

SCHOOL RACKETEERING:

**RELEVANCE OF THE PHENOMENON,
PREVENTIVE AND RESPONSE MEASURES
IN THE KYRGYZ REPUBLIC**





This analytical document is the fifth one in the series “Co-Security Analytics” published by Civic Union “For Reforms and Result” in cooperation with Saferworld.

This paper discusses the relevance of a racketeering problem among students of the secondary schools in the Kyrgyz Republic, and issues of preventive measures and response to the school racketeering by the appropriate institutes taking preventive measures.

Conclusions and recommendations of the document are based on the research data including survey, interview and focus groups with students and school teachers, Juvenile Police employees, representatives of the relevant ministries and civil society. There is also an analysis of legal acts and other applicable materials performed.

The analytical report is intended for the decision-makers and all those people and organisations interested in this problem.

The analytical document keeps all participants anonymous. Coverage of the research: City of Bishkek, City of Osh, Chui oblast, Osh oblast, Batken oblast, Issyk-Kul oblast, Jalal-Abad oblast.

The authors express gratitude to the partners of Civic Union “For Reforms and Result”:

Rano Tursunaliyeva, Bibigul Bupebaeva, Elena Ivanova, Asyl Abdrasakova, Zamir Kozukeev, who took an active part in the field research.

Special thanks to our respondents – participants of the interview, focus groups, survey who found time to take part in the field research.



This publication (report) is published with the technical assistance of the Department of Foreign Affairs, Trade and Development of Canada. It does not necessarily reflect the official views of the Government of Canada.

SCHOOL RACKETEERING:

RELEVANCE OF THE PHENOMENON, PREVENTIVE AND RESPONSE MEASURES IN THE KYRGYZ REPUBLIC

BRIEFING #5
“CO-SECURITY” POLICY BRIEFING SERIES

Writing team and research group:

Samara Papieva, Timur Shaikhutdinov, Arthur Bukalaev, Alexey Kruk,
Urmat Kazakbaev, Ravshan Abdukarimov, Aigerim Nogoibaeva, Sanzhar Alimzhanov,
Aibek Askarbekov, Chinara Temirova, Galina Davletbaeva,
Gulnura Mamyrova, Anna Zubenko

BISHKEK 2016

CONTENTS

ACRONYMS AND ABBREVIATIONS.....	3
INTRODUCTION	4
DESCRIPTION AND ANALYSIS OF THE CURRENT SITUATION	6
SECTION I. School racketeering nowadays	6
SECTION II. Why the problem is unknown or ignored	9
SECTION III. Structure of the prevention and response system	12
3.1. Preventive measures	12
3.2. Response measures	21
RECOMMENDATIONS	25
APPENDIX I. RESEARCH METHODOLOGY	28

ACRONYMS AND ABBREVIATIONS

MIA	– Ministry of Internal Affairs
BIA	– Bodies of Internal Affairs
LSG	– Local Self-Government
JP	– Juvenile Police
MoES	– Ministry of Education and Science
MSD	– Ministry of Social Development
SCNS	– State Committee for National Security
SAYAPCS	– State Agency for the Youth Affairs, Physical Culture and Sports
LCPC	– Local Crime Prevention Centre
NGO	– Non-Governmental Organization
CCA	– Commission on Children's Affairs
OPFC	– Office for Protection of Families and Children
DIA	– Directorate of Internal Affairs
SR	– School Racketeering
SP	– Social Pedagogue
YFP	– Young Friend of Police
HEI	– Higher Education Institution
JRC	– Juvenile Record Card
IFWP	– Individual Family Work Plan
ICPP	– Individual Child Protection Plan
Inter-Agency Plan	– “Inter-Agency Plan for prevention of delinquencies and crimes among youth and minors of the Kyrgyz Republic”



INTRODUCTION

The level of juvenile crime in Kyrgyzstan for recent 25 years varies between 1000 and 2000 cases per year. According to the National Statistics Committee, in 2014 there were 1021 crimes in the country committed by the minors from 14 to 17 years old. It accounts for more than 6% of all offences of law committed in the country.

The Inter-Agency Coordination Council for Juvenile Justice under the Government of KR states that in 2015 the level of juvenile crime in the country increased by 0.4% as compared to 2014.

What is extremely disturbing is that there are acts of violence in the school environment. According to the Inter-Agency Coordination Council, in 2015 there were 101 cases of school racketeering. We may assume that the official statistics hardly reflects the actual state of things around this problem.

It is worth noting that for some time past the problem of school racketeering became not a taboo among public officials and other specialists. Practices of adopting the *“Inter-Agency Plan for prevention of delinquencies and crimes among youth and minors of the Kyrgyz Republic”*

Increase in number of JP (Juvenile Police) Officers at the local level, development of different manuals for specialists, and other measures confirm the willingness of different stakeholders to seek optimal solutions.

Some representatives of the Parliament are also interested in the topic. On 19 May 2016 the members of the research group informed Cholpon Sultanbekova, a deputy of Jogorku Kenesh (Parliament), on preliminary conclusions of this analytical report. According to the results of the meeting, she raised some identified problems during the parliamentary session¹.

