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STUDY ON BARRIERS TO REINTEGRATION FOR RETURNEES AND POST-RELEASE VIOLENT EXTREMIST OFFENDERS

POST-RELEASE MONITORING AND PROBATION
OF RETURNING FOREIGN TERRORIST FIGHTERS
AND VIOLENT EXTREMIST OFFENDERS PROJECT

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CONTENT

KEY TERMS.....	4
KEY CONCLUSIONS	6
RECOMMENDATIONS.....	9
INTRODUCTION.....	13
 I. BRIEF COUNTRY CONTEXT AND DESK REVIEW.....	 14
 II. RESEARCH METHODOLOGY	 22
1. Purpose and objectives of the study	22
2. Research methods and tools.....	22
3. Sample and locations	24
 III. ASSESSMENT OF THE LEVEL OF PUBLIC PERCEPTION AND ATTITUDES TOWARD VIOLENT EXTREMIST OFFENDERS (FORMER PRISONERS, PROBATIONERS, OR PAROLEES) AND RETURNEES	 26
1. Assessment of the level of trust in offenders	26
2. Assessment of offenders' personality traits and feelings.....	35
3. Assessing the level of belief that offenders are similar to others in society and that the environmental factors they are exposed to may make them different from others.....	37
4. Assessing the level of belief that offenders are capable to change and that environmental factors to which they are exposed can affect this.....	39
 IV. FORMER PRISONERS', PAROLEES', PROBATIONERS', AND RETURNEES' REINTEGRATION BARRIERS ANALYSIS.....	 43
1. Current forms of assistance and support during imprisonment, preparation for release	44
2. Reintegration process and barriers to reintegration	45
3. Key mechanisms and institutions supporting the reintegration process.....	54
4. Community stakeholder mapping and identification of potential champions in 5 pilot locations	57

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

SCNS	State Committee for National Security
SCRA	State Commission for Religious Affairs
FTF	Foreign terrorist fighters
KR	Kyrgyz Republic
NGO	Non-governmental organization
VE	Violent extremism
OSCE	Organization for Security and Co-operation in Europe
UN	The United Nations
UNDP	United Nations Development Programme
RE	Religious extremism
EO	Extremism offenders
UNODC	United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime
UNICEF	The United Nations Children's Fund
PRI	Penal Reform International
SBMK (DUMK)	Spiritual Board of Muslims of Kyrgyzstan
SSEP	Department of the State Service for the Execution of Punishments of the Government of the Kyrgyz Republic

KEY TERMS

Returnees and foreign fighters. The term "foreign fighters" is imperfect and contradictory, both legally and scientifically. Traditionally, it describes citizens of one country who travel to take part in a conflict in another country. However, definitions in contemporary international law studies are more nuanced, as they include a group identity factor: "persons, driven mainly by ideology, religion and/or kinship, who leave their country of origin or country of habitual residence to join a party taking part in an armed conflict. "Returnees," on the other hand, are considered to be persons who have returned to their country of origin.¹

Foreign terrorist fighters are persons who travel to a state other than their state of residence or nationality for the purpose of committing, planning, preparing, or participating in terrorist acts or for the purpose of terrorist training, including those in connection with an armed conflict (UN Security Council Resolution 2178 (2014)).

Citizens returning from conflict zones - Family members of fighters returning and relocating from conflict zones in Syria and Iraq to their countries of origin or citizenship.

Rehabilitation: The term "rehabilitation" is used to refer to the medical and psychological assistance, as well as legal and social services, that should be provided to citizens who have been victims of recruitment and exploitation by terrorist and violent extremist groups in order to recover from the physical and psychological harm they have suffered.

Social rehabilitation: The terms rehabilitation and deradicalization are often used interchangeably to refer to the cognitive disassociation from violent group identity and ideology. Reintegration refers to the restoration of social, family and community ties and positive participation in society.²

Reintegration: The term "reintegration" is used to describe the process by which a citizen returns to the community, achieves physical and psychological recovery, and acquires attitudes and behaviors that encourage him or her to take upon a constructive role in society. Such reintegration takes place in an environment that promotes health, self-esteem, and dignity of the citizen.

Repatriation (return): the return of persons who left the conflict zones to their country of origin or citizenship, including the country of origin or citizenship of their parents.

Reintegration of former prisoners: Social reintegration is often understood as the support provided to offenders during their return to society after imprisonment. However, the broader definition includes a range of post-arrest interventions to divert offenders from the criminal

¹ USIP, 2012, Returning Foreign Fighters and the Reintegration Imperative, <https://www.usip.org/sites/default/files/2017-03/sr402-returning-foreign-fighters-and-the-reintegration-imperative.pdf>

² USIP, 2012, Returning Foreign Fighters and the Reintegration Imperative, <https://www.usip.org/sites/default/files/2017-03/sr402-returning-foreign-fighters-and-the-reintegration-imperative.pdf>

justice system to an alternative measure, including a restorative justice process or appropriate treatment. It includes the use of community sanctions in an attempt to promote the social reintegration of offenders into society, rather than subjecting them to the marginalization and harmful effects of imprisonment. For those sentenced to imprisonment, it includes correctional programs in prison and aftercare activities (United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime, 2006). In recent years, the community-based, post-release component of these interventions has been variously referred to as "aftercare," "transitional care," "re-entry", "re-entry support", "reintegration", or "resettlement". Some post-release interventions may begin while the offender is still in prison to facilitate post-release adjustments.³

In Canada, the expression "reintegration" of an offender usually means "re-entry" or "resettlement". In this review, these terms are used interchangeably to refer to activities, programs and services designed to help prisoners lead law-abiding lives in the community after release.

³ ICCLR, The Social Reintegration of Offenders and Crime Prevention, <https://www.publicsafety.gc.ca/cnt/rsrscs/pblctns/scl-rntgrtn/index-en.aspx>

KEY CONCLUSIONS

1. The conducted survey revealed that the level of trust towards convicts for extremist crimes and returnees is lower than the level of trust towards other offenders (2.24 and 2.56, where 1 indicates almost no trust, and 5 indicates the highest level of trust). According to experts, the negative attitudes towards EOs and returnees may be attributed to the fear and concern about terrorism that have been instilled in society, particularly due to the current destabilization of the situation in Afghanistan and the apprehension about the export of terrorism and drugs to the territory of Central Asian countries. The data show that the majority of respondents with negative attitudes towards EOs and returnees fear them, believe that they will spread their ideology in the country, and consider them traitors to their homeland.
2. The level of trust and attitude towards children who returned from Iraq amounted to 3.86 points, indicating a positive attitude towards these children. Consequently, stigmatization by society is directed towards adult returnees, including women, while society shows more loyalty towards children who have returned from conflict zones. This may be due to the fact that children in this situation are perceived as victims of circumstances, who had no choice and are in need of help and support. The rehabilitation and socialization of children involves their relatives-guardians, school administrations and teachers, psychologists, and medical professionals. This policy for the reintegration of children is noted as a successful case, as the majority of children return to their families (relatives of their parents), receive medical treatment, obtain education and communication skills, and, overall, become more open.
3. The quantitative survey data shows that respondents living in cities have the lowest level of trust (1.97). This may be explained by the fact that Bishkek and Osh cities have the highest number of offenses in Kyrgyzstan. Atkin and Armstrong (2011) found that the concentration of probationers does not affect attitudes towards offenders, but the concentration of probationers in areas with high crime rates may indirectly contribute to distrust and disbelief in the possibility of reform. Qualitative research data confirms these observations. The situation with the re-socialization of convicts of extremism also differs depending on the place of residence. During in-depth interviews with EOs, respondents living in rural areas reported positive or formal relationships with neighbors and relatives. In addition, some respondents mentioned experiencing friendliness, as well as participation in public events such as "tois", holidays, and Saturday clean-ups. However, respondents from Bishkek and Tokmok cities reported experiencing discrimination by society (denial of service) as well as negative relationships with relatives and friends, and the severing of ties.
4. In general, the survey results indicate that the majority of respondents believe that personal qualities of offenders are similar to those of other people and that offenders are

capable of change. They also tend to have a more positive attitude towards less punitive sentencing for some offenders. Sylvia, Graham, and Howie (2005) studied how the belief in similarity with prisoners affects their positive image and people's attitude towards offenders, showing that the idea that offenders are similar to them makes them less punishing and more progressive in their attitude towards offenders. Therefore, the survey shows that most respondents perceive the personal qualities of offenders as similar to those of other people and tend to believe that punishment for offenders should be less retributive. Specifically, 73.1% of respondents agree that a person should be released on parole if they have shown good behavior, and 54.9% believe that conditional sentences and community service are preferable for some offenders. Additionally, 42.8% of respondents believe that avoiding imprisonment promotes quick rehabilitation of offenders, and 54.8% believe that poor prison conditions only increase prisoners' hostility.

5. The issue of employment is acute for probation clients. The Ministry of Labor, Social Protection, and Migration has funds and employment centers with lists of available vacancies by region, where probation clients can seek employment. However, these vacancies are not in demand among clients due to their low pay. The main problem in the employment of clients is the presence of a criminal record, which often leads to employers' frequent refusals due to stigma against convicted individuals. In addition, in case of disputes in the workplace, previously convicted individuals are the first to be suspected. Moreover, many young probation clients tend to migrate abroad, mainly to Russia, due to the need for finances and unemployment, which cannot be fulfilled within Kyrgyzstan.
6. The absence or insufficiency of professional skills and education is another factor contributing to the employment challenges experienced by probation clients. It is noteworthy that a considerable number of respondents faced unemployment prior to their criminal conviction. A majority of EO do not possess professional education and resort to taking up low-paying or seasonal work. Addressing this issue is problematic due to the inadequate availability of funding for training opportunities for those who seek to enhance their skills.
7. During the study, it was found that in the Chui region and in Bishkek, with the support of local NGOs, assistance is provided in obtaining education with subsequent employment. It should be noted that this type of assistance is provided to the most vulnerable clients, such as orphans, minors, or single mothers. In addition, there is a certain difference in terms of location. In the Jalal-Abad region, there was not a single case of completing an educational or vocational training course with subsequent employment due to the lack of NGOs or projects working in this direction in the region.
8. Religious leaders and imams play a significant role in working with probation clients in Jalal-Abad region. They conduct lectures in mosques as part of their probation supervision. In general, religious leaders are highly trusted by people in the country. Local

authorities closely collaborate with mosques, addressing citizens and conducting information and explanatory work during Friday services through imams.

9. The lowest level of trust among people is attributed to law enforcement agencies. This may be due to the fact that most people believe that corruption exists in these structures. Therefore, former prisoners prefer to seek legal information from non-governmental organizations, which for most of them are the only way to receive real assistance. Friends/acquaintances, lawyers, and the Internet are also common sources of legal information. In addition, this lack of trust and fear of law enforcement agencies is often caused by violations of their human rights during detention.
10. Such distrust of law enforcement and government agencies can become a cause of recidivism among EOs and the spread of adherence to VE among the population. Among the population, especially ethnic minorities, there is also collective anxiety and a sense of insecurity in the country. According to experts, one of the main factors that usually makes large groups of people susceptible to messages of extremism is the general loss of trust in government institutions. What often starts with widespread corruption and political cronyism can end in complete disillusionment with state policy on the part of a significant portion of the population. At the same time, if people have lost all trust in the fair functioning of government institutions, they will try to manage their lives by resorting to their own support networks. Such networks are often defined by ethnic or religious affiliation. When public institutions lose trust, groups defined by ethnic and/or religious loyalty become more important. Such processes give rise to a mentality oriented inward to the group, collective anxiety, and suspicion of everything that happens outside the boundaries of one's own group. In places where the willingness to trust people gradually narrows down to the inner circle, the likely consequence will be collective narrow-mindedness, and violent religious messages may become "attractive" to people who feel they are living in a hostile and dangerous political environment.

RECOMMENDATIONS

1. Employment

1.1. Short-term projects

Short-term projects that offer useful opportunities for employment in the early stages after a conviction can be beneficial. This tool is helpful in the initial stages and can help build trust from society by improving and restoring infrastructure, such as garbage collection, greening the area, water supply, restoring and repairing buildings, schools, medical centers, roads, transportation, and cultivating land. Infrastructure and the provision of basic services are key sectors for involving EOs, returnees, and other individuals at risk. Employment in infrastructure projects and basic services can contribute to social integration, cohesion, and the strengthening of trust in public institutions, all while providing opportunities for income generation. In addition, on-the-job training may be included, such as specialized training in masonry or welding.

1.2. Policies to create conditions for the development of the private sector

Interventions should include incentives for small and medium-sized businesses to hire individuals at high risk (EOs and returnees). It is important to encourage the private sector to provide incentives so that private companies and employer associations can facilitate reintegration and implement employment services. Incentives should be specified in contracts with contractual obligations to hire a fixed number of workers from among EOs and returnees. Incentives for engaging small and medium-sized businesses may include:

- Elimination of administrative constraints regarding the location of enterprises, property rights, and simplification of land ownership legal protection;
- Simplification of licensing procedures, registration procedures, and taxation for private enterprises and cooperatives (which are restraining factors for SMEs development, investment, and private entrepreneurship);
- Provision of access to credit with reduced interest rates;
- Modernization of existing enterprises, transfer of appropriate technology to the private sector of the economy, and organization of vocational training.

1.3. Promoting self-employment

Assisting self-employment of ex-offenders (EOs) and returnees in rural areas can be done by providing incentives for commercial farming through offering business start-up packages and implementing appropriate technologies, providing seed and livestock packages, implementing and improving irrigation and other water sources, improving infrastructure development to provide access to services and markets, training farmers, and implementing food processing technologies. To achieve this, it is necessary to provide prompt short-term support for the

"professionalization" of these groups, such as literacy and numeracy training, management training, access to credit, tax compliance, and so on.

2. Improving skills and professional training

It is important to ensure training with employment opportunities. Special attention needs to be given to the Southern region, where there are no NGOs and training and employment support centers for returnees. Necessary steps include:

- A training of trainers (TOT) program should be an integral part of every strategy. Trainers should know how to train adults, especially those from at-risk groups. They should also be familiar with employment and business training methods. Some trainers may need orientation on how to train less educated trainees (below the level required for regular pre-employment training) through modular programs. It is also necessary to train trainers on how to develop, conduct, and evaluate skills development programs.
- After mapping and conducting a SWOT analysis of institutions (both governmental and non-governmental, local and international), it is important to propose a structure for facilitating coordination of education, which can also be linked to local employment. Mechanisms for coordination need to be created between national central bodies and local ones (for example, effective coordination and planning between the Ministry of Education, district education centers, employment centers, and NGOs). Regular monitoring is crucial to ensure the quality of vocational training programs. This includes oversight of educational programs, teaching approaches, teacher qualifications, course duration, and materials.
- Furthermore, it is necessary to provide demand-driven programs. These can be courses on small business/credit from local entrepreneurs who act as trainer-motivators, or professional training such as welding, electrical work, sewing, etc. Additionally, any education should include programs on literacy, numeracy, management, financial literacy, etc.

3. Community involvement in social reintegration

3.1. Involvement of local leaders

At the local level, it has been noted that local leaders have significant influence and play an important role in local communities. Their opinion often becomes decisive in how communities will relate to returnees and EOs (reeducated offenders). In addition, the importance of supervision based on the participation of local residents has been emphasized, which involves establishing partnerships between the police, government service providers, community members, local council deputies, women's and youth committees, quarter chiefs, elders, EOs, and their families. Support, recommendations, and activities should be provided not only by probation centers but also by professionally trained participants, representatives of local government, committees, and local leaders. In addition, local self-government bodies need to

engage in dialogue and improve interaction to actively involve the population in the resocialization of EOs and returnees, and organize socially significant events at the municipal level.

