#Jashstan2: Youth as Agents of Peace and Stability in Kyrgyzstan

Conflict Assessment and Baseline Report

Search for Common Ground
Kyrgyzstan
2019

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Abbreviations and acronyms

FGD - Focus Group Discussion
HIV/AIDS - Human immunodeficiency virus infection and acquired immune deficiency syndrome
IDI - In-depth interview
KII - Key Informant Interview
OVC - "Orphans and vulnerable children" World Bank's program
OECD - The Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development
UNDP - United Nations Development Program
UNPBF - United Nations Peacebuilding Fund

Executive Summary

This is to summarize the findings of the baseline survey conducted within the UNPBF-funded "Youth as Agents of Peace and Stability in Kyrgyzstan" project. The purpose of the study was to measure the extent of correlations between the vulnerability and susceptibility of marginalized youth to radicalization leading to violence. The study also identified the most-at-risk youth in the 15 target communities and stakeholders and developed the recommendations to tailor the project activities to the specific needs and grievances of the targeted youth while considering gender differences and contextual factors specific to each of the project communities.

The key research question to be responded by this study was *To what extent are marginalized youth groups (especially children of labor migrants, children/young relatives of returnees from combat zones and of detainees on the basis of extremism charges, and youth who are registered at local juvenile police for committing crime) susceptible to radicalization leading to violence?*

To answer the research questions the research applied desk-review to reveal the main conclusions of the existing literature on vulnerability of youth to radicalization leading to violence, KIIs with stakeholders, IDIs with young men and women from the target groups, FGDs with youth in piloting communities and Psychological testing for pre-selected young in the methodology.

The findings show that *youth vulnerability* came out of the progressive accumulation of negative experiences with social institutions which eventually result in social disconnectedness. Among the youth in the ages of 14-28, the adolescents of 14-28 year are more vulnerable due to psychological and social challenges during the transition from childhood to adulthood. It was found out that there is a need for special training for teenagers, especially given the increasing complexity of contemporary life during the preparatory stage (adolescence) for adulthood. In target locations, however, contextual factors such as migration, the weakening of relevant institutions (family, school) do not prepare the full-fledged adolescent for adulthood and, therefore, threaten the stability of the country to a certain extent. The research finds out that new technology (smartphones, internet, social media) and religion (religious leaders, mosques and madrasa) play an influential role in youth education.

The analysis of the responses of all of the actors (teenagers, parents and schools) shows that there is a tension between teenagers and school and between parents and their children, especially during the period of adolescence. Although factors like telephones and strict requirements for teachers and parents are the catalysts of the open conflict, the root causes lie in the age difference, socio-economic shortages and the ability of adults to listen, in terms of time and capacity, to the needs of the children.

1. **Introduction**
   1.1. **Brief information about the project**

The project "Youth as Agents of Peace and Stability in Kyrgyzstan" (#JashStan 2) is funded by the United Nations Peacebuilding Fund (UNPBF). The 18 month-project runs from January 2019 to July 2020. This project is a cost extension of its phase 1 (#Jashstan 1) implemented since 2017. Given the opportunity gained during the Phase I through the 162 'youth-at-risk' who built a cohesive and genuine relationship with elderly counterparts acquiring trust for collaborative community issue solutions, the project during Phase II targets 15 communities to work with even more vulnerable

youth: young females and males aged 14-28, including children of labor migrants under 18; children/young relatives of returnees from combat zones and of detainees on the basis of extremism charges; and youth registered with local juvenile police for committing a crime.

The overall goal of the project is to increase the resilience of the most-at-risk youth in Kyrgyzstan to radicalization leading to violence. The expected outcomes to achieve are:

- Outcome 1: The targeted most-at-risk youth[1] are empowered to influence the decision-making process for more inclusive policies around marginalized youth issues.
- Outcome 2: The target youth are engaged and supported by a more enabling environment of key stakeholders that are responsive to the issues and grievances that most-at-risk youth face.

1.2. Purpose of conflict assessment and baseline survey

The study has two components of equal importance: conflict assessment and baseline survey. Both components attempts to ensure conflict-sensitive pre-defined interventions such as the selection of communities, target youth and delivery of activities. The purpose of the assessment is to identify the most-at-risk youth in the 15 target communities and measure the extent of correlations between the vulnerability and susceptibility of marginalized youth to radicalization leading to violence. It explores in a greater sense the push and pull factors of radicalization specific for young men and women in each of these youth categories as well as in each of the target communities.

The assessment identifies stakeholders and their needs, interests and positions, determines the entry points for engaging the most-at-risk youth and serves as a foundation, if necessary, to tailor the project activities to the specific needs and grievances of the targeted youth from three cohorts while considering gender differences.

The baseline survey assesses the status quo in the needs and attitudes of the project direct beneficiaries' and draw the social and psychological portrait of each of the target youth groups. It also determines the basic value of outcome and output indicators against which to monitor and evaluate the progress (*Attachment 1: Logical Framework with baseline values determined*).

1.3. Research questions

The study will be guided by the following key research questions

1. *To what extent are marginalized youth groups (especially children of labor migrants, children/young relatives of returnees from combat zones and of detainees on the basis of extremism charges, and youth who are registered at local juvenile police for committing crime) susceptible to radicalization leading to violence?*
    a. *What is the definition of 'youth-at-high-risk', 'marginalized youth' 'vulnerability to radicalization', 'susceptibility to radicalization'?*
    b. *What are the indicators/common features of youth vulnerability as well as the factors of vulnerability?*
    c. *What is the correlation between the vulnerability and the susceptibility of marginalized youth to radicalization leading to violence?*

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[1] Most at risk youth are: 1. those young men and women affected by direct and indirect implications of labor migration, especially the ones left behind by their parents, who miss parental care; 2. boys and girls and young relatives of returnees from combat zones and imprisoned on extremism charges, especially from secular-religious divided communities, and 3. under the age of 18 young people who are at local juvenile police list for committing crime.

2. *What are the push and pull factors of radicalization for young men and women in target communities?*
3. *Who are the major stakeholders influencing the youth involvement in radicalization and violent acts?*
4. *What is the status quo in the needs and attitudes of the project direct beneficiaries'?*

1.4. Methodology

The study was conducted by Search DM&E in Kyrgyzstan, Ms Rakiia Abdurasulova and Ms. Cholpon Nurgalieva with the support of Senior DM&E Specialist for Asia, Shiva Dhungana. The team developed the methodology, piloted data collection instruments and analyzed the findings. The primary data was collected by consultants Mr. Mirajidin Arynov and Ms. Nurai Syrgak kyzy and the secondary data for literarure review by Diana Asanalieva.

The study comprises both qualitative and quantitative methods of data collection. The various tools used for data collection are described briefly below.

Desk review scanned the existing literature dealing with the vulnerability and the susceptibility of marginalized youth to radicalization leading to violence and reveals their main conclusions. It also reviewed secondary data (statistics) about vulnerable youth with a specific focus on three categories of youth (children of labor migrants under 18; children/young relatives of returnees from combat zones and of detainees on the basis of extremism charges; and youth who are registered with local juvenile police for committing crime) in target communities.

Field data collection applied both quantitative (questionnaires) and qualitative methods especially KIIs and FGDs. The number of FGDs and KIIs by location is in the table below. Given the sensitivity of the research topic, the primary data collection tools were designed in consultation with the Head of Juvenile Affairs Inspectorates in the Ministry of Internal Affairs and Leading Specialist in School Education of the Ministry of Education of the Kyrgyz Republic. The main methodological approaches used in this assessment are as follows:

Focus Group Discussions

1) At the initial stage of data collection, there were two meetings with juvenile police; one in the south and one in the north, with the participation of representatives from the Ministry of Internal Affairs to get access to juvenile personnel both during this study and throughout the implementation. The participants learned about the goal and objectives of the project, criteria to select target youth and about their own roles in conflict assessment as well as in the project implementation. Their role in the collection was to provide a list of youth who have had conflicts with the law and of those who may be influenced to get involved in crime and share their opinion in FGDs.

FGDs with these juvenile police personnel which goes as a second part of the meeting aimed at revealing a portrait of each of the target groups[2], types and frequency of conflict and crime committed by these groups and the push and pull factors of radicalization specific to each of the target groups. The police personnel discussed their experiences, the process and methods with which they have dealt with the children and their advice on how to deal positively with these children. In the discussion, the

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[2]children of labor migrants; children/young relatives of returnees from combat zones and of detainees on the basis of extremism charges; and youth who are registered at local juvenile police for committing crime

police personnel also shared their opinions and evidence on the manifestation of vulnerability and susceptibility of youth to radicalization leading to violence.

FGDs with youth groups that the project intends to target: children of labor migrants between the ages of 14-18; and youth between the ages of 14-18 who are registered with local juvenile police for committing a crime. The participants of these focus group discussions were mobilized by social pedagogues in their locations based on the criteria listed in the sampling section below. Youth groups were also divided by gender and ethnicity to ensure open conversation without a sense of fear and insecurity.

In-depth interviews (IDIs) children and with youth

1) It was planned to get an access to the children/relatives of detainees on the basis of extremism in cooperation with social workers, social pedagogues, juvenile police, National Security Agency officials or informal networking and conduct with them IDIs. Focus-group discussion was not considered given the sensitivity of the topic especially for the children/relatives of individuals detailed on the charges of extremism. The piloting of the instruments in Alle-Anarov and Arslanbob showed that even though the youth in this category have been identified, this was not possible to get consent for an interview with them. Due to this concern about the religiosity of youth, the researchers further included the children who dropped out of state secular schools and joined religious schools (madrassas) to be interviewed. This gave, to a certain extent, an understanding of how public and religious schools deal with vulnerability of youth.

2) IDIs were also conducted with labor migrants and those youth aged 19-28 years who are registered with the local juvenile police for committing a crime since it was challenging to bring people of this age category to conduct a focus group. The piloting of data collection instruments showed the necessity to interview youth above the age of 19 separately from the younger age groups since they are not in school and they have other priorities.

Key Informant Interviews (KIIs)

1) KIIs with other key stakeholders of the project: social pedagogies at schools, social workers at the municipal government offices as well as parents or extended family members who are responsible for taking care of children left behind by migrant parents. KIIs have cross-checked whether the youth categories identified as vulnerable by the project are also considered vulnerable by these stakeholders. Some of the local social workers and social pedagogues have been assessing the vulnerability of youth under the age of 18 and sent their reports to the state officials who are in charge of children's affairs at the rayon level. Once the report is completed, the commission on children's affairs is expected to furnish an analysis and develop recommendations for the relevant state agencies.

The interviews with these stakeholders collected opinions and evidence demonstrating the extent of vulnerability of each of the marginalized youth groups aged 14-28 and the correlation of their vulnerability with the susceptibility to radicalization leading to violence. Also it helped to understand the role of each of these stakeholders in youth affairs and the extent of influence of each actor on youth education and attitudes. The table below demonstrates the data collection instruments and quantity.

Instrument	Quantity
FGD with youth	34
FGD with parents	6
FGD with juvenile police officers	2
KII with social pedagogues	19
KII with social workers	17
IDI with youth, aged 14-18	23
IDI with youth, aged 19-28	23

Psychological test (drawing exercises for youth[3])

Following the FGDs and IDIs, the targeted youth take a **psychological test** House, Tree, Man**.** (DDH) is one of the most famous projective methods. The test is intended for both adults and children. The study can be conducted both in a group and individually. Preference is given to individual testing, which provides great opportunities for observation. Based on the drawings of the youth, a psychologist made an analysis to diagnose various aspects (extent of vulnerability) of each of the youths who represent the project target groups (children of labor migrants; children/young relatives of returnees from combat zones and of detainees on the basis of extremism charges; and youth who are registered with local juvenile police for committing a crime) and are defined as 'vulnerable' and 'difficult to work with' by social pedagogues and juvenile police personnel in terms of their aggressive attitudes. This allowed a comparison of our hypothesis about the vulnerability of the three cohorts against the psychological diagnosis of vulnerability based on the interpretation of their pictures. In each community up to 20 youth found as vulnerable (and therefore local social pedagogues and juvenile personnel have been working with them) between the ages of 14-28 were requested to undergo a psychological test. At least 15 young people representing one of the three groups the project intends to target (identified as vulnerable by social pedagogues and juvenile personnel) and therefore participating in FGDs and IDIs took the test in each of the fifteen locations.

Based on qualitative data collected through interviews and focus-group discussions and psychological test results the project selects its direct beneficiaries. In the first stage of the selection process 150 young people (ten per community) out of a total of 225-300 are selected.

Baseline survey: questionnaire

The status quo in the needs and attitudes of the 150 pre-selected youth is determined through questionnaires consisting of both close-ended and open-ended questions. The questionnaire also identified the willingness and availability of the pre-selected youth to participate in the project activities. In addition, there were meetings with the parents to assess the interest of parents to support the participation of their children in the project. As a result, considering also the recommendations of a psychologist about the extent of susceptibility of each of the participants who gave a

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[3] children of labor migrants; children/young relatives of returnees from combat zones and of detainees on the basis of extremism charges; and youth who are registered at local juvenile police for committing crime

psychological test to violence, 90 direct beneficiaries (six from each community) were identified to target and the rest will remain as alternatives in case someone drops the project out of 150 participants (ten from each community). This goes as a recommendation to involve those who meet the selection criteria, but are not selected, in the public activities organized within the frame of this project to ensure 'do no harm'.

Sampling: The study covers all 15 project target areas as well as 2 communities (control groups) to study factors specific to each community. The control groups (communities) were selected from 27 communities targeted by the Phase I of #Jashstan project but not selected for Phase II with similar opportunities and challenges for youth. One community was selected in the north, another in the south.
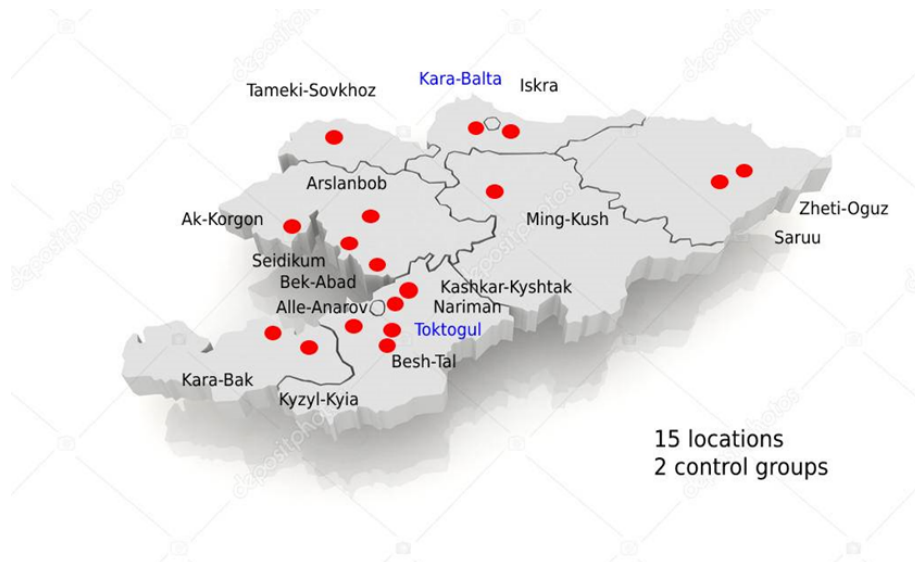
In each project site (including a control group) a purposive sampling is applied to select specific target populations (three different target groups including gender and ethnicity within these groups) and capture their views. The minimum selection criteria are as follows:
- Represent one of three youth cohorts the project intends to target
- Age (14-28)
- Gender
- Ethnicity
- Recommended by social worker and juvenile police personnel among those with whom the social workers and juvenile personnel have been working using snowball sampling

Field data collection was coordinated by a Search Junior Monitoring Specialist under the supervision of the DM&E specialist. The data was analyzed by the Search DM&E Specialist with the support of Senior Regional DM&E Specialist.