¹ http://24.kg/vlast/32515_cholpon_sultanbekova_slovo_smotryaschiy_stalo_prakticheski_kultom_v_nashih_shkolah/

There are attempts to establish a dialogue between the state and civil society on the issues of crime prevention; thus, the First National Conference held recently in the city of Bishkek under title “Co-Security and crime prevention policy in the Kyrgyz Republic” discussed, among other things, a topic of juvenile crime prevention².

However these measures remain insufficient to solve a school racketeering proliferation problem and other forms of violence in educational institutions. Although officials recently report that *“the racketeering prevention is several steps better thanks to the cooperation of bodies of education and internal affairs”*³, the representatives of community and experts remain concerned about this phenomenon. It can be associated with another disturbing problem – suicides among minors, which is declared on 26 May 2016 during a session of Jogorku Kenesh⁴.

The problem of violence among teenagers is not only an issue of children who were caught red-handed but also an issue of their families and environment. It is not only JP, pedagogues and social workers who must deal with the problems of violence among teenagers, but also parents and all other social structures that must be involved.

Different social services try to work it out at the local level, but the efforts must be consolidated for the effective solution of this comprehensive problem. The first task to be solved is the enhancement of the preventive policy, especially in educational institutions.

In this report the group of authors tried to describe expressions of violence among school-children, particularly the problem and structure of such a phenomenon as school racketeering. In addition the group analysed the existing mechanisms and measures used to prevent school violence, and developed recommendations to solve this issue.

² <http://reforma.kg/konferensiya-sobezopastosti>

³ http://24.kg/obschestvo/13084_shkolnyiy_reket_v_parallelnoy_realnosti/

⁴ <http://knews.kg/2016/05/26/cholpon-sultanbekova-schitaet-shkolnyj-reket-mozhet-byt-odnoj-iz-prichin-suitsida-sredi-podrostkov/>

SECTION I.

SCHOOL RACKETEERING NOWADAYS

Despite the measures taken, the school racketeering is still there adapting to the external conditions. The system of relationship among schoolchildren (cult of force) existing in the schools is conducive to developing such a phenomenon.

Now they amicably ask to lend some money promising to get it back tomorrow, without violence, quietly, you give it knowing that they wouldn't give it back.

(Focus group with schoolchildren)

The seniors (homies) collect all phones in a cap, all students in the class have to put their phones in the cap. As a result they take away the best mobile, and give back other phones. Then the phone is put up in the pawn shop, money taken, and the receipt returned to the one whom this phone belongs to, for him to redeem the phone.

(Focus group with schoolchildren)

Schoolchildren face the problems of extortion from the senior school students and peers from 6-7 grade (12-13 years old). The forms of extortion can include physical abuse or intimidation. According to the respondents, it is lately the second form that is used where senior school students (directly or through peers) ask to lend money with the victim knowing that they would not give money back.

The research shows that the subject of extortion is money (from 20 KGS and more), telephones, in some cases clothes or other valuables. There is the case of extortion where one takes the telephone from a student and put it up in a pawn shop. From then on, the victim may redeem the telephone.

There is also a tendency for a new form of extortion: the students force their mates or those who is younger to run errands, for example, to help in the field or at home.

So the racketeering takes new hidden forms that are difficult to classify as a delinquency or felony. As a result the teaching staff and JP face more difficulties to identify such facts, and, therefore, efficiently resist the violence and extortion.

There are cases when school graduates extort things. They extort from senior school students who in turn extort from those who is younger.

The school racketeering is a phenomenon of the cult of force widespread in educational institutions. The most influential students are often those who are stronger and show dominant

Graduates of the previous years make a call to the "seniors" and give them some time to collect money from the students. In 2015 the amount was 8000 KGS.

(Survey among schoolchildren)

and aggressive behaviour.

In the school environment there is slang based on the division of students into different categories: "nerds", "bullies", "cakes". Most commonly the first group includes the students who have good scores, do not fight and are not a part of the informal group called "circle" or "crew". Bullies are usually students showing aggressive behaviour who take part in fights and commit school racketeering. The cakes are those who have bad academic progress and who are prone to aggression (variations of the name for this category of students can differ from one school to another).

The teenager subculture absorbs the terms, behaviour models and structure intrinsic to the adult criminal world. Such a transfer of notions can include an informal method of self-organisation of schoolchildren (boys) that is called "circle" (in some cases "crew"). Like in the criminal world, the informal leader of a school is called "keeper"⁵. The circle makes and enforces rules. Those who end up in this informal group (generally from physically weak children) can become an outcast and often a victim of mockery and extortion. Being in the circle does not ensure protection from the school racketeering, and in many cases children are there because they fear to become outcasts. As some respondents say, they do not feel free in this environment. Approximately 70% of students (boys) are in the circles in the schools where there is such a form of self-organisation. The informal leaders (keepers of a class, Locomotive players) are in the classes too. They directly report to the school keeper and ensure behavioural control over the class students. In its turn, they can be punished for other students who broke the rules. Besides the keeper, in the informal circle there are groovers, solvers and others who fulfil their duties.

The circle arranges the meetings, in slang "get-together". During such meetings those who broke (screwed up) the informal rights of the circle are punished by beating. For many schoolchildren, whether they are physically punished or not, such meetings are a stress factor.

As the students say, this school atmosphere affects academic progress of schoolboys.

