Educate to Prevent (E2P) – Research Report

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Introduction and Research Methodology

This research report is based on the analysis of a survey conducted in 22 high schools based in the City of Skopje and the municipalities of Kumanovo, Tetovo and Gostivar. A total of 505 respondents, front line school workers in the designated high schools, filled in the questionnaires. Regarding the ethnic structure of the respondents, 52% are Albanians, 43% are Macedonian, while the remaining 5% belong to the other ethnic communities living in Macedonia.

The CRPM team developed the questionnaire on perceptions on radicalization for teachers and other school support staff (psychologists, sociologists, pedagogues etc.) on their: awareness, attitudes and values related to the radicalization process in general and its different phases, as well as the opinions on the extent to which these topics are directly or indirectly targeted in the curriculum and with the extra-curricular activities (including curriculum goals and activities related to tolerance, inclusion, multiculturalism, etc.). Furthermore, the questionnaire contains integrated training needs assessment (TNA) questions that involve self-assessment of the needed knowledge and skills for preventing, recognizing and tackling radicalization and potential violent extremist behavior within the school and the community, as well as preferable methods for acquiring such skills.

Some parts of the report are strengthened with data obtained through the 40 in-depth, semi-structured, face-to-face interviews conducted with frontline school workers, municipal representatives, police officials closely working with the Local Councils for Prevention (LCPs) and local religious leaders.

Part 1: Level of awareness regarding the threat of radicalization and violent extremism among school and municipal staff

The first part of the report is dominantly based on data deriving from the questionnaire for school staff measuring knowledge, values and attitudes of frontline school workers towards radicalization and violent extremism (VE). Some results are strengthened by responses gathered through the in-depth face-to-face interviews with school and municipal staff, as well as comments from Ministry of Interior (MOI) officials working with the LCPs and several religious leaders.

In regards to the *three largest security threats to Macedonia*, the respondents opted for corruption, political instability and ethnic tensions (Fig. 1). VE and religious radicalism (RR) are perceived as security threats to Macedonia by only 7.13% and 8.91% of the respondents respectively (Fig. 2). On the other hand, 14.67% of the respondents in Skopje, and 13.86% in Kumanovo respectively, perceive RR as one of the top three security threats. Nationwide, 12.15% of the ethnic Macedonians also worry of RR. The figures are significantly lower when compared to the ethnic Albanian respondents – 6.3%.

Figure 1: Perceptions for top-3 security threats to Macedonia
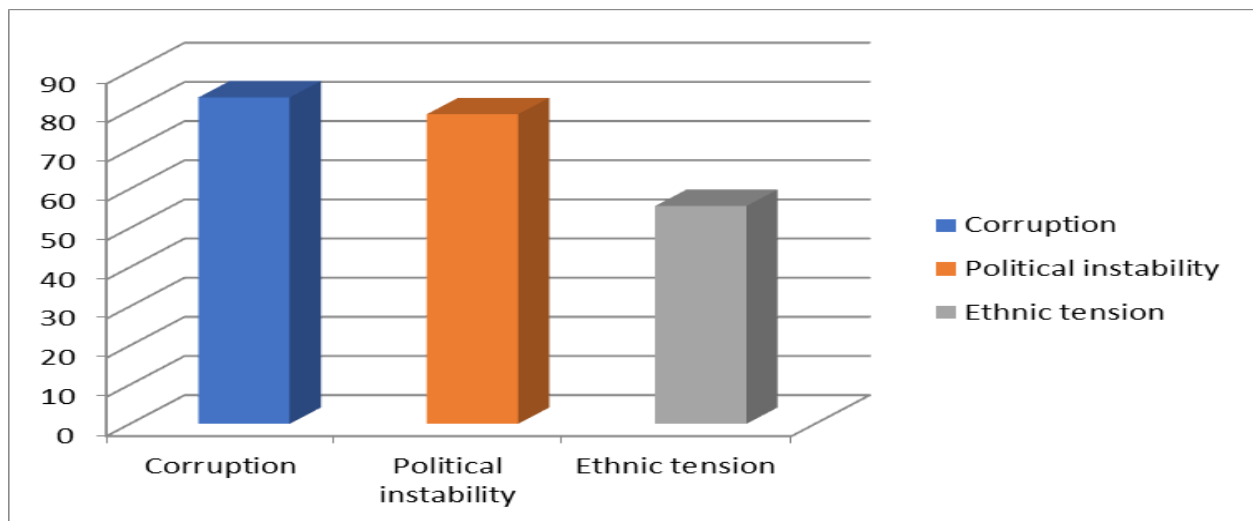
Source: CRPM survey on front-line education workers on violent extremism and radicalization, 2018

Figure 2: Perceptions for violent extremism and religious radicalism as security threats to Macedonia
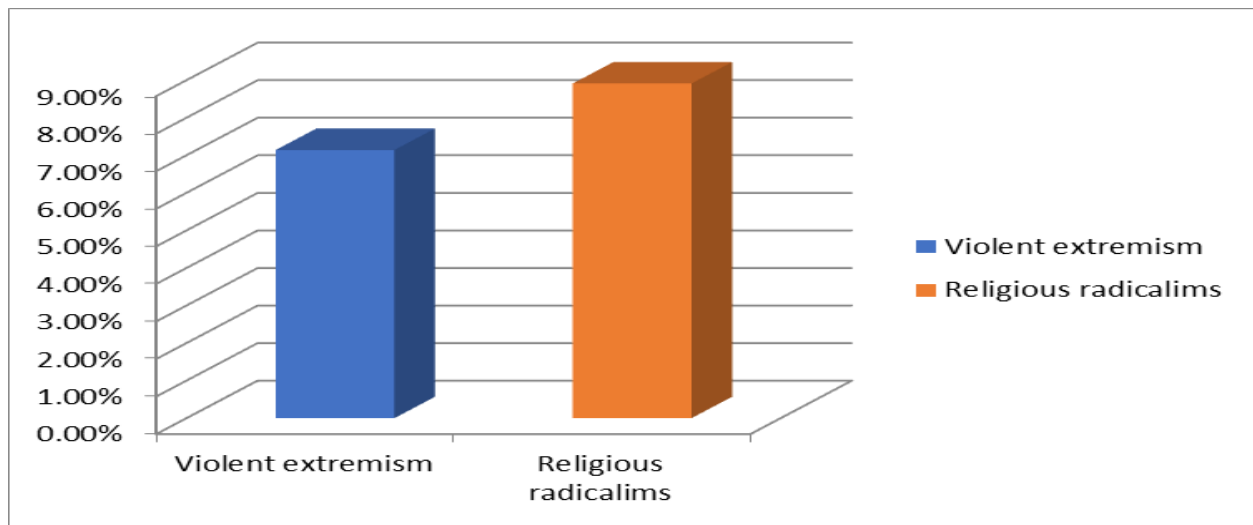
Source: CRPM survey on front-line education workers on violent extremism and radicalization, 2018

