## YOUTH AS AN AT-RISK GROUP

**Olivera Pavićević**

Institute of Criminological & Sociological Research

Belgrade

*SUMMARY*

*This paper analyses the relation between the risk concept and youth as a stage of life for which risk is an inherent property. The process of maturing implies risk, and this risk relates to the social and cultural concept of risk, as is characteristic for the reality of late capitalism. It also relates to the political and ideological expertise striving to manage it. Risk discourse often appears in public as a negative, disturbing and cautionary attitude towards young people, marking them as a category that is in peril, trouble. Similarities and differences that exist in the developed Western and post-socialist societies are stressed. The analysis of risk behaviour and the concept of risk include cultural criminology that views anti-social behaviour and criminal practice in the context of identity changes and cultural symbols which are the symptom of deep social changes in the post-modern society.*

*Keywords:  risk, young people, risk factors, risk behaviour, late capitalism, post-socialism*

### INTRODUCTION

The period of youth assumes a process of maturing that is in several ways related to risk. The status of risk in the lives of youths can be thought of as turbulence which is specific for that part of one's life, but also as part of the societal discourse on risk. The "capacity to deal with risk" represents the unequally distributed life chances in the area of superseding the internal and external risk factors that a young person is dealing with. In that sense, once can recognize the particular segments of the youth population[1] as "youth at-risk", who in the current circumstances have fewer chances of

---

1    These are the youths who are growing up in high-risk surroundings, such as poverty, war-torn communities, those who come from families that are characterized by alcoholism and drug addiction, physical and sexual abuse, mental

developing and growing up to become responsible adults (Dryfoos, 1991).

The risks concern the potential threats to their welfare, threats that are multi-dimensional, as they include both physical and mental safety, as well as social and economic safety, and health in the broadest sense of the word. The construct of risk can be analysed at three levels at least. It includes the state of risk, or a risk situation, risk behaviours - assuming risk and the creation of risk; and finally, the perception of risk, which can be individual or social. Each of these elements represents a multi-layered research problem that requires a careful analytical approach.

Those experiences that increase the likelihood of a young person's risk behaviour are called risk factors, and can be found in individual characteristics, the elements of family life, school, the community, and peer relationships. There is a widespread impression that youths today are facing more serious, more critical risks than any generation before them. The results show that there has been an increase in adolescence-caused problems over the past 25 years, and these have been shown to affect both boys and girls, all social classes and types of families (Collishaw et al., 2004).

This problematic aspect of the process of growing up leads to an ambivalent social perception of youths, whereby they are seen as a precious social resource, but also as category that is both threatened and threatening. In relation to that, one should bear in mind that the public discourse has often treated youths as a barometer of social ills and means of establishing social control. Risk behaviours among the youth are not a generator of social chaos and disturbance, as interpreted in the spirit of "moral panic", but are rather phenomena that arise as a consequence of an altered social and cultural environment that is inevitably inclusive of risk on an everyday basis.

An understanding of the youths' risk behaviour must take as its starting point the fact that they are primary actors in their own lives, as they follow their chosen paths within the boundaries of existing social, material, cultural, and relational worlds. In accordance with that, the analysis of the concept of risk must take into account the multiple layers that it is characterized by. Risk can be a result of multiple and different factors, which can be observed either separately, or as they interact, depending on the research aims. Risk is part of the psycho-dynamic process of transition and maturing that includes a search for identity, which in turn often includes the questioning and shifting of boundaries of what is allowed. Risk may be a consequence of different types of deficits (social, material, familial), just as it may be a result of the dominant cultural values as promoted by the materialistic culture of late capitalism. The issue of the extent to which the youth are affected by

illness.

risk assumes an unveiling of a complex relationship among the structures of power, reflexive individualization, determinism of the social structure and the possibilities for youths to be involved in them in an adequate manner (Sharland, 2005). Problematizing and questioning the differences between what is normal and abnormal, acceptable and unacceptable, contains at its basis a question of cultural identity, the answer to which must be sought outside the dogma of the old and new ideological worlds, in the dynamics of existing resources, relationships, and risks.

This paper is an attempt to clarify some aspects if this relationship, primarily as it relates to the perception of youths as victims of risk or as those who are the source of risk. The ambition of providing an answer to this complex question surpasses the limits of a single paper, but this attempt consists of the setting of guidelines on the basis of which one may create adequate strategies of prevention, as well as procedures and policies based on a good understanding of the contemporary meaning of risk among the youth population.

## ADOLESCENCE AND RISK - THEORETICAL STARTING POINTS

Stanley Hall (1904), who is considered the founder of the scientific study of adolescence, provided the first formal theory of adolescence. He considered adolescence a period of "storm and stress", one which is burdened by contrasts, swings of mood and emotion, confrontations and withdrawals. Hall commenced the perspective of deficit by describing this new developmental phase as a turbulent period, in which practically "evil" impulses are moved, and to which the society needs to provide a response from the perspective of decency, morals, and education. This makes for the beginning of the concept of adolescence as an upsetting phase of life, a vulnerable period in which negativism, introversion, and rebellion may appear (Gessell, Ilg& Ames, 1956).

In spite of their great relevance for the study of adolescence, these ideas have been rejected over time. In the view of Albert Bandura (1964), this assumption of a tempestuous adolescence is exaggerated, and is a way in which the society labels teenagers, expecting them to be rebellious, unpredictable, messy, and wild. This image has been amplified by the media representation, thus creating the cultural expectations that guide adolescents towards the role of the rebel. The society thus expects adolescence to be a period of radical tensions, thereby risking a "self-fulfilling prophecy" (Bandura, 1964, 224). He also points out that the influence of puberty on development on the whole is brokered by other changes, and that the experience of adolescence is greatly influenced by the social and cultural surroundings.

In the process of forming one's identity, this cultural context of psychological development of adolescents is of great significance. According to Erikson, this process continues during one's lifetime, as the personality passes through particular developmental stages, which are accompanied by crises of identity. Of the eight degrees of psycho-social development, it is the fifth that has a particular place in the development of identity, where the task is for a person to gain the uniqueness and individuality of one's own person. The individual who has gained a sense of his/her own identity perceives continuity between what she/he used to be, what she/he is today, and what she/he imagines she will be in the future. Though identity assumes continuity and stability, it is not something absolute, static, immovable, but rather changes with age, experience, historical and social changes (Trebješanin in Erikson, 2008). Erikson noted the relevance of the collective temporal and spatial dimension, as well as that of studying the spontaneous ways in which parts of modern societies affect the fulfilment of effective continuity of child rearing and economic development (Erikson, 2008).

