN LEGAL PSYCHOLOGY

One of the most acute social issues reflecting the problems of antisocial risky behavior in adolescence is the psychological phenomenology of offenses committed by adolescents. In particular, adolescents who have committed several offenses are of particular research interest. The concept of risky behavior in legal psychology is closely related to the term's deviant and delinquent behavior.

1.7. FORMS OF ANTISOCIAL RISK-TAKING BEHAVIOR IN ADOLESCENCE

This section discusses the classifications of forms of antisocial risk behavior in adolescence proposed by Lavery et al., Rakhimkulova and Rozanov, Alexander et al., Arnett et al. The following forms of antisocial risky behavior were included in this study: suicidal and self-harming behavior, risky sexual behavior, chemical abuse, delinquency, antisocial and extremist behavior and cyber-risk behavior, and prosocial behavior was studied in general. The choice of these forms is due to their popularity among teenagers over the past decades, and the ability to work with representative data.

1.8. RESEARCH ON PROSOCIAL RISK-TAKING BEHAVIOR

To fully understand risky behavior in adolescence, it is important to consider not only the negative aspects of risk behavior, but also the positive risky behavior – from the point of view of the well-being of the teenager, the severity of potential consequences, and the social adequacy of behavior (Duell). Currently, there are more than ten theories that complement each other and describe various factors and mechanisms associated with risky behavior. These theories cover such aspects as tolerance to uncertainty, relationships with peers, impulsivity, the search for new sensations, the role of mental models and attitudes.

CHAPTER 2. SOCiomATERIAL CONCEPT OF RISKY BEHAVIOR IN ADOLESCENCE

2.1. BASIC CONCEPTS OF ENACTIVIST-ECOLOGICAL THEORY

To analyze the mechanisms of risky behavior, a theoretical framework describing human actions in a broad socio-cultural context is required. Ideas for constructing a conceptual framework can be borrowed from a whole range of interrelated psychological and philosophical approaches, due to enactivist and sociomaterial ideas. Ideas expressed by K. Levin in the framework of psychological field theory and later developed by J. Gibson, A. Costall, A. Chemero, E. Rietveld, and J. R. R. Tolkien. Kiverstein models allow us to model the opportunities that the surrounding physical and, most importantly, social environment provides for the formation and manifestation of risky behavior. These representations are related to the concept of affordance (from German. Aufforderungscharakter, "inviting character"), which was introduced by K. Levin. In the most general sense, affordances can be called objects, social situations, forms of communication, and other elements that increase the likelihood of any actions of the subject. We believe that this is fully applicable to risky actions as well.

Affordances are traditionally thought of as pre-defined properties of a physical object that are waiting for us to discover before we act on them (Kiverstein). In the framework of the relativistic approach, which includes enactivist-ecological theory, there is a different idea of affordances. In this case, affordances are related to a life form whose representatives are potentially able not only to detect, but also to form an affordance (Chemero).

2.2. ENACTIVIST-ECOLOGICAL MODEL OF RISKY BEHAVIOR IN ADOLESCENCE

Risky behavior is a complex, multi-layered sociopsychological phenomenon that develops in adolescence under the influence of a unique combination of cultural and socio-psychological factors. Existing personal models do not allow us to fully reveal the development of risky behavior, since they focus only on personal variables and ignore the peculiarities of the social environment. In recent years, attempts to move from single-factor explanations of risky behavior to the integration of various theoretical approaches and scientific paradigms have increasingly appeared in the literature, which opens the way for a multi-factor explanation of this phenomenon. The model proposed in this paper allows us to describe and explain the mutual influence of factors aimed at developing or inhibiting risky behavior. In this theoretical model, social and personal factors are transformed from static to dynamic. These factors are involved in the formation of affordances for specific forms of risky behavior in various social environments. Each factor is revealed as an element of the model, which includes existing ideas about the intentions, needs and perception of the socio-material environment. The core of this model is the enactivist-ecological theory. The enactivist-ecological approach we use (Rietveld, Denys, Van Westen) develops the antimentalist ideas proposed in Kurt Levin's field theory on the valence of objects and implemented in modern theories of embodied cognition.

Risk-taking behavior can be considered as a behavioral response to stress resulting from frustration of needs or increased arousal, using already learned behavioral and communication skills. It also arises as a reaction to the possibility of developing new skills or ways of organizing life, which are implemented based on the affordances of the social-material environment, as well as on the abilities inherent in people in each individual social group with its characteristic social practices (Kiverstein).

The author's enactivist-ecological model of risky behavior can be represented by 5 provisions:

- 1) Risk-taking behavior is described as a behavioral response to stress resulting from frustration of needs, or an increase in arousal, which uses already mastered behavioral and communication skills.
- 2) Risky behavior provides an opportunity to develop new skills or ways of organizing life,

which are implemented based on the affordances of the socio-material environment, as well as on the abilities inherent in people in each individual social group with its characteristic social practices (Kiverstein).