3.2. Networking and social life

The rehabilitation program should also include visits to public places (sports and entertainment complexes, educational institutions, libraries, theaters, centers) for meeting new people and quick reintegration. It is important to note that there are more opportunities for EOs from the cities to implement this component of socialization, while opportunities for rural areas are limited. In urban areas, a key element of success is establishing cooperation with service providers in these areas. In rural areas, sports infrastructure can be developed and sports competitions can be organized.

3.3. Involvement of youth and creation of volunteer programs

Experts note that young people are more able than others to identify and define vulnerable youth groups and exert influence on them. Youth engagement can be facilitated through mentoring and volunteer programs, skills development projects, community-level service delivery, and expanded educational opportunities. The use of volunteers can be carried out by monitoring individuals on probation and providing assistance to probation service staff, including:

- Supervising those on probation and conditionally released and providing them with support;
- Studying the environment in which the former inmate will live after release;
- Compiling client profiles through communication with family and neighbors;
- Organizing public events (cultural, sports, socially useful activities) involving extremism convicts and the local community;
- Sensitizing local stakeholders in communities about the importance of integrating ex-combatants into small and medium-sized enterprises (SMEs), local restoration companies, self-employment, or cooperatives is also important.

4. Media coverage

The mass media plays a certain role in shaping public perception and attitudes towards those convicted of extremism and returnees. Experts note the Uzbekistan model of reintegration as a success story. According to the model, repatriation operations are portrayed as acts of mercy and receive positive coverage in the media, which in turn promotes a more positive perception of repatriates by the receiving society and facilitates the reintegration process. The media portrays this approach not only as an act of mercy by the state, but also as a symbol of greater tolerance in the country's policy towards religion and religious affiliation. The media can help restore empathy by helping people understand that EOs and returnees are not "terrorists," but rather people from vulnerable population groups who need help and support. In Uzbekistan's

model, the media refers to repatriates not as "former members of terrorist organizations who are required to undergo rehabilitation", but as "people who have found themselves in a difficult situation and are entitled to rehabilitation". It is necessary to develop an information campaign on social media and television through the creation of video content to highlight the work of probation authorities, as well as various deep structural factors of radicalization.

5. Media and information literacy as a means of preventing violent extremism

It is noted that it is important to educate citizens in media and information literacy skills to combat online violent extremism. Media literacy programs should be implemented in educational institutions, and the media should help develop a discerning and critical approach to news coverage among media consumers, as well as promote greater awareness of the media and develop internet literacy to combat misconceptions, prejudices, and dangerous ideologies.

6. Amendments at the legislative level

It should be noted that there are legislative obstacles on the path to social rehabilitation of former criminals and offenders, especially those convicted of extremism and terrorism. In particular, the 2021 edition of the Criminal Code of the Kyrgyz Republic abolished probation for those convicted of extremism and terrorism. This is likely to worsen the situation regarding the issue of recidivism of radicalization. Amendments to the legislation are needed to repeal imprisonment for those convicted of extremism and terrorism, and to ensure that they receive probation services for their further rehabilitation.

7. Capacity development of probation services

There is a need to increase the professional potential and skills of conflict-sensitive communication with offenders among employees through training. Also, there is a need to increase the number of probation service staff.

INTRODUCTION

The objective of this research is to analyze the current state of social reintegration for individuals who have committed religious crimes, including FTF and RE offenders, in Kyrgyzstan. This is a crucial matter because the number of probation clients convicted for such offenses has been increasing annually, with 100 individuals in 2019, 160 in 2020, 138 in 2021, and an estimated 157 in 2023. Currently, the probation authority oversees a total of 5,045 clients, comprising 4,181 pretrial probation clients, 1,109 prison probation clients, and 105 juvenile probation clients.

According to the Department of Probation, probation and juvenile probation clients face the following problems:

- Lack of housing;
- Problems with employment due to a criminal record and lack of professional education;
- Lack of documents (identity documents, diplomas, certificates);
- Lack of psychological rehabilitation;
- Stigmatization from the society;
- Difficulties in obtaining free medical services.

Citizens convicted of religious extremism as well as those returning from conflict zones face the same difficulties, in addition to:

- Stigmatization by society, including through cultural and religious practices that may differ from those of local communities;
- Securitization of returnees' lives by law enforcement, which can limit or even violate the right to privacy, creating psychological stress and feelings of insecurity;
- The presence of psychological and physical trauma among returnees;
- The rejection of existing social norms;
- Disaffection on the part of the community, limited communication;
- Physical and psychological violence.

This report is based on a survey that was conducted to measure public attitudes toward violent extremist offenders and returnees and to identify barriers of reintegrating former prisoners, parolees, probationers, and returnees.

I. BRIEF COUNTRY CONTEXT AND DESK REVIEW

1. Country Context

Trust: One of the main factors that tends to make large groups of people susceptible to the messages of religious extremism is a general loss of trust in state institutions. What often begins with rampant corruption and political cronyism can end with the complete disillusionment of public policy on the part of much of the population. However, if people have lost all confidence in the fair functioning of state institutions, they will try to manage their lives by resorting to their own networks of support.⁴ Often such networks are defined along ethnic or religious lines. In the context of Kyrgyzstan, experts also note the political reasons for radicalization. People radicalized and joined extremist groups, seeing them as a way to protest against unjust, repressive regimes or discrimination by state authorities. This was a valid explanation for many cases of radicalization among Kyrgyz citizens of Uzbek descent after 2010.⁵

A sense of exclusion from society: The experience of systematic exclusion almost inevitably leads to splits in society as well as vulnerability to radicalization.⁶ In Kyrgyzstan, a nuance that is not as pronounced in other countries is the presence of a significant and relatively concentrated population of Uzbek people in the south of the country. This community is of great interest for VE research, given the relatively high number of foreign fighters recruited among them and the widely recognized discrimination and unfair treatment of this community by state institutions as the cause of many cases of radicalization and members of this community joining violent extremist organizations.⁷

2. Public attitudes toward offenders

Attitudes toward a particular person are determined by two factors: the characteristics of the observer and the characteristics of the person being observed. To understand the reintegration of ex-offenders, it is necessary to understand the attitudes of members of society with whom they interact after their return from incarceration.⁸

In general, society tends to hold a negative view and attitude towards criminals, often without considering the underlying reasons for their criminal behavior, such as poverty, addiction, and mental health issues. Many tend to ignore the problems that offenders face both before and after their incarceration. Finding employment after leaving prison can be difficult due to the negative attitudes employers have towards offenders, which can lead to continued financial

⁴ United Nations General assembly, Report of the Special Rapporteur on freedom of religion or belief, Heiner Bielefeldt.

⁵ https://www.sfcg.org/wp-content/uploads/2019/08/Information_flows_public_rus.pdf

⁶ United Nations General assembly, Report of the Special Rapporteur on freedom of religion or belief, Heiner Bielefeldt.

⁷ <https://www.sfcg.org/tag/kyrgyzstan-reports/>

⁸ Mosser, 2022, Factors Influencing Attitudes Towards Ex-Offenders Ex-Offenders, <https://commons.nmu.edu/cgi/viewcontent.cgi?article=1740&context=theses>

hardship for them and their families. For many male offenders, imprisonment can mean the end of their role as the breadwinner of their families and can result in a significant loss of income.⁹

Stigmatizing offenders is a widespread phenomenon, and social attention is known to exacerbate it, particularly after negative interactions. This suggests that there may be issues with societal attitudes, given that research shows that attitudes developed through personal experiences are more entrenched and resistant to change than those formed indirectly. Zajontz's theory of "mere exposure" supports this, as frequent exposure can alter attitudes negatively, increasing hostility, or positively, reducing social distance and the assumption of danger. Therefore, the stigma faced by offenders is challenging to mitigate, as there are many junctures at which societal attitudes can be influenced, such as offenders facing rejection in the job market, with two-thirds of employers refusing to hire them. However, educating employers and the general public can gradually reduce such associated stigmas, creating an environment in which they are less pervasive.¹⁰

People tend to have negative views of offenders, especially when many crimes are committed in their neighborhood. Offenders are not evenly released to all areas; rather, they are usually concentrated in a small number of neighborhoods with high levels of poverty and other social problems. Research shows that the concentration of offenders in areas with high crime rates can indirectly contribute to distrust and disbelief in the possibility of rehabilitation. The perception that crime is increasing in society is also associated with more punitive attitudes toward offenders. Furthermore, ex-offenders are more likely to reoffend if they enter areas with high concentrations of other ex-offenders and historically high rates of reoffending. A common fear among society is victimization from ex-offenders.¹¹

It is important for offenders to find work after leaving prison to successfully reintegrate into society. Often, finding and keeping a job is a requirement for parole. In fact, 90% of ex-offenders believe that finding work after release is crucial for their long-term success. However, many ex-offenders struggle to find legal employment due to societal barriers, employers' negative attitudes towards hiring individuals with criminal records, and individual challenges such as limited job skills and motivation. Research has shown that ex-offenders tend to return to their pre-arrest communities after being released from incarceration. Unfortunately, employers' negative attitudes toward hiring ex-offenders limit job opportunities. Studies also show that the type of offense committed by the offender can play a role in whether or not they are hired.¹²

Albright and Denk's research revealed that a majority of employers surveyed (more than 80%) would not consider hiring someone who had committed murder or sexual assault. However, half

⁹ Garg, 2020, Reformation and Rehabilitation of Offenders, <https://legalreadings.com/reformation-and-rehabilitation-of-offenders/>

¹⁰ O'keeffe, Attitudes towards offenders with mental health problems scale, https://www.researchgate.net/publication/277090037_Attitudes_towards_offenders_with_mental_health_problems_scale

¹¹ Herrera, McGiffen, Community Attitudes Toward Early-Release Offenders Under AB 109, <https://scholarworks.lib.csusb.edu/cgi/viewcontent.cgi?article=1213&context=etd>

¹² Herrera, McGiffen, Community Attitudes Toward Early-Release Offenders Under AB 109, <https://scholarworks.lib.csusb.edu/cgi/viewcontent.cgi?article=1213&context=etd>

of them would be willing to hire a non-violent ex-offender, and 90% would hire an offender convicted only of marijuana possession. This indicates that probationers might have a better chance of finding employment than ex-offenders with violent crime convictions in their past. Giger and Dundes conducted a survey of employers in Maryland to assess their willingness to hire ex-offenders. The findings indicated that more than half of the employers (53%) were willing to hire ex-offenders, but they had concerns about their personality and skills. The primary concern was that ex-offenders would not possess the necessary interpersonal skills for the job they were applying for (82%). Other concerns included the fear that customers would be uncomfortable knowing an ex-offender worked for their company and that co-workers might be hesitant to work with ex-offenders. Surprisingly, employers were least concerned about the possibility of becoming a victim.¹³

3. Social rehabilitation and reintegration into society

According to the Department of Probation, probation specialists face the following problems when providing social support to probation and juvenile probation clients:

- Lack of rehabilitation centers, including temporary housing for probation clients of no fixed residence;
- Problems with employment due to criminal record and lack of professional education;
- Lack of documents for clients (identity documents, diplomas, certificates);
- Lack of long-term psychological rehabilitation;
- Difficulties in obtaining free medical services;
- Lack of resources to engage mediation specialists.¹⁴

Studies from other countries suggest that imprisonment as a form of punishment puts a significant strain on the penal system and may not effectively reduce recidivism. Instead, it limits opportunities for social rehabilitation. As a consequence, the number of convictions for recidivism and especially dangerous recidivism far exceeds the number of convictions of first-time offenders. Research from around the world shows that imprisonment can lead to social isolation and physical deterioration, which can have negative effects on people's ability to reintegrate into society once released.

The transition from being in prison to living in the community can be very difficult for offenders. This is because they are under supervision and may feel stressed or anxious. They may also have experienced social isolation, marginalization, lack of employment opportunities, physical or emotional abuse, or involvement in criminal activities. Additionally, offenders may have physical or mental health issues, and substance abuse problems. When they are released, they may face challenges in finding housing, managing finances, accessing basic necessities, and getting the

¹³ Herrera, McGiffen, Community Attitudes Toward Early-Release Offenders Under AB 109, <https://scholarworks.lib.csusb.edu/cgi/viewcontent.cgi?article=1213&context=etd>

¹⁴ Penal Reform International, Влияние COVID-19 на органы и клиентов probation в Кыргызстане, <https://cdn.penalreform.org/wp-content/uploads/2022/01/FINAL-IPPF-report-Kyrgyzstan-Final-RUS-1.pdf>

support they need to reintegrate into society. To reduce the likelihood of reoffending, offenders should receive various forms of rehabilitation and reintegration support.¹⁵

Given that ex-prisoners usually do not have a house after release, their social ties can be lost and they have to retrain or seek a new job. In 2017, 40-45% of ex-prisoners in Kyrgyzstan reoffended after release. The reasons for this include alienation from society, public hostility, and difficulty finding employment. Private and state enterprises require a certificate of no criminal record when hiring, which makes it difficult for ex-prisoners to integrate into society. This becomes another obstacle because, with the stigma of being "judged," in most cases they can only get a job as a loader.¹⁶ However, most ex-prisoners are not suitable for hard work for health reasons.

The problem of passportization of prisoners after release from prison was observed during the height of the coronavirus outbreak in Kyrgyzstan in 2020. Representatives of the State Service for Execution of Punishments (SSEP) claimed that all prisoners underwent passportization to recover and obtain identity documents. However, this system was not consistently implemented. During this period, authorities released prisoners without passports, leading to violations of the rights of those released. This deprived former prisoners of the opportunity to integrate into society outside of the penitentiary system. For example, an Osh resident was released at the end of his sentence with only a certificate of release as an official document. Additionally, all of his immovable property was confiscated by court verdict. With no means of livelihood and no hope of things improving, many ex-prisoners relapse and return to a life of isolation.¹⁷

The Bangkok Rules (also known as the United Nations Rules for the Treatment of Women Prisoners and Non-custodial Measures for Women Offenders) recognize the unique challenges specific to female prisoners. Moreover, the rules recognize that some female offenders do not pose a risk to society and that imprisonment may make it difficult for them to reintegrate into society. In addition, the Bangkok Rules require prison authorities to establish and implement thorough pre and post-release reintegration programs for female prisoners, in cooperation with probation and/or social welfare services, community-based organizations, and NGOs.¹⁸

Failure to successfully reintegrate a former prisoner results in direct and indirect costs to society. If prisoners reoffend after release, public safety is threatened by increased crime rates.¹⁹ As a result there are the costs of policing and prosecuting these new offenses, which are added to the costs of imposing new sanctions. There are also much less quantifiable or indirect costs to society, such as those incurred by the victims of these crimes due to the loss of economic

¹⁵ Toktonazarova, 2017. Difficulties in integrating ex-prisoners into society, <https://rus.azattyk.org/a/28324485.html>

¹⁶ Kozhobaeva, 2017, Life after Prison: Difficulties in Social Reintegration, <https://rus.azattyk.org/a/28397238.html>

¹⁷ ACCA. 2020, Кыргызстан: освободившимся из тюрьмы не дают паспорта, <https://acca.media/5013/kyrgyzstan-osvobodivshimsya-iz-tyurmy-ne-dayut-pasporta/>

¹⁸ United Nations Rules for the Treatment of Women Prisoners and Non-custodial Measures for Women Offenders (the Bangkok Rules) (General Assembly resolution 65/229), thirteenth preambular paragraph and annex, rule 46.