The results are significantly different when the perceptions for the *top three security threats to the world* are discussed. Terrorism (74.26%), the migrant-refugee crisis (56.83%), and organized crime (47.13%) are the top-three choices of the respondents. Although not among the first top-three, VE and RR amount to 44.36%, and 43.56% of the respondents' choices respectively. In Gostivar, for example, these two issues are considered as serious threats, being ranked second (75.96%) and third (70.19%) respectively, after terrorism (87.5%). RR is also considered as a worldwide threat number three in Kumanovo with 48.51% of the respondents highlighting this issue. Regarding the ethnic structure of the respondents on national level, the only difference between the largest two ethnic groups is that Macedonians rank RR as the third threat to world security (45.79%) instead of organized crime.

A vast majority of the respondents (78%) agree or fully agree that *extremism is a serious threat to Macedonian society*, while 16.4% disagree or fully disagree with this statement. The trend is similar when examined across municipalities and ethnicity. A similar percentage of respondents agree or fully agree that *the one who has radical ideological-political opinions becomes violent* (76.6%), contrary to 17.6% who disagree or fully disagree. The figures are following the similar trend across municipalities and ethnicity. 76% of the respondents also agree or fully agree with the statement that *the one who has radical ideological political opinions will try to transfer them to others*. 18.8% disagree or fully disagree with this statement. Once again, the trends are similar across municipalities and ethnicity. The ratio between those who agree and fully agree vis-à-vis those who disagree or fully disagree is more balanced regarding the claim that *one who has religious-radical opinions, becomes violent*. 57.46% fully agree or agree, while 35.48% of the respondents disagree or fully disagree with this statement. The figures are following the similar trend across municipalities, but significantly vary regarding ethnicity: 69.85 of the ethnic Macedonians fully agree or agree and 27.27% disagree or fully disagree. By contrast, 48.41% of the ethnic

Albanians agree or fully agree, while 34.71% disagree or fully disagree. 70% of the respondents agree or fully agree with the claim that *one who has religious-radical opinions will try to transfer them to others*, while 23.6% disagree or fully disagree. Trends are similar across municipalities, but not regarding ethnicity. Among the ethnic Macedonians, 80.66% agree or fully agree and 17.92% disagree or fully disagree with this statement, while the figures among ethnic Albanians are 62.3% who agree or fully agree, conversely to 27.38% who disagree or fully disagree. A significant majority of the respondents also agree or fully agree that *one, who advocates for ethnic intolerance, becomes violent* (71.17%), contrary to 21.77% that disagree or fully disagree. The trends are similar both across municipalities and ethnicity. Similar figures are related to the perception that *those who promote ethnic intolerance will try to transfer them to others*. 70.49% of the respondents agree or fully agree with this claim, while 21.48% disagree or fully disagree. The figures are following similar trend in the majority of municipalities, as well as regarding the ethnic structure of the respondents. Lastly, perceptions are much more diversified regarding whether *among young people, having radical opinions is only a passing phase in their development*. 57.23% of the respondents agree or fully agree that having radical opinions is a passing phase in the development of youth, while 32.53% disagree or fully disagree with this statement. Trends are similar both across municipalities and ethnicity.
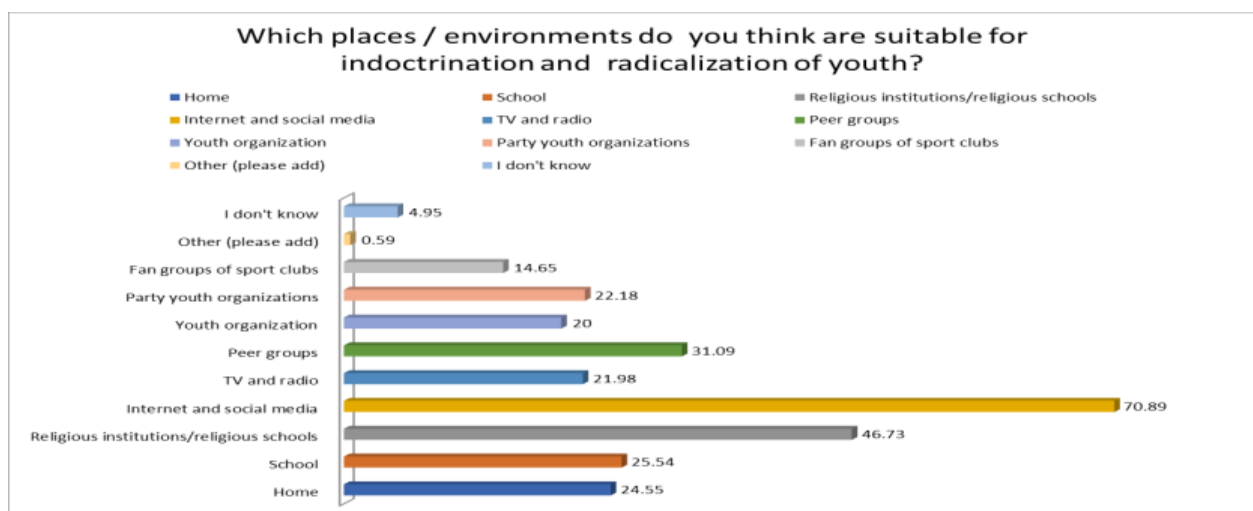
Furthermore, respondents were asked about the *significance and importance of a number of reasons for some young people to accept radical ideologies which propagate use of violence*. The first reason presented to the respondents was "*They are violent by nature and request for ways to justify their aggression!*" 72.2% of the respondents find this reason very significant or partially significant, while 18.85% believe that this reason is insignificant. There are no significant differences between municipalities and ethnicity. The second presented reason was the following: "*They believe that through use of violence they will be more valued and respected from the environment!*" A very similar percentage of respondents as the previous statement (72.62%) believe this reason to be very significant of partially significant, conversely to 16.67% who find this reason insignificant. The figures are following similar trends in the majority of municipalities, as well as regarding the ethnic structure of the respondents. The third reason presented to the respondents was "*They feel that they are victims of the injustice of the system and rebel because of that!*" 73.02% of the respondents find this reason very significant or partially significant. On the other hand, 16.87% believe that this reason is insignificant. The figures are following the similar trend across municipalities and ethnicity. "*They have difficulties to fit in the environment, and look for groups which will accept them!*" was the fourth reason presented to the respondents. 71.97% of the surveyed believe that this reason is very significant or partially significant, conversely to 17.50% who believe that this reason is insignificant. The majority of the municipalities follow this trend, but in the municipality of Gostivar, the ratio between these two figures is 59.61% vis-à-vis 31.73%. Regarding the ethnicity of the respondents, there are no major differences between the Macedonian and the Albanian respondents. The fifth statement presented to the respondents was the following: "*They cannot see a better alternative (with regards to ideology) in the*