1.5.   Limitations of this study

Ensuring conflict-sensitivity during the field data collection created some limitations for making a purposive sampling and for delving into the depth of vulnerability.

One of the first difficulties faced was the reluctance of stakeholders to meet researchers. Before leaving for the field, it was necessary to agree with the stakeholders on a time and place to meet, as well as to arrange a venue for FGD and interviews with youth. Since an agreement had previously been established with juvenile police officers during the FGD in Bishkek and Osh, the researchers first contacted them. Unfortunately due to other obligations and a high workload, some of them

postponed meetings few times and delegated to social pedagogues. At a school, a contact was established with a social pedagogue who organized all the arrangements for the FGD with the project target youth groups. It was found that juvenile police officers once or twice a month come to the schools, conduct explanatory conversations and leave. And social pedagogues are the ones who know the social status and character of almost every school child and have a close relationship with the children. But the piloting of the instruments showed that this was better to start from social workers who work at ayil okmotu (municipal government) prior to selecting a school or community which has more youth groups the project intends to target. So it was challenging in the beginning to interview first juvenile personnel, social pedagogues and social workers. After piloting, the data collection took on the way round i.e. the researcher started to question first social workers, social pedagogues and juvenile personnel which saved time significantly and select survey sites rightly.

The next difficulty was to ensure a conflict sensitivity in reaching out to the children especially in Uzbek communities. During the FGDs, children stared at each other and tried to understand why they were selected. They asked each other whether they were registered by the juvenile police since they were mobilized by the Juvenile personnel. The same reaction and reluctance to answer our questions was observed by the children of migrants when they were gathered to participate in a focus group discussion. So after piloting we collected all youth representing different vulnerable groups and divided them randomly by groups. Even though this helped us create more trustful environment to discuss youth issues, it created challenges to understand the issues that each of different youth groups are dealing with and the depth of each of the groups' vulnerabilities.

The next limitation and probably the most difficult obstacle was to find the third category - the children/young relatives of returnees from combat zones and of detainees on the basis of extremism charges. Unfortunately, this category is inaccessible and due to the fact that security forces had already examined them several times, they didn't want to have a dialogue with anybody. They preferred to be ignored and not to show any initiative. This was agreed with the social workers and social pedagogies to involve this group into the public activities and learn their grievances through close monitoring.

The beneficiaries in the categories from 19-28 were difficult to find, because most of them already migrated. Because there is almost no employment opportunities in rural areas youth went to Russia or Turkey in search of a better life after graduating from school.

2. Literature review on vulnerability and susceptibility of marginalized youth to radicalization leading to violence
2.1. Definition of youth vulnerability

The World Health Organization (WHO) and United Nations Children's Fund (UNICEF) defines "youth" as the individuals between 15-24 years of age[4]. Youth in Kyrgyzstan are considered to be individuals between the ages of 14-28 and comprise about 1.7 mln people[5]. They represent a population group that is the most exposed to life difficulties during social transitions throughout this period of maturing and becoming independent. The following paragraphs present the most popular definitions of *youth and vulnerability* as well as a connection to *susceptibility of youth to radicalization* leading to violence.

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[4] Shilpa Khanna Arora (2015), Dheeraj Shah,[1] Sanjay Chaturvedi,[2] and Piyush Gupta, Defining and Measuring Vulnerability in Young People, Indian J Community Med, 40(3), pp.193–197
[5] Youth in Kyrgyz Republic, National Statistical Committee of Kyrgyz Republic, Bishkek 2014.

There is a range of definitions on youth vulnerability that share many commonalities. *Vulnerability* is a relative state that may range from resilience to total helplessness and in regard to young people it means *being more exposed to risks* than their peers[6]. "Youth vulnerability denotes susceptibility to adversities of one form or another"[7]. According to Bohle (2001), *vulnerability* can be seen as having an external and an internal side. The internal side relates to the capacity to anticipate, cope with, resist and recover from the impact of a hazard (psychological aspects); in contrast, the external side involves exposure to risks and shocks (social and economic aspects).

What makes youth vulnerable?
The "distorted relationships of young people with the institutions of society, such as family, school, labour market, healthcare and justice"[8] as well as the presence of social risks related to human rights and social security (e.g. disability, pregnancy, illness, death of close relatives, etc.) in their lives make them vulnerable.[9] Vettenberg supports this argument by stating that *youth vulnerability* came out of the progressive accumulation of negative experiences with social institutions which eventually result in social disconnectedness. Stigmatization, discrimination, sanctioning and the self-perception of incompetence due to low ambitions and lack of achieved 'success' often appear as common features for youth with a higher degree of social vulnerability[10].

In line with this World Bank's "Orphans and vulnerable children (OVC)" program defines *youth vulnerability* as "the group of children that experience negative outcomes, such as the loss of their education, morbidity, and malnutrition, at higher rates than do their peers". The main categories of vulnerable children outlined were street children, children in the worst forms of child labor, children affected by armed conflict, children affected by HIV/AIDS and children living with a disability[11]. It explains more about the causal factors contributing to the physical dependence of children which deepen their vulnerability. This definition shows that *youth vulnerability* is defined and measured in accordance with the focus of a particular program or project too. The lessons learned from this program demonstrate the causality between the vulnerability of children and the role of the parents. Vulnerable children are those "who live in a household in which one person or more is ill, dying or deceased; […] who live in households that receive orphans; […] whose caregivers are too ill to continue to look after them; and children living with very old and frail caregivers"[12].

The World Bank's downward spiral shows that an ordinary child without the support of an adult and in a poor household becomes vulnerable with every shock and risk. The risks can be connected with the loss of parents, job, illness, disability, etc. The manifestation of the last stage of vulnerability is that the child disconnects from family and household.

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[6] Ibid3

[7] Youth Vulnerabilities in Life Course Transitions, *Abby Hardgrove, Kirrily Pells, Jo Boyden and Paul Dornan,* 2014 UNDP Human Development Report Office.

[8] Vettenburg N (1998) Juvenile delinquency and the cultural characteristics of the family. International Journal of Adolescent Medicine and Health 3: 193–209.

[9] Lanovenko Oksana, Social Vulnerability Risks of Ukrainian Youth in Contemporary Socio-Economic conditions, UDK316

[10] Vettenburg N (1998) Juvenile delinquency and the cultural characteristics of the family. International Journal of Adolescent Medicine and Health 3: 193–209.

[11] The OVC Toolkit for SSA (2005), A Toolkit on how to support Orphans and Other Vulnerable Children (OVC) in Sub-Saharan Africa (SSA)

[12] Ibid
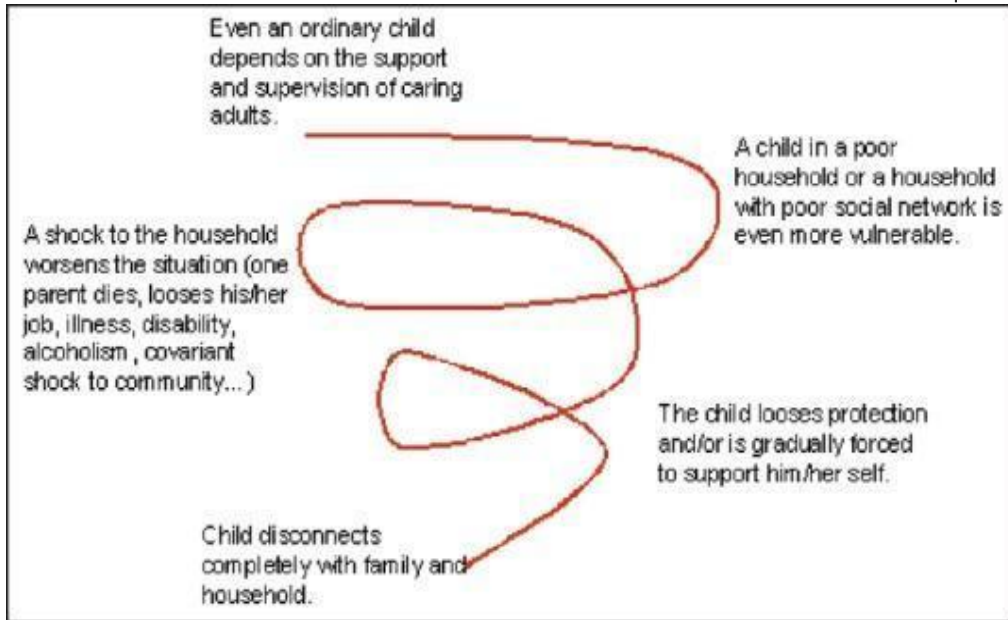
Figure 1: World Bank's downward spiral of childhood vulnerability[13]

UNICEF has drawn Broeinfenger's socio-ecological model as shown on the *Figure 1* to measure the vulnerability of adolescent girls in Uganda (10-19 years old). The figure shows age and gender as vulnerability factors at the individual level, and at the household level – household head, ethnicity, religion, wealth and education; and at the community level – region, local economy, local government and urbanization, and last at the norms level, the ideologies.
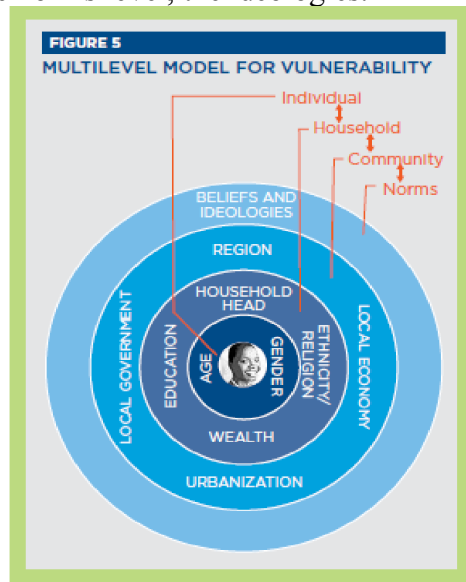
Skinner *et al.* toolkit identifies the vulnerability from material, emotional (psychological) and social aspects: [14]
1. *Material aspects* — money, food, clothing, shelter, health care and education;

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13 The World Bank: OVC Core Definitions

[14] Shilpa Khanna Arora et.al (2015)

2. *Emotional aspects* — care, love, support, space to grieve and containment of emotions;
3. *Social aspects* — absence of a supportive peer group, of role models to follow, or of guidance in difficult situations, and risks in the immediate environment[15].

Arora *et al (2015),* on the basis of an extensive literature review provide the possible toolkit for extending Skinner's model and adding the stakeholders (parents, school, peers and society) that play the contributing role in preventing or causing vulnerability among young people. If school and parental aspects and bullying from peers can be relevant for young people of school age, the macro-economics and politics at the societal level may be relevant for the youth above 19.

Arora *et al* (2015) also supports the absence of even one of the parents or orphan- hood as one of the major determinants of vulnerability. They define vulnerable children as "the ones not having certain of their basic rights fulfilled"[16].

The Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD) defines "marginalized youth" as youth who are no longer in school and who experience various challenges, such as living in remote areas, being a member of a minority group, and lacking a diploma. In a journal article published by professor Oksana Duchak in 2014, it was found that the common general features of marginalized youth are poor levels of education, residing in remote areas, discrimination due to poverty, personal characteristics, unemployment, and the experience of juvenile delinquency[17].

As mentioned earlier, the *vulnerability* is a relative state and consequently it is hard to generalize common features without specifying a context and a topic to cover. Since the current study attempts to assess correlations between the vulnerability and susceptibility of marginalized youth to radicalization leading to violence in Kyrgyzstan, the following paragraphs attempt to explain the vulnerability especially leading to radicalization leading to violence.

2.2. Vulnerability of marginalized youth to radicalization and its factors

Berger (2016) points out that radicalization is not violent or harmful in nature, but it's still worth understanding because radicalization is usually the precursor to joining violent extremist groups[18]. Emil Nasritdinov (2019) defines "vulnerability to radicalization" as susceptibility to the process leading to a movement from moderate mainstream beliefs toward more extreme views and extreme commitment[19].

The literature has controversial ideas about the correlation of youth vulnerability and susceptibility to radicalization leading to violence. If we rely on the World Bank's Downward Spiral (See figure 1) on childhood vulnerability, the feeling of deprivation and isolation can be the connecting factor. After the adolescent disconnects with the family and becomes isolated s/he starts searching for their identity. In addition, the other psychological aspect i.e. incomplete neurological and cognitive

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[15] Shilpa Khanna Arora et.al (2015)

[16] Shilpa Khanna Arora et.al (2015)

[17] Duchak, O. (2014). Marginalization of young people in society. *International Letters of Social and Humanistic Sciences,29*. Retrieved from https://www.scipress.com/ILSHS.29.70.pdf.

[18] J.M. Berger with ICCT (2016) "Making CVE Work: A Focused Approach Based on Process Disruption"

[19] Nasritdinov, E., Urmanbetova, Z., Murzakhalilov, K., & Myrzabaev, M. (2019). Vulnerability and Resilience of Young People in Kyrgyzstan to Radicalization, Violence and Extremism: Analysis across Five Domains. *Central Asia Program, 213.*

development of youth that makes them prone to radicalization. The first two stages solidify the in-group and out-group member and polarize the identities of the two. Some will choose the alternative and non-violent ways and will not proceed with the next stages. But the second group might continue to dichotomize the "us vs other" and move onto successive stages that will lead to violent actions as shown from the scheme[20].

Socio- economic factors

As researched by International Alert (2016) young people's involvement in violent extremism in Syria suggests that a sense of self-realization, the relationships of respect and dignity, and the potential to exercise agency are equally important for young people's resilience as the needs for material well-being[21].

Manata Hashemi (2017), through is research 'radicalization amongst marginalized youth in the Middle East', states that a lack of productive work often leaves youth (defined by her as between the ages of 15-29 years) feeling powerless over their desperate economic situations[22]. Young people often face serious difficulties in finding a job, securing a place for job-related training, or receiving good quality education. Youth unemployment and underemployment are in part due to the unavailability of jobs and limited livelihoods, but in part to a mismatch in skills and labor market requirements. Significant weaknesses in the school system enhance poverty and lower access to further education attainment. Disadvantaged youth from various groups and remote locations tend to leave school early with very limited academic skills which in turn increase the level of vulnerability in further life stages[23]. According to research conducted on children's vulnerability in Vietnam, India, Peru and Ethiopia, one in four young people in rural areas are no longer in school, compared with 15 percent in urban areas.[24]

Based on research findings on the vulnerability of youth in Southeast Asia, Iffat Idris (2018) concluded that youth from all socioeconomic backgrounds are a key target group for radicalization and recruitment by violent extremist groups. According to him high youth unemployment coupled with high levels of internet and social media use facilitate radicalization and recruitment; thus online radicalization is a major factor in recruitment. He also indicates that disillusionment with politics, in particular related to corruption, and inequality are factors contributing to youth radicalization. Additionally, the involvement of parents/older siblings/relatives in extremist groups pushes young people to follow their footsteps. Online radicalization and propaganda plays a key role in radicalization of youth and reinforces radicalization through personal contacts. Financial incentives

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[20] *Moghaddam, Fathali* (Feb–Mar 2005). "The Staircase to Terrorism". *American Psychologist*. **60** (2): 161–169. *doi*:*10.1037/0003-066x.60.2.16*

[21] https://www.international-alert.org/sites/default/files/Syria_YouthRecruitmentExtremistGroups_EN_2016.pdf

[22] Hashemi, M. (2017). Aspirations, Poverty and Behavior Among Youth in the Middle East: Some Theoretical Considerations. *Muslim World*, *107*(1), 83–99. Retrieved from http://proxy-bc.researchport.umd.edu/login?url=http://search.ebscohost.com/login.aspx?direct=true&AuthType=ip,url,uid&db=khh&AN=120846054&site=eds-live&scope=site

[23] Youth Vulnerabilities in Life Course Transitions, *Abby Hardgrove, Kirrily Pells, Jo Boyden and Paul Dornan,* 2014 UNDP Human Development Report Office.

[24] Defining Child Vulnerability: Definitions, Frameworks and Groups, Cordis Bright, Children's Commissioner project on vulnerable children, July 2017

are also motivating some extremist groups and motivating individual membership in violent extremist groups[25].