⁵ <https://ru.wikipedia.org/wiki/Смотрящий>

You come to school to learn;
during the second class break
one says that a "get-together"
will be held today. So you are
stressed and can't focus on the
classes.

(Focus group with the students)

The informal leaders of a school can enter a union with leaders of other educational institutions. Sometimes money is extorted to help leaders of other schools.

The analysis of the situation shows that the school racketeering is a part of the more common problem in educational institutions associated with the cult of force. Although there are educational institutions where the problem of violence and racketeering is not so pressing, there are schools with the rooted rigid system of values among students which encourages derogation of the weak and honours teenagers prone to aggression as the recognised leaders. This situation is aggravated with peculiarities of the adolescence period when the child seeks to establish himself in the social groups⁶.

We may assume that, without alternatives attracting in the current social reality, the suppression and humiliation of others are becoming the methods of self-affirmation. Often children who strive to learn and intellectually develop are exposed to the acts of pressure that reduce their achievement and willingness to go to school. Such an environment creates favourable conditions for school racketeering.

Another concern is the influence of the criminal subculture on children's behaviour, which results in escalated stratification in the child environment based on violence. This phenomenon has one more possible consequence – different circles in the school can be a social lift for some young boys to the adult criminal world. The problem of school racketeering also relates to schoolgirls, but the scale of this phenomenon is smaller among them.

As a result of the measures taken the number of underage students who participated in the commission of crimes has decreased by 6.6% or from 416 to 390; as well as the number of extortion committed decreased by 54.1%, or from 242 to 157 facts. Facts of suicide decreased by 9 facts.

(Source: The report of Ministry of Interior of the KR)

⁶ Violence in schools: aggressors and outsiders. Evgenii Grebenkin, Candidate of Psychological Sciences.

SECTION II. WHY THE PROBLEM IS UNKNOWN OR IGNORED

Schoolchildren and institutes taking preventive measures are different in estimating the prevalence of school racketeering. School administrations and BIA representatives deliberately underestimate the scale of the problem, which is excused by both a lack of information and an attempt to maintain their reputation.

Institutes taking preventive measures⁷ admit the existence of the school racketeering, but tend to underestimate the magnitude of the problem. They believe that the number of school racketeering cases recently decreased thanks to the efficient preventive measures. Some representatives of the civil society have the same opinion.

The findings of this research show that the problem is still there and aggravated in some cases (in some localities). However in some schools this problem is no longer relevant.

Some people from the SCNS, DIA came to ask about the racketeering because last year our school was top among the schools with the cases of racketeering. We don't tell them a thing because they ask in the school and for everybody to hear

(Focus group with schoolchildren)

The most common methods of reviewing the school racketeering are to install the trust boxes in schools, conduct anonymous surveys among schoolchildren, hold conversations of teachers and JP Officers with schoolchildren. The opinions of institutes taking preventive measures related to the decrease in the cases of school racketeering are based, among others, on the findings of the anonymous surveys held at least once a quarter, and analysis of the data collected.

The respondents among schoolchildren confirm that their institutions conduct different surveys on this theme and there is a trust box. In rare cases schoolchildren use trust boxes to

⁷ School teachers, JP, LCPC members, representatives of the social protection office.

Everybody is afraid of telling about the school racketeering because they will eventually find out who blew the whistle. If they find out that it was someone from class 10 A, the entire class (boys) is gathered in a place, and they require the whistle-blower admit his act, otherwise they would beat everybody. And, of course, they beat everybody.

(Focus group with schoolchildren)

This problem is not for discussion among us, it is closed, and the adults try not to see it.

(Survey among schoolchildren)

You keep telling the class teacher about the problem, and she doesn't do anything; they [teachers] don't want to speak about the facts of racketeering in their schools, because racketeers are expelled from the school, and the school's reputation gets ruined. The school is afraid of losing its credibility.

(Interview with a schoolgirl)

inform of the racketeering, but most commonly they fear to inform even through this anonymous tool.

As they say, the informal leaders are most likely to get to know about the complaint and therefore punish them (using physical force). In addition, students, for the same reason, prefer to keep silent about the problem during the meetings with JP, teachers and any other actors.

The respondents state that the school and JP can't ensure security for complainants, so it's risky and useless to inform them of the problem. However some schoolchildren say that JP know the ones who extort money, but can't prove it or completely ignore the problem. Sharing information about the acts of extortion is deemed to be an unacceptable whistle-blowing that is punished by the racketeer ("circle").

The school administration often deliberately underestimates or neglects the problem of the school racketeering. Such a way of actions is common among both class teachers and the administration of the educational institution.

According to the respondents, the main reason of concealment is the punitive actions from educational management authorities imposed on the principal and the school where there are cases of racketeering. Besides, the management of the educational institution is interested in a positive image of the school where there are no cases of violence.

Meanwhile, officials from the ministries note that principals are encouraged to openly speak about the existing problem, where keeping silent and idleness are punished. However, according to the order of the MoES of the KR dated 15 May 2015⁸, one of the criteria for evaluation of the work done by the managers of pre-school and school educational institutions is the absence of the records of racketeering and other forms of violence.

Sometimes school principals do not perceive the problem though the teachers express their concern.