environment they live in!" 70.37% find this reason very significant or partially significant. To the contrary, 19.09% believe that this reason is insignificant for some young people to accept radical ideologies which propagate use of violence. The majority of the municipalities follow this trend, but on the territory of the City of Skopje, the ratio between these two figures is 61.75% vis-à-vis 28.19%. There are no major differences between ethnic Macedonian and ethnic Albanian respondents compared to the nationwide results. The following statement presented to the respondents was: "*They try to defend themselves from the 'domination' of the majority in the community, by making themselves different than others!*" 68.86% of the respondents find this reason very significant or partially significant, while 20.96% believe that this reason is insignificant. The majority of the municipalities follow this trend, but in the municipality of Gostivar, the ratio between these two figures is 58.65% vis-à-vis 31.73%. There are no significant differences among ethnicity. Regarding the seventh reason "*They feel discriminated (e.g. on ethnic, religious, political and social basis)!*" 68.65% find it very significant or partially significant, while 22.82% believe that this reason is insignificant. There are no significant differences in regards to municipalities and ethnicity. The eighth presented reason to the respondents was "*They consider that to be an appropriate reaction to certain global injustices (unresolved conflicts, wars, repressions on certain ethnic, religious, political groups)*". 63.42% find this reason either very significant or partially significant, while 21.87 find this reason insignificant. The majority of the municipalities follow the trend, but in the municipality of Kumanovo, the ratio between these two figures is 76.24% vis-à-vis 10.89%. The trends are similar to those on national level for both Macedonian and Albanian respondents. The ninth presented reason to the respondents was "*They seek adventure and excitement!*" 43.93% find this reason very significant or partially significant, while 37.38% believe that this reason is insignificant. Additional 17.89% claim that they do not know. In Skopje and in Gostivar the figures follow the national trend, but in Kumanovo and Tetovo, the ratio between these two figures is 56% vis-à-vis 25% and 34.67% vis-à-vis 49.33% respectively. There is also a difference regarding the ethnic structure of the respondents. 47.64% of the ethnic Macedonians treat this reason as very significant or partially significant, 39.15% see it as insignificant, while 12.26% do not know. Within the Albanian camp, 38.58% see this reason as very significant or partially significant, 37.01% as insignificant and 24.02% do not know. The following presented reason to the respondents was "*They are curious regarding different ideologies!*" 49.21% believe this reason to be very significant of partially significant, conversely to 35.06% who find this reason insignificant. 15.34% do not know. There are no significant differences between municipalities and ethnicity. The eleventh reason presented to the respondents was "*They are in search of their identity/sense of belonging!*" 59.2% find this reason very significant or partially significant. On the other hand, 26.4% believe that this reason is insignificant. The majority of the municipalities follow this trend, but in the municipality of Kumanovo, the ratio between these two figures is 78.21% vis-à-vis 14.85%. The trends are similar to those on national level for both Macedonian and Albanian respondents. The last statement presented to the respondents was "*They search for answers/more understanding about religion and find them in extremist groups!*" 57.08% find it

very significant or partially significant, while 26.95% believe that this reason is insignificant. There are no significant differences between municipalities and ethnicity.

The following question measured the respondents' perceptions regarding *environments that are most suitable for indoctrination and radicalization of youth*. The respondents highlighted their top three choices. On national level, front line school workers named the internet and social media as the most suitable place for indoctrination and radicalization (70.89%), followed by religious institutions and religious schools (46.73%) and peer groups (31.09%) (Fig. 3) In regards to the ethnic structure of the respondents there is not a great difference. The ethnic Albanians' choices are following those on national level, while the Macedonians opted for the same top two choices, putting party youth organizations as a third relevant environment for indoctrination and radicalization (33.64%) instead of peer groups. Regarding the municipalities, once again, internet and social media are considered the most suitable environment for indoctrination and radicalization. In Gostivar, the second reason is considered to be the peer groups (44.23%), and regular school are considered third (40.38%). In Kumanovo, religious institutions and religious schools are considered second (57.43%), while party youth organizations third (26.73%). In Tetovo, religious institutions and schools are also considered second (48.67%), while the home is considered third (29.33%). Lastly, in Skopje, again, religious schools and institutions are considered second (49.33%), while party youth organizations are considered the third (34%) most suitable environment for indoctrination and radicalization of youth.