¹⁹ M. Borzycki and T. Makkai, "Prisoner reintegration post-release," <http://www.ibrarian.net/navon/page.jsp?paperid=6084622&searchTerm=prison+reintegration>

potential and opportunities to live in a community, or as a result of former prisoners relying on social services instead of contributing to society.²⁰

4. Specifics of reintegration and rehabilitation of citizens from conflict zones

The threats posed by foreign terrorist fighters (FTFs) around the world prompted the development of UN-wide Guiding Principles on Foreign Terrorist Fighters. The purpose of these principles is to help member states properly identify and address FTF threats, as well as address key gaps that prevent member states from properly identifying, prosecuting, and rehabilitating and reintegrating returning and traveling FTFs and their families.²¹ The document emphasizes the importance of engaging communities in countering violent extremism and empowering local communities and civil society, including youth, families, women, religious, cultural, and educational leaders, among others, to implement strategies to prevent and counter violent extremism.²² In particular, it has been argued that these actors bring a level of credibility and effectiveness to countering violent extremism that governments alone would not ordinarily be able to achieve. Broadly involving women in leadership and law enforcement efforts to stem the flow of foreign terrorist fighters and giving women's civil society groups more opportunities to engage in dialogue can have a significant impact, especially when it comes to their family members. It has also been noted that young people are in the best position to identify vulnerable youth and influence them. Mentoring and skill development programs, community service projects, and educational opportunities can all contribute to youth participation by fostering a sense of belonging among them.²³

In preventing violent extremism, it is crucial for law enforcement to work with the public and build mutual trust. This principle entails the need to enhance dialogue by using methods that foster community engagement and transparency. Community policing should not focus solely on countering terrorism and violent extremism but should encompass the full range of community concerns to build trust. Member states should expand the use of community policing techniques to address the issue of foreign terrorist fighters. Additionally, states need to work towards mitigating the adverse effects of excessive force, arbitrary detention, and impunity. The ultimate goal should not be establishing short-term contacts to gather intelligence information,

²⁰ M. Borzycki and T. Makkai, Prisoner reintegration post-release,
<http://www.ibrarian.net/navon/page.jsp?paperid=6084622&searchTerm=prison+reintegration>

²¹ United Nations Security Council. Guiding Principles on Foreign Terrorist Fighters adopted by the Special Meeting of the Counter-Terrorism Committee of the United Nations Security Council on the issue of preventing the flow of foreign terrorist fighters, on 27-28 July 2015 // Official UN website: <https://undocs.org/ru/S/2015/939>; United Nations Security Council. Addendum to the Guiding Principles on Foreign Terrorist Fighters (2018) adopted by the Committee of the United Nations Security Council established pursuant to resolution 1373 (2001) concerning counter-terrorism, on 28 December 2018 // Official UN website: <https://undocs.org/ru/S/2018/1177>

²² Same as above.

²³ Там же.

but rather establishing long-term relationships that can enhance the ability to identify and prevent possible departures of individuals wishing to join the ranks of FTFs.²⁴

The situational analysis of the experience of the Republic of Kazakhstan and the Kyrgyz Republic in preparing, developing, and implementing programs for the return, reintegration, and rehabilitation of citizens from conflict zones (2020) highlights the significance of different actors in supporting the development and implementation of repatriation, rehabilitation, and reintegration programs. These actors include relatives and fellow villagers, members of local councils, community prevention centers, women's and youth committees, elders, religious leaders, and others. The report emphasizes that local leaders have a significant impact on local communities and play a crucial role in shaping how returnees from conflict zones are treated. Their opinions often carry weight and can be decisive in the success of these programs.

In the same study, the experiences of both Kazakhstan and Kyrgyzstan demonstrate the existence of:

- Stigmatization of returnees by society, including on the basis of their cultural and religious practices, which may differ from those of local communities;
- Securitization of returnees' lives by law enforcement authorities, which may restrict or even violate the right to privacy, generating psychological stress and feelings of insecurity;
- The presence of psychological and physical trauma among returnees;
- The rejection of existing social norms.

According to experts, the attitude of the local community towards people who have left for and returned from the conflict zones in Syria and Iraq is often negative. It is noteworthy that local communities are afraid, unwilling, and unprepared to accept returnees, so, various problems and difficulties arise that returnees may encounter:

- Rejection from the community, limited communication;
- Physical and psychological violence;
- Communities are unlikely to perceive them as a former member of the community, accusing them that "it is their own fault", "they are selling their body", etc.

As a consequence, the stigmatization of these individuals may increase. Also, this may lead to difficulties with employment. It is possible that local residents may demand their relocation to other localities. Experts have also expressed the opinion that returnees, if they are poorly perceived, may "shut down," leading to subsequent marginalization and, possibly, radicalization. In addition, the experts, based on their practice of rehabilitating extremist prisoners, note that the local community perceives all returnees, including those who have not directly participated in the activities of terrorist organizations, as criminals and do not understand why budgetary

²⁴ Там же.

funds should be allocated for their rehabilitation and reintegration programs, while there are other vulnerable groups in need of state support.

5. Legal regulation in the KR

The situation of former prisoners in the Kyrgyz Republic is challenging and unstable. Previously, the legislation of the Kyrgyz Republic had a decree on the main directions of the strategy of measures to prepare convicts for release and their social adaptation, which was in effect from 2008 to 2010. One of the listed directions of the strategy was to provide social rehabilitation of prisoners during the period of preparation for release and further social support: registration of necessary documents, preparation of requests to territorial labor and employment agencies for their further employment, provision of a set of services on social adaptation in society. However, in subsequent years the resolution was not amended, and since January 14, 2022, it lost its force in accordance with the decision of the Cabinet of Ministers of the Kyrgyz Republic.

In 2017, the Kyrgyz Republic adopted a law on probation, which provides a set of measures that includes a wide range of social and legal measures. It is aimed at correcting suspended offenders, preventing the commission of offenses, providing social assistance, and taking measures for their re-socialization. According to paragraphs 1 - 3 of Part 1, Article 5 of the Law of the Kyrgyz Republic "On Probation", probation clients may be persons sentenced by the court to punishment without isolation from society and compulsory measures of criminal influence, as well as persons brought to punishment in the form of community service. However, this does not provide for the development of post-penitentiary supervision plans for former prisoners convicted of violent extremism and terrorism-related crimes. After prisoners are released, the prison administration only provides written notification to the police and national security authorities.²⁵

According to the Law of the Kyrgyz Republic on Probation, probation specialists develop individual programs of social and legal assistance. Based on the needs of the probation client, the program includes activities for:

- socio-legal and psychological assistance;
- assistance in finding employment;
- formation of positive psychological attitudes toward systematic work activities;
- assistance in obtaining an education and a profession;
- legal assistance;
- assistance in obtaining the necessary documents;
- assistance in obtaining the necessary documents for registration at the place of stay or place of residence;
- assistance in obtaining pensions for medical and social services;
- restoration and formation of socially useful ties.

²⁵ United Nations PBSO. 2019. Support to the Prevention of Radicalization to Violence in Prisons and Probation Settings in the Kyrgyz Republic.

However, the program does not lead to effective resocialization and social adaptation of probation clients and juvenile probation clients. Social problems of a legislative nature are an acute problem for offenders and ex-prisoners.²⁶ In this regard, in order to obtain legal information, former prisoners prefer to turn to NGOs, which for most of them are the only way to get real help. This is followed by friends/acquaintances, lawyers, and the Internet.

Creating social services through a state social contract will allow the national budget to reduce the cost of incarcerating criminals.²⁷ Failure to reintegrate prisoners into society has significant costs to society, both financially and in terms of public safety. The costs of offender reintegration support programs must be evaluated against the benefits of avoiding these significant future social and financial costs.

²⁶ Tolomushev, Jyrgalbek, and Jibek Baktybekova, 2020, Needs of Probation Clients and Juvenile Probation Clients Preliminary Research Results, <https://oasisorg.kg/en/analysis-2/>

²⁷ Griffiths, Curt T., Danielle Murdoch, and Yvon Dandurand, 2007, The Social Reintegration of Offenders and Crime Prevention, <https://www.publicsafety.gc.ca/cnt/rsrscs/pblctns/scl-rntgrtn/index-en.aspx#s4>

II. RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

1. Purpose and objectives of the study

The main objective of this study is to define the current situation regarding the social rehabilitation of FTF and VE offenders in Kyrgyzstan by:

- Measuring public attitudes toward representatives of violent extremist offenders (whether they are former prisoners, probationers, or parolees) and returnees;
- Identifying barriers and obstacles towards reintegrating former prisoners, parolees, probationers, and returnees;
- Mapping community stakeholders and identifying potential leaders.

Specific Research **Objectives:**

- a) Measure public attitudes towards violent extremist offenders (formerly incarcerated, probationers, or parolees) and returnees, conduct a countrywide survey among the population;
- b) Conduct in-depth interviews with key informants (KIs) - formerly incarcerated, probationers, parolees, and returnees;
- c) Identify barriers to reintegration of former prisoners, parolees, probationers, and returnees, conduct expert interviews with representatives of state and local authorities, NGOs and probation officers;
- d) Conduct community stakeholder mapping and identify potential leaders in five pilot sites;
- e) Conduct FGDs with community stakeholders, local government, and activists to develop community-based strategies for offender recidivism prevention.

2. Research methods and tools

2.1. Desk review –

a structured literature review and analysis of secondary sources, content analysis of social media to understand research objectives, review of national statistics and relevant reports from international organizations, analysis of national policies, laws and strategies, and theoretical frameworks.

2.2. Quantitative research - country survey

Melvin, Gramling, and Gardner (1985) conducted a study that created and validated the Attitudes Toward Prisoners (ATP) scale. Low scores on this scale indicate negative attitudes toward prisoners and higher scores indicate positive attitudes toward prisoners. Respondents

completed a 36-item scale adapted from Melvin et al. (1985). The scale measures the degree to which people view prisoners positively or negatively. Participants were asked to respond to a series of statements related to prisoners and indicate whether they agreed or disagreed. Responses were rated on a five-point Likert scale, where 1 indicates strongly disagree and 5 indicates strongly agree. A higher score on the scale indicates an overall positive attitude toward prisoners, while a lower score indicates an overall negative attitude toward prisoners.

For the purposes of this study, the scale has been adapted and supplemented.

2.3. Qualitative study of barriers to reintegration

In-depth Key Informant Interviews (KII) included data collection through in-depth interviews with former prisoners, parolees, probationers, and returnees. According to the NSC and official data, the largest number of probation departments (along with the largest number of registered crimes) are registered in Bishkek, Chui, and Jalal-Abad regions. On this basis, the research team selected three locations for conducting KIIs: Bishkek city, Tokmok in the Chui Region, and Bazar-Korgon, Suzak, and Jalal-Abad districts of the Jalal-Abad Region. A total of 24 KIIs were conducted: 13 in the Jalal-Abad region as the majority of probation clients convicted of extremism are in the southern region of the republic; 7 in Tokmok city as the majority of extremists convicted in the Chui region are in that city; and 4 in Bishkek city where the central office of the probation department is located. In order to study the topic from different gender perspectives, a gender division was considered: the percentage of female respondents was 17%.

Expert interviews - experts, representatives of state and local authorities, and representatives of probation departments who are knowledgeable about the topic were interviewed. This provided insight into the question. The sub-questions were tailored for each representative based on their specific perspective, interests, and knowledge, to ensure that the questions were relevant and provided useful insights into the topic.

Focus Group Discussions (FGDs) included data collection through FGDs with community stakeholders - local authorities and key probation officers - which provided insight into the topic. This allowed for the collection of a large amount of qualitative information that complemented the quantitative data collected through the survey and the qualitative data from the in-depth interviews. The research team conducted 3 FGDs. Each FGD had 3 to 5 participants. A total of 13 people participated in FGDs.

Table 1: Data collection tools

Tool	Amount	Location	Target groups
Community-based survey	1000	Country survey	Local community
In-depth interviews	24	Bishkek, Chui, and Jalal-Abad regions	Ex-prisoners, parolees, probationers, and returnees
Expert interviews	6	Bishkek, Chui, and Jalal-Abad regions	Experts, state and local authorities
FGDs	3	Chui and Jalal-Abad regions	Lead specialists from probation departments, local authorities

3. Sample and locations

Sample size. The total sample size of the survey is **1,000** people. The general population of the study is **3,944,375** people of 18 years old and older. The proportional distribution of the sample is given in column **n** of **Table 2**. Then, in the columns **n=City** and **n=Settlement** the distribution of the sample by settlement type is given.

Determination of the number of primary sampling units (hereinafter referred to as PSUs). In the conditions of the Kyrgyz Republic, the selection of PSUs is provided by ayil aimaks and cities. There are several villages in each ayil aimak. The optimal cluster sample size for this study was 18 (b opt). If there are 18 households per cluster, we have a total of 56 clusters. Settlements with more than 70,999 inhabitants were automatically included in the sample. The distribution of 56 clusters by regions is presented in the column **Clusters** in **Table 2**. For example, in Batken region, a total of 79 respondents aged 18 and over were interviewed. There are four clusters in this region: one city (18 people) and 3 villages (61 people). 61 people were selected by 20-21 people from three villages.

Selection of PSUs in strata. This selection was performed with probability proportional to size (PPS selection²⁸).

Household selection. For the selection of households, a route sampling was applied. The sampling step was calculated for each settlement depending on the number of households.

²⁸ Probability proportionate to size sampling

Table 2. Sample

Region/ city	Populatio n 18 years and older	City	Village	%	City, %	Village %	n	n = City	n = Village	Clusters	city	village
Kyrgyz Republic	3,944,375	1,394,825	2,549,550	100.0	35.4	64.6	1000	354	646	56	20	36
Batken r.	311,718	72,640	239,078	7.9	23.3	76.7	79	18	61	4	1	3
Jalal-Abad r.	730,283	164,428	565,855	18.5	22.5	77.5	185	42	143	10	2	8
Issyk-Kul r.	305,236	86,501	218,735	7.7	28.3	71.7	77	22	55	4	1	3
Naryn r.	171,488	23,799	147,689	4.3	13.9	86.1	43	6	37	2,4	0	2.1
Osh r.	788,171	60,988	727,183	20.0	7.7	92.3	200	15	184	11	1	10
Talas r.	152,408	25,320	127,088	3.9	16.6	83.4	39	6	32	2	0	2
Chui r.	604,671	103,075	501,596	15.3	17.0	83.0	153	26	127	9	1	7
Bishkek city	689,610	686,271	3,339	17.5	99.5	0.5	175	174	1	10	10	0
Osh city	190,790	171,803	18,987	4.8	90.0	10.0	48	44	5	3	2	0
b opt	18											
Number of clusters	55.6											
Self-representing communities	70,999											

Table 3: Qualitative sample composition

Categories	Number of people
City	466
Village	535
Suburbs/City surroundings	26
Men	482
Women	519
Youth (18-28 years)	313
Kyrgyz	792
Uzbek	86
Russian	45
Other ethnical groups	78

III. ASSESSMENT OF THE LEVEL OF PUBLIC PERCEPTION AND ATTITUDES TOWARD VIOLENT EXTREMIST OFFENDERS (FORMER PRISONERS, PROBATIONERS, OR PAROLEES) AND RETURNEES

1. Factor 1 consists of 9 items that reflect the extent to which a person would willingly allow himself/herself or a close person to be vulnerable and open to contact and interaction with an offender. Factor 1 measures the level of trust in offenders. Responses were rated on a five-point Likert scale, where 1 represents low trust and 5 represents the highest level of trust.

2. Factor 2 consists of 12 items that represent ratings of offenders' personality traits and feelings. Responses were also calculated on a five-point scale, where 1 is a negative rating and 5 is the most positive rating.

3. Factor 3, consisting of 9 items, showed respondents' beliefs that offenders are similar to other people in society and that the environmental factors they were exposed to might have made them different from others. Responses were also calculated on a 5-point scale, where 1 is a low level of belief and 5 is a high level of belief.

4. Factor 4, consisting of 6 items, showed a belief that offenders are able to change and that the environmental factors they are exposed to can affect this. Responses were also calculated on a 5-point scale, with 1 being a low level of belief and 5 being a high level of belief.