Kazakh sociologist Serik Beisembaev (2016), in his study on religious radicalization of youth, reveals that before coming to a radical ideology, youth were in a state of life crisis, due to a social and economic lack of development, or a lack of adaptation to new conditions. Thus, according to statistical data, more than 80% of those convicted of religious extremism and terrorism in Kazakhstan are people who did not have official employment and were engaged in the informal sector of the economy (bazaars, private transportation, etc.). A significant number of them were children of internal migrants who moved from villages to larger settlements, and in this connection experienced certain problems with adaptation[26].

The economic crisis reduced the considerable demand for migrants' labor in oil-producing countries of the region and put additional pressures on Central Asian countries which rely on labor migration and remittances to generate employment and income for large segments of their populations[27]

Additionally, in Kyrgyzstan, young male migrants who have been banned from re-entry to the host country (banned to enter the destination country), lacking higher education, and entered into early marriages and thus see themselves as breadwinners are one of the most vulnerable groups. Lack of professional skills with scarce economic opportunities in the countries of origin put the young male migrants[28] under pressure to provide for their families.

Psychological factor
The various studies often refer to the psychological instability of youth, their constant search for identity, and an exploration of who they are. Such self-exploration and search for meaning is often an emotionally complex and intense process. When the proper guidance and support are missing, the results of this search can be frustrating. For example, the 2012 Safer World study of youth attitudes and beliefs in three Central Asian countries (Kyrgyzstan, Tajikistan, Uzbekistan) that share the Ferghana Valley highlights the challenges of transitional settings: "*The group of under 24-year-olds has grown up and matured in a completely different political and historical context then previous generations: today's Central Asian youth have no common Soviet identity, have been educated in an impoverished and deteriorating education system, have limited economic prospects and have been raised in an environment of nation-building and religious revival*"[29].

Along with low self-esteem and absence of support from the family and surroundings, young people appear to be more vulnerable to outer influences. There is a stigma attached to seeking psychological help in Central Asia. Furthermore, children of migrants, children in single-parent households, and

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[25] Idris, I. (2018). Youth vulnerability to violent extremist groups in the Indo-Pacific. *GSDRC Applied Knowledge Services*. Retrieved from https://gsdrc.org/wp-content/uploads/2018/10/1438-Youth-Vulnerability-to-Violent-Extremist-Groups-in-the-Indo-Pacific.pdf.

[26] https://regnum.ru/news/2089774.html

[27] Protsyk, O. & C. Odorfer (2016) *Youth and Violent Extremism*, in *Background Papers on Violent Extremism and its Prevention*, Framing Development Solutions to Preventing Violent Extremism. http://www.eurasia.undp.org/content/dam/rbec/docs/Background%20Papers%20on%20Violent%20Extremism%20and%20Its%20Prevention.pdf

[28] Migrant Vulnerabilities and Integration Needs in Central Asia – Assessing migrants' and community needs and managing risks – Astana, 2017http://www.iom.kz/images/books/2017-DAR-executive-summary-eng.pdf

[29] "Nobody has ever asked about young people's opinions": Young people's perspectives on identity, exclusion and the prospects for a peaceful future in Central Asia, Safer World, March 2012.

children who have experienced discrimination might benefit from professional help through individual or group therapy.

Family Status
International Crisis Group and UNDP projects link the vulnerability of youth of Central Asia to radicalization with their family status. ICG states that the family institutions are distorted due to unemployment and migration where children are left to extended families or do not get enough attention from parents who work at several jobs[30].

According to the UNDP Youth Survey in Kyrgyzstan, three out of four (75%) reported that both of their parents were still alive, and living together. The remaining quarter said that their parents were either not living together (17%) or that they had only one parent (8%). Internal and external labor migration proved to be major factors affecting the family status of youths – 16.4% reported that a member of their family was currently working abroad, while 8.8% said that a member of their family had migrated internally within the Kyrgyz Republic for work.

The Kyrgyz Ministry of Social Development recognizes children who have fallen into the category "without parental care". A child from this category is a person under the age of 18 whose parent or parents have died, "whose parent(s) are unknown, whose parent(s) are absent due to imprisonment or restriction of parental rights, whose parents have been recognized as incapacitated, whose parents have refused to care for them, who are living in a social protection institution, etc." The table below shows the number of children who have been placed in this category in 2013 and the first quarter of 2014.

Table 3. Number of children left without parental care, 2013-2014 (Min. of Soc. Dev.)[47]

Region	2013	As of 2nd quarter 2014
Bishkek	119	91
Chuy province	187	157
Issyk-Kul province	198	89
Naryn province	145	49
Talas province	139	44
Osh city	82	25
Osh province	162	114
Jalal-Abad province	397	217
Batken province	123	72
Total	1,552	858

Along with the lack of 'parental care' as a key factor in youth vulnerability, Nasritdinov et.al (2019) note the lack of socialization among children is another key factor. Young people who are socially isolated and having no support from adults are vulnerable to radicalization. After the collapse of the Soviet Union, all social and physical recreation places were destroyed and except for bigger cities, the village cannot offer activities to entertain young people. In this regard, mosques become the only place for socialization[31].

Gender aspect

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[30] https://www.crisisgroup.org/europe-central-asia/central-asia/kyrgyzstan/kyrgyzstan-state-fragility-and-radicalisation
[31] https://belief.cabar.asia/ru/2019/02/06/caan-uyazvimost-i-ustojchivost-molodyh-lyudej-v-kyrgyzstane-k-radikalizatsii-i-ekstremizmu/

International Crisis Group (ICG) emphasizes that the religious activities may be a good alternative for Kyrgyz and Uzbek women living in traditional societies where "attending a prayer or study group can offer vital support; for some women it is the only way to do anything independent off home. They may also use religion to disassociate from difficult family circumstances, domestic violence or strong social pressure in traditional communities". ICG further provides the life story of an Uzbek woman in southern Kyrgyzstan who was preparing to go to Syria because she was tired of her husband and domestic violence. They especially emphasize the early marriage, where young wives live with their extended families and become almost slaves due to the household responsibilities of the relatives-in-law. The early marriage is often accompanied with forced labour migration "Some families force their female in-laws into migrant work, separating them from support networks, and even their children, sometimes with their husband staying unemployed at home. In migrant status, they are then deeply vulnerable to seduction into extremist groups"[32].

Minority status and ethnic issues

According to International Center for the Promotion of Islam (ICPI), promotion of radical ideas among the ethnic minorities including the youth, have been successful. As an argument they provide the statistics of Ministry of Internal Affairs for 2010-2016- "863 citizens of Kyrgyzstan left to Syria, among them, 658 are Uzbeks (76%). Statistics by province are as follows: Osh province – 407 (389 Uzbeks); Batken province – 93 (64 Uzbeks); Osh city – 105 (102 Uzbeks); Jalal-Abad province – 111 (97 Uzbeks); and Issyk-Kul province – 47 (1 Uzbek)". If we take into account that the average age of foreign fighters is between 22 and 27, the ethnic suppression might contribute to the youth vulnerability to be the target of radicalization[33].

In addition to the above-mentioned factors, Search d includes the enabling factors that increases the susceptibility to radicalization such as the role of mosques and religious leaders, usage of internet as a tool and social networks having radicalized people[34].

3. Conflict (context) assessment findings

The conflict assessment gives an overview of socio-economic and political challenges and its implications for conflict dynamics in fifteen target communities. In particular, the conflict assessment presents 1) contextual factors in target locations in relation to young people, 2) presents vulnerable youth groups and the manifestation of their vulnerability and its link to radicalization 3) illustrates factors of vulnerability including gender and ethnic perspectives leading to violence and 4) provides recommendations.

3.1. Contextual factors

The research conducted in all fifteen target communities and two control groups (villages) brought up three key structural factors that affect *youth vulnerability*. Migration, the growing influence of religious schools and leaders, and institutional weakening (family and school) have been identified as factors that are largely in relation to youth in these seventeen communities, but they seem to be relevant to wider communities across the country.

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[32] Crisis Group Europe (2016), Kyrgyzstan: State Fragility and Radicalisation

[33] Ibid 27

[34] https://www.sfcg.org/wp-content/uploads/2018/04/RUSI-report_Central-Asia-Radicalisation_ENG_24042018.pdf

Contextual factors
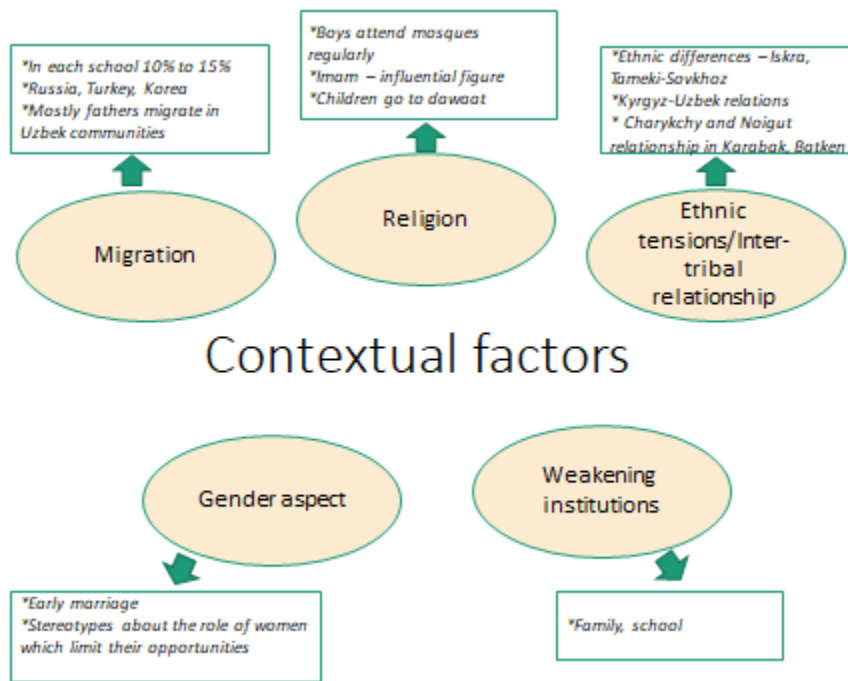
According to the legislation of the Kyrgyz Republic, citizens between the ages of 14 to 28 are considered youth. However, the research required approaching different state agencies working with youth belonging to different age groups. Thus, it is worth noting that the youth category also has, respectively, differences in needs, interests and priorities.

1. Youth aged 14 to 18 years old fall under the protection of the Law of the Kyrgyz Republic "On protection of Juvenile Rights";
2. Youth aged 19 to 23 years, are in search of continuing education, obtaining a profession;
3. Youth aged 24 to 28 years old are those who are in the development of their specialties, skills, and family formation.

Prior to the analysis of the contextual factors, the report examines *the adolescent period* in the current context of Kyrgyzstan based on findings of these communities. The rationale behind this is that the project aims to promote more preventative approaches while targeting mostly youth between the ages of 14 to 18. According to a standard American dictionary, adolescence is "*the state or process of growing up from childhood to manhood or womanhood.*" In two-thirds of the FGDs, there was a similar point raised on the adolescents are perceived by adults. The following quote gives an excellent description of the adolescent period of local youth.

> *...when we want to go somewhere, for example, evening talks with our friends, when we want to do something like talking to boys, we are told "you are little you're not an adult yet" and when we make a mistake we are told "you are an adult why you do this?!," and if we behave ourselves a bit silly like we laugh loudly or play games, we are told - "why are you like a little?!"*

Thus, adolescents are regarded as adults since they have finished their childhood but at the same time, they are still perceived as children since they have not yet reached (perceived) maturity. The number of discussions with adolescents within the frame of this study demonstrated that they have the desire to and they make efforts to reach maturity and take advantage of the opportunities of adulthood. This might be a natural process but also the absence of their parents or new technologies such as social media especially Instagram, whatsapp's up and youtube, which was the main interest of almost all of the youth that were questioned, might have influenced their rapid maturation. According to social pedagogues, the school children, especially girls, become mature early in comparison to older period"

(Kashgar Kyshtak, Bek-Abad, Seidikum, Kyzyl-Kiya). They explain this by the influence of the information available to them on the Internet.

It became obvious that adolescence is a preparatory stage for adulthood, and there is a need for special training, especially given the increasing complexity of contemporary life. However, contextual factors such as migration, religion, and the weakening of relevant institutions, do not prepare the full-fledged adolescents for adulthood and, therefore, threaten the stability of the country to a certain extent.

3.1.1. Migration

The migration went up to the top of the list in all interviews and focus-group discussions with young people in all fifteen locations. Among young people, migration is perceived as an important factor in their current and future lives. It currently provides livelihood opportunities for their families since their parents are labor migrants and it is considered to be one of the prospective options for their own future. Revenues from traditional income sources like agriculture, animal husbandry and small-scale services (e.g. small shops) have been insufficient for parents to feed their families, and therefore these sectors become areas where adolescents are forced to spend their after-school hours (in all 15 communities). The findings show that all target communities have equally been affected by migration. In each school 10% to 15% of the total school children have been left behind by either one or both of their migrated parents (Data source: School Social Passport of each school). The excerpt of a conversation from our focus-group discussion in the Seidukim community of Djalal-Abad oblast below demonstrates this reality. But this is common for other Kyrgyz communities too.

> ➔ *M: Please tell me about your parents.*
> ➔ *P1 (03:05): I don't have a father. My mom is in Russia.*
> ➔ *P2 (03:15): My father is in Russia. He works in Yakutsk. My Mom is a teacher here at the primary school.*
> ➔ *P4 (03:23): Both of my parents are in Moscow. They work there.*
> ➔ *P3 (03:30): I have only mother and she works in Russia as well.*
> ➔ *P5 (03:34): My parents are in Moscow, they are workers.*
> ➔ *P13 (03:41): I have only mother, my father died when I was in the third grade. Now my Mom is in Russia. She works in Saint Petersburg as a cook.*
> ➔ *P6 (03:52): My mom works in Novosibirsk in Russia. My father looks after us at home and he is a craftsman.*
> ➔ *P7 (04:01): It has been one month since my father came from Russia and my mom is a housewife.*
> ➔ *P8 (04:07): Both of my parents are in Moscow. At the moment my Mom works in the medicine manufacturing factory.*
> ➔ *P9 (04:14): My father is at home with me, my mother is in Moscow. She works in the plant.*
> ➔ *P10 (04:20): My father and mother are in Russia. They work there.*
> ➔ *P11 (04:26): My mom is a migrant in Russia.*
> ➔ *P12 (04:34): At the moment my Mom works in Russia.*

Parents mostly leave for Russia but also for Turkey and Korea. It was interesting to find out that in Uzbek communities, it is usually the fathers that left for labor migration while in Kyrgyz communities both parents or either mother or father were equally as likely to leave. The following excerpt from a conversation at an Uzbek school provides evidence for this and this is common for other target schools where ethnic Uzbeks study (Arslanbob, Bek-Abad (Atabekov school), Nariman, Kashgar-Kyshtak, Mirmahmudov (Beshtal school), Allia-Anarov (Kadyrov school)).