Figure 3: Most suitable environments for indoctrination and radicalization in Macedonia
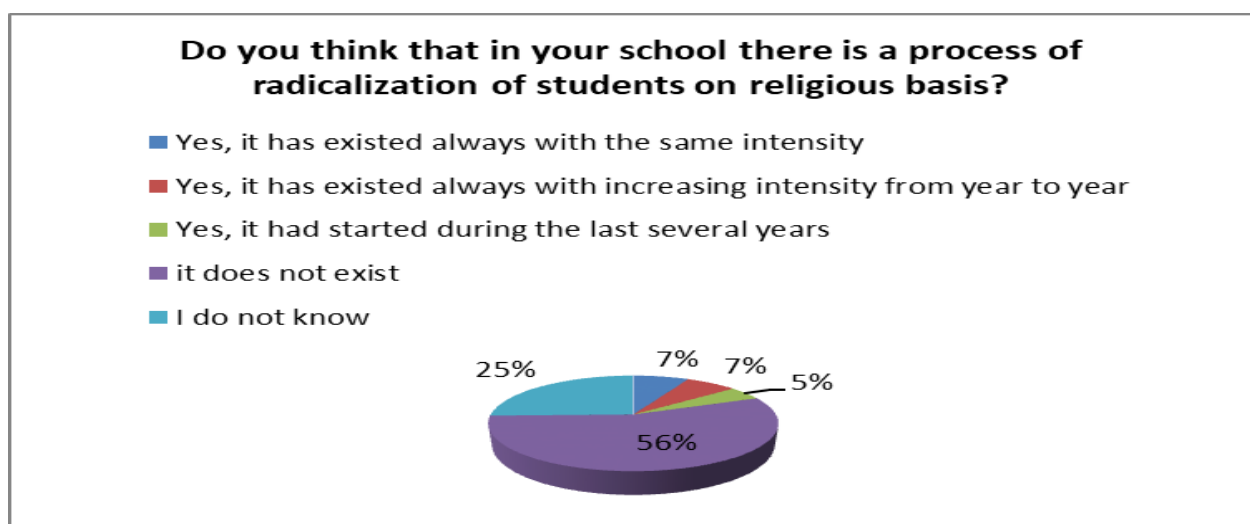

Source: CRPM survey on front-line education workers on violent extremism and radicalization, 2018

Furthermore, the respondents were asked whether they think that *in the schools where they work, there is a process of radicalization of students on religious basis*. 7.43% of the respondents believe that this process had existed always with the same intensity, 6.83% think

that it had existed always, but its intensity is increasing from year to year, and 4.62% claim that this process had started during the last several years. More than half of the respondents believe that this process does not exist in their school (55.62%), while 25.3% do not know (Fig. 4). There is quite a significant difference regarding the ethnic background of the respondents. The perception for religious radicalization is much higher among the ethnic Macedonians. 12.8% of the Macedonians believe that this process had existed always with the same intensity, 9% believe that it had existed always, but from year to year there is increased intensity, and 6.16% claim that the process started during the last several years. Less than half of the respondents (49.29%) answered that this process does not exist in the schools where they work, while 22.75% do not know (Fig. 5). Among the ethnic Albanians the perceptions are much lower in comparison to the national average. 2.38% of the respondents believe that this process had existed always with the same intensity, 5.16% believe that it had existed always, but from year to year there is increased intensity, while 2.78% claim that this process had started during the last several years. On the other hand, 61.51% believe that this process does not exist in their school and 27.78% do not know (Fig. 6). On municipal level, the figures are very similar in the municipalities of Gostivar, Kumanovo and Tetovo, with relatively low perception of religious radicalization among the high school staff. An outlier is the City of Skopje. On the territory of Skopje, 13.79% believe that this process had existed always with the same intensity, 10.34% believe that it had existed always, but from year to year there is increased intensity and 7.59% that the process started during the last several years. 39.31% claim that religious radicalization does not exist in the schools where they work, while 28.28% do not know (Fig. 7).

Figure 4: Perception for radicalization of students on religious basis in Macedonia

Source: CRPM survey on front-line education workers on violent extremism and radicalization, 2018

Figure 5: Perception for radicalization of students on religious basis in Macedonia among ethnic Macedonians
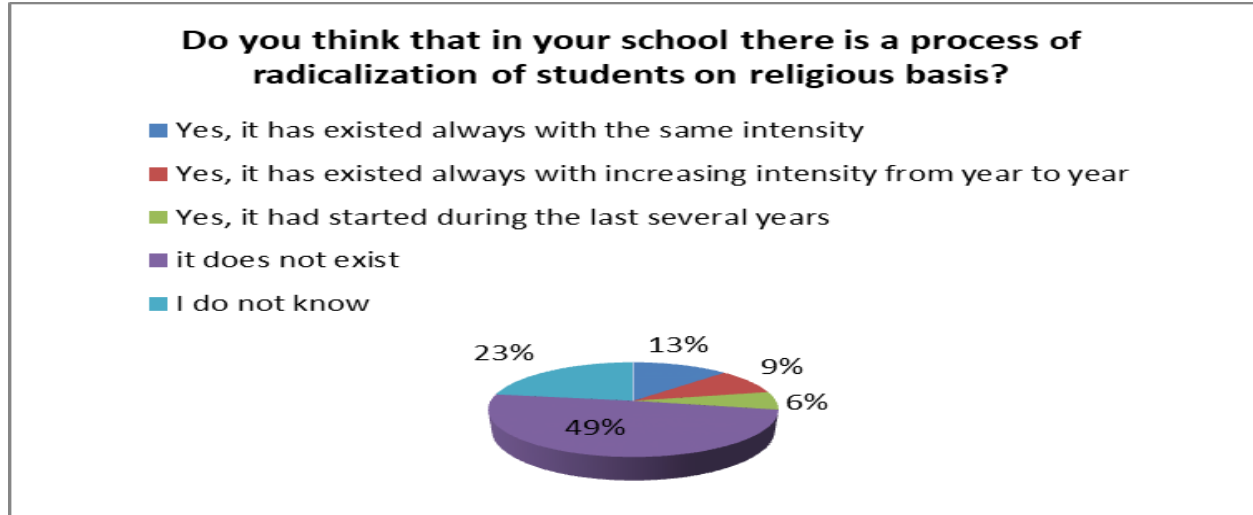
Source: CRPM survey on front-line education workers on violent extremism and radicalization, 2018