1. Assessment of the level of trust in offenders

1.1. Level of trust in offenders

The survey revealed that the level of trust is at the level of 2.56 (where 1 - almost no trust, and 5 - the highest level of trust), indicating that people have a rather neutral level of trust in offenders. The highest level of trust is noticed in Issyk-Kul region (2.78), and the lowest - in Bishkek (2.20). At the same time, 50% of respondents disagreed with the statement "It is unreasonable to trust too much those who have served time in prison". It is noteworthy that the survey also showed that 54.4% of respondents would not refuse to live next door to a former prisoner and 47.1% would not mind socializing with them. At the same time, 62.9% of respondents agreed that one should always be on the lookout for offenders. Through interviews and FGDs, it was determined that the involved respondents from all locations described their relationships with their neighbors as positive. The majority of respondents' relationships with their neighbors remained unchanged after receiving a suspended sentence, neighbors continued to communicate both with convicts' relatives and with convicts themselves, some in a friendly

way, some in a formal way. However, at the same time, negative relations with relatives and friends were observed in some cases. This can be explained by the fact that relatives and friends have a fear of being under the suspicion of law enforcement agencies, so they try to limit their communication with the offender.

	Bishkek city	Osh city	Naryn region	Talas region	Chui region	Batken region	Issyk-Kul region	Jalal-Abad region	Osh region	Total
It is unwise to trust too much those who have been in prison	1.26	2.17	2.10	2.55	2.89	2.68	2.73	2.41	2.82	2.40
I would never want my children to meet offenders	0.97	1.04	1.10	3.08	3.21	3.29	2.86	3.29	3.02	2.43
Give a prisoner an inch, and he'll take a mile	1.9	1.47	2.80	2.85	2.30	2.60	2.6	2.8	2.53	2.43
You have to be constantly on the lookout for an offender	0.87	1.00	1.40	1.82	1.46	1.50	1.8	1.66	1.63	1.46
You never know when an offender is telling the truth	1.07	2.30	1.52	2.22	1.49	1.97	2.32	2.96	1.91	1.97
I could trust my life to an offender	2.34	2.06	1.91	2.03	2.56	2.31	2.31	2.2	2.30	2.22
I wouldn't mind living next door to an offender or ex-convict	3.63	3.67	3.50	3.28	3.26	3.24	3.26	3.22	3.25	3.37
I'd like to communicate with some offenders	3.33	3.10	2.91	3.53	3.11	2.90	3.24	3.19	3.13	3.16
Only some offenders are really dangerous	4.46	4.12	3.55	3.43	3.55	3.50	3.15	3.27	3.37	3.60
Total	2.20	2.32	2.31	2.75	2.65	2.67	2.70	2.78	2.66	2.56

In terms of gender division of respondents, the level of trust is almost the same (men - 2.83; women - 2.7). In the context of ethnic groups, the highest level of trust is noticed among Kyrgyz (2.45), and the lowest among representatives of other ethnic groups (2.34) (this includes Tajiks, Kazakhs, Dungans). At the same time, the representatives of the Russian ethnic group (1.6) agree the most with the proposed statement about the unreasonableness of trusting offenders.

	Kyrgyz	Uzbek	Russian	Other
It is unwise to give too much trust to those who have been in prison	2.02	1.87	1.60	1.78
I could trust my life with an offender	2.30	2.49	2.56	2.54
I would never want my children to meet offenders	1.50	1.16	1.66	1.50
I wouldn't mind living next door to an offender or ex-convict	3.67	3.8	3.27	3.37
Give a prisoner an inch, and he'll take a mile	2.41	2.14	2.24	1.99
I'd like to communicate with some offenders	3.48	3.4	3.36	3.12
You have to be constantly on the lookout for an offender	1.06	1.95	1.62	1.46
You never know when an offender is telling the truth	1.48	1.29	1.60	1.56
Only some offenders are really dangerous	4.05	3.91	3.80	3.74
Total	2.45	2.44	2.41	2.34

According to the literature review, public attitudes towards offenders are particularly negative when a large number of crimes occur in their neighborhood/city. The NSC data shows that Bishkek and Osh cities are leading in terms of the number of offences in Kyrgyzstan. This is confirmed by the data of the quantitative survey, where within of area of residence the lowest level of trust is expressed among respondents living in urban areas (1.97). It should be noted that the majority of respondents living in rural areas do not mind communicating or living next to ex-prisoners or criminals (50.1% and 55.5%).

	Urban	Rural	Suburbs
It is unwise to give too much trust to those who have been in prison	1.78	2.00	2.58
I could trust my life with an offender	2.39	2.36	2.27
I would never want my children to meet offenders	1.20	1.47	2.00
I wouldn't mind living next door to an offender or ex-convict	3.66	3.77	3.27
Give a prisoner an inch, and he'll take a mile	2.19	2.40	2.79
I'd like to communicate with some offenders	3.40	3.59	2.96
You have to be constantly on the lookout for an offender	1.03	1.93	1.92
You never know when an offender is telling the truth	1.28	1.49	2.04
Only some offenders are really dangerous	0.82	1.16	1.96
Total	1.97	2.24	2.42

1.2. Level of trust in religious extremist convicts

The overall level of trust in those convicted of extremist offenses is 2.24 points across all locations (where 0 is almost no trust, and 5 is the highest level of trust), which indicates a rather low level of trust among the population. At the regional level, the lowest level of trust is in Bishkek (1.67) and the highest - in Talas region (2.51), which indicates a neutral level of trust in Talas region. 46.4% of respondents believe that the society in Kyrgyzstan has a negative attitude towards citizens convicted of religious extremism, and 28.4% hold a positive attitude. However, 53% of respondents would not mind if their child played with the child of a person convicted of religious extremism, and 39.7% would be against it. In addition, it should be noted that respondents believe that women and men convicted of religious extremism are treated equally in their communities.

	Bishkek city	Osh city	Naryn region	Talas region	Chui region	Batken region	Issyk-Kul	Jalal-Abad region	Osh region	Total
I wouldn't like my child to play with the child of a neighbor convicted of extremist crimes	1.6	2.60	2.11	2.42	2.10	2.04	2.5	2.13	2.00	2.17
People in my village have a neutral attitude toward people convicted of extremist crimes	3.20	3.08	2.91	3.10	3.09	3.00	2.68	2.99	2.78	2.98
Kyrgyz society has a negative attitude toward people convicted of extremist offenses	0.80	1.50	1.90	2.30	1.78	1.82	2.01	1.97	2.00	1.79
Local people in my community treat both men and women convicted of extremist offenses equally negatively	1.10	1.54	1.93	2.22	1.67	2.87	2.31	2.15	2.36	2.02
Total	1.67	2.18	2.21	2.51	2.16	2.43	2.38	2.31	2.29	2.24

By ethnicity, the lowest level of trust was expressed by the Russian ethnicity (1.87) and the highest by the Uzbek ethnicity (2.15). At the same time, the figures are still below the average score, which indicates a low and rather low level of trust. 60% of the Russian ethnic group and 57.7% of the other group responded that society in Kyrgyzstan has a negative attitude towards people convicted of religious extremism.

	Kyrgyz	Uzbek	Russian	Other
People in my village have a neutral attitude toward people convicted of extremist crimes	3.15	3.49	2.82	3.06
I wouldn't like my child to play with the child of a neighbor convicted of extremist crimes	1.84	1.77	1.91	1.94
Kyrgyz society has a negative attitude toward people convicted of extremist offenses	1.48	1.56	1.44	1.54
Local people in my community treat both men and women convicted of extremist offenses equally negatively	1.69	1.80	1.31	1.53
Total	2.04	2.15	1.87	2.02

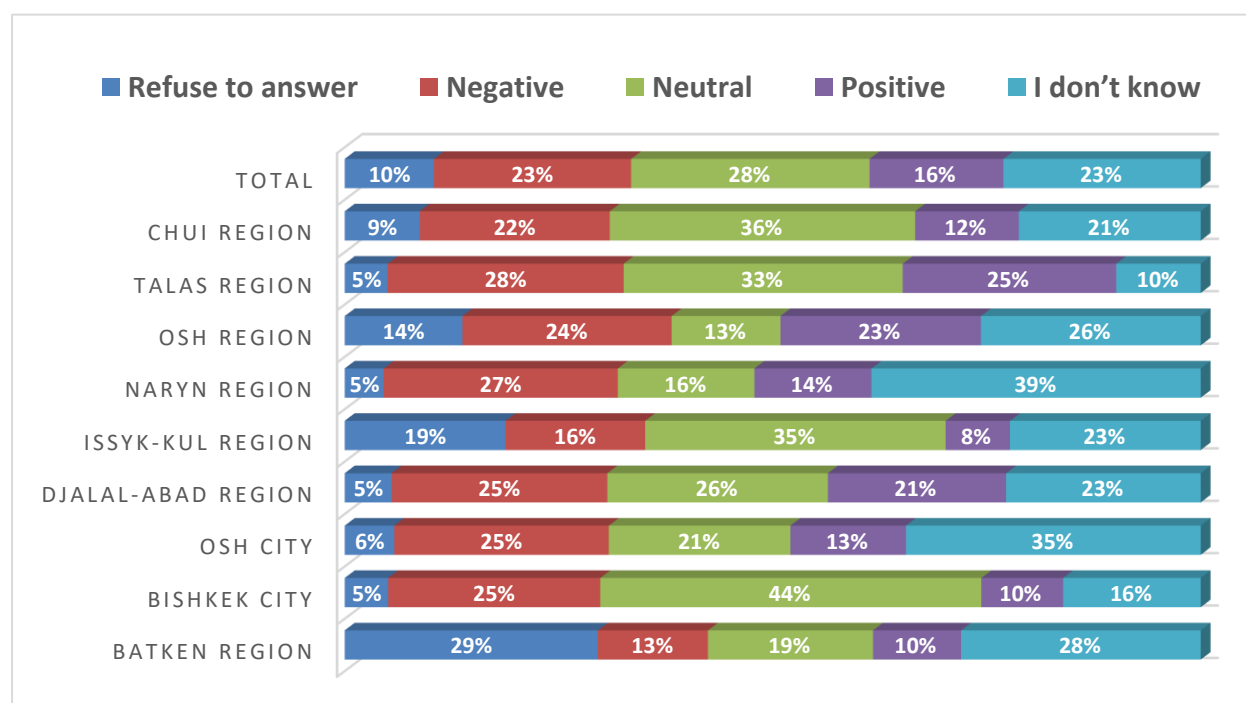
The results of the survey indicate that the level of trust in prisoners convicted of religious extremism is similar to the level of trust in prisoners in general, according to the respondents' area of residence. The lowest level of trust was reported by residents of cities (1.92), while the highest was reported by residents of suburbs and outskirts of cities (2.39). However, 41.8% of urban respondents would not want their child to play with the child of a convicted religious extremist, compared to 65.3% of suburban and rural residents who had a positive attitude and would not mind. During in-depth interviews with EOs, respondents living in rural areas reported positive or formal relationships with neighbors and relatives. Some respondents noted friendliness, as well as participation in social events such as weddings, celebrations, and clean-up days. However, respondents from the cities of Bishkek and Tokmok spoke about stigmatization from society. For example, a female respondent from Tokmok shared that the neighborhood committee refused to issue a certificate of residence with the words "we do not give certificates to terrorists."

In general, the probation work with clients begins with drawing up a characteristic of the inmate, for which the probation officer or commission travels to places where they talk to the inmate's neighbors, friends, acquaintances, relatives, or colleagues. As a result, everyone around them becomes aware of the offense, which can contribute to the formation of a negative attitude towards the offender by their surroundings.

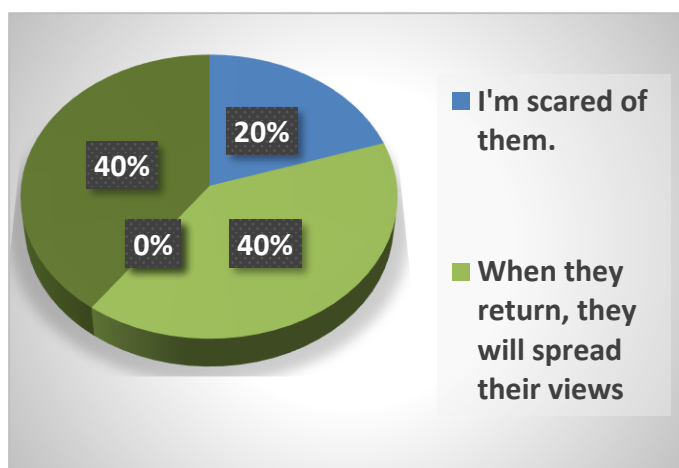
	Urban	Rural	Suburbs
People in my village have a neutral attitude toward people convicted of extremist crimes	3.22	3.18	2.88
I wouldn't like my child to play with the child of a neighbor convicted of extremist crimes	1.69	1.79	2.50
Kyrgyz society has a negative attitude toward people convicted of extremist offenses	1.25	1.54	2.04
Local people in my community treat both men and women convicted of extremist offenses equally negatively	1.53	1.82	2.12
Total	1.92	2.08	2.39

1.3. Attitudes toward returnees

The overall level of trust in returnees is 2.35 points, which indicates that the attitude towards citizens returning from conflict zones is quite neutral. 28% of respondents had a neutral attitude towards returnees, 23% - negative, and 16% - positive. Interviewed FTF respondents also reported that relationships with those around them were more neutral than negative. In addition, respondents noted that most of their acquaintances try to guide them, talk about their religious views, and teach them. This may indicate that those around returnees are afraid of relapse or that their radical views have not changed and will continue to spread. Regionally, the highest percentage of both negative and positive attitudes is in Talas region (28% and 25%). This can be explained by the fact that the majority of respondents in Talas region have an idea about this topic, and only 10% do not know what it is about, in contrast with other locations, where the level of ignorance of this topic is much higher.



Respondents with negative attitudes towards citizens who returned from conflict zones also gave reasons for their negative perceptions. 44% of respondents believe that returnees would spread their views if they returned. 29% of respondents consider them traitors of their homeland, 18% are afraid of returnees, and 6% reported that they believe that these citizens do not want to



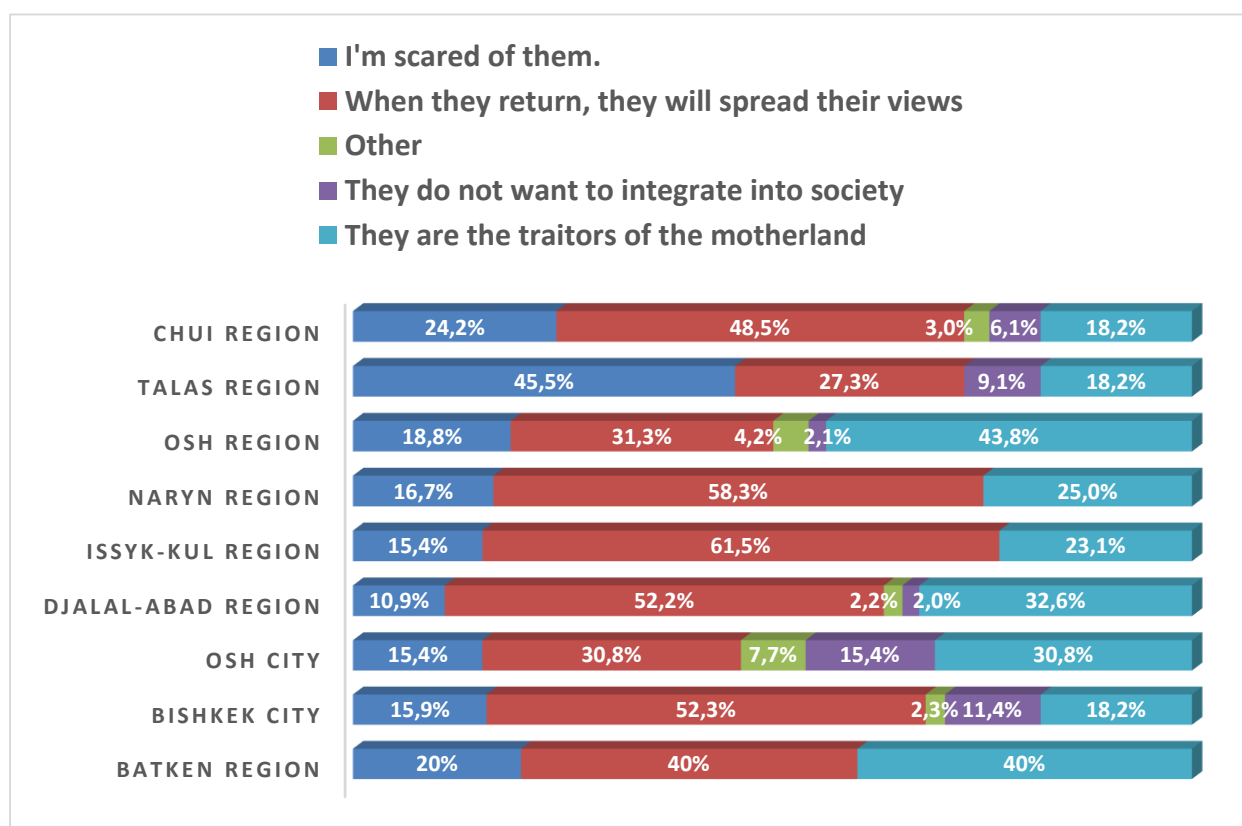
integrate into society. 3% of respondents chose the answer “Other”, which includes the answers: “returnees are silly” and “they returned to further recruit other citizens”.

