

Factors Preconditioning Victimization in The Crime of Involving Minors in Sexual Intercourse

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Abstract: This article provides a comprehensive analysis of the objective and subjective factors preconditioning victimization in the crime of involving minors in sexual intercourse. The impact of objective factors such as family dysfunction, social orphanhood, school bullying, and socio-material stratification (relative deprivation) on the adolescent psyche is revealed. The study evaluates adolescents' reckless virtual behavior (oversharing), gender differences, and digital victimhood as subjective catalysts. The author introduces the concept of the "victimological whirlpool" into scientific discourse to explain the synergistic combination of these factors. The necessity of transitioning in the state's criminal law policy from a traditional reactive model to a proactive prevention model aimed at developing "digital and psychological immunity" among the youth is scientifically substantiated.

Keywords: Victimogenic factors, grooming, victimological whirlpool, latent family dysfunction, oversharing, digital victimhood, social orphanhood, cyber-mahalla, cognitive-preventive gap, victim behavior.

Introduction: After researching the patterns of formation of a crime victim's identity, the next most important scientific and methodological task is to identify and systematize the causes and conditions (victimogenic factors) that turn this specific individual into a crime victim. In accordance with the requirements of the Higher Attestation Commission (HAC) and the fundamental rules of modern criminology, at this stage of the research, it is necessary to establish a strict boundary between "criminogenic factors" (general causes preconditioning the crime) and "victimogenic factors" (specific causes preconditioning victimization).

From the perspective of scientific polemics, there are various conceptual approaches among global, CIS, and national schools of criminology regarding the nature of victimogenic factors. One of the founders of the science of victimology, the world-renowned scientist Benjamin Mendelsohn, in his early research, attempted to link the condition of the victim solely to their "biological or age-related vulnerability" (e.g., childhood or old age). However, later, the prominent representative of the CIS school of criminology D. V. Rivman sharply criticized

such a narrow biological approach and scientifically substantiated that the basis of victimhood lies not only in biological vulnerability but specifically in "the individual's incorrect interaction with the social environment and their distinctive behavior". Rivman emphasizes that victimogenic factors are not merely the conditions surrounding the victim, but rather an active socio-psychological force that compels them to enter into a potential connection (criminal contact) with the criminal.

In national criminology, this concept was further refined, and the tradition of dividing victimogenic factors into two major, independent blocks: objective (the external environment independent of the victim's will) and subjective (the direct specific behavior and psyche of the victim) factors was solidified by scholars such as Academician M. H. Rustamboyev and Professor Q. R. Abdurasulova.

It must be strictly emphasized that in the crime of involving minors in sexual intercourse, mixing these two groups of factors is absolutely impermissible. This is because groomers first find an adolescent who has been left unprotected due to objective factors (e.g.,

deprivation or lack of affection in the family), and then complete the crime by manipulating their subjective factors (curiosity, gullibility).

Objective factors preconditioning the victimization of minors. The first and fundamental link of objective factors preconditioning victimization from this category of crimes is the crisis of the family micro-environment and the deformation of family control. According to initial observations and formed stereotypes, a view was widely spread that supposedly only children from troubled, extremely impoverished families or families where parents suffer from alcoholism become victims of sexual exploitation.

However, recent empirical studies and the analysis of court cases examined within the framework of the dissertation prove that this view is completely erroneous. Today, a significant portion of victims comes from families that are externally "complete" and materially "provided for."

CIS scholar V.Ya.Rybalskaya calls this phenomenon "hidden family dysfunction" in her victimological research. In this situation, parents devote all their attention and time to accumulating material wealth or building a career, completely disconnecting from the child's emotional and psychological world. Against the backdrop of strong demographic growth and socio-economic transformations in the conditions of Uzbekistan, this factor has created a unique syndrome of "social orphanhood." An adolescent growing up in an environment where parents are physiologically alive but entirely uninterested in the child's psychological world naturally attempts to fill the "vacuum of affection and attention" within themselves from the outside.

As national psychologists and victimologists emphasize, emotional coldness in the family and patriarchal-authoritarian pressure (completely ignoring the child's opinion, keeping them in constant fear) put the adolescent at a two-sided risk. On one hand, if the child seeks the attention they couldn't find in their own home from "caring" strangers on social networks, on the other hand, after a crime occurs, they cannot dare to tell their parents about it out of fear. Therefore, the objective deformation of the family environment serves not only as a factor laying the groundwork for victimization but also as the strongest shield guaranteeing the latency (remaining hidden) of the crime.