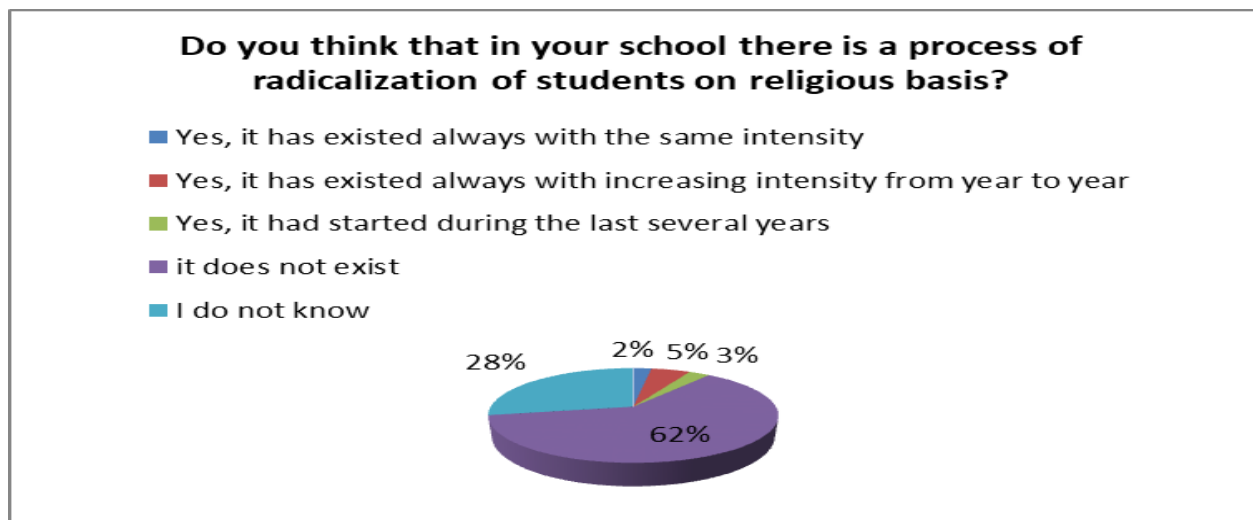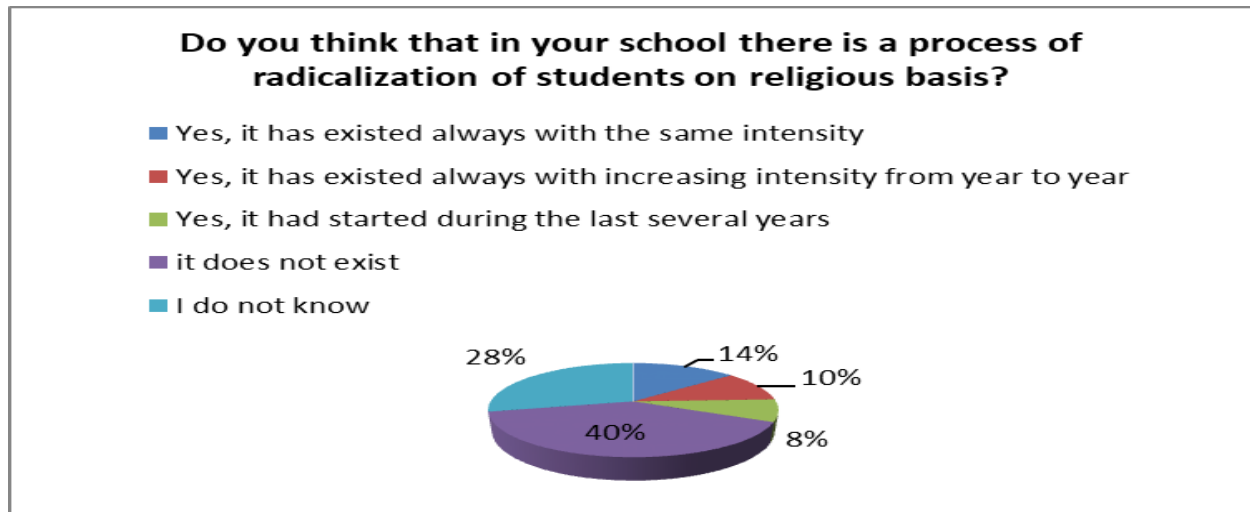Figure 6: Perception for radicalization of students on religious basis in Macedonia among ethnic Albanians

Source: CRPM survey on front-line education workers on violent extremism and radicalization, 2018

Figure 7: Perception for radicalization of students on religious basis on the territory of the City of Skopje

Source: CRPM survey on front-line education workers on violent extremism and radicalization, 2018

The next question required from the respondents to detect whether *in the schools where they work there are attitudes of ethnic intolerance among students*. 12.77% of the respondents believe that this process had existed always with the same intensity, 5.79% think that it had existed always, but its intensity is increasing from year to year, and 7.58% claim that this process had started during the last several years. More than half of the respondents believe that this process does not exist in their school (58.68%), while 14.37% do not know. There are some differences in the ethnic structure of the respondents. The perception for ethnic intolerance among students is higher among ethnic Macedonians compared to the one of the ethnic Albanians. 18.01% of the Macedonians believe that ethnic intolerance had existed always with the same intensity, 5.21% believe that it had existed always, but from year to year there is increased intensity and 10.9% think that the process started during the last several years. To the contrary, more than half of the respondents (53.08%) answered that this occurrence does not exist in the schools where they work, while 12.32% do not know. Perception for ethnic intolerance in high schools where they work is lower among the ethnic Albanian respondents. 7.91% believe that it had existed always with the same intensity, 6.32% believe that it had existed always, but from year to year there is increased intensity, and 4.74% claim that ethnic intolerance among students started during the last several years. Conversely, 63.24% believe that this occurrence does not exist in their school and 16.6% do not know. The figures on local level vary among the municipalities. Once again, respondents from Skopje believe that there are stronger attitudes towards ethnic intolerance in the high schools compared to the one of their peers in Tetovo, Kumanovo and Gostivar. In Skopje, 18.24% believe that ethnic intolerance had existed always with the same intensity, 7.43% believe that it had existed always, but from year to year there is increased intensity and 10.14% claim that it started

during the last several years. Slightly less than half of the respondents in Skopje (49.32%) believe that attitudes of ethnic intolerance do not exist in the high schools, while 12.16% do not know.

Furthermore, the respondents were asked what their associations to the term "Extremism" are. The top three associations of all respondents on national level are "Violence" (175), "Terrorism" (42) and "Intolerance" (42) (Fig. 8).