> ➔ *M: lease Tell me about your parents. Where do they work? What do they do?*
> ➔ *P1: My mother is a housewife and father is a public worker.*
> ➔ *P2: Works at home.*
> ➔ *P3: My father is a craftsman and mother doesn't work.*
> ➔ *P4: At home, keeps household.*
> ➔ *P5: My mom works at home.*

➜ *P6: My mom doesn't work and father is in Russia.*
➜ *P7: Here.*
➜ *P8: Mom is at home and father works in Moscow.*

Another interesting finding is that the number of schoolchildren left behind by labor migrant parents varies by schools and there are fewer children from this category in Uzbek schools (See Diagram 1).
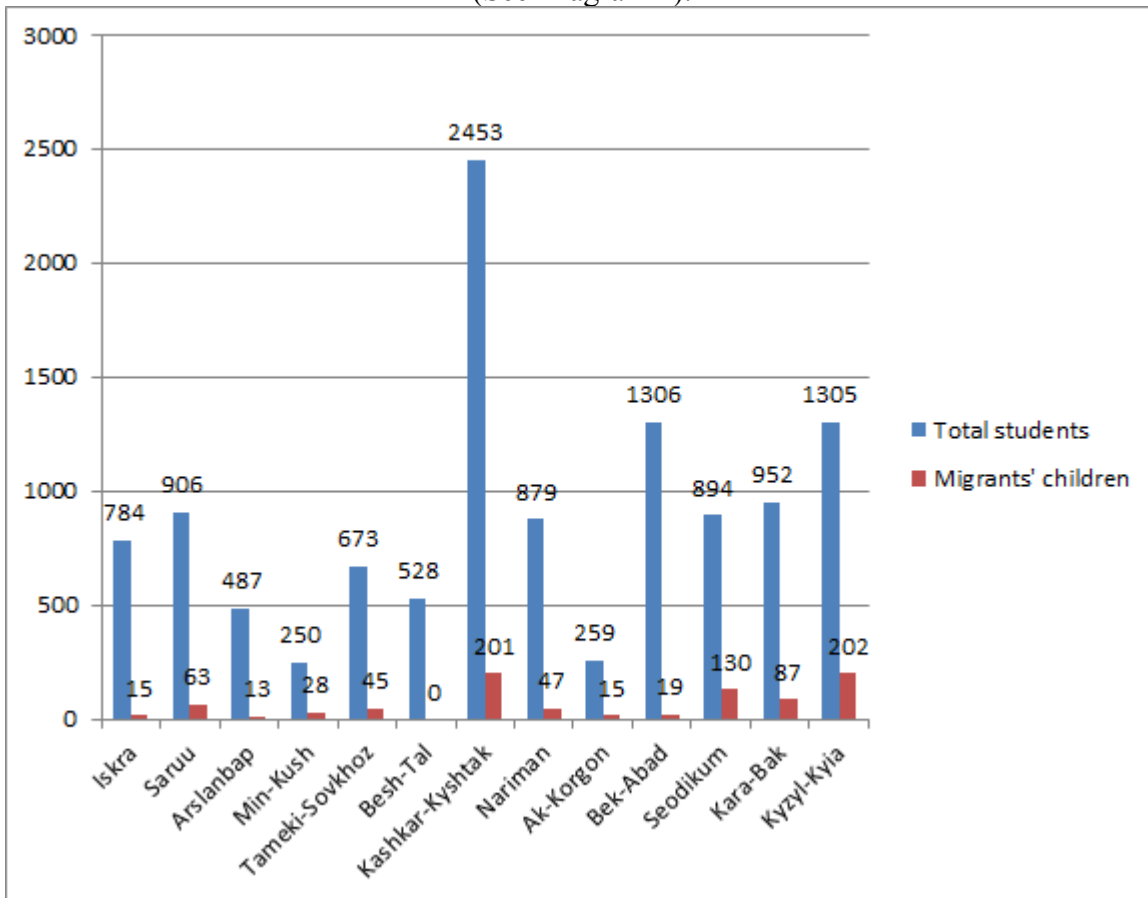
Diagram 1: School-children left behind by migrant parents

According to social pedagogues (Shaimbekov school, Bek-Abad village, and Kashgar-Kyshtak schools) the number might be even more than in the social passports. The social passport is a database which contains information about 'socially vulnerable' school children who are under the supervision of social pedagogues The reason is that parents do not usually inform school administration when they migrate therefore, the data is not updated regularly due to a lack of information. The diagram also shows that the tendency of parents migrating out of their place in Uzbek   lower than that in Kyrgyz communities. This might have two explanations. First, according to social pedagogues of Beshtal school (Mirmahmudov a/o and Alle-Anarov), it is usually the fathers that leave for seasonal migration. They work there for 2 and 3 months and frequently visit their families and stay with them for a couple of months throughout the year. Therefore, the children of these parents, are not documented in the social passport. Another reason is that in Uzbek communities, about half of the school children including those of migrant parents drop out of school after the 9th grade.

It is interesting to compare how migration is perceived by adolescents between the ages of 14-18 and by young people over 19 years-old who have already been in labor migration abroad. Migration was the most desired alternative for adolescents after graduating from school. They were enthusiastic about migration and preferred either to join their parents who had already migrated abroad or worked

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independently than to stay and look for opportunities in the local communities. In contrast, the young people who have already been abroad stated that there are more opportunities to earn money in Russia but preferred to be at home in case there is an option for them (Iskra, Saruu, Seidikum, Arslanbob).

In addition to this, internal seasonal migration is perceived as an income opportunity for adolescents in Min-Kush and Kara-Bak communities. They go to Bishkek, Yssyk-Kul and Kant to earn money during vacations.

3.1.2. Religion

Religion came as another factor significantly influencing the environment in which youth grow up and get educated. The widespread revival of religion after the Soviet collapse is commonly known. The findings had once again illustrated how religion has become increasingly important in respondents' lives, especially in all the southern communities and in Min-Kush community in the north. The following cases mentioned in the focus group discussions can be seen as shreds of evidence for this;

- Family traditions/celebrations; for example, there are families (Alle-Anarov, Ak-Korgon, Min-Kush, Besh-Tal, Nariman) who do not celebrate holidays other than religious ones (Kurban and Orozo Ait).
- Girls wear a headscarf from grade 4-5 at school, and this is perceived positively especially among male classmates (case from Besh-Tal, Alle-Anarov), but there is negative feedback from social pedagogues in other schools.
- Boys regularly attend mosques 1-2 times per week in their leisure time, after doing their homework.
- There are a lot of Islamic courses for school kids after school or during the vacation. They go to an imam or other religious leaders for classes (dars).
- Most weddings and family celebrations are now celebrated without alcohol because all the extended family members pray and school children are proud of this fact when they talk about it.
- The role of Imams is perceived as that of an official authority/influential figure. Social pedagogues, juvenile policemen, rayon administration and municipal authority figures invite religious leaders to make speeches at schools for children. The schoolchildren like to attend these meetings and following the meeting the participants change their attitudes (cases were mentioned in southern communities)
  It is a fact that school children go to dawaat (*promoting knowledge of Islam*) (Saruu, Alle-Anarov, Min-Kush).

The educational role of religion and its positive impact is much emphasized by young people. Some respondents noted that Dawaat is a way to improve the relationship between parents and children (Saruu, Iskra, Alle-Anarov).

> *P10 (44:19): While going out for Dawah, your dark heart gets relieved and you feel better. Three days feel like going out for 40 days.*
> *M: Have you practiced Dawah yourself?*
> *P10 (44:34): I did once for three days.*
> *M: Where did you go, within this village or outside?*
> *P10 (44:44): Outside.*
> *M: And what did you feel then?*
> *P10 (44:50): If you do Dawah, there will be no family conflicts.*
> *M: Why?*
> *U1 (44:58): You become moral, you stop wishing bad for others, you take the right way. Therefore, there will be no conflicts in the family*

In addition to this, social pedagogues gave examples of how religion has positively changed the "wrong" behaviors of children. The research identified two cases in which the children of divorced parents and the children of an alcoholic father had committed a crime (robbery, fighting) in the past. But since their parents began practicing Islam (Offering prayers for five times a day everyday) their children stopped stealing and fighting. But they lost interest in extra-curricular school activities which is considered to be unfortunate by social pedagogues (Bek-Abad, Arslanbob).

The focus-group discussions identified a factor that influences the upsurge in the religious identity of adolescents. Most children, left behind by their migrated parents, stay with their grandparents, who, due to their age, practice religion actively and speak more about the hadith (*about what the Prophet Muhammad said, did, approved, and disapproved of, explicitly or implicitly*). They are influenced by the religious practices of older generation since they are acting as a role model in the absence of their parents.

In general, it has become obvious that religion has been creating a set of values for young people to cope with crisis situations, get clear guidelines and a *moral compass* for everyday life as well as to determine their position in the family and community.

3.1.3. Weakening institutions (family, school)
This conflict assessment study identified that institutions like the family, school, a circle of friends, and media play a guiding role in the development of a teenager. As stated in the literature review, among these institutions, a family remains the most important for children's socialization. It is known that family gives children a margin of safety, develops their first impressions which turns into fundamental feelings and teaches them about human relationships. Parents' lives and education are huge resources for the child's inner world, i.e. children are a mirror and reflect their parents' manner of speech, actions and worldviews.[35]

Family: the relationship of parents and children
The analysis of the FGDs and in-depth interviews clearly demonstrate that family as an institution does not fulfill its functions; there is a lack of communication between children and parents. This happens partially because their parents do not live with them due to migration. Poor economic conditions and labor migration also lead to divorce where children stay with a single parent who is usually very busy earning for life. This is another reason why children lack parental care. *Parents are very busy with their routine problems and in money-making activities*. This is how parents are described in the answers of all the children, and the discussions with Juvenile police personnel indicates that this issue is pertinent to all communities. It is interesting to note that most of the children do not remember what their last conversation with their parents was. According to the children, this is a short conversation which lasts from five minutes to half an hour in the form of question-answer. Usually one of the parents asks about the behavior of their children at school. The responses below in quotations help to illustrate the content of the conversations:
- ``*don't you get in conflict with anyone at school?*';
- '*have you done all your homework?*'
- '*do you study well?*' etc.

The conversation changes its form from a *question-answer format* to a *lecturing format* and takes a longer time in three different types of cases: first, the case when teachers report to parents about the bad behavior of their children at school; second, the case when children ask for money for school activities or their gathering; and last (mentioned by respondents only in three communities) the case

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[35] T. Parson

when children cannot do their homework and parents will help them and tell stories about their childhood.

Even though all the children in FGDs affirmed that their parents are busy because they work for them and, therefore, feel empathy, some of the quotes below illustrate children's needs and a strong desire to engage in interactions with families:

> *"I wish to spend more time with my parents because my dad is usually away for work for 15 days and we don't spend much time with him (FGD with youth, Jeti-Oguz).*

> *"I have school courses too and therefore I come home late by the time everyone seems tired. I wish to talk more with my parents when they are not tired and spend more time with family" (FGD with youth, Kara-Bak).*

> *"I know, parents earn money for their children, they do for us, but they do not know our concerns, and these things happen. Would be better if they pay a little attention to their children at least for 1-2 hours, and if they listen to their children's concerns" (FGD with youth, Ak-Korgon).*

> *"Now no one pays enough attention to a child. Mostly, parents leave their children for someone's care in order to earn money, and children do not experience their parents' love"(FGD with children, Iskra).*

Social pedagogues also admit that despite the proximity of parents, children lack attention and communication.

> *"Why children always stare at their cell phones? They used to communicate with smartphones. At that time when we talk to children, they often mention that their parents have many problems at home. Frankly say, parents experience so many problems such as loans and others that they don't pay enough attention to their child. When we openly talked to students and together discussed at the round table, they told us. The reasons why do they spend so much time with their phones? They say that they receive little love and care. When children approach their parents, they respond: "go away, I have my own issues." Therefore, children go to another room and stare at their phones. Indeed, children need love and care" (from an interview with a social worker, Jeti-Oguz).*

Parents are the main support for children, but in the current economic conditions, there is insufficient attention from parents to children, there is a crisis of parent-child relationships, a lack of understanding and a close relationship between them. In addition, it is possible that there is a fact that parents do not know the characteristics of child and age psychology. In most of their responses, children emphasize the importance of parental understanding:

> *"Since our parents don't understand us, we do not like to make efforts to study well" (Saruu, 16-year-old girl).*
> *"I don't like to see when parents shout to each other." (Iskra, 16-year-old girl).*

The social pedagogues also emphasized the effect of the behavior of parents and a lack of their parental attention on the performance and school life of their children.

School: the relationship between teachers and adolescents
The school has been and remains one of the most important social institutions for supporting the educational process and the real interaction of the child, parents, and society. The interviewed schoolchildren of 8th to 10th grades spoke generally positively or neutrally about their school, but at the same time the teenagers described their life at school as "boring". According to the children, the following conflicts appear at school:
- they believe that teachers in many cases treat them disrespectfully;
- the presence of racketeering and various criminal manifestations;
- uncomfortable learning conditions (school infrastructure);

● divisions into various groups (poor / rich, beautiful / terrible, strong / weak, etc.)

The analysis of the answers demonstrated the importance of interaction for schoolchildren with each other. They brought up issues related to communications built with and attitudes by the administration and teachers towards children. The most welcome form is partnerships and gentleness in circulation.

"In my previous school [in Ak-Zhar], teachers used to support us. But here is different. There is no difference in teachers' attitudes no matter if you want to study or don't want. They come into the classroom, tell us the theme of the lesson and go out. In previous school, we were encouraged to make efforts to learn. Here if you don't do teachers shout, humiliate. That's why we don't like teachers. We don't like their attitude towards us" (Zheti-Oguz, 15 years old girl).

As shown by individual interviews, there is *racketeering* in schools and children mentioned the names of the racketeering groups. Youth leaders in the communities mentioned are involved in criminal culture and its popularization is due to the existence of adults who are perceived as *role models*.

"Everything is because of the 'crown'. At school conflict [fighting] happens because of small things: when they want to start fighting they start asking the following questions and fight; why you didn't greet me well, why did you hurt me, why don't you respect me, why don't you obey me" (Zheti-Oguz, 15 years old girl).

The 10th and 11th grade [male] students humiliate younger children, they require junior students to perceive as brothers and do whatever they ask. Otherwise, the juniors might be beaten (Ming-Kush, 15 years old boy).

The special negative reaction of children in relation to school is due to the increased attention to the appearance of schoolchildren by the teachers and their insufficient attention to the quality of education. No differences in the responses of different locations were found. More experienced teachers are more respected and trusted, young teachers in most cases are not respected. Children are looking for comfort in school more than they are at home. The most frequently discussed topics in all places were the school uniform, the quality and availability of food in school canteens, teachers' negative attitudes towards school and their teaching capacity, poor infrastructure, and mobile phones which serve as a catalytic factor for their open conflict. The following answers illustrate what changes they would like to see to meet their needs at school:

"A good dining room for us [for school children of 7th to 11th grade students]. In our school cafeteria, children of 1st to 3rd grade are provided with a meal, and for the rest of us, only dry foods are available. And most of the time the teachers sit in the cafeteria during the breaks so there are no seats available and we don't feel comfortable to buy food and eat while our teachers are there. We wait until they leave and buy food, and certainly, we are late for the lessons and the teachers scold us and punished for being late. The teachers do not like to even listen to our complaints that in the morning our parents do not always provide breakfast and we come hungry and want to have a hot meal too. We are given 10 minutes after the third class which is not sufficient to even, go to the toilet where there is a long queue, not to mention going to buy food.» (from FGD, Kashkar-Kyshtak).

«Our toilet is located far from the place where we study. I would like the WC to be inside the school. I would install a video camera in each class. Maybe children would study better then. It would be very good to set up cameras inside the classrooms. I would also like washbasin in each classroom. So well I think I would change a lot of things. » (from FGD, Zheti-Oguz).

In one of the schools in the south, carpets are spread out in the corridors of the school, and the second pair of shoes is needed. Children had only one desire - "to remove these carpets". The strict requirement for a school uniform "upsets" children in the morning.

> *"I have the mood to spoil in the morning, when I wear the same clothes every day that I don't like and I'm angry all the time at the teachers" (Begabad, 15 y.o.).*

> *«We wear the same uniform. If we wear something different, we would feel ourselves better. I don't feel comfortable to wear the same clothes every day. Moreover, we have to braid our hair and need a bow.» (Zheti-Oguz, 16 y.o.)*

> *«We can't wear whatever we want. I don't think that uniform affects our study. Wearing the usual clothes is the same (FGD, Kashkar-Kyshtak)"*

> *«Everyone has his/her own taste but we all are required to accept one thing, even though we do not like» (FGD, Iskra).*

Meanwhile, according to social educators, the problem at school is manifested in the lack of interest of the children in learning. The main negative factor is the "presence of a smartphone" and the desire to get rich easily.