The entire spectrum of the socialisation process which takes place in a socially organized context is in a relationship with the individual characteristics of the developing person, and any understanding of this process must take into account the change that over time alters both the individual and the social setting. Based on that, a multidimensional perspective is both necessary and inescapable (Jessor, 1993). The ecological and contextual theories see a child's development as a complex system of relationships. Within the framework of system theories, development is defined as a construct of different influences of ecological characteristics, social context, and the developing individual's personal traits. Kurt Lewin's (1951) field theory introduces a "psychological ecology", where the psychological environment is both apart from the social and physical environment, and interactive with it. Both the person and the environment are differentiated systems, separated by spaces demarcated by boundaries of different levels of porousness. These are in a dynamic relationship, whereby a person can be seen as a complex energy system (Todorovski, 2003, 38). The influence of a "foreign framework" or a non-psychological environment is studied by other disciplines, such as sociology, anthropology, economics, and others.

The pioneering work of Kurt Lewin was a foundation for Bronfenbrenner's theory of "joint function" which is built of multiple layers, making for a multi-system of factors that affect a child's development. The process in which the interaction of person-context-time represents a joint function makes the individual's characteristics a source and a product of development, and most importantly, any attempts to influence the dynamics of these processes also has an impact on development. Changes over times and changes in the environment represent a part of the ecological

transition and have an important role in "behavioural expectations" (Bronfenbrenner, 2005, 53). For example, technological change and the exposure of youths to technology bring about a series of relevant changes in the private environment, and in the schooling environment, all of which needs to be taken into account when designing educational programmes.

Various issues indicate that developmental psychology has evolved to a phase in which a multidisciplinary approach is reflected in complex research endeavours that include teams of researchers guided by interdisciplinary theoretical frameworks, mapping different applications and assumptions of the unfolding of adolescence. This "network of causality", containing personal, social, cultural, and institutional levels, is particularly taken into account when adolescents exhibiting risk behaviours are discussed. The accumulation of knowledge on the risk behaviour of adolescents over the past several decades shows the inadequacy of persistent explanations that focus on one variable only, such as that of self-confidence, the urban environment, personality, living surroundings, or genetic predisposition (Jessor, 1993). The complexity of the adolescent development requires a complex theoretical approach.

## THE YOUTH POPULATION AND RISK WITHIN THE SPECTRUM OF CRIMINOLOGY - INTERNAL AND EXTERNAL TRANSITION

The complex issues of adolescent transition vary across historical and cultural contexts. Here, we single out three states of adolescence that appear as the initial points of high level of risk in the post-modern and post-transition societies, in interaction with global consumerist culture.

The first one may be marked as *exclusion*. Teenagers vacillate between a desire to set themselves free from their parents (powerful carers), and a desire to stay dependent on them. Blos(1962) popularized the idea of a second individuation in which a person strives to achieve as high a level of independence as possible, and to achieve his/her unique attributes and particular potentials - because "the ego is a result of adolescence" (Blos, 1962, 136). In western societies, adolescence is a transformation that includes exclusion (separation) through rituals that are not clearly defined. Ruth Benedict (1938) noticed that numerous traditional societies provide a progressive set of steps that lead the young towards the roles and responsibilities of adulthood, while in western societies we experience a discontinuity between what we expect from children and what we expect from adults, especially when it comes to initiative (Larson, 2000). Temporary exclusion brings about the risk factors and a state of fluctuation with regard to previous "connectedness" that is meant to finish by a

successful "fixation" into adulthood. The cultural context appears as very relevant, primarily as it sets a wider definition of identity and sense of self in adolescence. A separation from a former communal living space (comfort zone) or even a temporary exclusion from it, are followed by the entrance into a new cultural space, in which the "I" is defined as a cultural construct. Identifying with idols is common in this process, sometimes standing in the way of development of a personal identity. In the spirit of recalling the metaphor of "storm and stress", the cultural and gender context become spaces in which negative identifications take place, and the causes of sexism, violence, and risk behaviour are found. Erikson considered the forming of negative identity as an outcome of the identity development in which an adolescent, despairing over the loss of identity, instead chooses "an identity perversely based on all those identifications and roles which, at critical stages of development, had been presented to the individual as most undesirable or dangerous, and yet also as most real. A negative identity marks the perception of one's core characteristics as bad or worthless, and of oneself as dangerous, evil, immoral, or inferior creature." (Erikson, 2008, 18).

However, the moral and sensual attraction of wrongdoing, the excitement and the pleasure of transgression, the search for boundaries, the thrill of wanton destruction, all represent illustrations of the "emotionality" of the offence that Katz places at the focus of his analysis of antisocial behaviour as a source of superiority (Katz, 1988). The emotional states such as humiliation, arrogance, sneering, cynicism, but also the pleasure and excitement, make the negative and criminal experience the bearers of magic and mysticism that allows young people to become more powerful players in their own life, and in the life of the society. The "ludic quality" of the act itself includes the spontaneity, chaos, and hedonism that face the embarrassment of the arrest from a position of defying the routine and monotony of everyday life. For Katz, the "feeling of superiority" represents a source of pride, and bad reputation as a sign of belonging to a parallel and special world of the chosen ones. The search for excitement and sensations does not exclude the motif of acquiring financial gain, but the greatest gain is in the acquisition of a "bad guy/bad girl" reputation, or more accurately, a personal strengthening in relation to conventional socialness. The linking of criminal acts, criminal identity, and aesthetics, makes for an "alternative deviant culture" (Katz, 1988) in which the symbols and meanings of criminality are included in the styles of collective practice (bikers' subculture, tattoos, graffiti). Many cases of problematic behaviour see fewer descriptions as responses to family stress, emotional disturbances, or adaptive insights, but are rather seen as a lack of engagement towards a positive life path. The high levels of boredom, alienation, and exclusion are (in most cases) not the signs of psychopathology, but of deficiencies of positive development (Larson, 2000).

The second phenomenon we can mark as a risk point of adolescence in a specific cultural context is the formation of an *overblown and unbalanced* ego. The instability of the adolescents' self-respect, as it is being built through the sharp battle of competition in the capitalist market, is related to the principles of western culture - materialism, competition, individualism, or an acceptance of inequality as achievement based on these principles (Hagan et al., 1998; Bohenke, 1998). The popular use of the psychoanalytical term of ego is based on a specific understanding of reality determined by the pleasure principle. This means that whatever feels good in a particular moment is considered good, and this is defined from an expressively individualistic starting point. "It is considered good that a person can achieve something by deceiving the law (to the extent that it is imposed), and by deceiving the super ego (to the extent that it causes discomfort)" (Erikson, 2008, 58). An ego thus defined marks the inappropriate and nearly unjustified self-respect. "Infantile impulses in cultural patterns" support the formation of a wavering and overblown ego that cannot be confirmed in practice, while anxiety and discomfort bring about a feeling of hopelessness, a "hunger for stimulation", and forms of depression in the shape of "being empty and being bad". The value of life and the question of financial, emotional, and physical safety are determined by status and image that are constantly broadcast by the advertising industry and the mass media. The social practice of consumerism represents the "disease of infinite aspiration" by throwing out the individual from the firm ground provided by collective moral boundaries, pushing him into anomie - a state without norms, in which the individual's integrity is threatened, which is vital for the survival of a common social existence (Durkheim, 1992, 1984, in Hall, Winlow and Ancrum, 2008). The approaching of the typically criminal value system to the values of dominant culture is created as a consequence of the dominance of neoliberal capitalism's ethics, and the consumerist and materialist culture's aesthetics. Luxury spending, absence of socialness, hierarchies, loss of solidarity, immorality, anti-social forms of societal difference all make for the "cursed portion" of criminal subculture in the reigning materialist culture (Pavićević, 2013a). This leads to a loss of control in the areas of everyday life, and at the level of individual consciousness as well.