Figure 8: Associations to the term "Extremism"

ASSOCIATIONS REGARDING "EXTREMISM"

OUT OF 505 RESPONDENTS:

- VIOLENCE (НАСИЛСТВО) – 175

- TERRORISM (ТЕРОРИЗАМ) – 42

- INTOLERANCE (НЕТОЛЕРАНЦИЈА) – 42

Source: CRPM survey on front-line education workers on violent extremism and radicalization, 2018

The respondents were also asked on their *associations to the term "Radicalization"*. The most frequent associations that the frontline school workers opted for were "Violence" (78), "Extremism" (40) and "Hatred" (39) (Fig. 9)

Figure 9: Associations to the term "Radicalization"

ASSOCIATIONS REGARDING "RADICALIZATION"

OUT OF 505 RESPONDENTS:

- VIOLENCE (НАСИЛСТВО) – 78

- EXTREMISM (ЕКСТРЕМИЗАМ) – 40

- HATRED (ОМРАЗА) – 39

Source: CRPM survey on front-line education workers on violent extremism and radicalization, 2018

Apart from the responses gathered through the questionnaire, the four categories of interviewees were asked to *define extremism and radicalization*, taking into consideration their knowledge, values and attitudes. The high school teachers gave a plethora of answers, many of them varying in regards to their professional training and interest. A general conclusion would be that they connect the two concepts to terrorism, deviation from conventional attitudes and beliefs, as well as actions that are violent, abnormal and sociologically unacceptable. The content analysis of the responses shows no major differences between the municipalities or the ethnicity of the interviewees, and the general impression is that the high school teachers can rarely differentiate between concepts like "extremism", "radicalism", "violent extremism", "terrorism" and "radicalization", frequently giving answers that combine some theoretical notions of all the above mentioned terms. It is evident that training is needed in order for them to clarify the concepts. Several similar definitions were also provided by the municipal administration representatives in the eight municipalities under investigation. Couple of respondents linked extremism and radicalization to foreign conflicts (e.g. Int. 11, SK). A very concerning answer came from one of the municipal administration representatives in Skopje, who immediately linked the two concepts to the education process in the municipality where she works, sharing grave stories that religious communities and foreign NGOs have penetrated the education system, and that the Ministry of Education should immediately impose some measures (Int. 8, SK). She strongly criticized the involvement of young children in religious rituals by both Christian and Muslim religious groups:

"Currently we are in the holy month of Ramadan. Do you know that children from second or third grade fast? They are eight-nine years old and they fast. Fasting is a nice thing, a sort of a religious 'commitment'. I am Muslim myself. Still, for me it is hard to comprehend how a nine year old child that is still growing can fast. What is the reason for fasting? I am sure that it is not healthy for them. I see one of the roots of this problem among parents. Parents allow this. We, as an institution cannot forbid them to fast. Teachers do not take any measures. They should act as 'second parents' to the children and call the parents and talk to them…" (Ibid)

The interviewees from the MoI affiliated to the LCPs provided more "securitized" answers compared to those of the other interviewees. The most common answer was that radicalization usually transforms into extremism, which can take a more violent turn and become violent extremism and lastly end with terrorism (Int. 7, KU; Int. 1, TE and GV LCP). Some police officials also tie radicalization to personal frustration of the radicalized individuals (Int. 1, TE and GV LCP)

The following question asked the respondents to single out *which students/young people are most susceptible to accept radical ideologies*, taking into consideration their socio-economic background. On national level, high school staff believes that students from poorer families are most susceptible to accept radical ideologies (44.36%). They are followed by students from families with lower education (42.57%) and students from families in which vices like alcoholism, drug abuse, gambling, crime etc. are present (38.02%). There are minor

differences in regards to the ethnic structure of the respondents. Ethnic Macedonians opted for the same three choices, only in a different order. 46.26% think that students from families with vices are the most susceptible to accept radical ideologies, 45.33% believe that those are students from poorer families, while 41.59% opted for students coming from families with lower education. The ethnic Albanian respondents followed the figures on national level regarding the first two choices – students from poorer families (47.64%) and students from families with lower education (42.52%). Their third most frequent answer was that students from families with broken relationship between the parents are the most susceptible to accept radical ideologies (34.25%). Regarding the municipalities, the most frequent answers follow those on national and ethnic level, but the order of preference among the respondents varies. In the City of Skopje more than half of the respondents (51.33%) consider students from poorer families to be the most susceptible to accept radical ideologies, followed by students coming from families with lower education (48%) and students from families with broken relationships between the parents (43.33%). Within the municipality of Tetovo, the first two choices of the respondents follow those of Skopje, 50% and 46% respectively, while the third most common choice are students from families with vices (38%). The respondents from the Municipality of Kumanovo provided a first choice which is very different both from the results on national and ethnic level. 41.58% of the respondents believe that there are no rules and that everyone is susceptible, regardless of the background. 39.6% believe that students from families with vices are the most susceptible, while 33.66% singled out students from families with broken relationship between the parents. Lastly, in Gostivar, 44.23% of the respondents believe that students coming from families with vices are the most susceptible, followed by those coming from families with broken relationship between the parents (43.27%). Regarding the third most common answer of the respondents from Gostivar, the figures are equal regarding students coming from families with lower education and those coming from poorer families (41.35%).

This same question was a matter of discussion with the four categories of interviewees. The general perception of the frontline school workers was that adolescents coming from poorer families and lower social status in general are more susceptible to accepting radical ideologies, but also prone to any kind of violence in and out of the school. Dysfunctional, larger and less educated families are also environments where this behavior can be developed. The interviewees from Skopje also mentioned students coming from families with more influential parents (Int. 1, SK), more impressionable students (Int. 4, SK), as well as those which have not developed full emotional maturity (Int. 5, SK). Living in mono-ethnic mono-cultural and mono-confessional environments was also highlighted as a potential factor by one of the respondents from Skopje (Int. 7, SK). In Kumanovo, putting aside the general trend of the answers, one respondent commented that ethnic Albanian adolescents were much more susceptible to accepting radical ideologies and violence because of their mindset (Int. 1, KU). Another respondent from the same municipality added memberships in political youth organizations and sport supporters' groups as additional stimulating factors (Int. 2, KU). The responses in Tetovo were also very much in line with the general reasons. One respondent highlighted the low level of self-confidence among some students (Int. 4, TE). A similar

comment regarding the low level of self-confidence, combined with solitude and isolation was provided by one of the interviewees in Gostivar (Int. 1, GV)