> *"To be fair in the last 5 years there's a huge influence of mobile phone. Children don't have an interest in studying. They want to earn easy money. We used to search for information before. Nowadays they immediately use the internet. They don't want to use their brain. They would like to find money as quickly as possible..." (social pedagogue, Zheti-Oguz).*

School as an institution is important in preparing adolescents for adulthood, but traditionally the family remains the main institution of education. The analysis of the opinions of all of the actors (teenagers, parents, and school teachers) shows that there is a tension between teenagers and school and between parents and their children, especially during the period of adolescence. Although factors like telephones and strict requirements for teachers and parents are the catalysts of the conflict, the root causes lie in the age difference, socio-economic shortages and the ability of adults to listen in terms of time and capacity to the needs of the children.

Parents

Circle of Friends

Family

Weakening institutions

Religious infrastructure

Media: social media and phone

School

Teachers
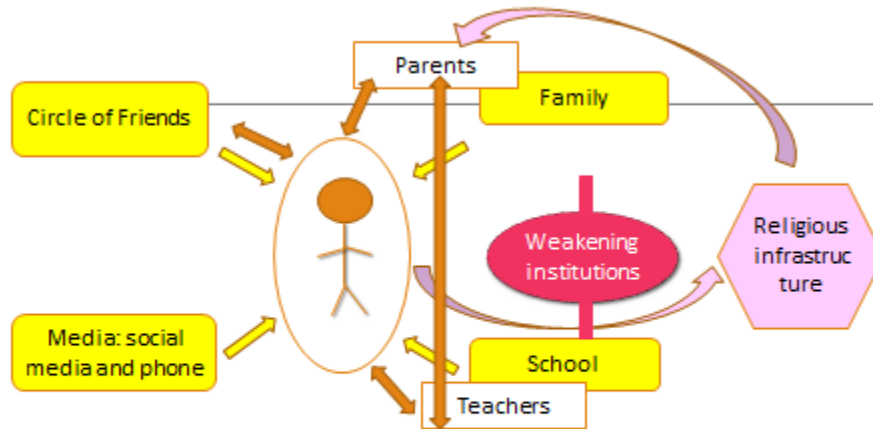
Circle of friends

A special role in the life of a teenager centers around his/her peers and friends since they spend most of their time together. The analysis of focus group discussions with the teenagers draws a portrait of them and illustrates the values and daily routines of the children.

High school students usually spend their time attending school, doing household chores, doing homework, and spending time on their phones. Some of them have hobbies such as football, wrestling after classes, or studying religious courses. Some of the respondents reported that they are earning money to supplement the budget of their families, for example, to buy school uniforms or school supplies. Others expressed a desire to earn extra money for their needs and gain work experience. The young respondents from the Uzbek community responded that they worked mainly as apprentices, earning 200 Soms per day. Female respondents from the countryside help with the family business or on the farm, doing needlework and sewing.
 How do they see their peers?

> *"They are how to say, they are divided into groups like strong girls and the weaks (Zheti-Oguz, 15 y.o.)*
> *"Nimble, active. Mostly now money and looking beautiful is something that schoolchildren think of much" (Iskra, 16 y.o).*

The discussions with the teenagers show that they prefer to talk more with their peers than with their families. The reason behind this was that a lack of emotional warmth from families causes a feeling of anxiety which is mitigated in conversations with friends:

> *"Mostly we are shy to tell parents these things. You would feel better if you tell to friends" (FGD, Aravan).*
> *"Without your problems, I have enough of my own - say usually our parent" (FGDs with the teenagers, Talas, Seidikum, Begabad, Arslanbob, Ak-Korgon, Saruu).*

It is interesting to note that although they have different professions and roles, the adults' (parents, juvenile police personnel, and pedagogues) views about the contemporary youth are similar. According to them, nowadays, youth and children are distinguished by their aggressiveness and disobedience. The adults compare their children's attitudes with their own when they were young and admit that it is challenging to educate their kids.

> *"Nowadays maybe life is difficult or for other reasons, we cannot know, but the youth now think that they know themselves everything. Before children used to obey teachers or parents. They used to listen to their parents. But this is not a case nowadays. We often do not know how to respond and educate them" (FGD with parents).*

Mobile phone

In the above analysis, the systemic problems of young people were identified: the quality of education, the lack of a relationship between school and child, the lack of interconnection between school and home, problems of mutual understanding between parents and children, obtaining necessary information, and the recognition of religious figures as authorities. In this regard children are left with their own devices and form their attitude to the world by studying relationships through mobile applications, often trusting them more than their parents or the school.

All categories of respondents noted the impact of the phone on the life of adolescents. The students themselves said that every day they spend all their free time on the phone. The average amount of time that teenagers spent on the phone were from 7-8 hours per day. A few teenagers said that they do not have a cell phone at all. When they damaged it or lost it, their parents did not buy them a new one.

M: How many hours you spend over the phone? *P3 (36:40): To tell the truth, all my free time.* *M: For example, two hours?* *P3 (36:49): In total 10 hours (FGD, Iskra).* *P2: If a day is 24 hours, I spend 10 hours over the phone (FGD, Kara-Bak)*

According to the children, the phone is mainly used for:
- Entertainment (listening to music, watching videos)
- Communication (with their peers through social networks and instant messengers, parents in migration)
- Searching for information for educational purposes
- Messengers are used to mobilizing their supporters during mass brawls.

According to teenagers, they become dependent on the phone. In cases where parents control children, the use of the phone is reduced to a minimum and sometimes even reduced to the use as a means of communication. Also, children try to finish all their "home obligations" and use social networks "late at night".

The results of the interview with the category of 19-28-year-olds show that they have less time to use the phone. Most respondents pointed to fatigue.

The adults often referred to the influence of the telephone for the most part in a negative sense. In order to reduce the time of use, both parents and teachers use "prohibition" methods, which leads to the opposite effect and encourages greater permissiveness for phone use out   for the children.

> *"Even my   daughter used to study excellently from 1st grade to 5th. Now because of the phone, she cannot get the highest mark. There's plenty of time at home. I am a teacher and I feel shy. I scold her saying how can I tell others to study well if my own child studies badly. But sometimes I am afraid of shouting at her, now suicide happens often. Nowadays children run away from home, hide somewhere and of course, you get worried. We are the teachers who are expected to influence children. I think the telephone is the reason for bad behavior and the children are changing only because of its influence" (Min-Kush, social pedagogue).*

On the other hand, as a means of communication for security, the presence of a telephone helps better inform the parents of the whereabouts of their children.

> *"Nowadays the use of phone and internet is getting inevitable. On the one hand it has a bad effect on health, on the other hand, there are advantages to it. When they go out somewhere, we can call them back instead of waiting to come. It's the phone which makes closer the far things. It's convenient to call and ask for something quickly" (Tameki-Sovkhoz, Talas, social pedagogue).*

In general, neither adults nor children have learned how to use the capabilities of the phone in a way to benefit from it. They see the mobile phone in a negative way and therefore limit their children's use which in turn causes conflict between adults and teenagers. It is obvious that there is a need to focus on the mobile phone as a subject in both capacity building training activities and dialogue meetings the project will run. The mobile phone has the potential to be a peace factor to fix age conflict if this is used a a learning tool for strengthening the education of the children.

3.1.4. Ethnic tensions

The most pronounced ethnic differences were noted in the Iskra (Chui) and Pokrovka (Talas) communities in the north. It was challenging during our fieldwork to assess the extent of tension between Kyrgyz and Uzbeks in the southern communities. None of the interviewees or FGD participants mentioned it as a source of conflict. The responses to the question   of inter-ethnic relationships were always short and fast and followed by a long pause. Based on our observations of the reaction of respondents to our questions and considering that the reconciliation process stopped halfway, our careful analysis points to the fact that mistrust governs the relationships between these two ethnic groups. As an exception to this mistrust, the social pedagogue of Alle-Anarov gently mentioned how government language policy which allows graduates to take exams for higher schools and colleges in native (Kyrgyz) or official (Russian) languages presented difficulties for the graduates from Uzbek schools.

It is important to emphasize that there are differences in the behavior of the Uzbeks across Uzbek communities too. For example, in Alle-Anarov inter-ethnic relationship is not discussed, the participants were reluctant to talk about. Issues related to religiosity went to the top of the list. According to a social worker of Alle-Anarov and village council member, parents who actively practice religion refuse to educate their children after the 9th grade. In the school named after Kadyrov, during the interview and FGD, one of the boys refused to talk with the researcher because she was a woman. In addition, the representatives of the Uzbek ethnic group noted that the situation from 2015 began to change for the better, and Uzbeks have hope for the future. The religious factor also prevailed over the ethnic factor in the village of Besh-Tal.

In Bek-Abad of the Jalal-Abad region, the presence of inter-ethnic tensions was quite clearly expressed. Two closely situated schools where Kyrgyz and Uzbeks study have conflicts from time to time. The social worker of Bek Abad municipal government office explained the gravity of the tense relationships of schoolchildren from Uzbek and Kyrgyz schools situated closer to each other. The FGDs and IDIs with youth took place in both of these schools in this community where respondents were reluctant to talk about this problem at all.

In the village of Kara-Bak (Batken), the clan struggle of adults directly affects the behavior of children, as well as the presence of the border with Tajikistan. The main problem in Kara-Bak is fights between boys from Charykchy and Noigut tribes. All children were from the Noigut tribe and described themselves as active and modern, whereas the Charykchy tribe was more religious and conservative. This division exists not only at the school level but also among adults. This was also confirmed by school teachers. In addition, there is a tension in the village between the local Kyrgyz and Tajiks who bought houses and moved to live in the Kyrgyz village.

High school dropouts after 9th grade, and sometimes even after 6th grade, were found to present an acute problem to the question related to ethnic minorities and education in the Kurdish and Turkish communities of Talas oblast. The main reasons for this problem are the need for young family members to work in bean fields, which is the only source of income.

A pedagogue shared her view regarding the school schedule causing conflict between families and school: the beginning of the school year (September 1) and the harvest season (September / October) happen at the same time. Some of the school children do not attend the first two months of the school year:

> *"This is a serious problem for the school, especially in the fall. Parents tell us that they cannot allow children to attend school until they harvest beans. [They say:] "Then will you feed them? They don't have even shoes!" Usually, a family of five people grows crops on a field of up to five hectares. Almost no family has a sweeper, so all the work is done by hand. This is especially true for the Turkish and Kurdish communities, which are predominantly farmers."*

The results of the analysis of responses in the village of Iskra showed that most of the children from Dungan communities s leave school after graduating from the 9th grade. Another distinctive feature of the Dungan compared to the Kyrgyz is a great capacity for self-organization. In order to solve their everyday problems, they do not go to the aiyl okmotu (local/municipal authority), but try to solve the issues on their own. Also according to the social worker, the following model is important for them:

> *They engage children to work, somehow marry daughters, send boys for field works. There is no desire to educate children in universities. Only in exceptional cases, when parents are educated, only then they educate children. Many of them are without education here.*

In Iskra, most young Dungan respondents indicated that parents encouraged them to work when they study at school. However, unlike the Turkish and Kurdish families, the reasons given by the young Dungan respondents were less indicative of the economic need to contribute to family budgets, and more of the desire to have their own money (in cities) or simply "help" parents with their farm work (in rural areas). As the following quote suggests, they think more about mutual support and hard work, and not about actual material goods:

> *«Basically, we all have fields here. Well, we help parents. This is not to say that we work, we just help parents after school».*

Also one of the features of the Dungan is the presence of social stratification. So the more "elite" part is interested in getting an education and parents are ready to provide support.

Most of the young respondents of Uzbek community foresee their future careers in the private sector or self-employment. They noted that quite a lot of young Uzbeks had concluded apprenticeship agreements with "craftsmen", although they were still in high school — for example, hairdressing or handicraft for boys, sewing for girls — and after graduation, they would develop themselves in these spheres. Future plans were to open their own business or expand (existing) parents', such as pharmacies, beauty salons or grocery stores. FGD participants indicated that the main reason for their strong preference for the private sector was the belief that they would not be able to advance their careers in the state institutions of Kyrgyzstan because they belong to an ethnic minority (Nariman). In this case, the children cited the words of their parents and elders.

The inter-ethnic differences described in this section are to take into account these contextual factors prior to interventions.

3.1.5. Gender aspect

The findings show that the girls, in comparison to boys, live restricted lives throughout their adolescence because of cultural and religious beliefs. Their behaviors are controlled by elderly brothers and parents which is for the "*protection of their dignity*" and they are basically taught the necessary skills to become obedient wives and mothers (all communities).

There are differences in the education and preferred future of girls across different ethnicities. For Kurdish, Uzbek and Dunghan families, the main reason for leaving school before graduation was an early marriage. Respondents noted that this happened at the age of 16-17 years old, but also earlier at the age of 14-15 years as a result of bride kidnapping (Talas). The respondents explained that the refusal to kidnap the bride, as a national tradition, would bring "shame" on the bride's family, which would also limit the ability of other sisters to find a partner for marriage. Additionally, for the bride who was stolen, the following quote shows that the chances for another marriage in the future will be insignificant:

> *"If you were once kidnapped, and you refused to stay, other families will assume that you have already been married."*

In addition, it is important for Kurdish families to marry daughters, regardless of their talent and inclination to education.

In Dungan families, the role of girls is also seen in marriage. This is indicated by both respondents from the older group and children. The quote presented below shows the presence of early marriage:

> *"Early marriage presents in Dungan communities as well as in Kyrgyz and Russian communities and therefore often children with cerebral palsy are born. The first baby is born with cerebral palsy, there are a lot of children with cerebral palsy, and they get married when the body is not ready yet, moreover to their relatives" (social worker, Iskra).*

This trend of early marriage is based on the conviction that women after a certain age threshold, usually 25 years, find it difficult to find a marriage partner because more effort is needed to re-educate those women and adapt to a new family. A significant number of such forced marriages, sometimes organized by parents, broke up after several months of living together and this is relevant for all communities including Kyrgyz despite their ethnic differences. All the interviewed stakeholders mentioned a number of cases related to early marriage, especially before the age of 18, is getting reduced for the last three years (Alle-Anarov, Nariman, Kashgar-Kyshtak, Arslanbob, Seidikum, Manas) due to changes in the regulatory framework in 2016 and strict oversight by law enforcement. But according to social pedagogues and social workers (Kyzyl-Kiya, Bek-Abad) and village council

member (Alle-Anarov), the legal restrictions have reduced early marriage to a certain extent but not much. Parents marry them even though they do not turn 18 years old, especially those who drop out of school after the 9th grade, but they do not report the wedding and apply for a marriage certificate later on when they turn 18 in order to avoid conflict with the law.

> *Even though we know that a girl gets married before she turns 18 as pedagogues we cannot prevent it. Once when my student graduate school in her 16 ages since she went to school when she was 6-year-old. But her father said, "we are grateful that you taught her while she was at school, but now she is not at school, and this is our responsibility to take care of her future."*

This indicates that in these communities, the traditional norms and parents' education remain strong factors and promote early marriage despite the legal restrictions introduced. People do not report violations because the 'culture of shame' and 'the pressure of public opinion' govern their behavior so much, and, therefore, they could not take decisive action while living in this society because they wanted to avoid social pressure.

The differences in the attitudes of boys toward girls are due to the religiosity or cultural values of the Dungans.

> *P: "Dungan boys usually tell us, but Kyrgyz boys don't.*
> *I: For instance, what do they tell you?*
> *P (26:11): «Girls, please don't do like this, for girls…, girls should be as girls» they say.*
> *I: In what circumstances for example?*
> *P (26:20): Sometimes when we [girls] play with boys or when they [the boy] push us and if we push them back, they say girls, don't do like that" (Iskra, 16-year-old girl)*

The growth of religiosity also affects attitudes towards girls in Kyrgyz families. So for example, according to a girl from the village of Jeti-Oguz, her parents began to prohibit her from going to sport training (boxing) after they began practicing Islam actively.