The fact that an adolescent, neglected by family attention, seeks to fill their "vacuum of affection" from the outside world, specifically from completely alien strangers in the virtual space, is clearly reflected in statistics. According to the data, almost 95 percent of

victims of crimes under Article 128 of the Criminal Code have no kinship ties with the criminal. For instance, out of 229 victims in 2024, 215 were assaulted and exploited by strangers; in 2025, it was 179 out of 192; and in the first 9 months of 2026, it was 120 out of 121 victims. Under Article 128-1 of the CC, across all years, 100 percent of the victims had no kinship ties with the criminal. These horrifying figures confirm that the majority of the crime occurs not in the closed family environment, but precisely in the external "cyber-mahalla" – as a result of dangerous communications the adolescent establishes with strangers through social networks. These indicators are the most vivid empirical evidence showing that parents have no idea who their children are communicating with, and traditional supervision is completely ineffective in the digital space.

Thus, the socio-psychological crisis in the family emerges as the primary victimogenic determinant (objective factor) of the crime of involving minors in sexual intercourse. However, the victim's external environment does not consist solely of the family; the environment in the educational institution (school) and social pressures among peers also fall into the category of the next major objective factors that accelerate the victimization process.

After the family micro-environment, the second major objective factor shaping the victimization of minors is the deformation of the socio-pedagogical environment in educational institutions (schools, lyceums, colleges) and marginalization processes among peers. In criminology and developmental psychology, the school environment is viewed as the adolescent's secondary socialization institution. If the healthy psychological climate is disrupted in this institution, the adolescent naturally falls under extremely strong victimogenic pressure.

The most dangerous manifestation of this process is bullying (systematic psychological and physical pressure exerted by peers), which is becoming widespread in educational institutions, as well as its virtual form, the phenomenon of cyberbullying. According to the scientific conclusions of the Norwegian scholar Dan Olweus, who fundamentally researched the phenomenon of school bullying, a complex of feeling isolated, useless, and unprotected (isolation) is formed in the psyche of a child who is regularly subjected to the mockery and pressure of peer.

Explaining the consequences of such isolation, a prominent researcher of adolescent psychology, I.S.Kon, emphasizes that "for an adolescent, not being recognized by peers and being expelled from the group

is the most severe social tragedy, and in such a situation, they are ready to blindly follow any alternative group or individual who understands and accepts them". It is precisely this psychological isolation at school that creates the perfect objective condition for groomers (internet predators) who sexually exploit minors. When an adolescent humiliated at school enters the virtual network and encounters an older person there who praises them and acknowledges their "beauty" or "intelligence," they perceive this communication not as a threat, but as a "salvation." The criminal, exploiting the adolescent's pain and resentment caused by their peers, rapidly gains their trust. From this, it follows that violence and a psychologically unhealthy environment at school serve as a strong victimogenic catalyst that pushes the child directly into the arms of a sex offender.

This unhealthy criminogenic environment in educational institutions and the marginalization among peers is not merely a theoretical hypothesis, but a reality confirmed by national statistics. If we look at the figures, a significant portion of the individuals who committed crimes under Article 128 of the Criminal Code is directly comprised of pupils and students of educational institutions. In particular, out of 270 individuals who committed crimes in 2024, 64 (including 36 school pupils, 15 college/lyceum students, and 13 university students), 55 out of 227 individuals in 2025, and 24 out of 145 criminals in the first 9 months of 2026 were precisely learners at educational institutions. The fact that young people studying in educational institutions themselves are turning into criminals proves how deep the "cognitive-preventive gap" is in schools and lyceums, that violence and deviant processes among students are left without sufficient control, and that this environment itself has become the strongest source of victimogenic risk.

Furthermore, the "cognitive-preventive gap" in the education system is also considered an independent objective factor that increases victimhood. As our national criminologists, particularly I.Ismailov and M.Z.Ziyodullaev, rightfully emphasize, in the conditions of modern globalization, school curricula limited only to preventing traditional offenses cannot respond to today's criminal threats. The lack of systematic implementation of explicit psychological and legal lessons in the education system – adapted for minors and corresponding to their age characteristics – on "digital hygiene," virtual security rules, and, most importantly, the protection of sexual inviolability leaves adolescents completely unarmed, naive, and ignorant before criminals. Such educational deformation objectively reduces the victim's ability to foresee a criminal trap (predictive analysis) to zero.