Crime holds a significant portion of the cultural patterns that are part of a wider social and cultural engagement in the production of youth identity. The new advertising order shares its most significant values, such as unpredictability, exceptionalism expressed through extravagance and fashionable aesthetics, machismo, risk, hazard, and popularity. These tendencies are nowhere as obvious as they are in contemporary youth culture. Crime is "packaged" and advertised to young people as romantic, exciting, cool, and modern cultural symbol. Within the framework of consumerist culture, crime is aestheticised, making our experience of it primarily an aesthetic one, i.e. our collective experience of crime is given to us through the mass media. This does not indicate

a simple causal relationship between the images of violence and crime in consumerist culture of the youths' contemporary criminality, but makes the difference between the representation of violence and the search for thrills extremely blurry, particularly in youth culture (Hayward, 2002). "A strong ego, secured in its identity by a strong society, does not need, and in fact is immune to any attempt at artificial inflation. Its tendency is toward the testing of what feels real; the master of that which works; the understanding of that which proves necessary, the enjoyment of the vital, and extermination of the morbid. At the same time, it tends toward the creation of a strong mutual reinforcement with others in a group ego, which will transmit its will to the next generation." (Erikson, 2008, 60). However, in a heterogeneous global world, which is fluid and disorderly, with a multitude of cultural values, many traditional sources of self-respect and high self-assessment are nullified. In this world, there are no pre-configured demands of labour, nor there is a basic direction set in one's life and life choices, forcing the adolescents to develop motivation for the creation of order, meaning, and actions, while avoiding the fields of poorly structured choices (Larson, 2000).

Individualism, as amplified by globalisation, expands the boundaries of socialization and increases the extent to which individual differences are allowed expression (Arnett, 1995). This increases the "storm and stress" in the life and intergenerational sequences, especially when it comes to traditional societies. This brings us to the third potentially risky characteristic of adolescence, one which appears on the *continuity-discontinuity* dimension. The changes of the late modern period are altering the traditional and the "once and for all" types of life paths and careers. The relationship between these numerous possibilities and the new limitations is balancing between a certain freedom with regard to the traditional paths of maturing and an increased feeling of insecurity. The life paths are no longer determined by an adoption of a rhythmic pattern of transition from adolescence to maturity which assumes a flow from the educational process to the labour process. Instead, these uncertain and risky patterns become a constant process of decision-making through the interchange of identity sequences. A young person is responsible for her destiny, which is primarily determined by the results she can achieve in the fickle labour market. The uncertainty of a career requires risk management, as well as constant changes to the available skills, knowledge, and confidence that may bring the individual a victory on the labour market of the new economy. However, even though self-presentation, confidence, and flexibility all become crucial elements of the fulfilment of life chances in late capitalism, the changes that took place have not negated the inequalities that relate to the possibilities of seeking the required knowledge and skills (Pavićević, Kron and SimeunovićPatić, 2013).

The need for a sense of control and self-actualising makes reflexive risk an element of different

cultural and criminal practices among the youth population in a highly unstable and simultaneously controlled world (Hayward, 2002).

The rational logic of control, a calculated routine in the determination of what is acceptable or unacceptable behaviour causes the penchant for transgression, an increased irrationality and emotionality, as they are woven into the sensuality of the post-modern culture of merchandise. This is where the spiralling into these irrational responses comes from, responses for which culture becomes a locus of thrills and social annihilation, of experimentation and dissonance with regard to the rationalization of the acts of the state (Presdee, 2000). The dialectic of the search for thrills, (self)control and transgression is established in the late modern society by means of a number of practices, including crime. The criminal practices among teenagers, such as vandalism, car burning, illegal racing, peer group violence, and other forms of street delinquency are all significantly tied to the need for youthful self-expression that brings to fulfilment the control through violence, because the traditional paths for youthful stimulation have been long gone (Hayward, 2002).

When approaching the specific circumstances that exist in post-socialist societies, including the societies in the region (the former SFRY republics), one must take into account the discontinuity brought about by deep changes that all segments of the society, including the youth, have been subject to. The dynamics of ideological and cultural changes in post-socialist societies have altered both the meaning and the relation of the society to its youth (Tomanović et al., 2012). In communist propaganda, the youths were proclaimed to be the first generation of a classless and prosperous society, though this was a time when they were also more dependent on the reciprocally intertwined systems of paternalism, state care, and parental support, in the conditions of limited choice in most spheres of life (Walker and Stephenson, 2012). The feeling of social safety in the sphere of basic needs, primarily education and employment, was part of the interaction between the intertwined systems of state paternalism and parental protection. This system engendered the ultimate dependence of the youth on the state and the family in the process of fulfilment of their social status. As the results of the dominant ideology of equal opportunities, the aspirations of the youth depended a lot less on their structural background than was the case in the countries of Western Europe. The influence of the state was dominant in the process of resolving the contradictions between the aims of the youth and the potential for their realization in the socializing process (Machaček, 1998).

The economic and social changes of the 1990s have forced the young people in the region out of their firmly structured and controlled life patterns. As the risks of transition were forcing the youths

into invention of flexible strategies for moving through education, work, free time, and peer relations, the risks of individualization in the context of everyday life continue in the precarious destinations of the new social and cultural order. Rather than simple linear transitions that were typical for large groups of young people, the routes the current youths are facing are irregular and individualized in different and often forced ways.

The flexibility that has led to the altered and alterable stages of life for the youths in post-transition societies is also occurring under the conditions that have been generally marked by the enormous social costs of transition. These are characterized by a drop in production and employment, in incomes and education; and a growth in unemployment, poverty, and crime, accompanied by an ever increasing gap between the rich and the poor, gender inequality, deterioration of healthcare, and overall drop in living standards. The waves of social change in the region have hit the youths quite heavily, with a breakdown of determined rules/regulations for an undisturbed progression through the life phase of growing up and maturing as one of the most significant consequences of reforms. The painful processes of restructuring the value patterns have altered the behaviour of young people in the circumstances of disrupted relationships within the family, unemployment, and a loosening of ethical criteria. The vacillation of societal norms leads to both a flexibilisation and a confusion of the transition of youth (Wallace and Kovatchevka, 1998).

The research confirms the thesis of an "interrupted individualization", pointing thus to a preclusion of the young person's beginning of individualized ways of life: "In one way, the cultural limitations (i.e. paternalistic cultural patterns in the family which lead to an internalized infantilisation, or rather, an internalised inhibition of the self-limiting competence), and in another way, the contextual factors that make for the structural limitations: the all-encompassing, deep, and long-running societal crisis which acts in a limiting manner on individualization itself, its resources and strategies"(Tomanović, 2004, 42); "The paternalistic infantilism that dates from the socialist period is continued in the "ghettoisation of youth", narcissism, and infantile forms of subculture (Tomić-Koludrović, 1999, 178).