> *"My parents say since I am a girl, I should not go sport. In winter when I started boxing they were against me. They said that it's not girls' sport. And mostly I miss the competitions. They say I should sit at home as I am a girl. But still, I do my best to go sport." (Jeti-Oguz, 15-year-old girl)."*

As for young Uzbek women, they noted the lack of willingness of their parents to "invest" in continuing to educate their daughters, or fear of parents for the safety or well-being of their daughters as soon as they leave their homes to study in the city. Gender differences have to be considered to comply with "do no harm" method.

4. Stakeholders, their roles in working with youth and challenges
There were six focus-group discussions and interviews with parents in the following locations: Kara-Bak, Kyzyl-Kiya (Batken), Bek-Abad, Seidikum and Ak-Korgon (Dzhalal-Abad), Tameki-Sovkhoz (Talas).

Parents
The participants were mainly women (mothers) and they mentioned that most men (fathers) migrated to Bishkek and Russian cities to work. The number of children in each family varies from three to seven. The main problems in raising children brought up by parents were:
1. The unwillingness of children to learn and work, especially for boys
2. Unlimited phone usage time
3. The desire to "go out", especially at night
4. Exposure to religious movements

5. Participation in criminal groups, racketeering

At the same time, most of the parents emphasized that these problems are relevant for children of the transition age. Conflict situations with children arise for the above reasons. In addition, parents in all locations noted the changes in current school children and characterized them as "sensitive" and abusive and quick-tempered.

> *"Nowadays there is a huge difference between the children of the older generation and the current generation, especially those who are in transition age. Most of them are not resilient, we have to tell the truth, they are not patient. And they are independent and free-thinking, it feels to me that they don't respect elders, selfish and being raised in different conditions" (FGD, Kyzyl-Kiya).*

The issue of using a cell phone and internet access is of particular concern to most parents. As far as possible parents try to control the time of using the phone, but this does not always work and a request to "leave" the phone causes aggression.

> *"I think mostly the phone influences my child's behaviour. When s/he takes a phone, s/he forgets everything, lessons, other things as well as the work that should be done. S/He doesn't even know how much time s/he spends on the phone. His attention, attitude towards life changes, very big influence has the phone on him" (FGD, Seidikum).*

As shown by the results of the analysis of the responses of parents who participated in the FGD, they try to pay attention to their children, monitor their lessons and place great expectations on them. At the same time, the participants noted that due to the current economic situation, especially under the influence of migration, most of the children are left without parental care and remain in the care of relatives.

> *"A lot of parents are now immigrating and the children are left with grandparents or sisters or brothers. Usually, they feel pity for them and treat them carefully. Parents send money to grandmother asking to buy something for their children, parents buy mobile phones to children, give money to children as well or when they give money to children, they take this money and go to the district centers or towns. So this kind of parents sometimes maybe create conditions for children to choose the wrong way" (from FGD, Ak-Korgon).*

Migration issues are also expressed in another negative aspect when children leave school without receiving a full education and parents leave for migration.

> *"Some families take their children to Russia without informing anybody, maybe there's a lack of legislation, I would do my best to return them to school. I am too much worried about them thinking they will not study after 8th grade, but I cannot change anything. He took his daughter, then we made a report together with a juvenile police officer, social worker and a head of the village. That's all, we can't do anything else" (Social pedagogue, Bek-Abad)*

All social pedagogues spoke about the importance of the role of parents in school, at the same time it was revealed that they are encountered by a lack of understanding on the part of some parents:

> *"...or how to plan talks properly to parents so that they understand. There are parents who do not want to understand anything. Immediately begin to stand against us. Thank God now we have an office for parents. Every Wednesday we have a parent day. We established a connection with our parents because violence and suicides are happening now. Conflicts happen. Now, this is what we introduced "parents-family-school". So that not only the school is responsible for the children. Parents are responsible for them too ..."*

Understanding the importance of the institution of parenting in the upbringing of children, schools actively involve them in school life. For example, besides traditional parent meetings, trainings and games are also held.

> *R: And now conferences are held with parents.*

I: What kind of parents usually come?
R: I invite according to the list. I say, let everyone come. There are parents who don't come, they are not interested. We visit their home with class teachers and speak to them (Social pedagogue, Kashkar-Kyshtak).

"In order not to be involved in bad things parents' meetings are held. There we conduct trainings to parents. We divide them into groups and we work on different themes. Nowadays, not all the parents know the methods of raising children. And sometimes there are even parents, who say that their children do not listen to them and they don't know what to do" (Social pedagogue, Jeti-Oguz).

During the discussions, they mentioned that they are also busy and they have loans to pay which make them work hard. There were two contradicting answers to the questions *what to do in case parents are busy/who else is expected to help*. First, they say school teachers are responsible for raising their children and are looking for "soft" treatment approaches. Parents say that the methods at school like "punishment" or "shame on you" do not work today to educate children. The second opinion is that madrasah is effective in teaching morals and educating kids to be "good". 'Being a good child' in their understanding is when teenagers do not argue with their parents and do not go out of home at nights to meet with friends. In the parents' opinions, the key factors of influence on children are family including siblings and atmosphere in the house, telephone (the main source of influence on behavior), friends, school teachers and teachers at madrasahs. But FGDs and IDIs with teenagers show that they trust their elder brothers and sisters more than their parents and friends.

The data shows that parents are one of the important beneficiaries of influencing children's behavior, which should be included in the project activities. And not only parents but also older brothers and sisters should also be involved in the project.

Social workers
According to the legislation of the Kyrgyz Republic, the leading ayil okmotu (municipal government) specialist on social protection (social worker) deals with social issues at the local government level, which provides assistance in everyday life, as well as moral and legal support to vulnerable people. Social assistance is provided to the following categories of citizens:
- older persons;
- persons with disabilities;
- families and children in difficult life situations.

As part of this study, 15 interviews were conducted with social workers in the locations of Seidikum, Aravan, Gulistan, Kashkar-Kyshtak, Bek-Abad, Arslanbap, Ak-Korgon, Kara-Bak, Iskra, Kyzyl-Kiya, Nariman, Tameki-Sovkhoz, Min-Kush, Jeti-Oguz, and Saruu. An employee in Min-Kush has the biggest experience of 10 years (very few cases) and the less is 15 days in Gulistan. At the same time, the data show that there is a high level of staff turnover in this area, and the average level of work at the position is no more than a year. According to gender proportion two- thirds of current social workers in the target locations are women.

Social workers described their main functional duties as "advocates" of vulnerable segments of the population. For this, according to them, they identify the circle of people in need, determine the nature and amount of necessary assistance, coordinate the efforts of various state and public structures, and advise on social protection issues. Among other stakeholders, the social workers were the most knowledgeable on vulnerability, social and conflict issues in their communities. The interview findings show that the areas of work depend also on what social issues are acute in their own location.

"As a social worker, I work mostly with those who take care of migrants' children in the absence of their parents. Children of migrants are in big control now. All the crime is committed by children of migrants, violence as well [unfortunately no secondary data on this]" (Social worker, Min-Kush).

My functional duty is to identify families with low income in this ayil-okmotu and our village. We identify who needs help, whose life is difficult and what they need. Moreover, allowances are allocated, now it's changed and it's called assistance to families. Now we help to families, who are newly separated from their parents, young families who don't have accommodation and cattle and not to those who have a household (Social worker, Saruu).

*For the last two-three years, I have been working with disabled children and their parents. But for this year we allocated a budget to work with school and parents to prevent early marriage (*Social worker, Nariman*).*

My main function, my main task is to work with socially vulnerable people as far as possible to help. Our area is in a rural area. The standard of living is lower than in Bishkek, lower than in Osh, but we are in charge of our duties as far as possible. Since last year we started working with orphans and single parents' including migrants' kids to take care of and create conditions for them to be at schools and get educations (Social worker, Alle-Anarov, Aravan).

Due to the fact that social workers are employed by the local governments, they are guided in their daily work by orders and decrees of state bodies. Most of the respondents noted that they were dealing with the issues of migrant children. Household visits were made and a list of children was compiled with social passports, and weekly monitoring was conducted to monitor the living conditions of the children.

"There are children left behind by their migrant parents who have good living conditions even if they live with aunts, brothers or grandparents. There may be four or five children who live in poor families, but the rest have good enough conditions. We monitor them every month. If something happens to a migrant child, maybe they become tough guys, immediately we check that family, prepare a report and make notes. So nowadays we work only with migrants" (Social worker, Tameki-Sovkhoz, Talas).

"Now I will explain to you in the figure. We have a special Government Resolution on radicalism and extremism. There is a fresh example on March 10, 2019. How many children are left without a mother and without a father? 92 people. At school age. Minor children. From 1 to 16 years old are under the care of grandparents, uncles and aunts. Both parents are abroad. We have a schedule; we go around each month to check how they live. Are they exposed to radical or extremist views? Are they warm? Are they full? We visit each house" (Social worker, Alle-Anarov, Aravan).

In addition, social workers work in partnership with juvenile police staff and social pedagogues. Interaction with social pedagogues occurs when it is necessary to establish contact with parents whose children are under the supervision of a social pedagogue and juvenile police officers. They report quarterly, and while preparing reports, they use data that is requested from juvenile police officers and social pedagogues. Being employees of ayil okmotu, they consider it their task to "control" the general situation in the village. In view of this, they monitor the situation in the religious sphere, i.e. they take into account those who leave for Dawaat, whether the "correct" explanatory work is being done in mosques. All work is aimed at preventing violence and wrongful acts in their communities. Imams are also involved in explanatory work. In some villages, trainings were conducted with psychological methods to better recognize children and study their behavior.

According to social workers, frequent household visits and maintaining close ties with parents (trustees) gives a positive result in improving the situation of children and increasing their interest in learning. In addition, general meetings and explanatory meetings with villagers are held, which also contributes to the fight against violence. In meetings, in some cases, social workers use the "shame" method, i.e. according to their words, Kyrgyz are "prideful", and if they publicly voice problems with their children, parents try to "keep" and control their children more. Social workers began to pay

more attention to working with more "closed" children, as they saw positive results from close work and frequent communication that help these children change. The main focus is on their hidden talents in the works. They also believe that individual work is considered the most "effective" method of work.

The main difficulty in the work of a social worker is multi-tasking, i.e. the number of categories of the population with whom they have to work. Therefore, some respondents suggested allocating work with young people to a different employee. As indicated above, the level of staff turnover is quite high due to low wages.

> " *We used to have weddings with music, but now without music. And young people have nowhere to burn their energy. And it seems to me that it is necessary for every ayil okmotu to work only with young people because the social worker does not have time. We have many categories. There are lonely and/or disabled people. I do not know how I will have time. And the salary is small. Five thousand in total. To work with young people, it's necessary to come and go. Two thousand will go only for transportation. And 1,5 will go to lunch. In the ayil okmotu only the old people work because it isn't profitable to work for youth. Five thousand isn't enough to feed the family, wife and child"* (Social Worker, Gulistan)

The social workers also voiced the problem of filling out the documents, as people are afraid to give personal information for fear of being exposed to any risk. In general, on the basis of the data presented, we conclude that social workers at the village level do a great deal of work with vulnerable groups of the population.

Social pedagogues
A social teacher is an employee of the school who creates conditions for the social and professional self-development of students, organizing the activities of teachers and parents on the basis of the principles of humanism, taking into account historical and cultural traditions. Thus, the social educator acts as an intermediary between the child and society and is an expert in the conflicts of the child with peers and adults.

According to regulatory documents, their main functions at school are:
- Support the family in problems related to raising and educating a child;
- Identify the needs of children and the development of measures to help specific students with the involvement of specialists from relevant institutions and organizations;
- Help the child to eliminate the causes that negatively affect school performance and school attendance;
- Attract children, parents, and the public to organizing and conducting social and pedagogical events and actions;
  - Recognizing, diagnosing and resolving conflicts, problems, difficult life situations affecting the interests of the child in the early stages of development in order to prevent serious consequences;
  - Individual and group counseling for children and their parents on issues of resolving problematic life situations, raising children in the family, conflicts, etc .;
  - Prevention and correction of mental health and social behavior;
  - Socio-pedagogical support of the educational process.

During the collection of field data, 19 interviews were conducted with social pedagogues; 17 from target and two from control-group locations. Among the interviewees, there were employees with 10 years of work experience, i.e. since the introduction of this position, and very young, who began their work with the beginning of the new school year. The average work experience in all locations is 3,5

years. In general, as the answers show, those who begin to work as a social teacher remain for a long time.

#	Location	Social pedagogues		Work experience	Social workers		Work experience
		M	F		M	F	
1	Iskra		F	5 years		F	6 months
2	Jeti-Oguz		F	10 years		F	1.5 years
3	Saruu		F	2 years		F	19 years
4	Tameki-Sovhoz		F	2 years		F	7 months
5	Min-Kush		M	1.6 years		F	10 years
6	Alle-Anarov		F	2 years	M		3 years
7	Besh-Tal		F	1 month		F	15 days
8	Kashkar-Kyshtak		F	5 years	M		1 year
9	Nariman		F	7 months		F	2 years
10	Arstanbap		F	5 years	M		3 years
11	Ak-Korgon		F	3 years		F	14 years
12	Bek-Abad		F	5 years	M		6 months
13	Seidikum		F	9 years		F	7 years
14	Kara-Bak		F	7 months	M		5 years
15	Kyzyl-Kyia		F	3 years	M		2 month
	Average:			**3 years 7 months**			**4 years 10 months**

In terms of gender, 95% of social pedagogues are women. The school teaching staff nominate the social teacher and she is appointed by the director. After election each of the teachers was trained on various topics. Almost all respondents noted their main obligation is to work with vulnerable children, knowledge of their family status (compiled social passport), the role of "mediator" between parents, teachers, and children.

> *"Our main job is to work with children grown up in hard living conditions, to provide them psychological assistance. We don't have a psychologist in our school. Actually, there should be one, but we don't have. That's why we also provide them psychological support and set up trust boxes. They write about their problems and drop there" (Social pedagogue, Nariman).*

> *"Well, I think the main thing is to work with children with disabilities. The most responsible part. And then work with those who have difficult living conditions. There are also children who refused their houses, children with lots of problems, those who cannot solve the problems" (Social pedagogue, Kara-Bak).*

> *"How can I say, well, the bridge between the parents and the school. We have different types of children. There are open-minded children, closed children, suicidal... (Social pedagogue, Iskra).*

In their work, social teachers named various approaches and methods they use. Depending on the category of children, approaches change. The main ones are grouped below:

Table 2: Approaches used by social teachers depending on the category

Children category	General approaches on work	Special methods in locations	Who interacts with	Challenges
Difficult, "closed" children	Individual conversations, personal notebook, constant interaction with the class teacher and parents. They use religion, for example, call on the holy day, Friday, and they ask to get better, because it does not fit for a Muslim to do that. Using the "Carrot Method"	Use of cards, books of Brian Tracy, Natalia Pravdina, Davlatov (Iskra). The introduction of a school-wide electronic control system for keeping children in school (Kashkar-Kyshtak) Collected cases on difficult children, and if the conversations do not help, scare that they will transfer the case to the juvenile police.	Juvenile police, Yntymak (local activist group in Iskra)	There are not enough methods to correct their behavior (persuasions, conversations may not work)
Children of migrants	Creating a social passport, home visits, theater-forums, trainings, psychological tests, inviting psychologists, the use of games. Individual, in-depth interviews are considered effective.	Signing an agreement with the trustees that they will look after the child properly (Bek-Abad). Using videos with different parenting techniques	class teachers, social workers	Relatives, where children are left in are not always ready to interact
Children from low-income families (orphans, half orphans)	Creating a social passport and providing assistance. Search for sponsors and inviting to various events.		class teachers, social workers	How not to stigmatize them, not to hurt feelings

Analysis of the answers of social teachers showed that experienced teachers developed their approaches and effective methods in working with that group. At the same time, they identified a number of difficulties encountered:

● If the parents of the child are in an unfavorable situation (the father drinks, the mother is unemployed) and do not respond to the calls of the social pedagogue, then it is difficult to find methods of influence.
● Additional payment for the work of the social studies teacher is 6000 som, while the load is high. As respondents noted, high responsibility (they leave school the latest, can be called to the school at any time, etc.)
● Context (culturally established norms in the community). For example, in the community, it is accepted to marry girls early. And if a teacher starts to fight this, then the community stigmatizes and condemns such actions.
● There are children who have no documents and it is rather difficult to get them.
● Lack of psychological knowledge when working with children with difficult behaviors

From the interviews with teachers it was clear that it is the teachers themselves who are so much interested that 'hard to work children' who under the supervision of social pedagogues drop the

school after 9th grade. The reason is that it took a lot of time and energy to work them and the social teachers concern so much about responsibility if these teenagers might have trouble while being at school. *'I think of the children who are in social passport than mine of children. I feel relieved when these children graduate school'* (Interview, Begabad).