The third major objective factor preconditioning victimization in the crime of involving minors in sexual intercourse is deprivation in the economic-material environment and the phenomenon of "relative deprivation." Although the relationship between crime and poverty has been studied many times in the history of criminology, today's victimization processes are not explained solely by absolute poverty (hunger or homelessness). On the contrary, victims of modern sexual exploitation are often becoming victims of a "consumer society."

To scientifically explain this phenomenon, the thoughts of American sociologist and criminologist Robert Merton are considered of significant importance. The scientist emphasizes that society promotes certain symbols of success (expensive clothes, the latest smartphone models, a luxurious lifestyle) through mass media as a single goal for everyone. However, society cannot create equal legal opportunities for all strata to achieve these goals. As a result, strong "social tension" arises in the psyche of individuals who cannot legally attain these riches but do not want to be left behind by society (their peers), and they begin to seek illegal or deviant paths to reach the goal.

If we apply this macro-sociological theory to juvenile victimology, the picture becomes completely clear. An adolescent who daily observes a luxurious life and expensive items through social networks (Instagram, TikTok) develops a feeling of "relative deprivation," meaning a complex of feeling poorer and unhappier than others. Because their parents cannot provide them with the latest model phone or expensive clothes, the desire to find easy and fast money becomes a priority motive for the adolescent. The organizers of the crime successfully exploit precisely this objective economic vulnerability of the victim.

An analysis of court materials shows that in many cases, criminals do not initially openly invite the victim to engage in sexual intercourse. "Understanding" the adolescent's economic needs, they make the adolescent financially dependent by giving them expensive gifts, taking them to restaurants, or transferring money to their account. Once the minor acquires the desired material goods in a short time and without labor, they fall into a weak-willed state where they psychologically cannot say "no" to the sexual conditions set by the criminal (initially sending a photograph, then meeting and engaging in sexual intercourse). Thus, the sharp socio-material stratification in society and the high level of consumer culture are the strongest determinants that turn adolescents into objective victims of the commercialized sex market.

In the complex of causes determining the crime of involving minors in sexual intercourse, no matter how strong and decisive the objective factors (family, school, economic environment) are, the direct, physical realization of the crime does not occur in the absolute majority of cases without subjective factors (victim behavior) related to the victim's inner world. According to the theory of criminology and victimology, subjective factors represent a set of psychophysiological, moral, intellectual, and age-related individual characteristics of the potential victim, which prompt the criminal to commit a specific criminal act or create favorable conditions for them to carry out this act.

In studying the subjective nature of the victim, the conceptual views of V.I. Polubinsky, a prominent representative of the CIS school of criminology, hold extreme scientific importance. The scientist emphasizes that the victim's behavior is never neutral in the mechanism of a crime; it either hinders the crime or, conversely, through its frivolity, gullibility, and irresponsibility, acts as a unique "psychological catalyst" for the criminal. In crimes of involvement, precisely such victim (vulnerable and sometimes provocative) behavior of minors emerges as the main subjective determinant.

The first and strongest manifestation of subjective factors is the psychological rebellion and the drive for independence inherent in the transition period. I.S. Kon, a leading specialist in child and adolescent psychology, refers to adolescence in his fundamental research as the "earthquake of the personality." According to the scientist's scientific conclusions, against the background of hormonal changes, an extremely strong, irrational need forms in adolescents aged 13-16 to reject the authority of adults (particularly parents and teachers), quickly escape their control, and present themselves as an "independent, adult person" before their peers or the outside world. It is precisely this "rebelliousness" that psychologically distances the adolescent from their own family and directs their attention to the external, unknown environment (the street or the virtual space). Groomers and pimps sense this subjective need in the adolescent very well: they interact with the adolescent as a "peer" or as a "friend who respects their independence," easily penetrating their inner world.

As an even more dangerous subjective manifestation of this process, it is criminologically necessary to specifically highlight the provocative behavior of minors. Of course, here we absolutely do not speak from a position of blaming the victim. However, scientific objectivity requires acknowledging that the steps taken unconsciously (or with the aim of showing off) by the adolescent themselves often play a decisive

role in the commission of the crime. Today, many teenage girls and boys post revealing, sometimes erotic, photographs on social networks to gather more "likes," gain attention, or appear older; they falsify their age on their profiles and easily engage in "romantic" or flirtatious correspondence with strangers.

The well-known victimologist T.V. Varchuk classifies such behavior as "reckless and provocative victimhood of the victim". According to the scholar, through these actions, the adolescent is merely seeking virtual attention; however, for the sexual predator (pedophile or commercial exploiter) on the other side of the screen, this content is interpreted completely differently – as a direct signal that "the child is ready, they want it themselves," which awakens an erroneous and criminal motive. Consequently, a minor's attempt to act like an adult (and sexually) without realizing the real danger is the most dangerous subjective factor that legitimizes (justifies) and accelerates the criminal's actions.