The answers of the municipal administration representatives either converged with those of the frontline school workers, or were nonexistent. One of the respondents from a municipality in Skopje underlined that adolescents who receive more attention at home are less susceptible to accepting radical ideologies or prone to violence (Int. 9, SK). Furthermore, according to the municipal representative from Tetovo, students influenced by religion, political parties and supporters' groups might be more susceptive to this behavior (Int. 8, TE). The MoI officials working closely with the LCPs provided answers which only reconfirmed the statements of the previous two groups of interviewees. The same can be concluded in regards to the religious leaders as well.
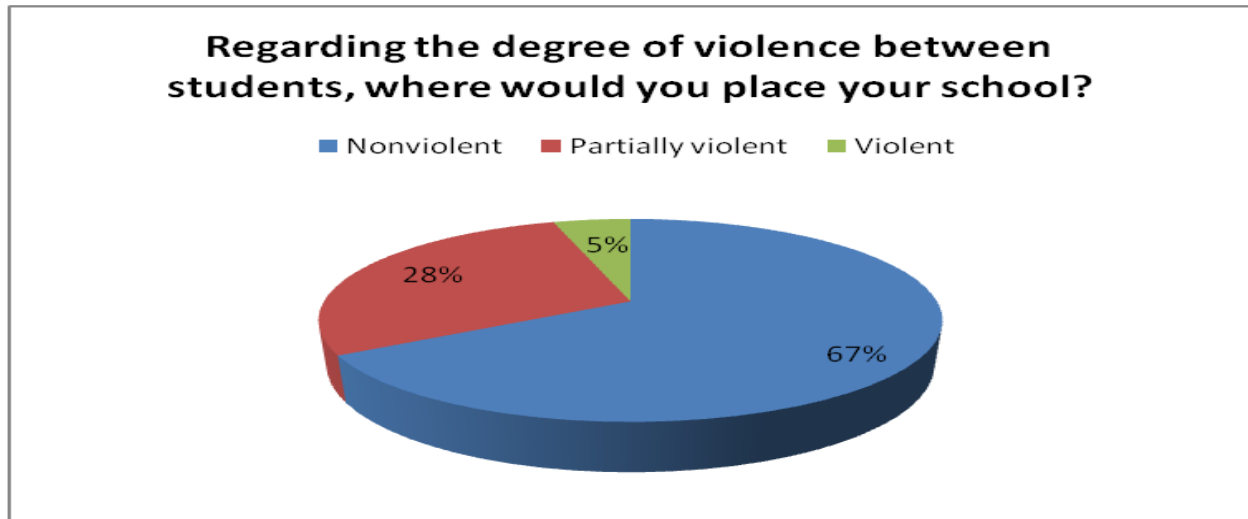
Furthermore, the frontline school workers that filled in the questionnaire were asked about their *perceptions regarding the level of violence in the schools where they work*. A vast majority of the respondents (77.25%) believe that they work in non-violent schools. On the other hand, 19.96% believe that they work in partially violent schools, while 2.59% think that they work in violent schools (Fig. 10). The figures are following a similar trend on ethnic level and across the majority of municipalities. The only exception in terms of perception for higher level of violence is the City of Skopje. 66.67% of the respondents believe that they work in non-violent schools. To the contrary, 28.57% think that they work in partially violent schools, and 4.76% believe that they work in violent schools (Fig. 11)

Figure 10: Perception for degree of violence between students in Macedonia
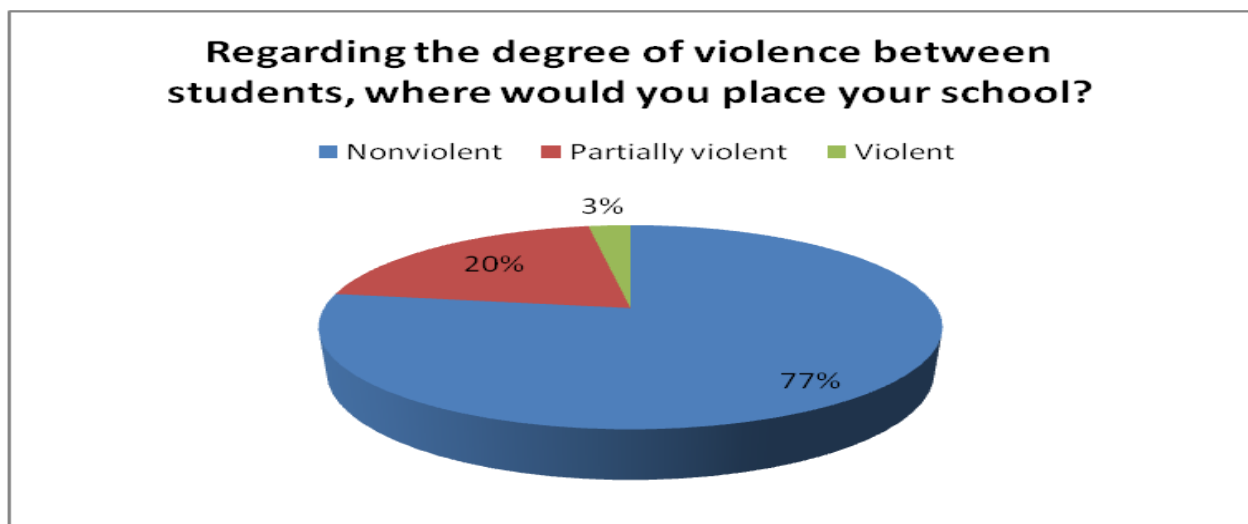
Source: CRPM survey on front-line education workers on violent extremism and radicalization, 2018
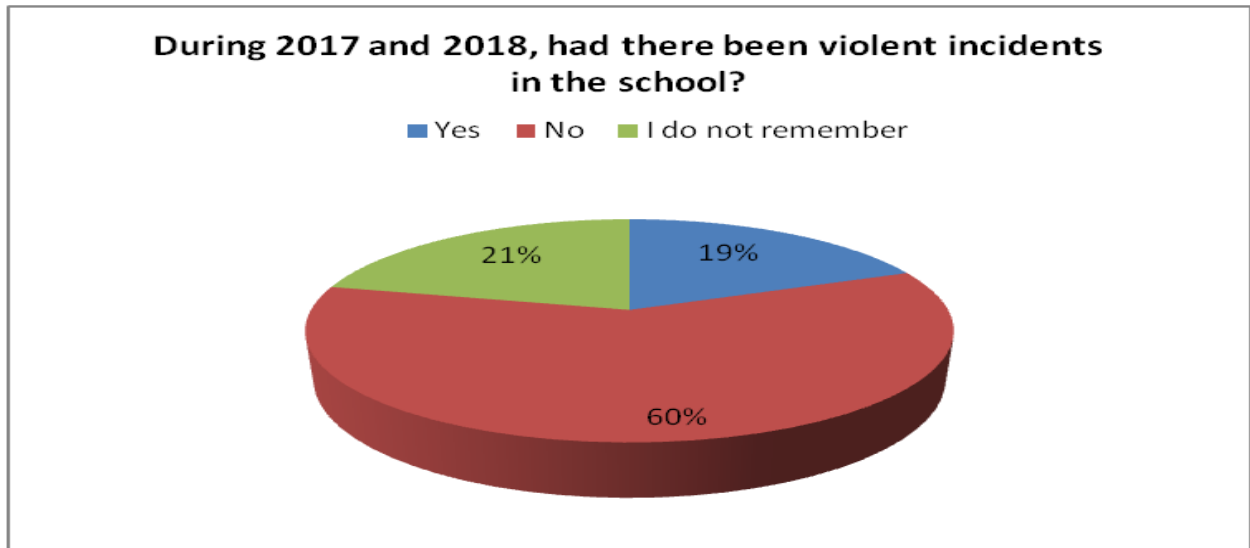
Figure 11: Perception for degree of violence between students in Skopje