Lack of economic development, low standard of living, and a sharp polarization of the populace in the context of blurry value orientations brings about the perception and taking of risks, along with affecting the meaning of risk for young people. In line with the circumstances of economic marginalization and widespread forms of social exclusion, a "criminal career", "drug career", or a "leisure career" may all become relevant in the formation of the adolescent transition (MacDonald and Marsh, 2005).

While searching for social identity, self-actualisation, and fulfilment of needs of the unsettled ego, the youths in the region have more commonly been perceiving risk as a reflection of the negative. Something that may be referred to as "problematic capital" comes into being as a synthesis of the negative experiences of trouble, distrust, and cynicism. The acquisition of this "problematic personal capital" contributes to the realization of the contested potential for individual decision-making and designing an autonomous identity in an unfavourable economic, social, and cultural context. The "hierarchy of risk" is formed based on the criteria that do not interpret criminal activity as loss of reputation, but as its exact opposite.

The unstable social context in which the social position of the adolescent is temporary or insecure due to the uncertainty of materialisation of one's life plans represents a fundamental risk factor in the region. Youths who are coming of age in post-socialist countries, in which the western standards of economy and society are being rapidly established, find themselves in a new situation of uncertainty, consisting of three levels. The first one of these concerns the level of structural unemployment and uncertainty which has been introduced along with the market economy and the changes to the institutional context of the transition into professional life. The second level is related to the biographical expectations that suffer from a devaluation of traditional models of life and employment normality (the decisions are individualized, and the perspective is confusing and de-standardised). The third level refers to the uncertainty experienced as a new function of the individual in the post-communist context (Reiter, 2010). The internal and external risk link the biographical uncertainty of the individual transition into adulthood with the changes of the social and material situation in which the young person acquires her social status. This dual aspect of uncertainty stems from the collinearity of the individual and social transition, which is a dangerous state, both for the individual, and for the others.

An adequate approach to the youths and risk in post-communist societies must primarily be taking into account the existing contradiction between a stated desire for security, as inherited from the previous regime, and the current dominance of commercial interests that limit the potential of public policy in healthcare, prevention, and the protection of youth by addressing them at the level of the family, the school, and the community.

**FACTORS IN ADOLESCENTS' RISK BEHAVIOUR**

Operationalizing the concept of risk may be directed towards forecasting negative trends or outcomes, or towards the emotional, psychological, and behavioural outcomes of the "adolescent interpretation of the world" (Nakkula and Thoshalis, 2006).

In the first version, risk signifies a "set of presumed cause-effect dynamics that place an individual child or adolescent in danger of future negative outcomes. At risk designates a situation that is not necessarily current (although we sometimes use the term in that sense too) but that can be anticipated in the absence of intervention." There is no avoiding the risk of psychological risk. The complex ecology of the stressors that the young people are facing abolishes the potential of zero risk. As conducive as the life circumstances may be (good material status, family care, successful schooling), there are always situations that place a young person at risk (death of a loved one, divorce, bankruptcy, illness, and other). Regardless of the existing protective factors, these stressors may be very destructive, depending on the age, development of personality traits, and natural resources that the adolescent has at her disposal. There may be negative long-term consequences of such events.

Additionally, one should bear in mind that some characteristics of the family and the immediate surroundings may only appear as beneficial, and could show a background of pathology when deeply examined. Material welfare and comfort do not necessarily imply an acceptance of positive norms and values on the part of the adolescents,[2] and seemingly idyllic families can be dysfunctional, and hiding incest, alcoholism, emotional and physical neglect (McWhriter et al., 2012). Behavioural disturbances in upper and middle class adolescents may be linked to the negative effects of the parents' struggle in achieving a higher material status, lower quality and closeness of familial and personal relationships. The main problems faced by the privileged youths are addiction, anxiety, and depression. They have an increased, unhealthy desire to be accepted by their peers, they show a lack of closeness (especially in relation to their mother), and a propensity to cause disturbances (Luthar, 2003). In his study of upper class adolescents, Marano (2005) found that, in many cases, they have more trouble adjusting than their peers of lower social status. His study identified the parents' race to acquire material goods as the primary root of the adolescents' problems. The acquisition of wealth and status are negatively correlated to child welfare and generally lead to a lower level of adjustment, and to behavioural problems (Kasser and Rajan, 1993). Dysfunction in the family, coolness of interpersonal relationships, and a pressure to succeed

---

2   Research in Germany has found that the individuals whose parents are highly educated have a greater likelihood of high-risk behaviour (Dohmen et al., 2005).

have been identified as the main sources of alcohol and drug abuse.[3] The parents often play a vital role in these processes by creating a "toxic unity of pressure and isolation" (Levine, 2006). Risk behaviours among the youth are often motivated by "achieving status", based on the delinquent definition of success that includes the achievement of material and status success without hard work and forbearance. (Pittman, 1985, in Marsing, 2011). The delinquency of the well-off youths is explained by greater possibilities and available means of accessing drugs and alcohol (car, money, time), which the poor teenagers often lack (Pavićević, 2013b).

In that sense, the minimal risk discussed by McWhrither represents a combination of beneficial demographics, a good set of interactions in the family, in the society, and in the schools, topped by limited psychosocial and contextual stressors. Remote risk assumes negative demographics, a reduced level of positive interactions in the family, school, and in the society, along with a presence of some stressors. Adolescents facing high risks are those with unfavourable demographics, negative interactions in the family, school, society, and who are facing numerous stressors on top of that (McWhriter et al. 2012, 9). McWhriter indicates that the risk factors are multiplicative, and that a youth from a poor or dysfunctional family faces a potentially longer standing risk that the one that is not continuously exposed to these conditions, especially in circumstances of great psychosocial stress and individual traits that increase the exposure to risk.

Institutionalized structural inequalities have been identified as complex, but measurable factors that place certain youth groups at a position of risk. In spite of the dramatic social and economic changes, the existing patterns of inequality, poverty, class, gender and ethnicity are being reproduced with increased intensity (Bourdieu, 1977, Furlong andCartmel, 1997, in Sharland, 2005).

However, when it comes to high risk, both the theory and practice have been witnessing a public and educational discourse focused on "children and families at risk" that identifies poverty and social problems as the determinants of a young person being at risk. Even though this approach provides significant possibilities and ways of providing the necessary services for at-risk children and families, the sole focus on the problem of deficit creates a construct of risk that is burdened by stereotypes and lowered expectations that lead to prejudice and discrimination (Swadener and Lubeck, 1995; Swadener, 2010). The field of education needs to shift from its present tendency to

---

3   Bonding of parents and adolescents is important and significant during adolescence. Numerous studies have shown that a safe bond between the adolescent and the parent has a positive effect on the subsequent adjustment of the adolescent and her further development. The key implication of the bonding perspective is that, when children grow up in a social setting that ensures the sensitive interpersonal emotional ties, the path towards an easier adjustment during the transition of adolescence is ensured (Yan Le and Lok, 2012).