- 3) The degree of manifestation and social orientation of risky behavior determine the mutual influence and interrelationships of intentions, abilities, and ways of interaction in each individual social group and within a given affordance landscape.
- 4) Individual selectivity of perception allows a teenager to choose suitable affordances in the existing landscape and implement risky behavior with their help.
- 5) Risky behavior provides the emergence of new skills, develops abilities and changes the attitude in the social environment to the individual, which leads to a change in social-material affordances and the formation of a new landscape of affordances for him / her while maintaining the same habitat.

The core of the model is the concept of affordances, understood as readiness for action in a given material and social environment, through "giving meaning" (sense making), various socio-material areas of this environment (Rietveld, Kiverstein),

Factors (influencing variables) of the model are social, individual psychological, and biological factors that are interrelated with risk behavior, influence the development of risk behavior, determine the formation of the landscape of affordances, abilities, opportunities, and intentions, and provide individual selectivity of perception. These factors organize complex systems by organizing both causal and correlational relationships.

2.3. INDIVIDUAL FACTORS DETERMINING THE ABILITY TO INTERACT WITH AFFORDANCES RELATED TO RISK BEHAVIOR

This section examines the role of individual factors that fall into several categories related to risky behavior: *Psychophysiological and neuroanatomical factors*, *Individual psychological factors*, *Risk-taking as a personality trait*.

2.4. POSSIBLE SCOPE OF CONSIDERATION OF SOCIAL AFFORDANCES OF RISKY BEHAVIOR

This section provides an analysis of the various scales of theoretical consideration of sociomaterial affordances that contribute to the implementation of risky behavior.

2.5. DISTORTIONS IN THE PERCEPTION OF SOCIAL AFFORDANCES THAT PROMOTE OR HINDER THE DEVELOPMENT OF ANTISOCIAL RISK BEHAVIOR IN ADOLESCENCE

Normativity, i.e. social acceptance, approval and accessibility of certain practices in a particular social group, is associated with the selectivity of perception of the affordance landscape. Behavior is influenced not by the actual environment, but by the subjective interpretation of the environment (Iannotti, Bush). The interrelation of risk behavior with such individual factors as aggressiveness and autonomy, as well as with coping strategies and their manifestations in educational and other social environments, which are differently saturated with peers with prosocial and antisocial risk behavior, is considered.

CHAPTER 3. RISK BEHAVIOR IN THE FAMILY AND EDUCATIONAL ENVIRONMENT

To test our proposed model of risk behavior in adolescence, we conducted a series of empirical studies. A total of 2,353 adolescents took part in the survey, ranging in age from 11 to 23 years (48% of young men). Taking into account modern ideas about increasing the duration of the period of adolescence and adolescence, the study included a small group of subjects of rather youthful age of 19-23 years in order to study the age periods associated with adolescence. The sample was made up of students from Russian schools and colleges. Since the work includes several separate

studies on disjoint samples, each of them used a different set that corresponds to the research goals. The results are described in sections 3.1, 3.2, and 3.3.

3.1. PARENTAL PRESCRIPTIONS IN ADOLESCENCE AS A FACTOR OF VULNERABILITY AND RESISTANCE TO RISKY BEHAVIOR

The results obtained indicate that the social orientation of risky behavior is associated with the perceived positive attention of parents, which correlates with the image of the personal future of a teenager, and his ideas about his own abilities. The study recorded exactly those parental prescriptions that were noted by the adolescents themselves, which confirms their sensitivity to such messages and demonstrates the entire landscape of parental prescriptions.

3.2. STUDY OF THE LEARNING ENVIRONMENT AS A SOCIAL LANDSCAPE IN THE CONTEXT OF RISKY BEHAVIOR

The school, like the family, is a diverse landscape of affordances, which differs depending on social groups and their inherent practices. Risky behavior manifests itself in these educational environments in different ways. In the Russian education system, students with antisocial risky behavior are more likely to study in schools that occupy lower positions in the educational rating, while students with prosocial risky behavior are more likely to study in schools with higher ratings. These schools are actually different social groups with different social practices, between which there is limited migration throughout the entire period of study. This section examines the role of the educational environment as a social landscape of affordances, which has a significant impact on the genesis of risky behavior.