⁸ Order of the Ministry of Education and Science of the Kyrgyz Republic #512/1 dated 15 May 2015 "On the approval of the evaluation criteria for the activities carried out by the managers of state educational institutions and managers of territorial offices, educational divisions through performance evaluation of managers of state educational institutions of the Kyrgyz Republic".

I'm afraid something can happen at any time. There is such a tensional environment, but the principal says that it is all right and there is no racketeering.

(Interview with a school teacher)

This research identified a mismatch between statements of schoolchildren, pedagogues and police as to the prevalence of the school racketeering. The underestimated scale of the problem can be explained by the existing practice of performance evaluation of the school, principal and other pedagogues when existing cases of racketeering are deemed to be a trigger for imposing administrative measures (sometimes up to demotion of the school principal).

The efficiency of the existing methods of collecting the information about school racketeering cases is limited by schoolchildren's distrust of these methods. As the existing subculture among students in some schools is governed by the rules established by the circle, sharing information (or so called "whistle-blowing") is considered to be a very serious blame resulting in the rooted practice of keeping silent about this problem by the students.

As a result, the development of efficient measures for fighting the extortion and violence in the schools can be limited by a lack of information about the actual state of things.

In 2015, representatives of the Ministry of Education and Science claimed that in Kyrgyz schools racket was defeated. MoES KR explained that such successful result was due to increase in the Inspection on Juvenile personnel by 124 units and collaborative work of education authorities and the Interior.

(School racketeering. In a parallel reality. URL: . http://24.kg/obschestvo/13084_shkolnyiy_reket_v_parallelnoy_realnosti/)

SECTION III. HOW PREVENTIVE AND RESPONSE MEASURES ARE TAKEN

Although attention and control from the state authorities concerning the school racketeering are growing, the measures taken are not sufficient for fundamental changes.

There are two main types of measures for addressing the problems of discipline, public order and violence among schoolchildren:

- 1. Preventive measures:** general and individual preventive measures. The general preventive measures are focused on all students; the individual measures are focused on separate students who didn't commit the delinquency but prone to do it.
- 2. Response measures:** the focus is on the students who committed unlawful acts.

3.1 PREVENTIVE MEASURES

The main actors of the general preventive measures are school administrations, Juvenile Police (JP) under the MIA; in some cases the state and local authorities, non-governmental organizations, and other institutions also take these measures.

The general preventive measures are focused on early prevention of violence and unlawful acts among schoolchildren. Such measures generally include informational and educational events.

GENERAL PREVENTIVE MEASURES AND RESTRICTIONS

1. School administration

The schools hold different out-of-school activities of the educational and cultural nature: Club of the Funny and Inventive, “Akyl-Ordo” (intelligent contest), theatrical performances with the roles played by schoolchildren, “Tamashow” [joke show], sports competitions, activities coinciding with holidays, contests of compositions, etc.

Most of schools have the so called school **self-administration** (or parliament), whose head is the president, and members are ministers.

As schoolchildren say, those students who deal with extortion in the school do not generally take part in most of events other than sports events. The main actors of these measures are volunteers, exemplary students. So these preventive measures are short to concern the students who deal with the school racketeering. The same concerns the school self-administration where there are no teenagers showing deviant behaviour at all.

According to the most of the respondent schoolchildren, the school keeper has more power than the school president.

The social pedagogues, along with class teachers and deputy principals on educational work, are the main category of teachers who deal with the preventive and response measures in case of school racketeering. As the respondents at the local level say, this category of employees is created to fight the school racketeering.

As the respondents from among teachers say, the social pedagogues work closely with JP and are involved in taking preventive actions, conversations with students. However, the pedagogues state that, for a reason of low salary, they have to take additional hours in disciplines and, therefore, have less time for the main duties. Many interviewed students equate social pedagogues with subject teachers, for example, one of the students answered question: “What do social pedagogues do?” as follows: “They teach the Kyrgyz

The school parliament usually consists of exemplary students, there are no racketeers (informal leaders), and nobody listens to them

(Focus group with parents)

We are charged with any tasks that has nothing to do with teaching, from preparation of wall newspapers to organisation of inoculating of children.

(Focus group with teachers)

We understand that there is a problem but do not know how to deal with it; we are sitting, thinking, holding different events but it doesn't help. We hope that you will tell us what else we can do.

(Focus group with teachers)

language”

Most of social pedagogues note that there is no special provision or other document that contains the precise job description and work methods. Only one of the pedagogues in the course of discussion could remember the order⁹ dated 27 July 2010 being the fundamental document. However this document does not contain job descriptions but provides responsibility of different institutions for dissemination of social pedagogues' job specifications among schools.

The respondents say that the schools have no common understanding about the function of this teachers' category not only among these pedagogues but also among other

school teachers.

The social pedagogues remark a need of their additional training in psychology of minors. There is no state system for further training (in psychology of minors, etc.); however some NGOs make efforts in capacity building of this category of employees through conducting trainings and preparing different manuals.

The research also shows that there are schools (mostly in the city) where full-time psychologists work, but majority of schools do not have such a position.

According to the Ministry of Interior, 1831 prevention cabinets are organized in schools of the republic. Inspections on Juvenile together with the education authorities held 4664 of preventive measures in educational institutions of the republic, including: 3440 wall newspapers were produced, 1258 competitions and quizzes were organized.