"pathologise poverty" and constructing the children living in poverty and their mothers as urban or rural "other" (Swadener, 2010). Observing the youths through the lens of deficit blurs and places the recognition of their individual capacities, strengths and uniquenesses out of focus. A warning about the limitations of the deficit approach denies its potential for articulating the attitudes and practices that promote self-actualization, successful learning, and positive expectations among the adolescents in high-risk surroundings.

The social identity of risk is a construct that places the dysfunction created by individual features (single-parent families, low income communities, disability) at the centre, while ignoring the institutional structures of inequality and systemic analysis of what brings the youths at a situation of risk (Pica-Smith and Veloria, 2012). This perspective of deficit needs to be recognized and analysed from the point of view of the creation of dangerous stereotypes that attach risk to people from marginalized communities, thus creating "marginalized identities". A greater "failure likelihood" becomes the expected outcome, instead of a development of the faith in one's own strengths, abilities, and intelligence, as well as the faith in a meaningful future for the youth in high-risk categories. The theoretical perspective that aims to elucidate the strengths and potentials, the bases and resources at all levels, personal, social, and institutional, serves as a counterpoint to the often excessive and one-sided preoccupation by risk which tends to homogenize and mock the poor (Jessor, 1993).

The adolescents' interpretation of the world bears much less resemblance to "reality" than is the case among the adults (Nakkula and Thoshalis, 2006). The former's specific socio-economic, physical, and emotional weaknesses can be the reason for their increased tendency to take risks which appear as "transitional challenge". Some authors find the psychosocial immaturity the basic factor that leads to increased risk among the youths (Steinberg and Scott, 2003). This immaturity is reflected in their giving in to peer pressure, a different relation towards the future, and a weaker capacity in the process of self-guidance. An adolescent may be cognitively mature with regard to the decision-making process, but her psychosocial immaturity may affect the outcome of that process. This outcome will more likely depend on the adolescent's calculation and assessment of costs and benefits incurred in the risky choice.

The maturation phase leads to egocentric social cognition and produces a feeling of safety from harm, which is both a source of peril, and a part of the normal developmental process. The egocentric displays of adolescence may be correlated with high-risk behaviour. The adolescents often find their newly acquired experiences and skills unique. The entire period of adolescence is

characterized by introspection, egocentricity, and orientation to self, accompanied by a sense of immunity to risk. The perception of safety from harm stems from the adolescents' propensity to reduce the odds of negative consequences of risk behaviour, which in turn affects their attitude towards risk (Greene, Mitchell and Bunton, 2000).

Attempting to achieve independence and ensure the peer's approval is accompanied by a sense of immunity that disregards the consequences of risk because, paradoxically, risky choices and behaviours are often a consequence of the increased risk an insecurity that strike the adolescents who are going through these changes. In some circumstances, risk states lead to a higher propensity to make risky choices, instead of leading to attempts to avoid risk or to overcome it in a constructive manner. This leads to the conclusion that risk appears both as a cause and as a consequence, and that strategies of prevention ought to focus on discovering and developing the attitudes, values, and skills that encourage and teach young people to respond to risk with attempts to overcome it, rather than by increasing its intensity and breadth.

According to Elkind (1984), immaturity in thought and an underdeveloped capability for formal reasoning are primary characteristics of adolescence. It is a period marked by extreme indecisiveness due to exceptional self-consciousness, and an exploration of alternative problem-solving strategies. The adolescents juxtapose the ideal imaginary world to the criticized real world they are to inherit from adults. Teenagers think that they are invincible and invulnerable, which leads them to the choice of risk behaviour (speeding, extreme sports, and other types of hyperactivity). In Elkind's view, the most prominent characteristic of adolescence is egocentrism, increased self-consciousness, and a propensity to believe that other people are as interested in them as they are interested in themselves. He refers to this phenomenon as the "imaginary audience", while the drama that takes place before it is a "personal fairy-tale" (Elkind, 1984). At the basis of this is the adolescents' belief that they are special, unique, and outside the rules that regulate the remainder of society.

Risk behaviour refers to impulsive decision-making, careless behaviour, arguments with peers, challenges to authority figures, but also some high-risk behaviours that can have far-reaching consequences for the life of a young person. Teri Moffitt (1993, 1997) discusses the sequence and development of two qualitatively different types of behavioural disorders: the life-long or persistent, and the adolescence-limited. What determines the latter is a gap in maturation and the social context of one's peers. The gap in maturation is reflected in the young person's inability to automatically achieve the goals, privileges, and responsibilities of adults (i.e. acquisition of material means) when

they become biologically mature. The adolescent behavioural disorders are not motivated by utilitarian goals, but rather by a boredom of adolescence which disappears as soon as the person takes on the adult roles (Popović-Ćitić, 2010, 74). The continuity in behavioural disorders is limited to the maturing process in the adolescence-limited type, but the consequences for the rest of the individual's life depend on several factors.

Among the numerous risk behaviours, one may single out those that appear as the most common and the most dangerous ones, and highly prevalent in youth. These are the behaviours that have high levels of lethal outcomes, that cause damage and harm to others, and that have significant negative impact on the remainder of society. In terms of health risks, the behaviours that are the leading causes of morbidity and mortality can be placed in six categories. These are the behaviours that involve injury and violence; abuse of tobacco, alcohol, and drugs; sexual behaviour that contributes to unwanted pregnancy and STDs (including HIV); poor diet; lack of physical activity (Brener et al., 2004).

The typologies of risk behaviours can be significantly broader, and categorised by the area in which the risk appears. We can thus speak of health risks - smoking, drug abuse, alcoholism; physical risks - accidental or intentional injury and death, suicide and attempted suicide, dangerous driving, possession of weapons; sexual risks - early sexual experiences, unprotected sex, multiple sexual experiences, sexual abuse; economic risks - low income, poverty and unemployment; educational risks - unequal opportunities in education, conflict with teachers, dropping out of school; criminal risks - delinquency and criminal activities; cultural risks - various types of cultural and entertainment content that may have negative consequences (pornography, misuse of the internet and social networks, gambling and betting, various sorts of extremism, sects), and cultural deficit.

Studies have shown that there is a link between different types of risk behaviour and that taking part in one increases the likelihood of taking part in another (de Looze et al., 2012). Multiple risk behaviours that simultaneously include the presence of several types of risk have been most common in practice and are seeing a tendency of increase among the youth population across Europe (Currie et al., 2008). The generalization of risk assumes an escalation of risk behaviour and spread into other categories, with the tendency of a lifelong involvement in destructive behaviour.