Within the system of subjective factors, a lack of life experience, extreme gullibility, and cognitive naivety also occupy central positions. The majority of underage victims do not possess the capacity for critical thinking (distinguishing reality from falsehood). They blindly believe in a little attention shown by the criminal, trivial material gifts, or false promises about a "beautiful life." In addition to this, the fact that topics of sexual education, personal boundaries, and bodily inviolability are considered unofficial "taboos" (closed topics) in our national mentality and in most families leaves adolescents completely ignorant and uneducated in this regard. Since the child does not learn from their family what is permitted and what is not regarding their own body, or what situation constitutes a dangerous signal, they perceive the criminal's manipulations as a normal situation or a "display of affection." It is precisely such psychological and moral ignorance that constitutes the highest peak of subjective victimization.

Continuing to study subjective victimogenic factors, it is necessary to scientifically acknowledge that the mental and behavioral vulnerabilities of minors differ sharply according to gender characteristics. As Yu.M. Antonyan, a prominent representative of criminal psychology and victimology, emphasized in his fundamental research, the mechanism of becoming a crime victim operates on the basis of completely different socio-psychological algorithms in the male and female (boy and girl) psyche. In the crime of involving minors in sexual exploitation, these gender differences serve as the main criterion for criminals when choosing a manipulation strategy.

The subjective victimhood of girls is often manifested

through a striving for emotional-affective dependence and the idealization of relationships. Adolescent girls in the transition period are in extreme psychological need of a person embodying a "caring, understanding, and protecting" figure in order to fill the deficit of affection in the family. In modern criminology, such a manipulative method used by criminals against girls is called "love bombing." Initially, the groomer makes no sexual demands; instead, they listen to the girl's pain, write poems to her, shower her with compliments, and thereby create the illusion of an "ideal lover" in the girl's mind. In this situation, the subjective vulnerability of the girl is that, due to a lack of real-life experience, she perceives such an artificial emotional attack by a virtual or older man as true love, and blindly submits to any subsequent demands of the criminal (including those of a sexual and commercial nature).

The victimization of boys, on the other hand, is built on a completely different basis of subjective factors. Criminological trends in recent years show that the rates of boys becoming victims of this crime are also increasing. Their subjective vulnerability is primarily associated with the desire for financial independence (finding fast money) and an addiction to cyber-gaming culture. Criminals mainly observe boys on online gaming platforms (in chats), hooking them by transferring virtual money (donations) for the game or offering "easy income jobs."

Furthermore, in the victimology of boys, the national mentality and the stereotypes of a patriarchal society serve as an extremely severe subjective factor. Due to artificial demands of masculinity formed in society, such as "boys don't cry" and "a man must be able to protect himself," teenage boys who have been subjected to sexual assault or exploitation consider telling someone about it to be an enormous disgrace (a trampling of pride) for themselves. As a result, the phenomenon of "hyper-latency" (extreme hiddenness) emerges in the victimization of boys, which allows the criminal to keep them under fear and blackmail for many years, exploiting them for commercial purposes.

This phenomenon of "hyper-latency" in the victimization of boys and the fact that they are increasingly becoming targets of criminals find numerical confirmation in the statistics of recent years. Although girls make up the absolute majority of victims, the number of sexual exploitation and depraved acts committed against boys is growing. In particular, while the number of boys victimized under Article 129 of the Criminal Code was 7 in 2024, this figure doubled to 14 in 2025, and has already reached 10 in the first 9 months of 2026. Likewise, under Article 128, the victimization of boys has been officially and steadily recorded every year. In our opinion, these officially

exposed cases are merely a very small part of the real picture. It can be firmly predicted from a criminological standpoint that the real number of boys who do not report due to the complex of "shame and pride" in society, especially those recruited through cyber-gaming platforms, may be several dozen times higher than these figures.

The most modern and rapidly growing trend among subjective factors preconditioning victimization is virtual-digital victimhood and the phenomenon of "oversharing" (sharing too much information). For today's adolescents (Generation Z and Alpha), the digital space has already become their second, and sometimes primary, life. As information security and cyber-criminology expert A.V. Mayorov emphasizes, the modern cybercriminal does not need to roam the streets looking for a victim; potential victims themselves compile an "open dossier" about themselves on social networks and place it right in front of the criminal.