⁹ Order of the Ministry of Education and Science of the Kyrgyz Republic #452/1 dated 27 July 2010 “On approval of job specifications for social pedagogues in educational institutions”.

2. Juvenile Police

The general preventive measures taken by JP include lectures, conversations with students concerning the issues of responsibility for unlawful acts and their consequences.

The students say that the lectures are often held in the certain situations. For instance, if there were a mass fight or a case of school racketeering recorded, etc. Most of schoolchildren attended different preventive lectures many times but nobody from the interviewed children couldn't remember details of such lectures. When the lectures coincided with the demonstration of films about juvenile delinquency, such a form of information was more interesting than conventional lectures. There are cases when JP together with the school administration arranged travels to the places of confinement.

Many interviewed institutes taking preventive measures make an emphasis on a lack of JP Officers. In the cities of Osh and Bishkek one school has one JP Officer; in other

cases 1 employee of JP covers 5-10 schools, which prevents him from performing the duties in each school.

The JP say that they are often engaged in the activities that are not directly related to the work with minors, which increases their load and, therefore, affects their efficiency in the preventive measures. As the representatives of the civil society emphasize, during recent elections in the local self-governments JP had to provide public security; so the duties of dealing with minors were left disregarded. The JP Officers say that performance evaluation of JP in the prevention of delinquencies depends on the quantity of registered and deregistered minors. There must be dynamics in figures – approximate quantity is 2-3 teenagers registered in a quarter, and also deregistered. Otherwise, the JP performance evaluation will be negative.

According to the inter-agency evaluation document of the BIA¹⁰, the number of the

The lectures are held when there is an emergency, for example, when the fight is big.

(Focus group with schoolchildren)

For instance, when the local elections were held, there was a case of violence towards a minor, and the JP Officer was not in place. Children are referred to such a case group when JP Officers must not take part in meetings, elections and so on; they must deal with children only.

(Interview with an NGO representative)

¹⁰ Order of the MIA dated 10 April 2015, #363 “On implementing the regulation of the Government of the KR “On approval of the provision for the fundamentals of comprehensive evaluation of performance of the bodies of internal affairs of the KR”. Appendix 1.

materials sent by JP for the review to the commission for children affairs is considered when evaluating the territorial office to be positive.

Meanwhile, according to the same order, the number of lectures and conversations conducted by JP in educational institutions, workshops, performances in mass media, preventive actions also has a positive influence on the evaluation.

However, the managerial staff of the territorial offices of the BIA in the course of the research declared that the main criterion of JP efficiency is the performed preventive actions, but the recording after approval of new indicators is not a priority.

When the ULO employees take preventive measures in the schools, they currently limit themselves to the formal preparation of reports on the lectures read and conversations with students.

Cooperation of school administrations, BIA and other entities in the context of the general and individual prevention of delinquencies among minors

The institutes taking preventive measures designate the creation and function of team “Young Friend of Police” (YFP) to be one of the preventive measures.¹¹ These teams are formed in many schools and consist of the students alone. According to the provision, the main tasks of YFP are: intensive assistance to the school in education of the students, forming of the active life philosophy in students; patriotic upbringing; study of the forms and methods to fight delinquencies and crimes committed by minors, including the ones who go to school; assistance to the law enforcement agencies in prevention of juvenile crimes; inculcating the legal knowledge in schoolchildren¹².

¹¹ Order of the Ministry of Internal Affairs of the Kyrgyz Republic dated 4 March 2013, #177 and the Ministry of Education and Science of the Kyrgyz Republic dated 4 March 2013, #92/1 “On approval of the standard provision of teams “Young Friend of Police” (YFP) in general educational organisations of the Kyrgyz Republic”.

¹² See the same.

In YFP they learn to march,
take part in contests, learn road
traffic rules; as a rule, active
children are there

(Focus group with schoolchildren)

According to the representatives of government institutions at the national level, the police strive to include troubled teenagers in YFP involving them in socially useful activities. The surveys at the local level show that most of members of these groups are earnest students who were not caught racketeering. The respondents at the local level note that YFP are often involved in contests among all similar groups and their activities rejuvenate in anticipation of such events.

The schools also create **councils taking preventive measures**. According to the provision¹³, their main tasks are: prevention of delinquencies, child neglect and juvenile crime; formation of the fundamentals of law culture and law-obeying behaviour in students; protection of childhood rights. The council is established from representatives of the school administration, members of the teaching staff, JP, organising pedagogues, representatives of the community, and local crime prevention centres (LCPC), parents, senior schoolchildren, members of the parent committee.

The enforcement actions of the council are generally of the punitive and sporadic character and, as a rule, concern the committed acts of violence among schoolchildren:

- oblige to publicly or in person apologise to the aggrieved;
- keep an intra-school file [register the case];
- solicit to the administration of the general educational institution:
 - on making a warning;
 - on the announcement of reprimand or severe reprimand;
 - on delivering the presentation to the CCA;
 - on delivering the solicitation to JP.

The teachers and JP are aware to a great extent of the work of the councils taking preventive measures, whereas most of the students do not know they exist.

The teachers say that the council taking preventive measures makes decisions on the students when submitting the documents to the CCA. The council taking preventive measures also summons parents to their meetings in order to discuss the child's behaviour.