**Gender particularities in risk behaviour**

The variation in the individual youth's willingness to take part in risk behaviours also stems from

gender differences that are deemed to be relevant for the differing perceptions of risk and differing assessments of the outcomes of risk behaviours between men and women. Numerous hypotheses propose that the women tend to ascribe greater likelihood to expected negative outcomes, and see it as accompanied by greater emotional upset, along with a broader consideration of potential consequences. Women are generally seen as more risk averse (Eckel and Grossman, 2002). A tendency to see negative outcomes as more likely also increases women's risk aversion. The gendered effects of risk in children have been tested in a study on the perception and assessment of physical risk, and were found to be present to the extent that girls were more likely to assess the existence of general risk than boys were, including the risk of a greater number of injuries, and indicating that they were more willing to avoid risk and risk situations if they considered the injuries to be potentially serious (Hillier and Morrongiello). The gender determinants of risk significantly depend on the cultural context, and their relevance differs between the traditional patriarchal societies where women are less competitive, relative to men, and the developed Western societies where the opposite is true (Gneezy and Rustichini, 2004).

The gender specificity of risk behaviour indicates that some of them are more intense among the young men (violent fights, driving under the influence of alcohol, deadly car racing, possession of weapons), while the young women practice more self-harm (unhealthy eating practices, suicidal ideas, attempts at suicide, more prominent depressive symptoms[4]). The inclusion of the gender aspect sheds light on numerous trends that appear in the sphere of risk behaviour and its effects on the life paths of young women and men. Gender roles and gender discrimination have a role even in the effects of risk factors, which demands a careful analysis, the results of which ought to elucidate the relevance of gender in the distribution of risk across the youth population, and ought to do so while also avoiding gender stereotypes (Booth and Nolen, 2009; Hutton, 2006). The roles of dominant masculinity and expected femininity, as well as the variations on these themes, are significantly reflected in the risk discourse, as it is amplified in the process of gender identification, as well as in the attempts to question the imposed gender roles.

By analysing the correlation between education, inequality, and social identity, Connell has shown that the personality may be understood through the organization of the socially structured practice, using a method based on the research of contemporary changes in the content of masculinity (Connell, 1993, 92). It turned out that the connections of the working class families with the educational system have been severely severed, but also that the boys from wealthier social strata

---

4    Even though antisocial behaviour and the related disorders are more common among adolescent boys, it has been shown that adolescent girls are generally more worried than boys, and that their risk behaviour is more indicative of the onset of depression (Balding, 2006, in Coleman and Hagell, 2007).

were reporting pressures and alienation in some aspects of the educational process. As a response to the authority structure represented by the school, even if this representation is its soft from, the young men were showing resistance by adopting the model of "getting into trouble", a behaviour that is constantly redefined by its relation to the institutionalized power (Connell, 1993, 94). Getting into fights with other boys, quarrelling with the teachers, theft, poor educational performance, and conflicts with parents all belong to the same behavioural model. For these boys, the idyllic moments are those spent in the school bathrooms, a place that represents a borderline shelter from a repressive authority. The model of "getting into trouble" is simultaneously attractive and privilege-bearing for the boys. The ethics of revenge, defined as male pride, carries a particularly intense sexual and gender dimension, making the boys' resistance a segment of the maintenance of the existing patriarchal order in which the subordination of women is one of the ways in which manhood is expressed (Connell, 1993, 94).

The invisibility of girls in criminologist, cultural, and subcultural analyses has been criticized within the framework of explanation of the subcultural meanings that sexual behaviour, drug abuse, clubbing, and risk-taking in general have for girls (Hutton, 2006). The author finds that the conscious choice of enjoying the exciting side of risk-taking, which is at the basis of these behaviours, finds its source in the young women's need and aspiration to break the boundaries and to challenge the stereotypes and expectations related to traditional femininity. Young women's public participation in the clubbing culture challenges the cultural and subcultural hierarchies that are based on a subtle hold of the power relations of gender (Hutton, 2006). Individual relations to risk and uncertainty are connected to the extent of control that the individual has over the surrounding risks. Young women take on risk by increasing risk behaviours as they run from the demands placed on them by family, schools, and different means of dedication to the traditional understanding of femininity. Running away also has a positive connotation, and brings a sense of pleasure and thrill at the level of internal perception, while the women's acceptance of risk is socially perceived as amorality and promiscuity. The individualization of risk as the establishment of the "new femininity" holds great significance in the young women's risk decisions, which needs to be understood as part of the broader context of gender inequality.

**CONCLUSION**

Risk is part of normal development and refers to some positive results that are not part of the pathological bases of adopting certain risk behaviours. The fears are specific for the period of growing up "because the social world itself becomes less stable and predictable" (Jackson and

Scott, 1999, 88). Contemporary conceptions of youth that are intertwined with fears of serious disorders which more likely include higher risk, or even criminal behaviour, are treating the reality and the problems of youth with a lack of understanding. Youth risk behaviour is simultaneously a cultural phenomenon that must be analysed in the framework of cultural criminology, as an attempt to differentiate between the real dimension of the connection between youth and risk, from its academic and media dramatizations.

The risk of growing up in the contemporary world is no longer focused merely on the matter of survival, and its diversity stems from the new meanings it has in the sense of achieving satisfaction and liberating one from boredom. When it comes to risk, young people can develop two types of behaviour. One is related to the idea of "being at-risk" (uncertainty), while the other is a conscious acceptance of risk (choice). On the one hand, the young people appear as passive and innocent, while on the other hand, they appear as active, autonomous, and independent (Jackson and Scott, 1999, 91).

There is a tendency to perceive the youth population as a category that is in peril (of being victims of abuse, or neglect), but there is also a tendency to see them as a danger to others (delinquents and vandals) (Jackson and Scott, 1999). In that sense, they are seen both as a precious resource, and as an endangered and dangerous category. The polarization of these two approaches ignores their interactive relationship in which there is a bi-directional feedback effect of the risk factors and risk behaviour. A balanced approach to the problem of youth risk is concerned with finding the proper measure of a protective attitude that leads to an excessive desire to protect the youths or to protect oneself. This desire leads to a "pedagogical paradox" that prevents young people from attaining the maturity that risk-taking and learning from one's mistakes may offer (Sharland, 2005). On the other side of that spectrum there is an inordinate fear of transgression in the framework of a disciplinary-penal approach that reduces the unpredictability of human behaviour, the tendencies and interactions that characterize complex situations, to mere technocratic and rationalized programmes of prevention, mobilized in order to regulate danger and establish the desirable future scenarios (Kelly, 2003). A lack of understanding of the connection between youth and risk in the conditions of limited resources and a narrowing role of social work leads to a change in the concept of preventive and social practice of working with young people (Sharland, 2005). Some authors claim that there is a wide area of youth studies (Kelly, 2003), in which the definition of young people as a risk category is being brought into question. The construct of risk offers the promises of justification and technology that would regulate youth behaviour, along with promises of guiding the propensities and interests of the young people towards a "desired future". The trivialization of

risk, on the one hand, and an inexhaustible desire to achieve order and eliminate differences on the other hand, both represent the opposing reactions to the issue of risk and youth in contemporary society. Within the space bounded by these two reactions, one may seek a balance of controlled risk that still provides the possibility for the young person's self-actualization.