3.3. RESEARCH OF AGGRESSION AND AUTONOMY IN THE CONTEXT OF RISKY BEHAVIOR OF ADOLESCENTS IN THE EDUCATIONAL ENVIRONMENT

In an educational organization, students create a landscape of sociomaterial affordances for other adolescents. As one of the components of the landscape of social affordances, we can consider the forms and severity of aggression. Aggression is an important factor associated with the development of antisocial risk-taking behavior, which has been repeatedly emphasized in studies on deviant behavior (Furmanov; Rean; Khlomov, Bochaver, Fomenko et all). Aggression can arise as a result of frustration (Berkowitz) or an unmet need for autonomy (Deci, Ryan), and this study helps to understand the role of these phenomena in the genesis of risk-taking behavior in the educational environment.

3.4. RESEARCH ON VIOLENT EXTREMISM AND MASS SHOOTINGS IN ADOLESCENCE

In this section, factors of depressive symptoms, lack of social support in the family and among friends, lack of timely psychological and psychiatric care were studied as prerequisites for such antisocial risky behavior as an attack on a school, provided that the "unfreezing" effect occurs and certain antisocial personality characteristics.

CHAPTER 4. STUDIES OF VARIOUS FORMS OF ANTISOCIAL RISKY BEHAVIOR IN ADOLESCENTS

To test the proposed enactivist-ecological model of risky behavior in adolescence, a meta-analysis of previously conducted empirical studies was conducted. In total, more than 300 articles were analyzed, describing research on samples that included more than 100,000 adolescents and young adults aged 10 to 23 years. Small groups of 10-12 and 19-23 years of age were included in the study to study the age periods associated with adolescence. These studies were conducted in more than 40 countries. Since the work includes studies on disjoint samples, each of them used a different set of methods that correspond to the research goals. The results are described in the sections 4.1, 4.2, 4.3, 4.4, 4.5.

4.1. RESEARCH OF RISKY BEHAVIOR IN THE FORM OF TOBACCO, ALCOHOL, AND DRUG ABUSE IN ADOLESCENCE

Individual selectivity of perception of the affordance landscape can significantly influence the choice of behaviors. Depressive symptoms of an individual can significantly change the perception of the affordance landscape (Rietveld, Kiverstein). The study focuses on the landscape of affordances associated with this form of risky behavior, as well as on factors that determine individual selectivity of perception.

4.2. RESEARCH ON SELF-HARMING AND SUICIDAL BEHAVIOR

This section combines the description of two forms of risky behavior that may seem similar at first glance, but are significantly different – non-suicidal self-harm (NSP) and suicidal behavior (SP). Non-suicidal self-harm is the deliberate destruction or alteration of body tissues without suicidal intent (Lloyd-Richardson, Perrine, Dierker). N. A. Polskaya and M. A. Melnikova define self-harming behavior as antisocial behavior aimed at causing physical harm to oneself, which may include non-suicidal self-harm and suicidal attempts (Nock; Klonsky, Glenn, Styer; Polskaya, Melnikova). In the previous sections, we discussed such aspects of our theoretical model as the study of the subject's abilities, the landscape of affordances in different environments, and their impact on behavior. In this section, attention is paid to the individual selectivity of perception of the affordance landscape, motivational and motivational components and features of their functioning, as well as factors influencing this.

4.3. RESEARCH OF DELINQUENCY AND VICTIMIZATION AS MANIFESTATIONS OF RISKY BEHAVIOR

Delinquency in adolescence has long remained in the area of researchers' attention and is often considered as a form of risky behavior. As a rule, the focus of attention is focused on the personality of the teenager, while the social situation and social factors are considered less often. The enactivist-ecological model of risky behavior in adolescence allows us to describe the mechanisms that reveal the development of risk behavior in the form of delinquency.

4.4. RESEARCH ON RISKY SEXUAL BEHAVIOR

Sexual relationships between people are complex social interactions and are often risky behaviors at any age, especially during adolescence. To understand risky sexual behavior, it is also necessary to take into account the normative aspects of adolescent sexual and social development. Research often focuses on health risk perspectives, looking at the impact of various social factors, such as a romantic relationship with a partner or the influence of peers, especially antisocial ones, on risky sexual behavior (Clark, Durbin, Heitzeg; Harden; Zimmer-Gembeck, Helfand; Clark, Durbin, Heitzeg, Iacono, McGue, Hicks; Klomov, Bochaver). In this section, risky sexual behavior is presented in the enactivist-ecological model of risky behavior.

4.5. RESEARCH ON DIGITAL RISKY BEHAVIOR IN ADOLESCENCE

Within the framework of the proposed model of risky behavior, the mechanisms of development of antisocial risky behavior in the form of cyberbullying in adolescence are described. Cyber-risk behavior is mastered by teenagers as they grow up, thanks to age-related changes and increasing technical competence, which allows them to master the Internet and the social media space. We found that in adolescence, one of the key social factors contributing to the development of cyber-risky behavior is school bullying (Bochaver, Khlomov; Kowalski, Limber; Hinduja, Patchin). Combined with excessive Internet use (Erdur-Baker; Sticca, Ruggieri, Alsaker; Walrave, Heirman; Hinduja, Patchin), social isolation (Whittle; Drozdova, Medvedeva), and peer rejection (Machackova, Dedkova; Katzer, Fetchenhauer, Belschak), this leads the teenager to become a victim of some form of cyber-aggression.