¹³ Joint decree of the MIA of the KR and MoES of the KR dated 26 August 2008 "On approval of the provision for the Council taking preventive measures in the educational institution".

The respondents' opinions differ on the issue of the working efficiency of the council; some note that they are created formally and do not work in practice, whereas others, particularly teachers, emphasise that the work of the council helps teachers to analyse specific cases.

One of the mechanisms ensuring coordination of the governmental structures in the sphere of prevention of crimes among the youth and minors is "Inter-Agency Plan for prevention of delinquencies and crimes among youth and minors of the Kyrgyz Republic" (hereinafter referred to as the Inter-Agency Plan). The main objective of the plan is "prevention of delinquencies and suppression of acts of school racketeering among youth and students of the general educational institutions". This plan is the basic document providing coordination of governmental structures¹⁴ in the prevention of crimes among minors.

This document provides measures aimed at military training and patriotic upbringing (arranging of composition writing process, placement of information stands, etc.); strengthening of the school self-administration, establishment of school formations, workshops on different themes, excursions (in higher education institutions, vocational schools); establishment of the Councils taking preventive measures; arranging active events (sports circles, entertainment); establishment of the offices taking preventive measures, holding Olympiads, contests, organisation of mass cultural events. The plan assumes strengthening of the security services of the school and adjacent area.

The respondents from the institutes taking preventive measures are aware of the available plan; the plan is provided as the basic document that lists preventive measures.

According to the respondents at the national level who were involved in the development of the plan, this plan for 2016–2019 academic years will be approved by the KR Government Decree, which will increase responsibility of the agencies on the issues of its implementation.

¹⁴ MIA of the KR, MoES of the KR, MSD of the KR, Headquarters of the Armed Forces of the KR, Ministry of Healthcare of the KR, Ministry of Labour, Migration and Youth of the KR

Recently the institutes taking preventive measures have gained understanding of the available problem of violence and school racketeering, and significance of the measures for the prevention of delinquencies in schools. The measures are regularly taken, including in cooperation with different structures, such as BIA and school administrations. There is the inter-Agency plan at the national level that unifies efforts of the 6 agencies and allows to track the activities performed. In 2015 the staffing level of JP was significantly increased, and it allowed to activate the work of this category of employees with the school.

The out-of-school activities and different forms of public participation often involve diligent students, while teenagers with the deviant behaviour from among boys remain beyond these measures. So the entire set of the general preventive measures taken, which comprise, among others, the objective of the prevention of delinquencies, does not influence directly any one of the main groups which it is focused on. It can lead to the increased isolation between diligent schoolchildren and schoolchildren prone to violence, and contributes to the continued use of labels applicable to one or another category of students.

The lectures and other forms of sharing information have a limited effect due to their weak adaptive capacity for perception of schoolchildren and unsystematic nature.

The schools practise a set of measures by a template from year to year, while their influence on schoolchildren and immediate situation is not evaluated. If the extortion is elicited, each case is tried individually. There is no practice of the analysis of efficiency of the measures taken and their influence on the situation. Introducing staff of social pedagogues at schools is one of the measures taken by the MoES in preventing delinquencies among children. It took not long that the social pedagogues became a significant actor in this sphere. However, irrelevant tasking of this category of teachers, insufficient level of competence and a lack of the common understanding of the functions of the social pedagogue restrain their efficiency.

The research shows that preventive measures are not still perceived by JP to be the top priority. It is associated with the current evaluation practice of JP when the focus is on the formal indicators relating to the crime detection rate, registration and de-registration. It leads to the emphasis on activities of response to individual cases of delinquency among minors. We must note that the MIA introduces new evaluation criteria for JP.

The new school mechanisms designed, according to the documents, to provide preventive measures often do not fulfil this function to the fullest extent. For example, YFP is perceived by the institutes taking preventive measures to be one of the tools to involve minors in the prevention of delinquencies, while, according to the respondents from among schoolchildren and teachers, this movement is associated with the occasional contests only.

There are councils taking preventive measures functioning at the level of schools designed also to take preventive measures, but in practice their activities are related to making decisions about the punishment for delinquencies of children. The preventive tasks provided in the provision are done weakly; the emphasis in the preventive actions is first of all on the response to the cases occurred.

As previously mentioned, the Inter-Agency Plan is an important tool that provides interaction between key state structures in the prevention of crimes among minors. The comparative analysis of the plans for academic year 2013-2014 and for year 2014-2015 shows that the actions described in the plans for different years are in fact identical. It assumes that the plan is approved by a template, without the current situation dynamics analysis and the efficiency evaluation of the plan for the previous year. It is important to note that the format for development of the plan does not assume consultations with the civil society and schools because it is approved by the agencies alone. When developing and approving the plan, the underlying coordination occurs only at the national level – horizontally; there is no vertical coordination with the structures which are later responsible for the immediate implementation of the plan at the local level.

3.2 RESPONSE MEASURES

Dealing with the consequences of the committed act of violence also implies some levels and institutes that use response measures. First of all it is the level of school where the act of violence is registered. The school uses **the intra-school registration system** whereby the school administration (including by a decision of the Council taking preventive measures) registers the students who often violate the discipline and are involved in unlawful actions, and repeatedly miss classes without reasonable excuse. As teachers say, the student with relevant records is given “special attention”. In such a case the response measures are attending the student's home, speaking with parents, monitoring whether the student attends classes.