It should be noted that during the expert interviews with probation department staff, the lack of religious and psychological knowledge and skills for conflict-sensitive communication with

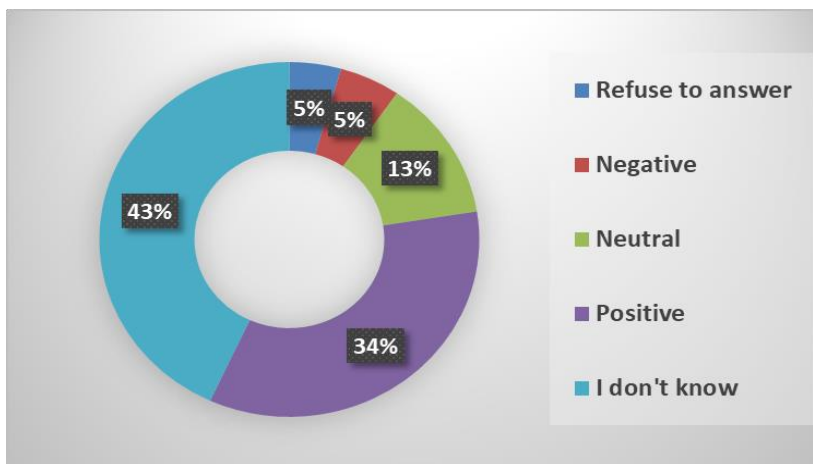
EOs and returnees was highlighted. Respondents said that they lack the knowledge and skills to determine if there is a change in their clients' behavior and what the likelihood of recidivism is.

Regionally, in Talas region almost half of respondents said that they were afraid of returnees (45.5%). In the Osh region the majority consider returnees as traitors of the homeland (43.8%). In Batken region and Osh city the same percentage of respondents believe that returnees will spread their views and consider them traitors of the homeland (40% in Batken and 30.8% in Osh). In other locations, the majority of respondents believe that returnees will continue to spread their views.

Why do you have a negative attitude toward such citizens? (data by location)

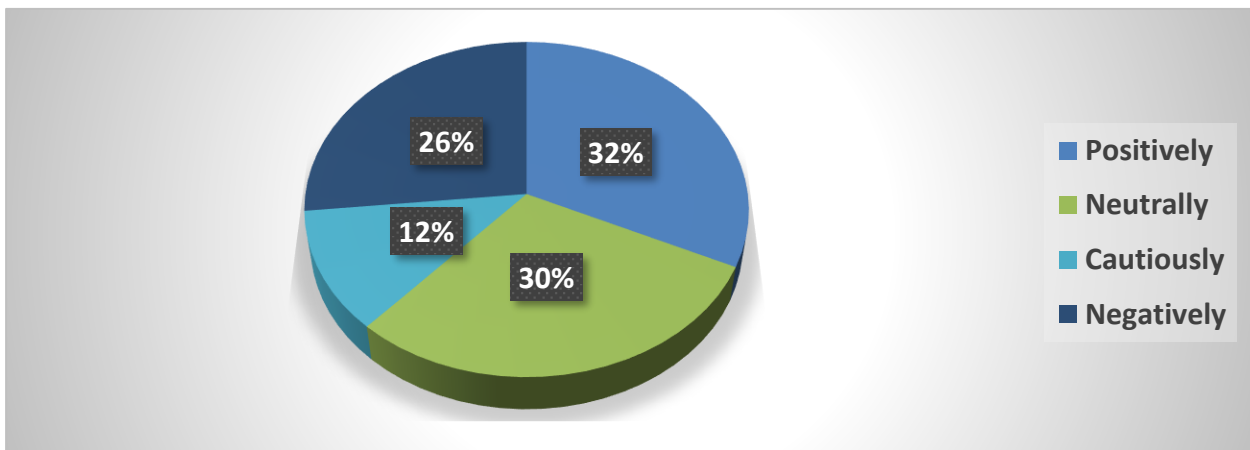


The level of trust and attitudes toward children who returned from Iraq in 2021 is 3.86 points. This indicates that respondents have rather positive attitudes towards child returnees. During the interviews and FGDs it was also noted that stigmatization from the outside may be addressed to adult returnees, including women. At the same time, society is more loyal to children who have returned from conflict zones. Stigmatization of such children can take place at school by their classmates. However, as a rule, relatives, school administrators, and teachers try not to disseminate such information about children's lives at school.

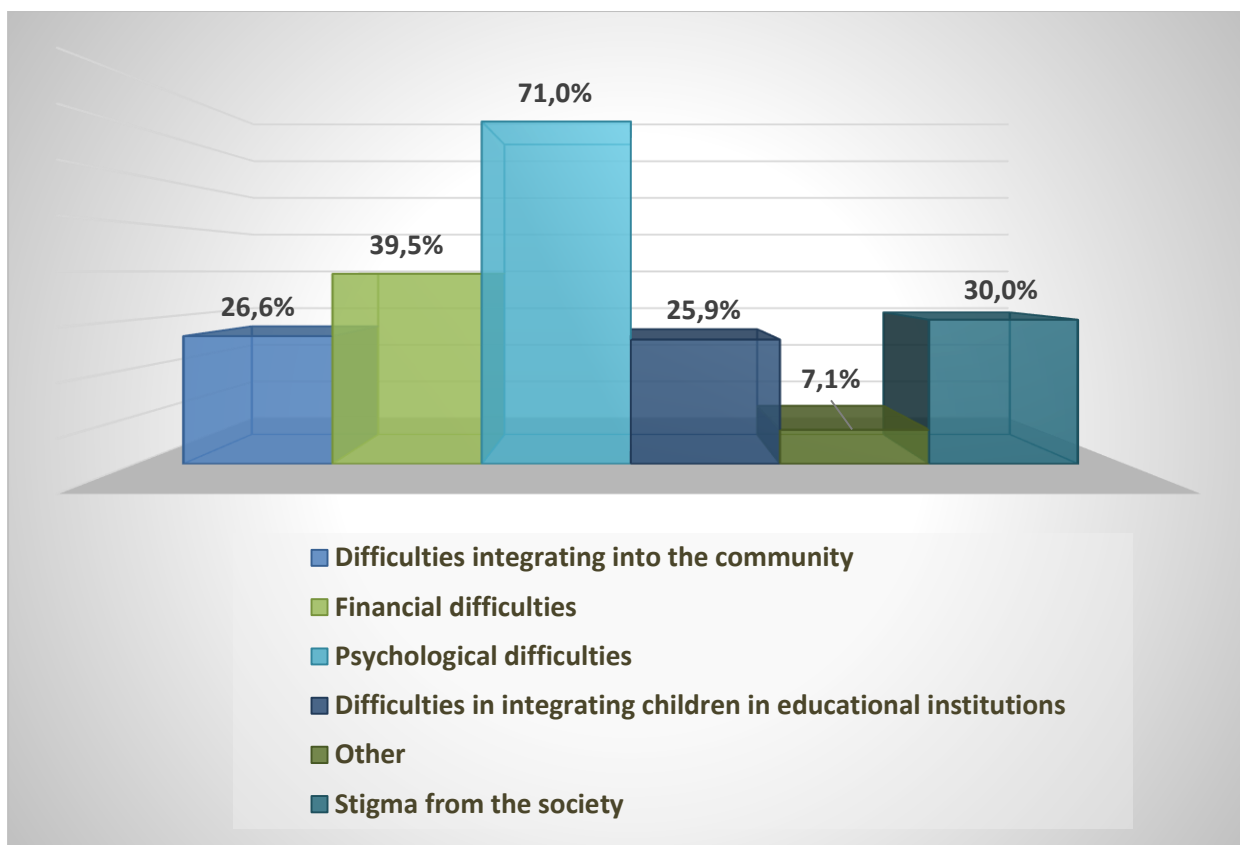


34% of those surveyed have a positive attitude toward children who have returned from Iraq, and 5% have a negative attitude. At the same time, the majority of respondents (43%) have no idea about this topic and do not know what it is about.

4.7% of the respondents have people in their circle who once left for the zone of the Syrian conflict. The level of trust towards them is 3.25 points, i.e. the attitude towards them is rather positive. Of these, 30% have a positive attitude, 28% perceive them neutrally, and 25% have a negative attitude.



The majority of respondents believe that people who returned from conflict zones face psychological difficulties (71.1%). Material difficulties and stigma from the society were chosen by 39.5% and 30% of respondents respectively. Further, 26.6% of respondents believe that returnees may face problems with integration into society and 25.9% - with the problem of integration of children in educational institutions.



2. Assessment of offenders' personality traits and feelings

The overall assessment of personal qualities and feelings of offenders is above average - 2.58 (where 1 is a negative assessment and 5 is a positive assessment). In some locations this indicator is higher, for example, in Jalal-Abad region this indicator is slightly above the average (2.70), and in other locations it is lower, for example, in Osh city (2.45). In terms of gender, the assessment of personal qualities is also lower than the average - 2.35 for men and slightly higher for women - 2.41.

It should be noted that 58.2% of all respondents disagreed that most offenders have a low level of education, and a relatively equal percentage agreed (41.3%) and disagreed (39.6%) that most offenders are too lazy to earn a living by honest work. At the same time, the survey showed that there are differences at the regional level. For example, the majority of respondents in Osh city (55.8%) agree with this statement, and in Issyk-Kul region most respondents (56.3%) on the contrary expressed their disagreement. In addition, 85.9% of all respondents agree that some offenders are quite good people, and 58.7% strongly disagreed with the statement that all those who have served the time are immoral.

	Bishkek city	Osh city	Naryn region	Talas region	Chui region	Batken region	Issyk-Kul region	Jalal-Abad region	Osh region	Total
Most offenders are too lazy to earn a living by honest work	1.69	1.13	2.20	1.80	2.01	1.92	2.39	2.16	1.93	1.91
Offenders are just evil at heart	2.04	2.33	2.55	2.77	2.30	2.40	2.4	2.54	2.34	2.41
Most offenders in prison have a low level of education	3.30	3.04	2.16	2.68	2.92	2.62	2.26	2.43	2.61	2.67
Offenders respect only brute force	2.39	2.13	2.64	2.42	2.35	2.13	2.5	2.46	2.17	2.35
Offenders always try to get something from someone	1.75	1.87	2.55	2.20	2.08	2.13	2.45	2.62	2.23	2.21
Offenders only think of themselves	2.19	2.15	2.41	2.67	2.29	2.50	2.41	2.61	2.34	2.40
In general, offenders are mostly bad people	2.68	2.65	2.91	3.02	2.65	2.91	2.97	2.95	2.75	2.83
You should not expect too much from offenders	1.40	1.46	2.67	2.12	1.85	2.95	2.2	2.16	1.96	2.09
Some offenders are pretty good people	4.76	4.71	3.93	4.28	4.03	3.94	3.98	4.01	3.76	4.15
In general, offenders think and act in the same way	2.24	2.25	2.52	2.30	2.08	2.27	2.36	2.58	2.43	2.34
Offenders listen to the voice of reason	3.76	3.38	2.86	3.10	3.13	3.22	2.96	3.22	3.22	3.21
Offenders are simply immoral	2.31	2.33	2.32	2.57	2.41	2.23	2.47	2.67	2.40	2.41
Total	2.54	2.45	2.64	2.66	2.51	2.60	2.61	2.70	2.51	2.58

In terms of ethnicity, the highest rate of positive assessment of personal qualities is noticed among the Russian ethnic group (2.63), which indicates that this group tends to evaluate the feelings and qualities of offenders more positively than other ethnic groups. The Uzbek ethnic group had the lowest score of 2.11. Most Uzbek respondents (42%) agree that most offenders are evil at heart. In addition, 55.5% of the Russian ethnic group respondents disagreed that offenders cannot make an honest living, while 59.3% agreed with this point.

	Kyrgyz	Uzbek	Russian	Other
Most offenders are too lazy to earn a living by honest work	1.74	1.03	2.29	2.03
Offenders are just evil at heart	2.22	1.58	2.67	2.67
Most offenders in prison have a low level of education	2.81	1.69	1.87	2.04
Offenders respect only brute force	2.17	1.63	2.93	2.54
Offenders always try to get something from someone	2.11	1.69	2.00	2.12
Offenders only think of themselves	2.24	1.83	2.29	2.56
In general, offenders are mostly bad people	2.78	2.58	2.80	2.71
You should not expect too much from offenders	1.69	1.12	1.98	1.87
Some offenders are pretty good people	4.61	4.50	4.20	4.05
In general, offenders think and act in the same way	2.18	1.97	2.44	2.38
Offenders listen to the voice of reason	3.54	3.76	3.18	3.35
Offenders are simply immoral	2.33	1.98	2.88	2.40
Total	2.54	2.11	2.63	2.56

3. Assessing the level of belief that offenders are similar to others in society and that the environmental factors they are exposed to may make them different from others.

The overall Factor 3 score is 3.49 (where 0 is low belief and 5 is high belief), indicating that people are more likely to be convinced that offenders are similar to other people and that the various factors they are exposed to can make them different from others. The item with the lowest level of beliefs is the one about citizens convicted of extremist crimes (3.10). At the same time, 40% of all respondents agree that citizens convicted of extremist crimes are victims of circumstance.

The indicators vary by region, in somewhere this indicator is higher, such as in Bishkek (4.12), and in some places it is lower - Issyk-Kul region (3.3). The survey showed that 58.7% of the respondents are convinced that offenders are not better or worse than other people. Most respondents agree that most of the offenders are victims of circumstance and need help

(57.35%). In addition, 54.8% of respondents believed that poor prison conditions only made inmates more embittered.

	Bishkek city	Osh city	Naryn region	Talas region	Chui region	Batken region	Issyk-Kul region	Jalal-Abad region	Osh region	Total
Offenders need affection and praise just as much as anyone else	4.49	4.73	4.05	4.03	3.87	3.81	3.95	4.03	3.72	4.07
Most offenders in prison are victims of circumstance and deserve help	3.77	3.71	3.25	3.85	3.46	3.45	3.56	3.34	3.36	3.53
Poor prison conditions only increase the bitterness of offenders	4.27	3.85	3.14	3.05	3.60	3.17	3.19	3.5	3.10	3.43
Most offenders are able to love	4.36	3.23	2.82	2.88	3.42	2.96	3.36	3.12	3.06	3.24
If you respect the offender, he/she will give you the same respect	4.26	4.37	3.64	3.90	3.64	3.62	3.53	3.63	3.54	3.79
Offenders are different from most people	4.15	3.98	3.14	3.15	3.25	3.38	2.93	3.34	3.34	3.41
Offenders are no better or worse than other people	4.43	3.71	3.50	3.50	3.52	3.23	3.36	3.42	3.01	3.52
The values of most offenders are about the same as those of everyone else	4.13	3.54	3.20	2.98	3.47	3.26	2.95	3.36	3.10	3.33
Citizens convicted of extremist crimes are victims of circumstance	3.21	3.19	3.20	3.03	3.13	3.12	2.88	3.19	2.91	3.10
Total	4.12	3.81	3.33	3.37	3.48	3.33	3.30	3.44	3.24	3.49

It is worth noting the differences in results by ethnicity. Respondents of Russian ethnicity are less convinced that criminals are like other people (3.55), while representatives of the Uzbek ethnic group have the highest level of belief (3.89). At the same time, the majority of respondents from

the Russian ethnic group (53.3%) agree that the convicts are victims of circumstance and need help, whereas among the group of Uzbek ethnicity this indicator reaches 65.1%.