The social landscape of affordances, which is saturated with school disunity, lack of trust of adolescents in their parents, lack of rules for using the Internet, lack of parental support, excess of social isolation and rejection by peers, contributes to the development of cyber-risk behavior.

CHAPTER 5. SOCIAL AND PSYCHOLOGICAL ASSISTANCE IN THE SITUATION OF RISKY BEHAVIOR OF A TEENAGER

5.1. TRADITIONAL METHODS OF SOCIAL AND PSYCHOLOGICAL ASSISTANCE TO A TEENAGER

When discussing research on risky behavior, questions about the prevention of antisocial risky behavior with high-level threats almost always arise implicitly. Approaches to the prevention and correction of such behavior not only help to reduce risks, but also allow us to test theoretical models, specifying the weight and role of various factors in the formation of risky behavior. In the previous chapters, we have identified factors that influence the genesis of risk behavior, described some mechanisms, and identified specific and general systems of factors and their relationships. Now, with data on the universality and specificity of risky behavior and general understanding of the role and significance of these factors, it is possible to develop effective strategies for helping. However, the results of their application and performance indicators can help identify those factors, systems and mechanisms that have not been studied or whose significance has not yet been determined.

5.2. TESTING OF SOCIAL AND PSYCHOLOGICAL SUPPORT OF RISKY BEHAVIOR AS A PREREQUISITE FOR TESTING THE ENACTIVIST-ECOLOGICAL MODEL OF RISKY BEHAVIOR IN ADOLESCENCE

As a pilot project from 2003 to 2017 in the framework of cooperation between MSPPU, the Moscow Department of Education and a non-governmental organization (first ANO TSPRP "Perekrestok", later NP SRDiP "Perekrestok Plus") the system of social and psychological assistance and prevention of risky behavior in adolescence was organized, tested and repeatedly modified (The model of the Center for socio-psychological adaptation and adolescent development "Perekrestok" / under the scientific editorship of K. D. Khlomov).

As a theoretical basis, a restorative approach was first proposed, and then developed until 2015 (Khlomov, Moskvichev). This approach was the result of a long development process that integrated practical activities to help adolescents and their families with repeated reflection and subsequent transformations of both the activity itself and the concept as it was understood. The postulates of Vygotsky's cultural and historical theory, the client-centered approach, existential psychotherapy, gestalt therapy, and systemic family therapy were chosen as reference points. However, the practice of social and psychological assistance did not fit into the framework of any of the existing approaches (Educational and methodical complex "Technology of psychological support and correction of socially maladapted children and prevention of deviations in social behavior of children and adolescents").

5.3. PROSPECTS FOR THE DEVELOPMENT OF STRATEGIES FOR SOCIO-PSYCHOLOGICAL SUPPORT OF ADOLESCENTS – NOT PREVENTION OF RISKY BEHAVIOR, BUT MANAGEMENT OF THE DEVELOPMENT OF RISKY BEHAVIOR

Recently, new forms and ideas for managing the development of risky behavior in adolescence have emerged. Van den Bos and Hertwig point to new directions for preventive intervention in adolescent care strategies (van den Bos W., Hertwig). For example, providing information about the results of forms of antisocial and prosocial risk behavior can be a successful strategy for reducing the severity of antisocial risky behavior. However, the use of information campaigns alone has shown very discouraging results, as has happened, for example, with the Drug abuse

Resilience Training Program (DARE; West, O'Neal, Project). This may be due to the fact that adolescents tend to act on impulse without assessing the consequences, and such campaigns have been relatively ineffective. The formation of social response systems is possible with the use of artificial intelligence resources and technological complexes that can accelerate the analysis of social environments, reduce the severity of antisocial risky behavior in specific social spaces, and prevent its spread.

CONCLUSION

Within the framework of this work, the phenomenon of risky behavior in adolescence was studied, its causes, manifestations and consequences, forms, as well as its significance for society and the individual were analyzed. The place of risky behavior in the adolescent development system is considered using the example of a wide range of forms of antisocial (alcohol and drug addiction, extremism and propensity to violence, offenses, suicidal and self-harming behavior, aggressiveness, cyber-risky behavior) and prosocial risky behavior. Based on the generalized data on the presented forms of risky behavior, it was shown that the psychology of risky behavior can be revealed as a systemic phenomenon that forms individual abilities and capabilities under the influence of changing needs and frustration.