When the extortion/delinquency takes place, or the schoolchild with records in the intra-school registration system has not cleaned up his/her act, the teachers and JP deliver the materials to the CCA for reviewing the case. **If the minor gets registered, the school draws up the juvenile record card.** The JP Officer holds regular proactive conversations with the students with records in presence of the parents or social pedagogue, and the juvenile record card is added with the relevant mark¹⁵. According to a JP Officer, they are to receive a letter of explanation from the minors with records and their parents where it is confirmed that this person has not committed unlawful acts in this period.

The survey of social pedagogues shows that the juvenile record is perceived by minors to be the punitive action which does not have methods of influence afterwards that could influence the future behaviour of the minor.

The question *“What happens after the child is registered?”* is answered by teachers as *“Nothing happens”*.

¹⁵ Order of MIA of the KR dated 22 July 2013 #601 “On the measures for advancing activities of the bodies of internal affairs of the Kyrgyz Republic in the prevention of delinquencies among minors”.

The Commission on Children's Affairs (CCA) is a collective body of the protection system of children in hardship¹⁶ and carries out its activities periodically.

The objective of this commission is to prevent neglect, homelessness, juvenile delinquency, protection of rights and legal interests of children, and to ensure coordination between state authorities and LSG on the issues of protection of rights and interests of children.

The CCA operates at the level of districts and cities/towns. According to the respondent, the individual approach is fading because many issues are passed to the commission to be reviewed, and the members of the commission usually convene once a month or as necessary.

The members of the CCA are: representative of the BIA, educational management, competent health care authority, authorities of child protection, migration, authorities for execution of punishment, local state administration or Mayor's Office. The CCA involves a representative of the civil society dealing with the social support for low-income families in hardship.

The CCA hardly operates and waives its responsibility because all cases are returned to the school. The school does not hope waiting for any decision from the CCA.

(Focus group with teachers)

The child is not deemed to be a value. He/she is called to listen to a lecture.

(Interview with an NGO representative)

According to the respondents at the national level, the underlying coordination of school racketeering control activities takes place at the level of the CCA. In one case the CCA acts as the institute that makes a decision to register the minor, and in another case it acts as the body that receives reports from different actors on the measures taken. As the interviewed teachers say, the CCA operates formally but does not participate immediately in the prevention of delinquencies. As the representative of the civil society says, activities of the CCA concern the punitive approach in most cases.

In cases when one of the party for school delinquency is a child from the troubled family, the agency for protection of family and children is involved; it performs the comprehensive evaluation of the situation of the child and family in hardship. The evaluation is performed through surveying and filling in the special questionnaire. Based on the conclusion about the

¹⁶ Regulation of the Government of the Kyrgyz Republic dated 24 December 2015, #878 "Standard provision for the Commission on Children's Affairs".

child's and family's needs, the individual family work plan (IFWP) and/or individual child protection plan (ICPP) are drafted. These plans contain a list of measures and services necessary for the social, legal, psychological, educational and medical support for the child and family in hardship¹⁷.

As the representatives of the OPFC say, the practice of development and implementation of the ICPP ensures an individual approach for dealing with children. The clear and reliable information about activities of the OPFC is available only for employees of the territorial social protection offices. Among respondents of this research, there are no JP Officers, teachers or even schoolchildren who are aware of activities of the OPFC and of the practice used to develop the ICPP or IFWP.

Most of the respondents of the research admit and perceive the punitive nature of the measures taken to deal with the consequences of delinquencies among schoolchildren. The teenager with records made by JP usually has conversations with his/her actions condemned, with threats of expelling him/her from school and criminal prosecution. Sometimes in the course of such conversations the child is attached with labels. There are doubts that these forms of response can contribute to the change in children's behaviour.

Widespread ICPPs and IFWPs have a high potential for ensuring the coordinated and comprehensive work with the child who has problems with the law. However, such actors as JP do not have a clear idea of these plans, so in practice they are not involved in their development and implementation.

The research also shows that there are no any practice to analyse consequences of the response measures from the perspective of changing the child's behaviour and attitudes. Therefore, without

¹⁷ Regulation of the Government of the Kyrgyz Republic dated 22 June 2015, #391 "Regulation on the procedure for identification of children and families in hardship"

analysing the completed process, the institutes taking preventive measures will not be efficient in the enhancement of its work approaches. However, some teachers, JP, social workers are aware of the stereotypeness of the preventive measures.

Concerning the consequences of violence, there are hardly any efforts to work with the affected party. There are no clear instructions or practices for rehabilitation of the victims of crime.

As school teachers and parents lack information about the measures taken by JP in respect of minors, general and individual preventive measures, the school administrations and parents insufficiently admit/are insufficiently aware of the JP role in this work.