Thus, we conclude that the role of social pedagogues in working with a vulnerable group of youth is very important, and it is necessary to provide them with institutional support to improve their capacity.

Juvenile police personnel
In total   2 FGD were conducted with representatives of the juvenile police in the north and south of the country. The total number of participants was 16. The main task of the Institute is to prevent neglect and delinquency among adolescents and to provide them with the necessary educational impact. According to the employees of the juvenile police department, they work in two directions:

Juvenile offenses
Persons who have reached the age of 14 by the time of the offense are criminally liable for:
- Murder;
- Intentional infliction of grievous bodily harm;
- Sexual assault;
- Rape;
- Theft;
- Robbery;
- Extortion;
- Illegal seizure of a car or other vehicles without the purpose of theft, etc.

Juvenile offenses: all forms of child abuse (physical and sexual abuse).
The main problems that are highlighted by employees of the juvenile office
- school fight;
- thefts;
- petty theft;
- hooliganism
- suicide
- 'gatherings' at nights (according to them is a time when the elderly criminal group influence the teenagers)

They also mentioned that look at the attitudes of children whose parents joined banned radical religious movements but they do not work since this issue is under the National Security Committee (NSC) responsibility.

Juvenile police officers specified children from single-parent families and adolescents who do not obey their parents as being more inclined to create different groups. As a rule, such children try to attract children from wealthy families into their circle and use them as a source of money. In addition to this, children do not always have critical thinking skills, therefore they are driven by and used by political forces in their actions.
In some locations, there have been practices of inter-school hostility for more than 10 years or between the teenagers living in different neighborhoods (the streets). The reasons may be different and require a detailed study in each case.

The juvenile personnel noted the lack of public confidence in law enforcement as difficulty in their work. Distrust is also present among teenagers. The steady tendency to "fear" a person in a police uniform is observed and therefore it is rather difficult to create trusting relationships with children. Therefore, they believe that social pedagogy performs a lot of preventive work in school. Monthly wages in the amount of 10,000 to 14,000 soms depending on work experiences, no additional benefits except wages, no transport and no compensation of transport costs make their work effectively. Most of them mentioned that they have loans to pay due to having a low salary.

> *It would be good if the government would immediately give us wings like that of Carlson, so that we could fly at any time of the day. We do not have a car, do not give gasoline and cash compensation for transportation costs. Happen that we are called in the middle of the night when we begin to persuade the neighbors to pay at our own expense. We have kids and wives to feed. To be honest, we are working without income because there are no other paid jobs in rural areas (*FGD with juvenile personnel*).*

This correlates with information that teenagers mentioned that there were cases when juvenile personnel received bribes from their parents when they had school fights.

In recent years, the criteria for evaluating the success of the work of juvenile personnel have changed. According to the new provision, an increase in the number of children in the list of violations is considered as a negative indicator, since this demonstrates the ineffectiveness of preventive work. In this regard, local police in most cases are reluctant to include children in the list, although this does not prove a reduction in the number of children who violated the law.

Local police give many lectures on various topics of education. And one of the effective tools in the fight against suicide among adolescents is considered to be close interaction with local imams (religious leaders). Since they explain that suicide is considered a great sin, and the children "believe" the imams. In addition, preventive work is carried out by employees of the prosecutor's office, district administrations. Increasing such collaboration between police, social workers and pedagogues and religious leaders seems like a good opportunity.

Schoolchildren have stronger support structures, but young people over the age of 18 do not, therefore many destructive criminal and religious extremist groups focus on youth between the ages of 18-25 (FGDs with juvenile personnel). Also, young people of this age become leaders and role models for teenagers.

> *In the village, there are young people aged 18-27, who are perceived by adolescents as role models. Children listen to them. Those who do not listen to their parents listen to them. If they say to clean the gym until the evening they go home and do. There are such powerful young people who control adolescents by their own physical powers" (FGD with juvenile personnel).*

5. Baseline survey findings

The baseline survey was conducted to identify the needs, grievances and interests specific to each of the initially targeted three groups of the project considering gender and ethnic differences. This gave an opportunity to review these and other new categories of young people and the extent of their vulnerability.

5.1. Youth vulnerability and its factors

The study revealed systemic problems of youth: the quality of education, weakened interrelationship between school and child, the lack of interconnection between school and home, problems of mutual understanding between parents and children, access to information necessary for their learning and recognition of religious figures as authorities. In response to these problems, many children are represented by themselves and form their attitudes to the world by learning about life and

relationships through mobile telephones and social media and often prefer to approach and spend their virtual life in social media more than with family and school.

In the social passports updated by a social pedagogue of each school, there are up to fifteen types of school children who need psychosocial support from social pedagogues (Among them the categories in red will be targeted by the project).

Category
Children from large families
Orphans
Half orphans
Children from low-income families
Children whose parents are disabled
Children with disabilities
Social orphans
Children whose both parents are in migration
Children who have one of their parents in migration (external)
Children who have one of their parents in migration (internal)
Number of children from divorced families
Youth, registered at the local juvenile police
Children with a trustee or guardian
Children from families who served in Afghanistan, Batken, Chernobyl
Children without birth certificates

According to interviews with social workers, social pedagogues and juvenile policemen there are four categories of children identified as most vulnerable: 1) children who were left behind by one or both parents when they left for migration, 2) single-parent children (e.g. divorced or died), 3) young people who had a conflict with the law and therefore under the watchful eye of juvenile police personnel, and 4) children or young relatives of families whose parents/siblings joined a banned radical religious movement. It is worth noting that vulnerability has two meanings: first, it means a greater 'need for emotional and material support'; second, these young people are vulnerable because it is 'hard to work with them' and they are 'susceptible to aggression and violence'. Focus group discussions conducted with the first three youth groups (migrants', single-parents' children and those who are in conflict with the law) attempted to understand their attitudes, needs, and concerns deeper. The findings draw a portrait of each category as follows:

1) The adolescents between the ages of 14-18, who were left behind by parents who had left for labor migration were mostly living with elderly grandparents or the closest relatives of their parents or with one of their parents in case only one parent had migrated. Social workers, social pedagogues, and juvenile police personnel emphasize that this category of children are different than their peers living with their parents, and, therefore, this creates challenges to work with them. Some of the adolescents, according to social pedagogues, are highly self-confident, do not recognize school rules and are often in conflict with teachers during the lessons. This would be a good opportunity for Search's 'five degree' shift programming principle. Another group of migrated parents' children is not very sociable and more segregative. This was observed during the focus-group discussions directly with children of migrant parents. This is easy to observe because most participants seem confident, openly express their opinions and defend their opinions strongly. But there were also three or four participants who never opened their mouth and were reticent when interviewed following the discussions.

The analysis states that deep vulnerability is manifested when the questions are about parents. When asked to describe their feelings about their parents' departure, the answers were 'miss our parents', 'miss my mother', 'the week is emotionally too hard'.

- ➔ *M: For example, what do you feel when they come and when they leave?*
- ➔ *P2: When they come I am very happy when they leave I cry.*
- ➔ *P1: When they come you are happy; after one or two weeks you will start to be annoyed by some of their words...you want them to leave quickly. But then again you will miss.*
- ➔ *P3: I cry when they call...*
- ➔ *P4: I cry, miss and cry...*
- ➔ *P5: We stay and cry and do work crying...*
- ➔ *P1: When I want to cry I go to the field and shout, I become very angry...*
- ➔ *P6: When someone swears, I miss them and cry...*

There was no difference in responses according to gender, location, and ethnicity. Left-behind boys and girls by migrating parents expressed missing their absent parent, be it father or mother in migration. But it was noted by the respondents that they often cried and felt a very strong desire to see their parents, especially between the ages of the 1st to 3rd-year of school. It is worth emphasizing that some of them, especially 10th-grade school children, stated that they had no feelings about their parent's migration. Children deprived of daily parental attention comparing themselves with others are experiencing stress and depression. The understanding of social roles in the family is blurred, for them, the norm is when children grow up without parents.

2) Another category is single-parent children due to divorce or death. This category of children from the words of the social worker and the pedagogues always walk dully and rarely smile. In the case of migrant children, children have hope that the parents will return. And semi-orphans understand their position and grow up early because they have to work and think about their life and future from an early age. According to the children themselves, peers with one or no parents are very different; they behave themselves as adults.

According to the social pedagogues of the Ak-Korgon location, this group of adolescents experiences difficulties in socialization and adaptation to society, primarily related to the experience of the life of an inferior family. The findings show that there is a social stgma against these types of family about the delayed mental development. It says that social orphans (the children of divorced parents) express less motivation to learn, have difficulties to form long-term plans and prospects for their own development. They are very sensitive to talks about families.

In this category of adolescents, according to teachers, there are also children with too much attention from one parent, primarily due to the desire of the parent or guardian to provide the child with more affection and attention. In turn, it is also a threat to a teenager, since excessive attention and the desire to please him makes him capricious and removes him from reality. The preparation for life stress situations in these adolescents is low, which potentially makes them vulnerable.

According to interviews with stakeholders, the problem further lies in the fact that orphans and social orphans are easily influenced by religious movements, activists who, through missionary work, answer many vital questions that the teenagers have (why I have only one parent, why I have no parents, what is my mission, what is right or wrong, how to feed me myself, etc.). Religion gives a sense of brotherhood. These teenagers themselves for some time feel surrounded by their family, feel protected, members of the fraternity are ready to share life challenges, offer help and give protection. The teenagers receive the attention that they need while sharing equal rights and opportunities with all members of the spiritual community. A teenager receiving quality attention from religious leaders

will devote more time to religion than to other public institutions. There are cases in which children drop out of schools and join religious schools. Since the legal framework regulating education requires 9th grade secular education the school teachers keep children against their will (cases in Mirmahmudov, Alle-Anarov and Arslanbob). During the study, an interview with one of the male students who dropped out of the school because of his preference to join a religious school in the 7th grade lasted about 1 hour. In an hour the respondent resisted answering any of the questions. At the end he said:

> *I do not talk to a woman whose head is not covered by a scarf. I don't like anyone here, I like going to madrasah but the school administration asked madrasah teachers to expel me from madrasah because I dropped school here. I will tolerate to stay one year and after 9th grade I can legally not come to this school (*In-depth interview with teenagers*).*

According to social pedagogues, the absence of one of the parents is a factor of vulnerability:

> "*How can I say? There is a growing tension towards children without a mom or dad.
> If something happens, they are likely to commit a suicide*" (Interview, Jeti-Oguz).

As noted above, the change in the socio-economic life of society over the past 20 years has had a rather pronounced effect on family relations, which, in turn, directly affects the upbringing of young people. According to the 16-year-old respondent from Kara-Bak village, the lack of support and direction from parents for education is a limiting factor for youth development.

It is worth emphasizing that after independence, state and public institutions left behind a vertical power structure. At the same time, the public moral education of children and teenagers was left to their parents, who were brought up in communist schools as pioneers and Komsomol. In turn, they do not know how to raise children in their free time away from school and doing household chores. This is primarily due to the fact that parents believe that patriotic, moral education should be taught by the school as a representative of the authorities. On this basis, conflicts and misunderstandings arise between teachers and parents. An understanding of state work on the psychological and moral protection of children is not being conducted; today, in a special crisis period of life, children remain alone with their fears and feelings. According to social pedagogues, such children, given the unstable economy and other social problems of society, need more attention from public and state institutions.

3) Young people registered for committing a crime. This category of children is specifically accounted for by social workers and law enforcement officials. Most of these are children who commit the offense because of the need to purchase a modern mobile device. According to representatives of law enforcement agencies with this category of teenagers, it is necessary to carry out work over the course of a year. They conduct explanatory work with both parents and children.

Based on the responses of the teenagers it is worth emphasizing that the problem of children registered to be under the supervision of Juvenile Police is also the basis of the understanding (notion) of offenses. For example, when conducting FGD in the village of Saruu, respondents noted that adolescents are registered under circumstances not related to the notion of offense: for example, they are in the list of juvenile police for being out on the street in the evening after nine, trampling down the lawn, or being in another school. Teenagers of Alle-Anarov said that juvenile police personnel register adolescent for offences based upon both appearance and behavior. This does not mean that all innocent adolescents are registered for offences by juvenile personnel but at the same time crime prevention is extremely unsatisfactory. From the talks with teenagers this can be concluded that they do not understand the boundary between youthful mischief and hooliganism.

For young people who are in an adolescent (transitional physical and mental development) period, it is difficult to perceive what was childhood fun and games yesterday, and today they are registered for carrying out this same action as a crime or even worse, they require a bribe from their parents for this. Neither the understanding of the offense and misconduct in the classroom is explained nor conversations with parents on this in advance is conducted. So many boys and girls get answers to their questions in the religious community, where there is a clear vision of the eternal question: *What is bad? What is good?* And even if you commit a crime you can always get forgiveness without consequences.

4) There are children from families practicing and promoting radical religious views, whose parents are charged for being members of extremist religious movements. The study did not have access to interview such children. This was discussed with juvenile police personnel and social pedagogues to involve them as indirect beneficiaries in the project activities and therefore learn more about their needs and concerns. During the interviews, it was revealed that many teenagers devote their after-school time, weekends and vacation to missionary-educational activities, where they study the basics of Islam. As they mentioned in their families (Mirmahmudov, Alle-Anarov, Ak-Korgon), no secular or national holidays are celebrated; priority holidays are associated with religious events. Children in such families from childhood are intolerant of a different opinion than their own *mashab* or other beliefs. According to their desire and of some of the parents who attended the focus group discussion it would be good if the state supports madrasahs and their 'mashab'.

5.2. Psychological portrait of youth

According to the results of the projective test of the "THP", designed to assess the personality of the testee, his or her level of development, performance and integration; obtaining data on the scope of his relationship with the outside world in general and with specific people in particular. This is one of the most well-known projective techniques. The test is intended for both adults and children. The study can be conducted both in a group and individually. Preference is given to individual testing, which provides great opportunities for observation. Revealed by:

Teenager refers to the transitional and critical periods. This special status of age is associated with a change in the social situation of the development of teenagers - their desire to join the world of adults, orientation of behavior towards the norms and values of this world. The social situation of development determines the transition and crisis of this age. The peculiarities and manifestations of adolescence are determined by the specific social circumstances of the life and development of teenagers, their social position in the world of adults. The transitional age has always been considered critical because of the sharp and comprehensive personality changes. Personality changes are associated with a particular social situation during adolescence, but they are also associated with the puberty of a child. If adults do not reckon with the fact that a teenager is no longer a small child, then resentment and various forms of protest arise from teenager's side - as rudeness, stubbornness, disobedience, isolation, and negativism. However, disobedience, self-will, negativism, stubbornness are not at all mandatory features of a teenager's character. Only as a result of the wrong approach to the teenager and the ups and downs of upbringing, conflicts and crises arise, which are in no way fatal and inevitable. Thus, the adults do not understand or ignore the true motives of a teenager. The teenagers do not accept the requirements of adults since these requirements do not have a genuine meaning for them[36].