	Kyrgyz	Uzbek	Russian	Other
Offenders need affection and praise just as much as anyone else.	4.54	4.34	3.84	3.95
Most offenders in prison are victims of circumstance and deserve help	3.79	4.08	3.22	3.56
Poor prison conditions only increase the bitterness of offenders	3.78	3.83	3.80	3.77
Most offenders are able to love	3.53	3.60	4.20	3.73
If you respect the offender, he/she will give you the same respect	4.18	4.12	3.78	3.74
Offenders are different from most people	3.84	3.81	3.11	3.27
Offenders are no better or worse than other people	3.81	3.85	3.87	3.79
The values of most offenders are about the same as those of everyone else	3.64	3.81	3.71	3.74
Citizens convicted of extremist crimes are victims of circumstance	3.37	3.55	2.44	3.01
Total	3.83	3.89	3.55	3.62

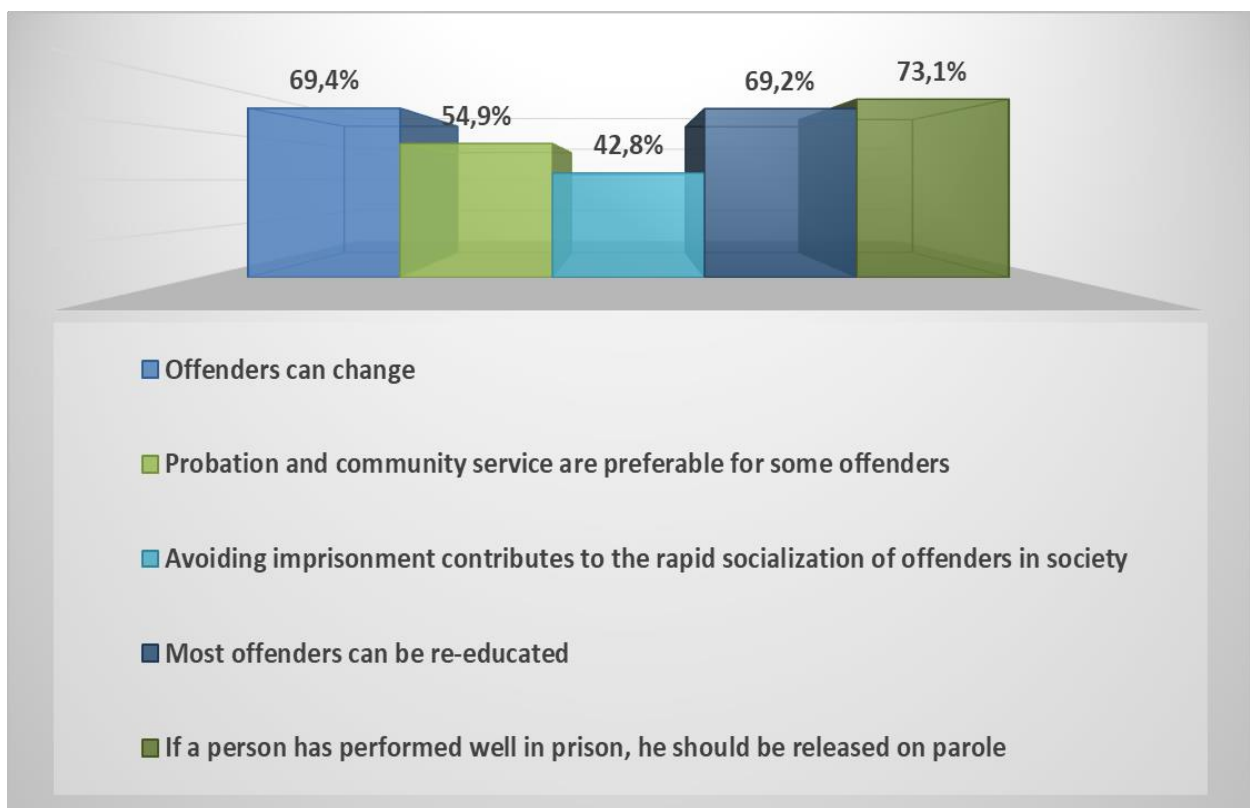
4. Assessing the level of belief that offenders are capable to change and that environmental factors to which they are exposed can affect this

The survey shows that the level of belief that offenders are able to change under supportive conditions is 3.21 (where 1 is a low level of belief and 5 is a high level of belief). Respondents from the Osh region have the lowest level of conviction (2.98), and the highest level of conviction is among respondents from Bishkek (3.53).

	Bishkek city	Osh city	Naryn region	Talas region	Chui region	Batken region	Issyk-Kul region	Jalal-Abad region	Osh region	Total
Offenders never change	2.54	2.65	2.88	2.97	2.45	2.54	2.67	2.73	2.49	2.66
Probation and community service are preferable for some offenders	4.47	3.15	3.36	3.43	3.64	3.35	3.3	3.27	3.07	3.45

Avoiding imprisonment contributes to the rapid socialization of offenders in society	3.35	3.33	3.0	3.13	3.36	3.17	3.16	3.11	2.97	3.17
Most offenders can be re-educated	4.10	4.42	3.50	3.88	3.7	3.33	3.6	3.72	3.46	3.75
If a person has performed well in prison, he should be released on parole	4.36	4.10	3.77	3.35	3.7	3.81	3.91	3.8	3.57	3.82
Trying to re-educate offenders is a waste of time and money	2.40	2.30	2.45	2.60	2.46	2.15	2.72	2.56	2.34	2.44
Total	3.53	3.33	3.16	3.22	3.22	3.06	3.23	3.20	2.98	3.21

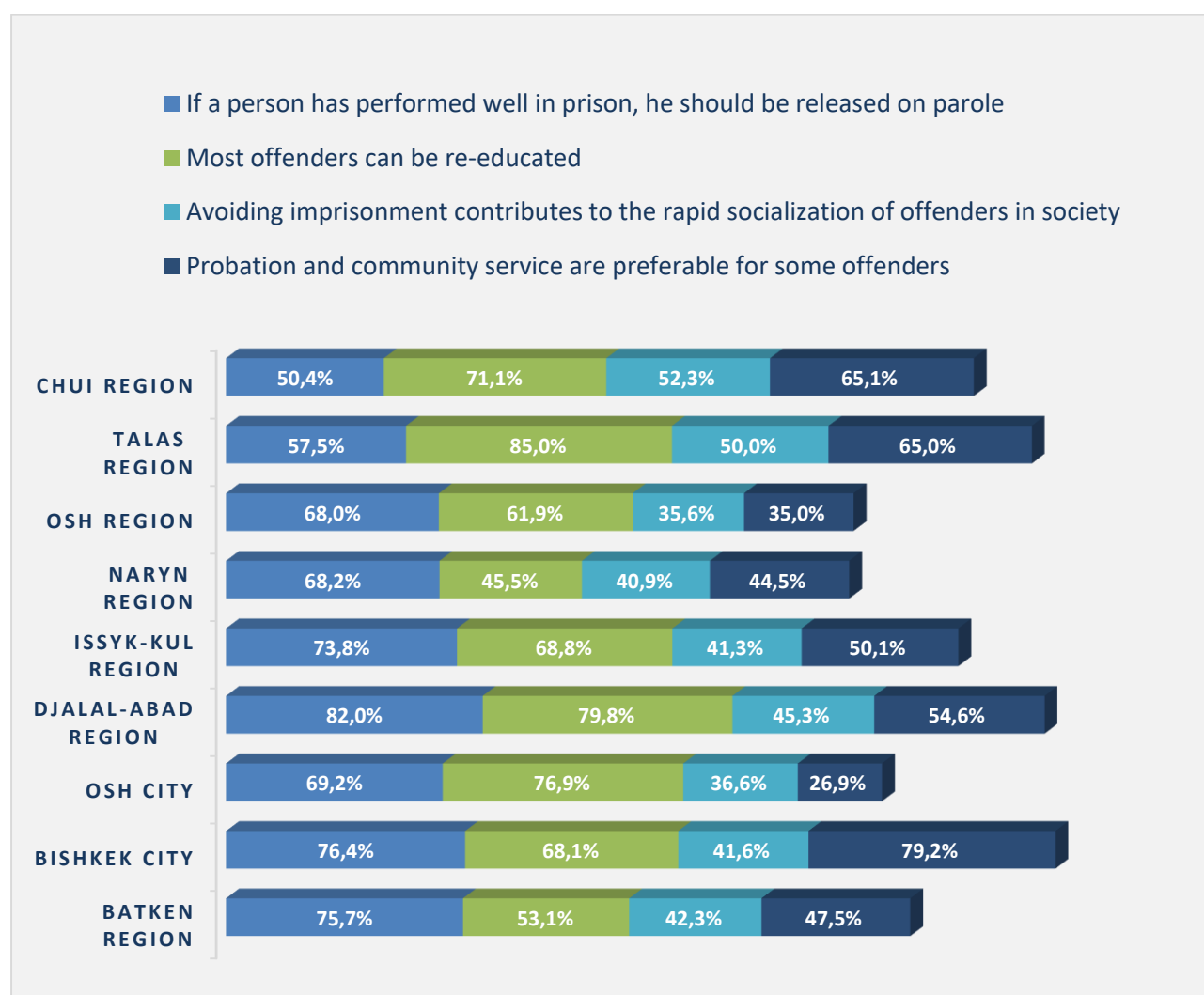
It should be noted that 69.4% of respondents are convinced that offenders are capable of change and 69.2% agree that they can be re-educated. The survey also showed that 73.1% of respondents agree that a person should be released on parole if they have proven to behave well, and 54.9% are convinced that probation and community service are preferable for some offenders. In addition, 42.8% of those surveyed believe that avoiding incarceration promotes the rapid resocialization of offenders.



At the regional level there is also variation in the rates. In general, the majority of respondents agree that a person should be released on parole from prison if he/she has a good reputation. In some locations this indicator is higher, for example, in the Jalal-Abad region - 82%. Also, in the Naryn region less than half of the respondents, namely 45.5%, believe that criminals can be re-educated, in other locations the figures are quite high.

The level of belief that avoiding prison contributes to the rapid socialization of offenders in society is average or below average. The lowest rates are in Osh city and Osh region - up to 36%, and the highest in Chui region - 52.3%. This may be due to the fact that despite a suspended sentence, inmates still face stigma on the part of society, as well as financial difficulties, which in turn hinders their socialization.

The indicators of belief that probation and community service are preferable for some offenders differ significantly between some locations. For example, in Bishkek 79.2% are convinced of this, while in Osh only 26.9% agree with this point. This finding is interesting because, despite the fact that according to the NSC Bishkek and Chui region lead in the number of crimes, the belief that probation is preferable for some offenders is much higher there than in other locations.



Overall, the survey results indicate that the majority of respondents are more likely to be convinced that offenders are similar to other people. The overall score for Factor 3, the similarity of offenders' personality traits to other people, is quite high. Factor 4 scores are also quite high - most respondents are convinced that offenders are capable of change, and have a rather positive attitude toward less punitive punishment for some offenders.

Sylvia, Graham, and Hawley (2005) studied how similarity to convicts affects their attractiveness or aversion, and how this subsequently affects people's attitudes toward offenders. They conducted this study using the similarity-attraction effect, the idea that similarity between two people increases how similar they feel to each other and, subsequently, like each other. The results of the study showed that people, on average, adhere to the "similarity-attraction effect". In other words, thinking they are similar to offenders makes people feel less punitive and more accepting of offenders.

Thus, the survey showed a positive correlation between Factor 3 and Factor 4 and confirmed the "similarity-attraction effect". Most respondents perceived the personal qualities of offenders as similar to others, and also had a rather high belief that punishment for offenders should be less punitive.

IV. FORMER PRISONERS', PAROLEES', PROBATIONERS', AND RETURNEES' REINTEGRATION BARRIERS ANALYSIS

The number of banned religious organizations in Kyrgyzstan numbers at 21. The presence of about 15 of them was proven by identification and arrest of the members of these groups. While searching the homes of those arrested, prohibited radical religious materials were found. Experts are convinced that there are more than 15 banned religious organizations operating in Kyrgyzstan. The reason is the high level of religious freedom in the state, what makes it difficult to track the actions of each religious movement. In addition, as experts noted, there is a growing struggle for influence among different currents of Islam, for example, between the madhabs of Salafism and Hanafism. This situation can lead to the penetration of extremist views from the outside, whose adherents, taking advantage of the population's confusion, will recruit people for their own purposes. Ultimately, this is a great threat to the security of the state.

As of December 2022, among the clients of the probation department of the Kyrgyz Republic, there were 157 clients convicted of extremism, 120 of which were from the southern region of the state.

According to the Criminal Code of the Kyrgyz Republic of 2017 edition, persons convicted of extremism (EO) are sent for probation without serving a sentence in prison. According to the Criminal Code of the Kyrgyz Republic of 2021 edition, there is no probation opportunity for the EO; a new measure of restraint applied to them is serving a sentence in a general regime prison without the right to parole. However, there were cases of probationary supervision of EO in 2022.

Probation is presented as an institution that carries out educational activities for first-time offenders and criminals if the offense/crime they have committed allows them to avoid a more severe preventive measure. Probation pays particular attention to the social rehabilitation of its clients in order to reduce and/or eliminate re-offending or exacerbate radicalization and extremism in the case of those convicted of extremism.

The rehabilitation of returnees begins with specialized centers under the State Committee for National Security (SCNS), where they stay for 3-5 months. According to official data, there are no convicts in Kyrgyzstan participating in hostilities on the territory of other states/in conflict zones. Returnees, as the current situation demonstrates, are convicted of forgery of documents and illegal crossing of state borders, what then provides for probation supervision.

The management of convicts serving sentences in prisons is carried out by the Ministry of Justice. Social security, which is part of the process of reintegration of convicts with various penalties, is the responsibility of the Ministry of Labor, Social Security, and Migration.

1. Current forms of assistance and support during imprisonment, preparation for release

Relatives' visits. Convicts in general regime prisons are allowed to be visited by their relatives. For some prisoners, family visits are great support while being sentenced. At the same time, there are those among the prisoners who prefer to distance themselves from their relatives so that it is easier to adapt to new conditions. A respondent from the city of Tokmok, convicted of murder and sentenced to nine years in prison with the possibility of parole and probation, refers himself to those to whom the presence of relatives provides tangible moral support. Another respondent from the city of Tokmok, who was convicted of possession and distribution of narcotic substances, speaks of the absence of relatives and friends as a motivation for maintaining strength and calmness while serving a sentence.

Additional education for prisoners. Within the framework of penitentiary probation, local professional technical lyceums offer training courses for those serving sentences. Men are provided mainly with courses in electrics, plumbing, and auto mechanics; women are provided with courses in sewing, massage, pastry courses, and hairdressers. One of the respondents in this study completed an automotive mechanic course while serving a sentence and received a certificate. Such actions are taken to prepare those serving sentences in prisons for social reintegration upon release. Presumably, this greatly facilitates the issue of their employment.

Employment. The availability of vacancies in the respective regions/cities is specified in advance so that the client can immediately go to work upon release. However, respondents reported that they prefer searching for work on their own. The reason being that the jobs offered by the departments of the Ministry of Labor, Social Security and Migration are low-paid and also require tax payments, what makes the wages even lower. In addition, it is worth noting that former prisoners no longer trust government agencies and rarely refer to them, including questions about employment.