According to the data provided by the Ministry of Interior, in order to prevent crime among young people and students of educational institutions, 1844 preventing Councils are created from the representatives of the teaching staff, departments of youth, juvenile inspectors, parents and high school students, with a total number of 14586 people

(<http://www.mvd.kg/index.php/rus/content-news/item/439-na-kollegii-mvd-kr-provel-itogovoe-soveshchanie-so-vsemi-sluzhbami>)

RECOMMENDATIONS

FOR THE GOVERNMENT OF THE KYRGYZ REPUBLIC

- Develop and approve a national strategy (concept) for the prevention of delinquencies, and mark out the comprehensive work with minors. These efforts must be preceded by the analysis of the situation and available practices, and must assume active involvement of all concerned state authorities, their territorial offices, and the civil society, LSG, specialists in the field of psychology, etc.
- Make provisions in the executive power system for the structure (possibly as an element of one of the agencies) responsible for development of the methods for the prevention of crimes (including among children) and coordinating efforts in this direction among all state authorities, civil society, etc.

MINISTRY OF EDUCATION AND SCIENCE OF THE KYRGYZ REPUBLIC

- Initiate development of a specific program to deal with parents (courses for parents how to bring up children)
- Introduce the system of evaluation of the influence of preventive measures on the students' behaviour.
- Introduce a set of basic and regular postgraduate courses for social pedagogues based on practical activities. Implement practical measure for this category of teachers not to fulfil other functions, including teaching other subjects. Introduce criteria for evaluation of social pedagogues including performance indicators, participation in the specialised training, etc.
- Organise a wide range of entertainment for youth by different types of interests where the following tasks are solved: 1) help children find their place (vocational, spiritual or cultural orientation); 2) help children re-orientate their activity to socially acceptable forms that do

not harm the wider public and the child alone.

- Make amendments to the evaluation criteria for school institutions so that the existing acts of violence could not be a reason for the negative appraisal. For the school administrations not to keep silent about the problem, it is important to envisage the criteria encouraging the administrations to work on elimination of this problem.
- Introduce an emotional intelligence module for children (how to get over emotions, addiction to aggression).
- Systematise activities relating to psychological, sociological and behavioural tests among students. A set of such tests can define the child's character and become a basis for applying goal-oriented preventive actions.

MINISTRY OF INTERNAL AFFAIRS OF THE KYRGYZ REPUBLIC

- Introduce training courses for JP Officers in juvenile psychology.
- Establish hiring requirements for JP Officers – basic skills in prevention, work with minors.
- Give up on word “records” and introduce new methods of dealing with children caught red-handed which will include not only the punitive element but also a strict preventive component.
- When recruiting JP Officers, prefer candidates from among pedagogues, psychologists and people having real-life experience in dealing with minors, in consideration of the gender balance.

MINISTRY OF INTERNAL AFFAIRS OF THE KYRGYZ REPUBLIC AND MINISTRY OF EDUCATION AND SCIENCE OF THE KYRGYZ REPUBLIC

- Use new technologies to elicit the cases of school racketeering, e.g. Internet platforms that ensure anonymity for reporting agents.
- Develop an inter-agency document providing preventive measures based on the analysis of situation and through the direct involvement of representatives from educational institutions, local BIA, and representatives of the civil society.
- Develop and introduce a range of measures to prevent the victim behaviour (how to avoid being a victim) of teenagers together with the concerned representatives of the civil society.



APPENDIX I

Research methodology

Field and desk methods of data collection were used in the course of the school racketeering research:
1. In-depth interviews, 2. Focus groups, 3. Surveys.
Desk research: Analysis of normative legal acts, publications, statistic data.

The field phase included holding the focus groups, in-depth interviews and surveys among representatives of the following groups: JP, teachers, representatives of BIA, representatives of the relevant ministries (MIA of the KR, MoES of the KR, MSD of the KR, SAYAPCS), NGOs dealing with minors, social pedagogues, schoolchildren, parents .

The tables below show geographical coverage of the field research, types of respondents and quantity.

Focus groups

#	Oblast / city or town	Type of respondent	Total quantity of people
1	Bishkek city	Schoolchildren, teachers, social pedagogue, JP, LSG, OPFC, District BIA	43
2	Osh city	Schoolchildren	17
3	Chui oblast	Schoolchildren, teachers, employees of the crisis centre	22
4	Batken oblast	LSG, school pedagogues, social pedagogues, employees of the BIA, deputies, schoolchildren	28
5	Jalal-Abad oblast	Parents, deputies of local keneshes (councils), LSG, schoolchildren	40

In-depth interviews

#	Oblast / city or town	Type of respondent	Total quantity of people
1	Bishkek city	Representatives of MIA, state authorities, NGOs; psychologist	9
2	Osh city	JP	1
3	Osh oblast	JP	1
4	Issyk-Kul oblast	JP, school pedagogues, employee of JSC	4
5	Chuy oblast	Schoolchildren, social pedagogues, JP	4
6	Batken oblast	School pedagogues, JP, LSG	8
7	Jalal-Abad oblast	JP, LSG, school teachers, social pedagogues, employees of the Mayor's Office	8

Surveys

#	Oblast / city or town	Type of respondent	Total quantity of people
1	Issyk-Kul oblast	Schoolchildren	43
2	Batken oblast	Schoolchildren	79
3	Jalal-Abad oblast	Schoolchildren	40



Civic Union "For Reforms and Results" is a voluntary, open and nationwide network of organisations and citizens of Kyrgyzstan, which aims at promoting positive changes in the country.

Bishkek, Kyrgyzstan

E-mail: kg@reforma.kg

Tel: + 996 312 933 388

<http://www.reforma.kg>