Conducting a victimological analysis of the daily behavior of adolescents on social networks (on platforms such as Instagram, TikTok, Telegram), we see that they are unconsciously putting themselves at risk. The phenomenon of oversharing is manifested in the fact that adolescents constantly post their real-time geolocations, schools, family problems, and even their mood for the day (depression, resentment towards parents) on the network.

According to the scientific research of international cyber-victimology researchers S. Hinduja and J. W. Patchin, adolescents who actively display their negative emotions (for example, "no one understands me," "I'm tired of life") on social networks are considered the easiest and fastest "targets" for sexual predators. This is because the criminal processes this information, tells the adolescent exactly the words they want to hear, and strikes at their most vulnerable point. In this situation, the subjective victimhood of the victim is manifested in their absolute lack of skills to protect their personal boundaries and their blind trust in the "anonymity" of the virtual space.

Thus, the analysis of subjective victimogenic factors shows that the crime of involving minors in sexual intercourse is not merely the product of external violence. In many cases, it emerges as the logical and tragic conclusion of the victim's gender-psychological needs, pubertal rebellion, provocative actions, and self-exposing behavior in the digital space. The criminal operates in this process like a law of nature: they find the psycho-social void that has appeared within the adolescent and skillfully fill it for their own malicious purposes.

In the process of studying the determinants preconditioning the crime of involving minors in sexual intercourse from a purely criminological point of view, we have scientifically and methodologically classified the objective (external environment) and subjective (internal behavior) factors separately above. However, in real criminogenic reality, these factors never act separately or in isolation from one another. The latest achievements of modern criminology and victimology science indicate that the victim falling into a criminal trap is not merely a mechanical sum of various factors, but the direct product of the cumulative effect resulting from their mutual combination.

To scientifically substantiate this complex socio-criminological process, it is necessary to refer to the theory of "dynamic interaction between the victim and the criminal" by one of the founders of the science of victimology, German criminologist Hans von Hentig. H. von Hentig defines crime not as a one-sided assault, but as a unique "criminal duet" involving the criminal and the victim. The scholar emphasizes that the victim, through their vulnerability and lifestyle, "shapes" the criminal and "invites" them to commit a crime under specific conditions. If we apply this classical theory to today's crimes of involving minors, we see that family and school problems (objective factors) erode the adolescent's psyche, which leads to their provocative and gullible behavior on the internet (subjective factors), ultimately creating an ideal opportunity for the criminal.

To explain the mechanism of the mutual intersection of these factors, the dissertation author proposes the concept of the "victimological whirlpool." The "victimological whirlpool" is a process in which an adolescent is successively disconnected from social protection systems and gradually falls under the complete control of a criminal. This whirlpool operates on the basis of the following strict criminological algorithm:

The first stage (the wide part of the whirlpool – the macro-objective environment): The child initially becomes a victim of "latent dysfunction" within the family. For example, parents leaving for long-term labor migration and leaving the child in the care of close relatives, or the child being emotionally neglected as a result of constant conflicts in the family. At this stage, the child is not yet a victim of a crime, but their basic psychological protective shield is cracked.

The second stage (the narrowing of the whirlpool – the micro-objective environment): Finding no support from the family, the child turns to the school environment (peers). However, educational deformation, bullying, or the feeling of being poorer (relative deprivation)

there isolate them even further. At this point, the accumulating pressure of objective factors reaches its peak.

The third stage (the bottom of the whirlpool – subjective transformation): Psychologically squeezed out of the two largest social institutions (family and school), the adolescent now begins to search for a unique subjective "salvation," and finds this salvation in the virtual space. Hiding their real problems on social networks, they create an idealized and sometimes revealing (provocative) image, attempting to assert their place in society through virtual attention and money.

Investigating such a step-by-step formation of victimhood, V. A. Tulyakov, one of the leading scholars of the CIS school of criminology, calls it the "social mechanism of victim behavior". The scholar emphasizes that the victim's pre-crime behavior does not appear suddenly; it is the refraction of social contradictions in the individual's psyche, manifested in a deviant form.

The most dangerous criminological phenomenon in this synergetic process is that modern sexual exploiters are not merely random aggressors, but skilled "criminological profilers" (analyzers of the human psyche). They find a child who is at some stage of the "victimological whirlpool" and play the exact role of whatever the child is missing. If the child lacks a father's love, the criminal presents themselves as a caring "father" or advisor; if the child is humiliated at school, the criminal becomes their "only true friend" and protector; if the child has financial problems, they become a generous "sponsor." By artificially filling all the voids in the adolescent's life, the criminal completely envelops them at the very bottom of the funnel, making them entirely dependent for the purpose of sexual exploitation.