Housing. The place of residence of the released from prison, including parolees, is determined by the presence of relatives and friends.

Grant of parole. The possibility of parole, as a rule, is provided during the trial in accordance with the article of the crime committed by the convicted person. If the law provides the right to parole, and positive characteristics are received from law enforcement agencies, clients are free to use the right to parole.

Several parolee respondents noted the importance of providing legal assistance to those serving sentences in prisons. Not being able to provide themselves with qualified lawyers during their time, they talked about the right to receive free legal assistance. This was necessary to clarify the circumstances of their detention, the measure of restraint, and the possibility of appealing the sentence. There was also a respondent who received free legal assistance during the

investigation of the crime he committed, however, the lawyer did not take any measures to protect him.

2. Reintegration process and barriers to reintegration

2.1. Existing mechanisms of reintegration; social reintegration

The process of reintegration of probationers, including EO and parolees, begins, to a greater extent, with their admission to the probation supervision of the Probation Department of the Kyrgyz Republic. To begin with, a probation supervision plan is drawn up for each newly admitted client. In addition to the supervision itself, where the client is required to report to the probation officers twice a month, the social worker identifies the needs of the client. The probation officer first goes to the client's place of residence. Further, after interviewing relatives and neighbors, a portrait of the client and characteristics are drawn up.

“We are compiling a plan for probationary supervision, how the punishment should be continued. Alcohol-addicted clients, for example, should be registered at the drug treatment clinic. Next, we check if the client should be registered with a mental hospital if he/she has psychological issues, as well. Then, if the client is coming from a low-income family, for example, he/she should be provided with social security at the center of labor and social protection. We include him/her in the program for further implementation, submit it to the probation council in order to provide some kind of social assistance, e.g. employment, or restoration of any documents. We take it into account and explain to him/her the rights and obligations that he/she has.”

The needs of the client may be related to:

- employment and the acquisition of special skills through training;
- housing;
- the restoration of documents;
- the need to receive social and legal assistance;
- medical and/or psychological assistance, including treatment for drug and/or alcohol addiction.

Working with a theologian. The plan of probation supervision of EO clients starts with the theologian. Accompanying EO clients by theologians is based on conversations that have an educational religious character. Theologians identify changes in the views of clients over the course of their probation, monitor whether clients are using the same prohibited materials as before, and monitor their social environment and activities. In addition, theologians can carry out preventive explanatory work not only with probation clients but with their relatives too. Also, theologians are interested in carrying out preventive work with relatives of persons who have served on the territory of hostilities in order to prevent their relocation. The work of theologians is carried out with all EO clients, regardless of their place of residence.

Working with mosque attendants. The involvement of the mosque attendants - imams - working with EO clients is considered along with the work of theologians. Due to the small number of theologians in the probation service, imams can partially take on the role of enlightening clients about the religion of Islam, its various movements, the delusions of the followers of these movements, and most importantly, the causes of wrong delusions and ways out of them.

Jalal-Abad region. If the work of theologians is carried out with all EO clients, regardless of their location, then the involvement of imams is noted only in the Jalal-Abad region, where EO clients have the opportunity to attend educational lectures on religion in mosques. One of the respondents in the Bazar-Korgon district mentioned lectures in the mosque held as part of their probationary supervision on religious topics they did not understand:

“The Moldo conducts explanatory work on topics that are incomprehensible and unfamiliar to us. We have already attended lectures there a couple of times.”

Another respondent from Suzak also mentioned lectures at the mosque where they were told about their misunderstanding of religion and forbidden activities:

“We were sent to the mosque, where at first we were told a little about religion, then the servants of the mosque began to explain what we were wrong about, what our views were wrong about, and how it would become more correct.”

The possibility of attending such lectures in the *Chui region and Bishkek* was not mentioned by the respondents.

Employment. For both probation officers and clients, the issue of employment is an acute one. Under the Ministry of Labor, Social Security, and Migration, there are funds and employment centers with lists of available vacancies in the region, where probation clients can apply for employment. However, these vacancies are not in demand among clients due to their low wages. Probationers prefer to look for a job on their own, with the help of relatives and friends.

Jalal-Abad region. Among the respondents, there are certain trends regarding the type of labor activity, depending on their place of residence. In the Jalal-Abad region, the majority of respondents prefer to be engaged in construction work and/or running their own households.

Respondents from *Chui oblast and Bishkek* prefer to trade and/or provide services in the automobile repair business.

In addition, it is worth noting the interest of probation officers in the regions in terms of the employment of their clients. It is noteworthy that employees of the southern divisions of the department show a great interest in helping their clients find employment through the use of personal connections. One example of this approach to client employment is a story told by a probation officer in Osh:

“The owner of the service station - a good friend of the officer - needs a car repair specialist. Before the owner of the service station finds out that the mechanic offered to him has a criminal record, he agrees to hire him. But after clarifying the circumstances, i.e. having a criminal record, decides to refuse. The probation officer takes responsibility for the master proposed by him, and together with the owner of the service station, they agree on a probationary period. After the trial period, the owner is satisfied with the work of the new master. The master, the probationer, remains satisfied with the amount of his salary, which later was grown by adding a percentage from each car he repaired, and the opportunity to earn money and feed himself and his relatives by honest and pleasant work.”

Such participation in the issue of employment of probation clients by officers in the Chui region and Bishkek was not noticed.

Housing. If elderly probation clients have problems with housing, the Ministry of Labor, Social Security, and Migration provides for stationary institutions - nursing homes. In a similar situation with younger probation clients, non-governmental organizations (NGOs) are more involved and can find a hostel and take over its financial support. The probation department staff noted that the state authorities could not provide assistance in this direction due to the lack of social housing. There are no differences in defining and solving the issue of housing by region.

Assistance in obtaining education and professional skills. There is a certain difference between regions in providing educational opportunities and subsequent employment to probation clients.

Jalal-Abad region. Respondents from Jalal-Abad oblast did not mention a single case of taking an educational/advancement course as part of their probation supervision. According to the staff, there are very few opportunities for additional education organized by government agencies and not by NGOs.

Chui region and Bishkek. A respondent from the city of Tokmok spoke about the opportunity given to him to take a course in automobile mechanics while being a client of penitentiary probation. However, in the post-penitentiary period, any kind of similar opportunity was not offered to him. The lack of opportunity to receive additional education was also confirmed by other respondents from the city of Tokmok. However, officers of the regional probation department noted that among their clients was a girl who had completed hairdresser and nail service courses, which later helped her get a job. This case was successful due to the help of Public Fund Insan:

“... they made an arrangement with our local college, TIPC, and the dean agreed to somehow admit her as a second-year student, as she graduated from the ninth grade; they admitted her to the program where she was studying a hairdresser private courses. There was an option to study for free, but free courses are not that good. In Tokmok, only one certificate is quoted by one master, and she was hired as a make-up artist and a hairdresser. They covered the equipment cost of 17,000 soms and bought everything she

needed. Now she helps her mom and is working. They have moved from a a hostel into a rented accommodation."

The situation with the provision of educational/training courses in Bishkek is much better. Almost all respondents, with the exception of one, noted that they have taken or are planning to take the courses they are interested in. One respondent said that as part of her probation supervision plan, she was trained as a beautician and paramedic, and attended language courses and computer literacy courses. Other respondents noted that they were offered a driving course and a masseur training course respectively.

Document recovery. There have been no recent problems with restoring or updating documents. When rare issues appear, probation officers promptly eliminate them, regardless of the location of the client.

Obtaining legal and medical assistance. The need for legal and medical assistance was not mentioned by probation clients. There were isolated cases noted by probation officers in the Chui oblast and Bishkek: One of the probationers in Tokmok needed legal advice, not on the case in which he was convicted, but on other personal issues. Regarding the need for medical care, the respondents noted that there are no problems here. However, according to the staff, one of the clients in Bishkek needs medical assistance, whose health condition requires urgent professional intervention. The probation board is not in a position to resolve this case on its own.

According to the expert opinion of one of the officers, the participation of the probation service in the provision of treatment for clients with drug and/or alcohol addictions is becoming insignificant. The reason for this is the successful fight against these types of addiction by the law enforcement agencies of the penitentiary system. In cooperation with the drug treatment clinic, all convicted and serving sentences in prisons with established drug and/or alcohol addiction are subject to registration. Every day, all accounts are allocated the required amount of medicine. The control of these medications is supervised by staff in the penitentiary systems. This system of treatment of drug and/or alcohol addiction of convicts serving sentences in prisons showed a positive result. There are no regional differences in the treatment of drug and/or alcohol addictions.

Psychological assistance. The importance of providing psychological assistance to probation clients, especially women, was noted in all study locations.

Jalal-Abad region. One of the officers of the probation services in the Jalal-Abad region noted that women are often "exhausted, morally depressed", without the support of relatives, in particular husbands, some of whom, after a trial or serving sentences in prisons, remain alone with their children. She spoke about the friendly attitude of the service staff towards probation clients as a way of psychological assistance. It is expressed in the willingness to listen and talk about any problems and questions that clients have, about demonstrating a genuine desire to assist in solving these problems. Polite greetings, talking about everyday things, and advice on

caring for their appearance, according to the respondent, show a positive impact on the psychological state of their clients.

Chui region and Bishkek. Data from interviews conducted with female clients of the probation service from Tokmok and Bishkek confirm the need for psychological assistance. The trial, starting with the detention, continuing with the investigation, and ending with the court, had a negative psychological effect. Respondents noted that it was especially difficult to endure the checkup process after detention, where they had to undress. Presenting in front of strange men while undressed was unacceptable for them, but there was no alternative action provided to them. Respondents spoke about the lack of adequate/humane treatment from the moment of their detention until the end of the investigation. In this connection, conversations with the theologian were mentioned (in a positive way), during which he was very polite to them.

Satisfaction with life and plans. The level of life satisfaction among EO clients is quite high. This is explained, first of all, by the fact that "A Muslim is not supposed to complain about his life." This phrase was said by every respondent - every EO client, regardless of their place of residence. In addition, they mentioned that Muslims, including themselves, should be content with what they have and just hope for the best. In fact, at the time of the interview, none of the respondents noted issues requiring urgent intervention and solutions.

What is worth noting is the need of one of the respondents, a EO client, who is under probation supervision in Bishkek, to receive serious medical care.

Regarding the respondents' plans for life, there is a trend among some young probation clients to travel abroad. Europe (Germany) and Russia are considered for migration. The reason for such intentions is the need for finance, which is not possible to satisfy within Kyrgyzstan. Financial need is explained by a necessity to provide for parents and prepare for marriage. The life plans of the adult generation of probation clients are based on determining a stable financial position without going abroad. Most of them have families, in particular children, who need to be educated and married. It is these questions that underlie their plans. There is no difference in plans for the future among respondents by region.

2.2. Barriers to reintegration and difficulties in implementing social integration mechanisms

The probation supervision plan includes the mechanisms for successfully addressing client needs. But the implementation of these social reintegration mechanisms is not always realized properly. There are certain obstacles regarding every issue. Since the Department of Probation is a rather young organization, there is a lack of specially qualified personnel to manage EO clients and; a lack of experience in managing clients, identifying their real needs, and possible solutions to these needs. In addition, the underdeveloped infrastructure of the department should be noted, which also does not allow the service to fulfill its obligations to clients in full.

Inaccessibility of obtaining religious knowledge. Reintegration into the society of EO clients may be delayed or not happen at all due to the peculiarities of their views on life, based on Sharia rules, which are different from the popular secular ones.

There is a shortage of theologians to effectively manage EO clients. The rest of the probation officers lack the skills to communicate with the EOs and identify their problem areas. A special issue that remains untouched within the framework of the social integration of EO clients is the upbringing of their children - it is not known what ideas these children grow up with if their parents hold extremist views.

Involvement of religious ministers in the educational process of the EO is not obligated by law, it requires their special training. In addition, the issue of their negative impact on clients in terms of exacerbating the radicalization of EOs due to the fact that some of the clients are students of madrasahs is not taken into account, and accordingly, there is a possibility that some clergies are also adherents of prohibited religious movements.

If the religious lectures conducted by the attendants of the mosques are still held, then their availability is uneven. Cases have been mentioned above where EO clients in the Jalal-Abad region were sent to lectures at local mosques. EO clients in Chui oblast and Bishkek do not have such opportunities.

Employment difficulties. The main problem with employing clients is the presence of a criminal record, which leads to frequent refusals from employers due to the stigmatization of (former) convicts, and this stigma is difficult to get rid of. When disputes arise in the workplace, the first thing to do is to suspect previously convicted people. One of the experts in the probation system spoke of the case when a bag with money was lost in one of the municipal institutions, and people blamed the probation client working there. Later it was revealed that the child of one of the employees of the institution took the bag, but no one ever apologized to the falsely accused probation client.

As another example of the difficulty of finding employment, we can take the case of a respondent sent on parole to a colony of a settlement. After a successful change of preventive punishment, the respondent could not find a job for a long time - 6-7 months. In addition to having a valid criminal record, the difficulty was the need to travel to the colony of the settlement at least twice a week in order to check in and fulfill their part of public affairs. It was possible to get a job through family ties.

Difficulties in finding a job associated with the stigmatization by the population are the same in all study locations. To reduce stigma among employers, probation officers talk about characterizing a probationer on their behalf. It is also proposed to involve the media in creating video content about probation clients and their problems.

Lack of professional skills and education. Another reason for the employment problems of probation clients may be a lack of professional knowledge and skills. This is due to the fact that

most of the probationers have no education. When looking for a job, either with the assistance of the probation officer and its staff or on their own/through relatives and friends, knowledge of electric, engineering, and mechanics is often required; As is the same with possession of a drivers license. The solution to this problem is difficult, because the Employment Fund under the Ministry of Labor, Social Security, and Migration does not have enough vacancies for those aspiring to be trained. Participation of NGOs is also limited - they cannot provide training opportunities for every client, and choose the most interested ones.

In addition, it is worth noting that the opportunities to receive training are also distributed unevenly. Probation clients in Bishkek are more likely to receive additional education than clients in other regions. For example, one of the respondents – a EO client under the supervision of probation in Bishkek, turned to licensed massage therapists to undergo advanced training for massage therapy courses. His request was fulfilled, which cannot be said about the majority of the respondents, who are probation clients in the southern region of the republic.

Document recovery. Despite the fact that the issue of restoring probationers' documents is not as relevant as before, there are cases that require attention. One of the respondents, a convict with a measure of restraint as serving a sentence in a general regime colony with the possibility to parole, did not have the opportunity to deal with the issue of restoring his passport for six years. After changing the preventive measure with the transition to the colony of the settlement, having taken up the restoration of the passport, he was refused due to the current criminal record. After a while, having received the necessary certificates from the colony of the settlement, he was able to solve the problem of restoring his passport.

Legal support. Another issue that requires the intervention of probation officers in the framework of providing legal assistance to clients is the clarification of the rights and procedures for obtaining benefits for large families. Among the respondents, there were two clients who were denied benefits by the social security service as a form of support for large families. In the first case, where the client is under probation supervision in Bishkek, there are seven children, the family consists of nine members, including the parents. Social security refused to provide benefits to this large family, explaining its decision by the availability of sewing machines, with which they are able to provide for themselves. In the second case, the social protection service denied financial support to a large family from the city of Tokmok due to the presence of modern household appliances. In both cases, the issue of financial security for all family members requires attention, and the refusal of the social security service must be considered legally. Therefore, probation officers should explore the options for providing legal assistance to their clients in order to address the issues of financial security for their families.

Loss or deterioration of social ties. The most significant moment in the reintegration of probation clients is their socialization with the surrounding society. But the work of probation officers with the host society is not included in their duties. As part of their mandate, probation officers monitor clients' relationships with their relatives, neighbors, colleagues, and friends based solely on characteristics obtained from neighbors and relatives and responses from the

clients themselves. The question of the current attitude of the host society remains undisclosed for the probation service.