The further development of scholarly disciplines that deal with adolescence has made the original "deficit approach" largely a thing of the past, as the focus was shifted to the positive outcomes of youth development, with particular attention given to assistance to the youths in fulfilment of their potentials, rather than to the avoidance of risks in their development. A development of emotional literacy, emotional expression, and the other relevant skills, is encouraged and necessary for both genders, and the society as a whole (Lerner et al., 2009, 17). In spite of the limitations of the human mind, adolescents have amazing strength and potential for learning and development. The programs aimed at the youth must understand these potentials and the ways in which they develop, butalso must take into account the deep complexity of the teenagers' life and the external post-modern world of disorder and uncertainty (Larson, 2011). Regulating the adolescents' emotional being, raising the motivational capacities, and supporting self-regulation all aim to turn anger and loneliness into cooperation and empathy, and the sense of boredom and emptiness into enthusiasm for life and work. The human ecology of the post-modern world takes into account a complex relationship between the micro and macro systems that are heterogeneous and eclectic on the inside and among themselves, and are also in constant dynamics of action and reaction (Larson, 2011). The adolescent must step into this world constantly developing new competences and abilities, as well as a resistance to challenge, strategic thinking, leadership, and emotional self-regulation.

Seeking ways to turn risk into potential faces some key dilemmas: autonomy v. intervention, individual liberty v. public safety, rights v. obligations, users'view of risk v. professional view of risk (Kemshall and Wilkinson, 2011). The core principle of working with at-risk youth concerns the raising of their own positive expectations of their actions. This includes some important recommendations for working with and approaching those young persons that do not see many good opportunities ahead for themselves: do not accuse them of having low aspirations, give them an opportunity to talk about their lives, listen when they do talk, appreciate the different life experiences that they have and consider them the routes towards finding the proper approach to working with them, consider the means necessary to achieve self-confidence, be confident of own ability to work with young people, and remember that each young person has the skills and the potential to use them is solving the problems they are facing (Boeck and Fleming, 2010). Finding the right measure and taking all these aspects into account should be based on the treatment of risk

as a lever for change, and on the encouragement of positive aspects of risk - as chances for progress in the reflexive practice of both the professional, and of the user.

## REFERENCES

1. Arnett, J. J. (1995): Broad and narrow socialization: The family in the context of a cultural theory. Journal of Marriage and the Family. 57.617-628.

2. Bandura, A. (1964): The stormy decade: Fact or fiction? Psychology in the Schools. 1. 224-231.

3. Blos, P. (1962): On adolescence: a psychoanalytic interpre-tation. IL: Free Press.Glencoe.

4. Boeck, T., Fleming, J. (2010): The role of social capital and resources in resilience to risk. In:H. Kemshall and B. Wilkinson (eds.), 'Good Practice in Risk Assessment and Managment –VOL 3' Jessica Kingsley Publishers.

5. Boehnke,K. (1998): On the development of xenophobia in Germany: the adolescent years. Journal of Social Issues. 54. 586-602.

6. Booth, A., Nolen, P. (2009): Choosing to Compete: How different are girls and boys?, CEPR Discussion Papers 7214. C.E.P.R. Discussion Papers.

7. Brener, N. D., Kann, L., Kinchen, S., Shanklin, S., Grunbaum, J., Whalen, L., Eaton, D., Hawkins, J., Ross, J. (2004): Methodology of the Youth Risk Behavior Surveillance System. Morbidity and Mortality Weekly Report. 53 (1-13).

8. Bronfenbrenner, U. (2005):Making Human Beings Human: Bioecological Perspectives on Human Development. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.

9. Coleman, J., Hagell, A. (2007): Adolescence, risk and resilience: Against the odds. Chichester. West Sussex: John Wiley & Sons.

10. Collishaw, S., Gardner, F., Maughan, B., Goodman, R., Pickles A. (2004): Time trends in adolescent mental health, Journal Of Child Psychology And Psychiatry. 45 (8). November. 1350-1362.

11. Connell, R. (1993): Schools and Social Justice. Temple Univerity Press.Cambridge.

12. Currie, C., NicGabhainn, S., Godeau, E., Roberts, C., Smith, R., Currie, D., Barnekow, V. (2008): Inequalities in young people's health: Health behaviour in school-aged children (HBSC). International report from the 2005/2006 survey. Copenhagen, Denmark: WHO Regional Office for Europe.

13. deLooze, M., Pickett, W., Raaijmakers, Q., Kuntsche, E., Hublet, A., NicGabhainn, S., Bjarnaso, T., Molcho, M., Vollebergh, W., Tom terBogt, T. (2012): Early Risk Behaviors and Adolescent Injury in 25 European and North American Countries: A Cross-National

Consistent Relationship, Journal of Early Adolescence. 32 (1). 104–125

14. Dohmen, T., Falk, A., Huffman, D., Sunde, U., Schupp, J., Wagner, G. (2005): Individual Risk Attitudes: New Evidence from a Large, Representative, Experimentally-Validated Survey, IZA Discussion Paper No. 1730.

15. Dryfoos, J. G. (1991): Adolescents at risk: Prevalence and prevention. University Press.New York, Oxford.

16. Eckel, C., Grossman, P (2002): Sex differences and statistical stereotyping in attitudestoward financial risk, Evolution and Human Behavior. 23. 281–295.

17. Elkind, D. (1984): Egocentrism in adolescence. Child Development. 38. 1025-1034.

18. Erikson, E. (2008): Identitetiživotnicikilus. Zavodzaudžbenike. Beograd.

19. Gesell, A., Ilg, F. L., Ames, L B. (1956): Youth: the years from ten to sixteen. NY: Harper and Brothers Publishers.

20. Gneezy, U., Rustichini, A. (2004): Gender and Competition at a Young Age. American Economic Review Papers and Proceedings. 94 (2). 377-381.

21. Green, E., Mitchell, W., Bunton, R. (2000): Contextualizing risk and danger: An analysis of young people's perceptions of risk. Journal of Youth Studies. 3(2). 109-126.

22. Hagan, J., Heffler, G., Classen, G., Boehnke, K., Merkens, H. (1998): Subterranean sources of subcultural delinquency beyond the American dream. Criminology. 36. 309-342.

23. Hall, G. S. (1904): Adolescence: Its psychology and its relations to physiology, anthropology, sociology, sex, crime, religion, and education (Vols. I & II). D. Appleton & Co.New York.

24. Hall, S., Winlow, S., Ancrum, C. (2008): Criminal Identities and Consumer Culture: Crime, Exclusion and the New Culture of Narcissm.Willan Publishing.

25. Hayward, K. J. (2002): The vilification and pleasures of youthful transgression. In: Muncie, J., Hughes, G., and McLaughlin, E. (eds.), Youth Justice: Critical Readings, London: Open University Press.

26. Hillier, L., Morrongiello, B. (1998): Age and gender differences in school-age children's appraisals of injury risk. Journal of Pediatric Psychology. 23 (4). 229-238.