Unfortunately, in school and family practice, some teachers and parents still adhere to the "convenient" formula in their reasoning and actions: a teenager is a child, and therefore s/he must

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[36] Palagina N.N. Developmental and Age Psychology Moscow 2005

obey the teacher and parents unquestionably, because they are already adults. The growth of teenager self-consciousness leads to the fact that s/he sometimes quite meticulously assesses his/her external qualities and mental properties. A teenager thinks a lot about volitional qualities and ways to strengthen them. That is why a teenager can be embarrassed by an innocent remark and say something awkward in response. And since such comments fall on the pretext of his or her inner self-doubt, depending on the circumstances and the situation, this may cause an adolescent to have an effective flare (nagging, slander, crying), or an insult that he harbors longing from the fact that he is unlucky, incapable, etc. And all these circumstances can lead him into a state of depression, make him "shut down" or lose self-confidence.

№	Location	Categories prevailing by locations
1	Arslanbob	Inadequate feelings prevail in 30% of teenagers. Do not experience emotional warmth at home 30%.
2	Kashkar Kyshtak	Diffidence 50%. Aggression 30%. The feeling of inadequacy of 30%. Anxiety 30%, a general anxiety feeling associated with relationships with others.
3	Jeti-Oguz	50% of teenagers in this location need protection, do not feel a sense of support.
4	Iskra	82% need protection and do not feel a sense of support. Anxiety 64% No feelings of emotional warmth; guardianship; or the presence of conflict in a relationship with a loved one in 27% of teenagers.
5	Allia Anarova	The feeling of inadequacy of 50%. Intellectual degradation of 60%.
6	Seidikum	Low self-esteem 90%. Diffidence 80%. 60% of teenagers do not experience emotional warmth at home.
7	Bek Abad	Low self-esteem 60% and aggression 50%
8	Kyzyl Kiya	Low self-esteem in 80% and in 60% diffidence. 50% need protection.
9	Kara Bak	Low self-esteem 71%. Do not experience feelings of emotional warmth at home 71%. Diffidence in themselves 57%.
10	Talas	Low self-esteem 70%. No emotional warmth at home 30%. Need protection 30%.

11	Besh Tal	Low self-esteem 100%. Sense of inferiority 83%. Diffidence in themselves 66%
12	Saruu	Need protection 50%. Anxiety 40%. Low self-esteem 40%. Do not experience feelings of emotional warmth 40%
13	Nariman	Low self-esteem 50%. Diffidence in themselves 50%. Do not experience feelings of emotional warmth 50%. Aggression 40%
14	Ak-Korgon	Low self-esteem 60%. Negativism and dodging (selects a line of behavior (a mask))
15	Min-Kush	Low self-esteem 60%. Do not experience feelings of emotional warmth at home 80%. Need protection 70%

№	Categories	Categories of all locations
1	Anxiety	24,3%
2	Aggression	19,4%
3	Low self-esteem	47,2%
4	Diffidence	33,3%
5	Do not experience emotional warmth at home	35,4%
6	Sense of inadequacy	14,5%
7	Needs protection	34,7%
8	Sense of inferiority	8,3%

In general, according to the results of the projective methodology, the THP (Tree, House, Person) revealed that many teenagers have difficulties with communication and social situations. They are not satisfied with reality, and some live with a sense of low value, uselessness, abandonment and frustration. They are experiencing a feeling of helplessness, and anger. They need for psycho emotional support, since there is no support and no feelings of emotional warmth at home toward them. It may conclude that at home there is no understanding and respect for the emotional needs of a teenager.

5.**2. Selection of location, youth to be covered by the project disaggregated by location, gender and ethnicity and mentors.**

The project direct beneficiaries including mentors from Phase I have been selected and the proposed locations have been revisited. As a result one location was changed due to acuteness of problems: Mirmahmudov was selected instead of Gulistan. In Gulistan two projects were being implemented working on youth issues during the assessment. During the design the project selected the target locations only at rayon or municipal level which consist of different villages. While considering the recommendations came from the final evaluation of the Phase I of this project, we visited all the villages in this rayon or ayil okmotu. Based on findings we selected the following villages within the target municipalities.

#	Location (village)	Rayon/Ayil Okmotu	Key conflict issues
1	Iskra	Chui/Iskra	Tension between Dungan and Kyrgyz youth.
2	Saruu	Jeti-Oguz/Saruu	Internal conflict between older and younger youth.
3	Jeti-Oguz	Jeti-Oguz/Jeti-Oguz	Racketeering, transfer of power in the school among girls and boys, so called "handover of a crown".
4	Tameki-Sovkhoz	Manas/Pokrovka	High school dropouts after 9th grade, and sometimes even after 6th grade who mostly involve in street fightings and have had conflict with law, racketeering. Internal migration.
5	Ming-Kush	Jumgal/Ming-Kush	Growth of diverse religious practices leading to misunderstanding and tensions.
6	Kashkar-Kyshtak	Kara-Suu/Kashkar-Kyshtak	Tension between Uzbek and Kyrgyz.
7	Nariman	Kara-Suu/Nariman	Growth of diverse religious practices.
8	Alle-Anarov	Aravan/Alle Anarov	Radical views of parents, which lead to dropouts after 9th grade and early marriage.
9	Besh-Tal	Nookat/Mirmahmudov	All girls after 5th grade wear headscarves which cause the conflict between secular (less religious) teachers and the parents of those girls. They are hardly involved in school life except for the classes. Early marriage.
10	Kyzyl-Ai	Bazar-Korgon/Seidikum	
11	Bek-Abad	Suzak/Atabekov	Inter-ethnic tensions between Uzbek and Kyrgyz

			communities. Early marriage.
12	Ak-Korgon	Ala-Buka/Ak-Korgon	
13	Arslanbob	Bazar-Korgon/Arslanbob	Early marriage, presence of diverse religious groups.
14	Kara-Bak	Batken/Kara-Bak	Fights between boys due to the tribal division: charykchy and noigut.
15	Kyzyl-Kiya	Kyzyl-Kiya	Racketeering and extortion. Weaker and vulnerable children are used by the stronger children to help around their household work. Quiet and well-behaved children often are bullied by the stronger one.

Significant support in choosing children for the interviews was provided by social teachers. During the interviews with them, it was determined that a social passport was drawn up in each school, indicating the number of children and various categories. In different schools it is compiled in different ways, but there are still general categories. A comparative table of social passports is shown in the following figure.

	Category	Saruu	Min-Kush (Jusup Saruu)	Arslanbap	Tameki-Sovkhoz	Besh-Tal		Kashkar-Kyshtak	Nariman	Kara-Bak	Kyzyl-Kyia	Ak-Korgon	Bek-Abad	Seidikum
1	Total number of students	784	906	250	487	673	528	2453	879	952	1305	259	1306	894
2	Children from large families		114	20		111	20	113	43		35		120	28
3	Orphans	1	1	1		5			1	1	3	2		1
4	Half orphans	24	62	25		34	5	38	9	38	29	6		34
5	Children from low-income families		19	15	27	25	17	34	27	31	22	4	40	5
6	Children whose parents are disabled	2						4			10		10	

7	Children with disabilities		20		4	8		3	7	6	10	4	15	4
8	Social orphans	1		14		71						27	60	
9	Children whose both parents are in migration	15		14	13	45		51	47	76				
10	Children who have one of their parents in migration (external)		63	14				150		11	202	15	19	130
11	Children who have one of their parents in migration (internal)		29	6								5		
12	Number of children from divorced families		3				8	51	69	49	52			37
13	Youth, registered at the local juvenile police	5			1	13				8				
14	Children with a trustee or guardian		3	5				1						
15	Children from families who served in Afghanistan, Batken, Chernobyl	1				6		4/1 Afg han			2		3	
16	Children without birth certificates	1							4		1			

Since the project covers children from 14 years old and above, children from the 8th grade and above were selected. Preference is also given to younger children than 11th grade, since many graduates leave the village after graduation. The project will last until 2020 and it is desirable that pupils work within the project for a year and be sustainable. Social teachers and juvenile police personnel provided as the most vulnerable children who are currently under their supervision.

These teenagers were mobilized and interviewed about their needs and problem. In addition, they took psychological test, the results of which was provided in *psychological portrait* section above. Children were asked to draw a tree, a human and a house. This test is designed to assess the personality of the respondents, their level of development, performance and integration; obtain data on the scope of their relationship with the outside world in general and with specific people in particular. In total the study questioned 282 children from 15 locations; 161 (57%) of them are boys and 121 (43%) are girls and age range is from 14 to 18.

According to the results of the test 143 children were have been pre-selected. 91 (64%) of them are boys and 52 (36%) are girls. After selecting these children, we contacted social pedagogues and asked

the characteristics of each student. On the basis of this analysis it was defined that 41 out of 143 i.e. 28% are children of migrants; 25 children (17%) have a single parent; 29 children (20%) are aggressive children, who usually have problems with teachers, classmates who come into conflict with the law. 6 children (4%) represent children/young relatives of families who promote very strict rules of Islam (some of the views in relation to women and other religion sound radical) (Besh-Tal).
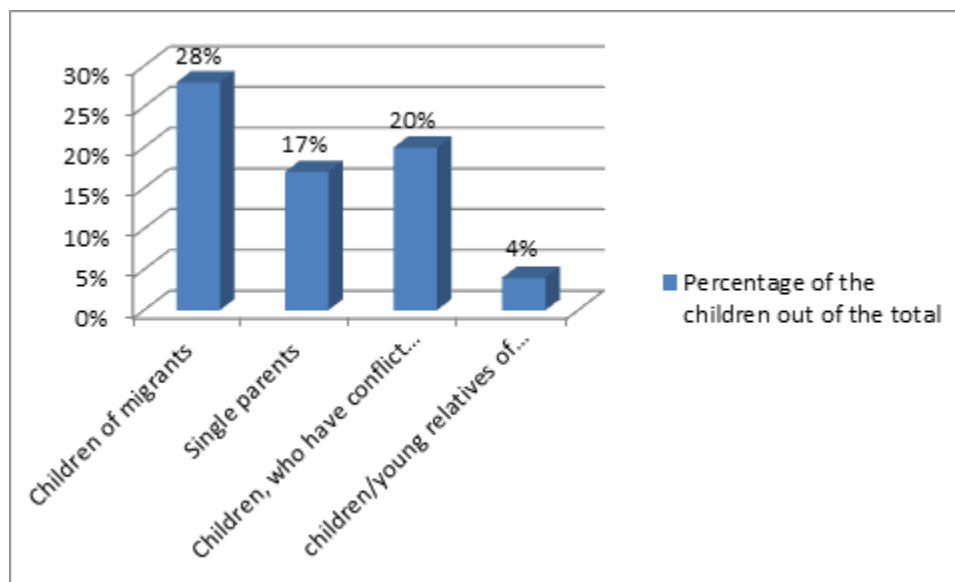

Diagram 5. Distribution of participants by categories

The main reason for the radicalization of adolescents, according to juvenile police employees, is the "proximity" of religious leaders to the child, they give clear answers to their questions, help solve life problems, and give a ready-made formula for life. It was also noted by parents that the children who have the religious education are trusted, honest and reliable. They do not have conflict neither with a law nor with adults, parents and teachers.

The issue seems to lie in a a lack of trust and interaction between the main institutions for the socialization of children which have a negative impact on the current situation rather than the increasing influence of religion.

> *"You have a problem...if you go to the mosque, you will feel yourself better. Indeed, it affects at the psychological level. A minor child goes there to lighten himself, he gets answers to his questions there. They get answers for those questions from mosques, for which they don't get from parents. Firstly, Mullah helps them 2-3 times, says that this is the life. The child believes him. After they start to recruit children, they say please read this book, so probably the religious radicalization begins in this way. We neither discuss with children their feelings, nor the social pedagogues. They don't tell everything to the social pedagogues." (Respondent 5, FGD with juvenile police officers, the North)*

It is important to note about the gender point, for girls there are no places to practice their religion. For girls who join bad factions, adult girls have a big impact. They show how to smoke, how to travel to the city, "form the setting of a good life in a big city," and the girls run away. This problem is more urgent for girls from dysfunctional families, or orphans.
There are no public platforms in the villages, where young people can express their problems and understand themselves; this also applies to leisure.

One of the reasons for the events taking place with the upbringing of children was the attitude of parents towards children. What kind of future they are building in front of them - for the most part it is "migration to Russia", "or we will buy a tractor"? Children do not form other life ambitions; a well-defined future is drawn. At the same time through social networks another "beautiful" life is offered. Such dissonance creates in children a sense of dissatisfaction, injustice and aggression.

Respondent 5: Nowadays parents work 24 hours in 2 works, additional source of income is needed. There was one incident, one girl tried to suicide because she wasn't given 500 soms for her hairdo for New Year party.

Respondent 2: Now the reason for not studying is the phone. At school, at home, even while walking they use phone, they don't pay attention to the lessons.

Respondent 5: Why phone? There's a communication. There she is respected, listened to, she gets responds. They are involved in virtual communication and they get more information from the internet. For example, who can talk to their daughter about reproductive health, nobody can. I still cannot talk to my children. We were not learned how to do that. (FGD with juvenile police officers, The North).

Last but not least the findings provided data to determine the basic value of outcome and output indicators against which to monitor and evaluate the progress (*Logical Framework with baseline values determined to the first semi-annual progress report*).

Conclusion and Recommendations.

The study consisting of a literature review and field data findings concludes that radicalization is not violent or harmful in nature but there cases when it served as a precursor to joining violent extremist groups. Vulnerability to radicalization is defined as a 'susceptibility to the process leading to a movement from moderate mainstream beliefs toward more extreme views and extreme commitment. Therefore it is worth to study comprehensively with a proper methodology given the context of a country. In terms of correlation between vulnerability of youth to the susceptibility to radicalization the study concludes that vulnerable youth (due socioeconomic backgrounds) are a key target group for radicalization and recruitment by violent extremist groups. This conclusion came both literature review and opinions of respondents during the field data collection within the frame of this study. This is worth to emphasize that no facts were referred to this conclusion by the respondents. Another argument supporting this conclusion is that media replaces family and school to play a key role in the education of children. And, therefore, radicalization of youth out of control/education of traditional institutions leading to violence takes place.

In addition parents who were brought up in communist schools do not know how to raise children in their free time away from school and believe that moral education should be taught by the school as a representative of the authorities as it was in Soviet times. On this basis, conflicts and misunderstandings arise between teachers and parents. An understanding of state work on the psychological and moral protection of children is not being conducted; today, in a special crisis period of life, children remain alone with their fears and feelings. According to social pedagogues, such children, given the unstable economy and other social problems of society, need more attention from public and state institutions.

In addition, contextual issues such as implications of migration, gender stereotypes and inter-ethnic and inter-tribal tensions limit opportunities for girls and boys and rather increase youth vulnerability.

Based on this conclusion the study provides the project team recommendations as follows:
- Focus mainly on 14-18 y.o. youth to promote preventive measures
- Look for ways to increase girls' and ethnic minority groups capacity in ORT (state exam) test to increase opportunities for education among female and ethnic young people.
- Look for ways to bring up the topics about structural violence - regulatory framework which allow the school children to drop the school in 15 year old but offers nothing in return
- Contribute to revisiting the approaches to work with children i.e. Move from Punishment to Motivation.
- Work with parents, teachers and youth to change their attitudes towards smartphones; See it as an opportunity rather than as a problem. Develop training materials and use cell phone for learning: IDEA case
- Capacity building with parents in using storytelling to educate their children.
- Conduct a course of training on self-development and self-knowledge for teenagers.
    - Conduct a training session to improve parenting skills for parents.
    - Conduct psycho correctional courses on art therapy for teenagers.
- Involve sisters and brothers 18+ for sisterhood and brotherhood activities
- To work closely with social pedagogues and more religious youth to involve the children/relatives of families in charge for extremism
- Train and conduct Youth in 2-3 pilot locations in conflict monitoring and observe dynamics
- Work on sustainability: pilot and test sustainability model in Saruu and Nariman
- Make #JashStan as a national program: project is piloting and testing, so based on Phase I and Phase II tested approaches