Within the scope of the Republic of Uzbekistan, it is of scientific importance to address the unique national characteristic of these synergetic factors. The institution of the mahalla, which has served for centuries as a strong institution of social control and a means of victimological protection in Uzbek society, is losing its traditional control function to a certain extent under the conditions of urbanization and globalization. As emphasized in national criminological studies conducted under the leadership of Professor M. H. Rustamboyev, the weakening of public control and the unrestricted access of minors to the information space are creating a "legal and moral vacuum".

Today, the place of the mahalla is being taken over by a borderless, anonymous "cyber-mahalla" (virtual society) completely devoid of any moral filters. The

concept of a "capable guardian" in M. Felson's aforementioned theory does not work at all in cyberspace, since a parent or a mahalla activist is deprived of the ability to see and prevent the criminal communication taking place inside the child's smartphone. Consequently, the failure of traditional social control to adapt to the digital space serves as an independent systemic determinant that multiplies the strength of both objective and subjective victimogenic factors tenfold.

In conclusion, the factors preconditioning victimization in the crime of involving minors in sexual intercourse operate in the form of a complex and interconnected chain. Family alienation (an objective factor) forms an internal dependence and a need for attention in the adolescent (a subjective factor), which in turn leads to reckless behavior and oversharing in the digital space (a subjective-virtual factor), ultimately creating an ideal foundation for psychological manipulation by the criminal. The absence of preventive intervention at any link in this chain leads to the inevitable commission of the crime and irreversible psychological trauma for the victim.

As a result of a deep criminological and victimological analysis of the objective and subjective factors preconditioning victimization in the crime of involving minors in sexual intercourse, the following final scientific conclusions and conceptual proposals were developed:

First, the primary objective factor preconditioning victimization is not absolute poverty, but rather "latent dysfunction" and emotional neglect within the family. It has been scientifically substantiated that the syndrome of "social orphanhood," which forms in adolescents who are left in a vacuum of affection and attention despite having living parents, completely disarms them in the face of psychological manipulations by criminals.

Second, bullying (isolation by peers) in educational institutions and sharp socio-material stratification in society have been recognized as the strongest victimogenic catalysts forcing adolescents to seek salvation in alternative, yet dangerous, social groups and the virtual space.

Third, the subjective behavior of minors (hormonal rebelliousness during puberty, the drive to escape adult control) plays one of the decisive roles in their victimization. Without blaming the victim, it must be emphasized that the gullibility of adolescents unaware of the real danger and their "provocative" actions on social networks act as a direct signal that triggers the criminal motive for the offender.

Fourth, it was confirmed that the mechanisms of falling

into a criminal trap differ sharply according to gender characteristics. While the victimization of girls primarily occurs through emotional dependence and romanticization ("love bombing"), that of boys is based on financial dependence, cyber-gaming, and the hyper-latency resulting from the "shame of asking for help" in society.

Fifth, traditional victimogenic factors have today entirely migrated to the virtual space. The excessive sharing of open information by adolescents about their lives, feelings, and locations on social networks is creating an ideal "victim dossier" for cybercriminals.

Sixth, as a consequence of the failure of traditional social control institutions (the family and the mahalla) to adapt to the digital space, minors are left under the influence of an anonymous "cyber-mahalla" devoid of any moral filters. This demonstrates the absolute absence in the virtual environment of "guardians" who can prevent criminal threats.

Seventh, the factors preconditioning victimization do not operate separately, but in a synergistic manner. According to the concept of the "Victimological whirlpool" put forward by us, the adolescent initially disconnects from the macro-environment (family and school), then subjectively moves toward virtual risks, and ultimately falls under the complete psychological and physical control of a criminal who can skillfully fill all the voids.

Eighth, based on the above analyses, it is scientifically argued that in national criminology and law enforcement practice, the stereotype of "victim-blaming" must be completely abandoned, and the causes of the crime must be sought not in the adolescent's "depravity," but precisely in the failure of the protective functions of external institutions. Consequently, it is a strategic necessity for the state's prevention policy to transition from a reactive model (post-crime punishment) to a proactive model that supports the institution of the family and forms the "digital and psychological immunity" of minors early on. It is exactly this conceptual conclusion that will serve as the foundation for developing institutional, digital, and procedural prevention mechanisms (including profiling and special registries) in the next chapter of the dissertation.

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