Jalal-Abad region. Based on interviews with probation clients in the Jalal-Abad oblast, their relationships with relatives, neighbors, friends, and colleagues do not change much. Small changes that can be observed at the beginning of the investigative process are explained by the unexpectedness of the situation. Then the relationship gets better. None of the respondents noted changes in relations with relatives, neighbors, and colleagues. There is a case where the respondent's colleagues remind him of the need to check in so as not to break the law. The only refusal of friends to communicate in the entire region was noted by a respondent who returned from Syria. He explains this by their fear of incurring the suspicions of law enforcement agencies on themselves and their relatives for their relationship with the respondent.

Chui region and Bishkek. The situation with the socialization of clients in the Chui region and Bishkek is different - it is limited to their communication with close relatives, i.e. parents and children. There are cases where relatives and friends cut ties with (former) convicts. One respondent, a probation client who served time in a general regime colony in the past, lost contact with his common-law wife and child. The initiator of the termination of communication was the ex-wife. There were almost no former friends left in the respondent's environment: After finding out the circumstances of the detention, conviction, and serving time in prison, they decided to end any relationship with the respondent. Of the old friends, only a few remained. Noteworthy, the respondent has no desire to make new friendships: *"It's not that time, yes, it's not time to make new friendships anymore."*

The negative attitude of neighbors after finding out about a criminal record and being on probation was noted by one of the respondents in the city of Tokmok. When collecting the necessary documents for passing probation supervision at the place of residence, the head of the house committee refused to issue certificates from the place of residence to the respondents saying *"We do not give certificates to terrorists."* The results of the survey also show that residents of cities have a lower level of trust in EOs than residents of villages.

Special relationships with others are described by a respondent from Bishkek, who makes great efforts to restore social ties, especially with relatives. Her relatives moved away, fearing for their reputation and career because many of them work in public service. But realizing that family ties are needed now and will be needed by her and her children, she does not abandon attempts to renew relations with them. She talked about their reluctance to keep in touch with her because of her criminal record. Fearing for their reputation, her relatives did not give her any help.

"They even told me to my face not to come. That they were afraid for their fate, for their lives, for their reputation. Because they are civil servants ... And when I saw that this happened to me, no one helped. We have a saying "el emne deit" - what will people say."

Lack of infrastructure and technical equipment of the probation service. In addition to obstacles in the mechanisms of social rehabilitation of probation clients, there are also technical problems

that can negatively affect the work of service officers in achieving their goal - the re-education of probationers. There is an acute issue of infrastructure - premises, cars, furniture, and equipment. The premises of the probation departments are located in inappropriate places: in the Bazar-Korgon district of the Jalal-Abad region, for example, the probation department is located in the “house of culture”, where children study every day, what, according to officers, is unacceptable when children are in the same building with former prisoners. There are also no official vehicles to reach clients' residences for the purpose of conducting a housing assessment or evaluating behavior. This is a major problem in areas where clients may live far from the probation office. There is also an acute shortage of basic furniture and equipment for the daily functions of probation offices.

“In general, there is a shortage of personnel in probation, we don't have time to do anything. We don't even have time to communicate with them. The same software, we have two computers for five officers, the rest were brought from homes, can you imagine? A new employee has come, he even has no place to sit, there is no table. And how can he accept and sit with him to communicate?! The provision is very poor, and because of this, the employee does not even want to work. I am sitting paycheck to paycheck.”

Lack of a special program for EO. In addition, it should be noted that during the expert interviews, it was revealed that the plan of the program for probation clients is unified and there are no suitable items for the EO. Respondents said that for all groups of clients, probation has a standard template approach and plan, and neither age, gender, nor the crime committed is taken into account at all.

“For EO, at least a monthly or quarterly visit to a psychologist is needed. By communicating personally, a psychologist could reveal what is happening now and whether there is a cause for concern about clients' thoughts and behavior. Now our clients regularly pass psychological tests, but they are the same for all clients regardless of the nature of their crimes, stereotyped, you understand?”

Thus, the reintegration of probationers, including EO and parolees, and offenders occurs through activities carried out by the probation department. The measures include actions to solve problems with employment and training, housing, restoration of documents, and provision of legal and medical assistance, including drug and/or alcohol addiction treatment. Regardless of the location, the most implemented mechanisms are the issues of treating addictions and restoring documents. With some exceptions, this list includes the provision of legal and medical assistance.

The issue of the possibility of obtaining additional education with subsequent employment is considered in the regional context. In the Jalal-Abad region, there are no cases of clients taking special courses organized by either state structures or NGOs. At the same time, in Bishkek, a high level of opportunities for obtaining additional education provided to clients was noted. The participation of NGOs was noted in Chui oblast.

The difference in social rehabilitation between representatives of probation clients from different regions is also observed in terms of socialization. If in the previous question, a positive effect was observed in the Chui region and Bishkek, now the Jalal-Abad region comes to the fore. The interviews with respondents from the Jalal-Abad region show that their socialization is going much better. There are no critical changes in relations with relatives, neighbors, colleagues, and friends. Relationships with friends were limited only in the case of a client who returned from Syria.

In the Chui oblast and Bishkek, the situation is different. Here, the socialization of clients is limited to communication with close relatives - parents and children. There are cases of refusal to communicate with neighbors and relatives. Communication with colleagues is also limited and not marked by special characteristics.

Other barriers to the social reintegration of former criminals and offenders are the lack of qualified personnel to carry out quality work, especially with EO clients. The shortage of theologians is the reason for the lack of special rehabilitation programs for EO clients, which makes it difficult to determine the effectiveness of the probation supervision plan for them. In addition, there are infrastructure problems. The lack of appropriate premises, cars, furniture, and equipment impedes the implementation of mechanisms for the social rehabilitation of probation clients in full.

3. Key mechanisms and institutions supporting the reintegration process

3.1. State institutions:

- ❖ **Probation Council** is a council of representatives of all regional state and municipal services who decide on the provision of assistance to probation clients depending on their needs. Specialists of the probation service draw up individual programs for the provision of social and legal assistance to clients. Depending on the needs of the probation client, an action plan is drawn up.
- ❖ **Ministry of Labor, Social Security, and Migration** assists in finding employment and acquiring professional skills, as well as activities in the field of compulsory social security.
- ❖ **Department of the State Service for the Execution of Punishments of the Government of the Kyrgyz Republic (SSEP)** is responsible for penitentiary institutions and systems of the republic. The duties of the State Penitentiary Service include ensuring the proper detention of persons on suspicion, people accused of committing crimes, as well as prisoners.
- ❖ **The Spiritual Board of Muslims of Kyrgyzstan (SBMK/DUMK)** organizes training, the seminars are held to improve the knowledge of employees of territorial probation bodies

in the field of the ideology of extremism and terrorism. The seminars are aimed at training officers about the socio-psychological characteristics (portrait) of individuals accused of extremism, about the types and directions of extremist groups.

- ❖ **The State Commission for Religious Affairs of the Kyrgyz Republic (SCRA)** is responsible for the development of methodological manuals for probation officers, as well as for organizing training, seminars, and lectures for probation service staff and clients.
- ❖ **Experience exchange.** To improve the efficiency of the work of the probation department in general, and to improve the skills of employees in particular, trips are organized to exchange experience with states whose services have existed for a longer time. (Latvia).

3.2. International organizations:

- ❖ **OSCE** works together with the State Penitentiary Service to improve the work of socio-psychological services of the State Penitentiary Service; and takes part in providing conditions for the professional training of penitentiary psychologists in the country and the development of uniform standards for psycho-prophylaxis, diagnosis, and counseling of convicts.
- ❖ **The United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime (UNODC)** is a UN unit dealing with the fight against drug trafficking, weapons, organized crime, human trafficking, and international terrorism. UNODC assists the Department of Probation under the Ministry of Justice of the Kyrgyz Republic with financial and logistical support in providing offices of interregional departments of the Department of Probation, organizing training and seminars for probation officers.
- ❖ **The United Nations Development Program (UNDP)** is the UN's global network of non-reimbursable and non-politicized development assistance to its member states. UNDP provides the Department of Probation under the Ministry of Justice of the Kyrgyz Republic with financial and logistical support in providing offices of interregional departments.
- ❖ **The United Nations Children's Fund (UNICEF)** is an international organization operating under the auspices of the United Nations. UNICEF programs emphasize the development of community-based services to promote the health and well-being of children. UNICEF provides the Department of Probation under the Ministry of Justice of the Kyrgyz Republic donor and methodological support for the development of teaching materials on working techniques with children breaking the law; helps in monitoring the process of resocialization of minor probation clients, training psychologists and social workers of the probation service; takes part in organizing events for juvenile probation clients (via Public Foundation "Insan Generation").

- ❖ **The mission of the International Committee of the Red Cross in Kyrgyzstan (ICRC)** is a humanitarian organization that operates throughout the world based on the principle of neutrality and impartiality. It provides protection and assistance to victims of armed conflicts and internal unrest. It is an integral part of the International Red Cross and Red Crescent Movement. The ICRC is supporting the Probation Department under the Ministry of Justice of the Kyrgyz Republic in creating the official website of the Probation Department under the Ministry of Justice, in developing teaching materials, and in conducting training for probation officers.
- ❖ **European Union** is presented within the framework of the European Union's LEICA Programme. The EU is active in various areas - from the protection of human rights to transport and trade issues. Within the framework of the project, it provides the Probation Department under the Ministry of Justice of the Kyrgyz Republic with donor and expert support in the creation of the AIS "Probation", joint preparation of terms of reference, conducting training seminars and training for probation officers.

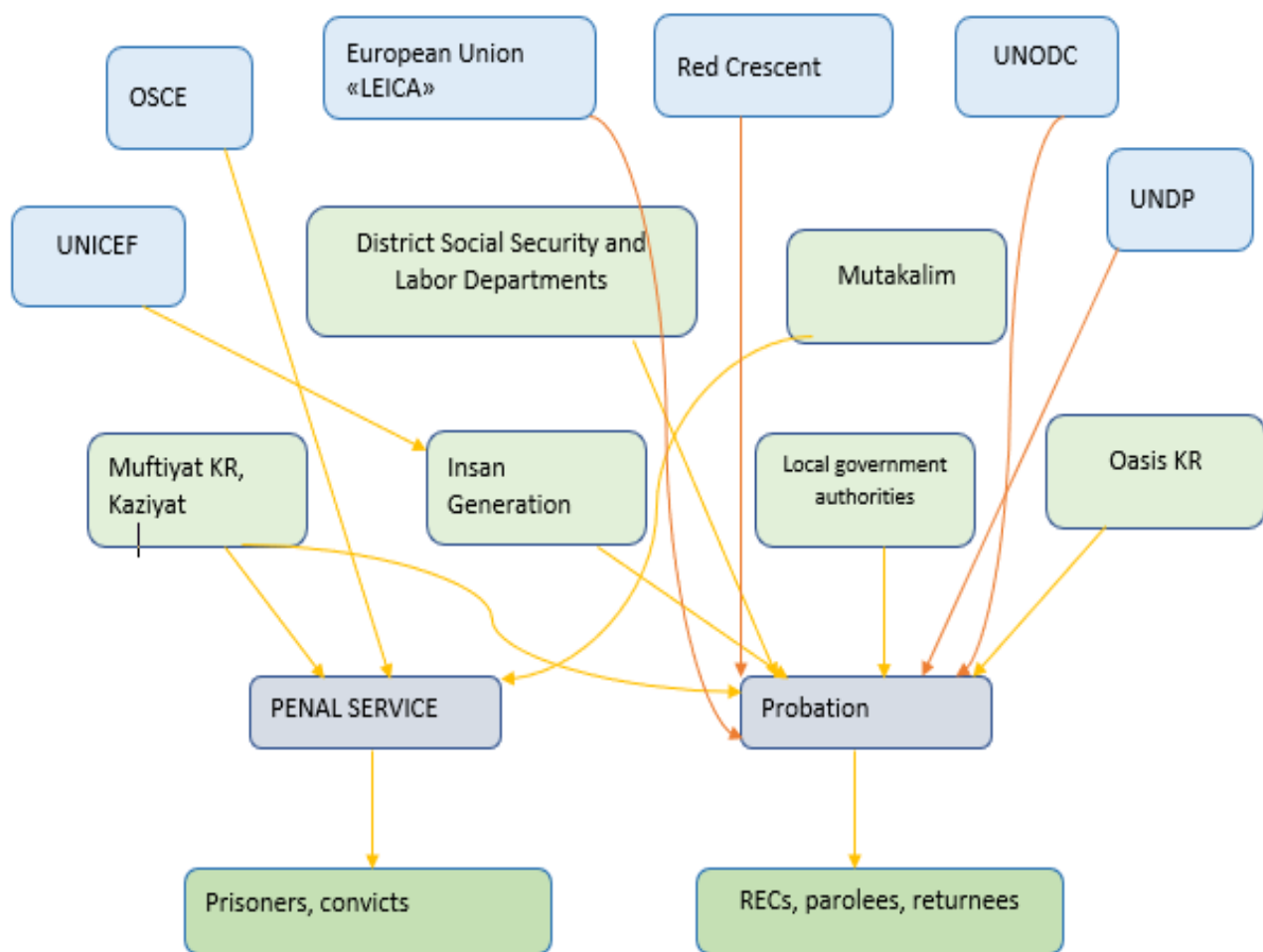
3.3. Non-Governmental organizations (NGOs):

- ❖ **PF Generation Insan** - the main task of the organization is to promote the development of such a system of administration of justice for children that understands and respects the rights of children, takes into account their special vulnerability, and teaches adolescents to take responsibility for their illegal actions. To improve the safety of society through the prevention of crime among children and the creation of an effective legal system aimed at preventing and eradicating crime among children, the Public Fund, together with the Department of Probation under the Ministry of Justice of the Kyrgyz Republic, carry out joint activities.
- ❖ **Penal Reform International (PRI)** is an independent non-governmental organization that develops and promotes fair, effective, and proportionate proposals to address criminal justice problems around the world. PRI promotes alternatives to incarceration that support the reintegration of offenders and also promote the right of detainees to fair and humane treatment.
- ❖ **Oasis Kyrgyzstan** is a non-governmental organization established in 2008. The Foundation provides social protection for vulnerable children and women, providing them with the skills to transition to independent and self-sufficient living standards after graduating from orphanages/boarding schools. It also directly cooperates with the Probation Department under the Ministry of Justice of Kyrgyzstan, the Office of the Commissioner for Human Rights in the Kyrgyz Republic, the Ministry of Labor and Social Development, and the Ministry of Education and Science. Young people and women are supported in getting access to further education, EOovering lost identity documents/medical certificates/certificates of education, and getting assistance with the necessary legal representation.

- ❖ **Progressive Public Association of Women "Mutakalim".** One of the tasks of the PPA "Mutakalim" is to improve the chances for education, especially for vulnerable groups of the population. And convicted women are ranked among the most vulnerable groups of the population. So, since 2003, Mutakalim has been teaching all female prisoners at the request of the traditional creed of Islam. In addition, various religious events and competitions on the basics of the religion of Islam are also held annually in prisons.

4. Community stakeholder mapping and identification of potential champions in five pilot locations

Field of Activity	Actors
Individual work with EO	Probation Department
Detention of offenders	SSEP
Employment	Ministry of Labor, Social Security, and Migration
	Probation Department
Reintegration of infants	PF Insan Generation
	UNICEF
	Probation Department
Legal and social assistance	Probation Department
	Oasis Kyrgyzstan
Religious education	PPA "Mutakalim"
	The Spiritual Board of Muslims of Kyrgyzstan
Capacity building of the probation service and SSEP officers (training and seminars)	Red Cross Committee
	UNODC
	EU «LEICA»
	SCRA
Financial and logistical support	UNDP UNODC
Socio-psychological services development	OSCE







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