27. Hutton, F (2006): Risky Pleasures? Club Cultures and Feminine Identities, Aldershot, Ashgate Publishing Limited.

28. Jackson, S., Scott, S. (1999): Risk Anxiety and the Social Construction of Childhood. In:Lupton,D. (ed.), Risk and Socio-Cultural Theory: New Directions and Perspectives (Cambridge: CUP).

29. Jessor, R. (1993): Successful Adolescent Development Among Youth in High-Risk

Settings, American Psychologist. 48 (2). 117-126.

30. Kaseer, T., Ryan, R. (1993): A Dark Side of American Dream: Correlates of Financial Success as a Central Life Aspiration, Journal of Personality and Social Psyhology. 65 (2). 410-422.

31. Katz, J. (1988): Seductions of Crime: Moral and Sensual Attractions in Doing Evil, New York, Basic Books.

32. Kelly, P. (2003): Growing up as risky business? Risks surveillance and the institutionalized mistrust of youth. Journal of Youth Studies. 6(2). 165-180.

33. Kemshall, H., Wilkinson, B. (2011):Good Practice in Assessing Risk:Current Knowledge, Issues and Approaches. Jessica Kingsly.London.

34. Larson, R. W. (2000): Toward a Psychology of Positive Youth Development. American Psychologist. 55 (1). 170-183.

35. Larson, R.W. (2011): Positive development in a disorderly world. Journal of Research on Adolescence. 21. 317-334.

36. Lerner, R. M., von Eye, A., Lerner, J. V., Lewin-Bizan, S. (2009): Exploring the foundations and functions of adolescent thriving within the 4-H study of positive youth development: A view of the issues. Journal of Applied Developmental Psychology. 30 (5). 567-570.

37. Levine, M. (2006): The price of privilege: How parental pressure and material advantage are creating a generation of disconnected and unhappy Kids. Harper Collins. New York.

38. Luthar, S. (2003): The Culture of Affluence: Psychological Costs of Material Wealth, Child Dev. 74 (6). 1581-1593.

39. MacDonald, R., Mars, J. (2005): Disconnected Youth? Growing up in Poor Britain, Basingstoke: Palgrave.

40. Machaček, V. (1998): Youth in the Processes of Transition and Modernisation in the Slovak Republic, Czech Sociological Review. 6 (1). 103-115.

41. Marano, H. E. (2005): Teens: Suburban blues. Psychology Today. Retrieved 13, April, 2007. Retrieved 2.12.2014.from http://www.psychologytoday.com/articles/pto-20050322-000002.html.

42. Marsing, N. (2011): Upper-Class Adolescent Delinquecy: Theory and Observation. All Graduate Theses and Dissertations. Utah State University.

43. McWhirter, J., McWhirter, B., McWhirter, E., McWhirter, R. (2012): At Risk Youth, Cengage Learning.

44. Moffitt, T. E. (1993): Adolescence-Limited and Life-Course-Persistent Antisocial Behavior: A Developmental Taxonomy. Psychological Review. 100 (4). 674-701.

45. Moffitt, T. E. (1997): Adolescence-Limited and Life-Course-Persistent Antisocial Behavior: A Complementary Pair of Developmental Theories. In: Thornberry (ed.), Advances in Criminological Theory: Developmental Theories in Crime and Delinquency. London:Transaction Press. 11-54.

46. Nakkula, M. J., Toshalis, E. (2006): Understanding Youth: Adolescent Development for Educators., MA: Harvard Education Pres.Cambridge.

47. Pavićević, O. (2013a): Podkultura nasilja i kriminalna podkultura, Zbornik Instituta za kriminološka i sociološka istraživanja. 32 (2). 95-110.

48. Pavićević, O. (2013b): Klasna stratifikacija i delinkvencija − adolescent iz srednje i više klase. Sociološki pregled. 47 (4). 555-574.

49. Pavićević, O., Kron, B., Simeunović Patić, B. (2013): Nasilje kao odgovor: socijalne i psihološke implikacije krize. Beograd, Institut za kriminološka i sociološka istraživanja.

50. Pica-Smith, C., Veloria, C. (2012): "At risk means a minority kid:"Deconstructing deficit discourses in the study of risk in education and human services, Pedagogy and the Human Sciences. 1 (2). 33-48.

51. Popović-Ćitić, B. (2010): Teorijske osnove razvojne prevencije poremećaja ponašanja. U: Prevencija i tretman poremećaja ponašanja (ur.), Žunić-Pavlović, Kovačević-Lepojević. Fakultet za specijalnu edukaciju i rehabilitaciju. Beograd.

52. Presdee, M., (2000): Cultural Criminology and the Carnival of Crime. Routledge.London.

53. Reiter, H. (2010): Context, Experience, Expectation, and Action—Towards an Empirically Grounded, General Model for Analyzing Biographical Uncertainty, Forum: Qualitative Social Research. 11 (1). Art. 2.

54. Sharland, E. (2005): Young People, Risk Taking and Risk Making: Some Thoughts for Social Work.British Journal of Social Work. 36 (2). 247-265.

55. Steinberg, L., Scot, S. (2003): Less guilty by reason of adolescence: developmental immaturity, diminished responsibility, and the juvenile death penalty. American Psychologist. 58 (12). 1009 −1018.

56. Swadener, B., Lubeck, S. (1995): Children and families "at promise:" Deconstructing the discourse of risk. State University of New York Press.Albany.

57. Swadener, B. (2010): "At risk" or At Promise? From Deficit Constructions of the "Other Childhood" ti Possibilities for Authentic Alliances with Children and Families, International Critical Childhood Policy Studies. 7-29.

58. Todorovski, Z. (2003): Standardi - pro et contra sa stanovišta psihologije, Aktuelnosti iz neurologije, psihijatrije i graničnih područja. XI (1).

59. Tomanović, S. (2004): Mladi zagubljeni u tranziciji. U: Srećko Mihailović (ur.), Centar za poručavanje alternativa. Beograd.

60. Tomanović, S.,Stanojević, D., Jarić, I., Mojić, D., Dragišić Labaš, S., Ljubičić, M., Živadinović, I (2012): Mladi – naša sadašnjost. Istraživanje socijalnih biografija mladih u Srbiji.Čigoja štampa.Beograd.

61. Tomić-Koludrović, I. (1999): Skeptična generacija u postmodernizacijskom kontekstu, Politička misao. XXXVI (3). 175-193.

62. Walker, C., Stephenson, S. (2012): Youth and Social Change in Eastern Europe and the Former Soviet Union, London, Routledge.

63. Wallace, C., Kovatchevka, S. (1998): Youth cultures and consumption in Eastern and Western Europe. Youth and Society. 28. 189-214.

64. Yan Lee, T., Lok, P. (2012): Bonding as a Positive Youth Development Construct: A Conceptual Review, The Scientific World JournalVolume. Retrieved 2.12.2014. fromhttp://www.hindawi.com/journals/tswj/2012/481471/.