Source: CRPM survey on front-line education workers on violent extremism and radicalization, 2018
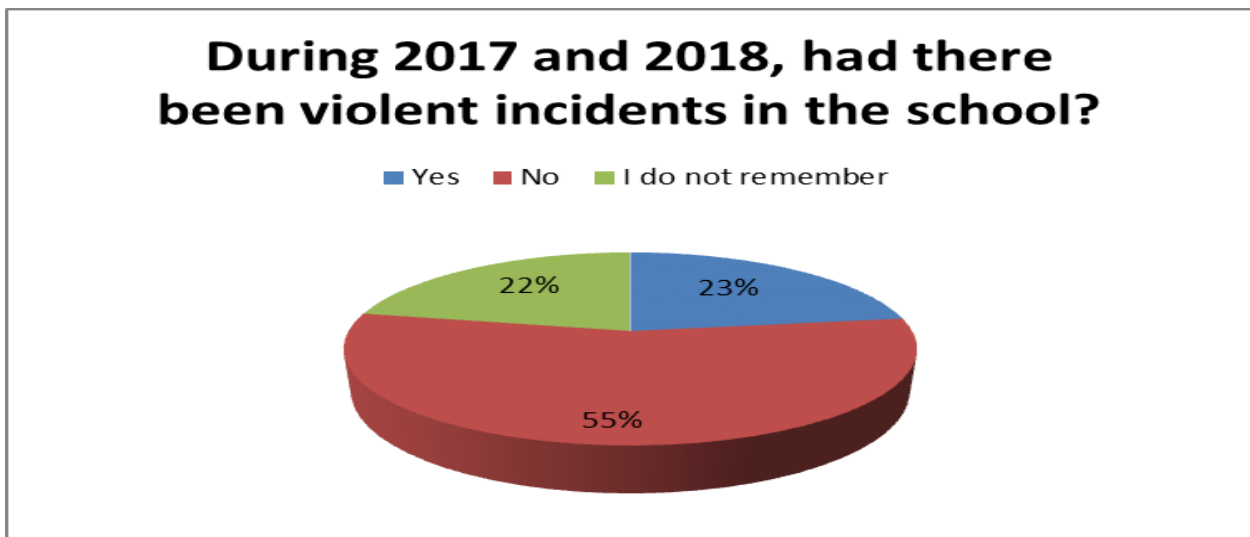
The frontline school workers were later asked *whether during 2017 and 2018 there had been violent incidents in the schools where they work.* 18.99% answered that there had been violent incidents in their schools. To the contrary, 59.39% claim that there had not been any violent incidents in their school, while 21.41% cannot remember (Fig. 12). There are differences in the perceptions of ethnic Macedonians and ethnic Albanians. Among the first, 22.75% of the respondents believe that there had been violent incidents during the last year and a half. Conversely, 54.98% think that there were no violent incidents within this time span, while 21.8% cannot remember (Fig. 13). Regarding the latter, 14.86% believe there had been violent incidents within this period, and 63.86% claim that there had not been any incidents. 21.29% cannot remember (Fig. 14). The figures on municipal level are following those on national level, with once again Skopje being an exception. 31.94% of the surveyed front line school workers from Skopje believe that during 2017 and 2018 there had been violent incidents in their school. To the contrary, 45.83% claim that there had not been violent incidents in the schools where they work during this period. 21.53% do not remember (Fig. 15).

Figure 12: Perception for violent incidents in the schools during 2017 and 2018 in Macedonia

Source: CRPM survey on front-line education workers on violent extremism and radicalization, 2018

Figure 13: Perception for violent incidents in the schools during 2017 and 2018 in Macedonia among ethnic Macedonians

Source: CRPM survey on front-line education workers on violent extremism and radicalization, 2018

Figure 14: Perception for violent incidents in the schools during 2017 and 2018 in Macedonia among ethnic Albanians

Source: CRPM survey on front-line education workers on violent extremism and radicalization, 2018

Figure 15: Perception for violent incidents in the schools during 2017 and 2018 in Skopje

Source: CRPM survey on front-line education workers on violent extremism and radicalization, 2018

Those respondents which answered that during 2017 and 2018 there had been violent incidents in their schools, were further asked for a clarification *whether the violence was religiously motivated, ethnically motivated, religiously and ethnically motivated, or the origin of the violence belonged to some other reason*. On national level, 9% claimed that the violence was religiously motivated, 27% that it was ethnically motivated and 18% claimed that it was a combination of both. 46% believe that the origin of the violence was another issue (Fig. 16).

The figures are following a similar trend both on ethnic and municipal level, with the City of Skopje being once again an exception. Among the respondents in Skopje that previously reported violent incidents in their school, 8% believe that the violence was religiously motivated, 18% that it was ethnically motivated, while 9% that it was both religiously and ethnically motivated. Nearly two thirds of the respondents (65%) believe that the origin of the violence should be traced to another issue, which leaves a large question mark regarding the origin of violence in Skopje high schools.

Figure 16: Origin of violence in the schools in Macedonia

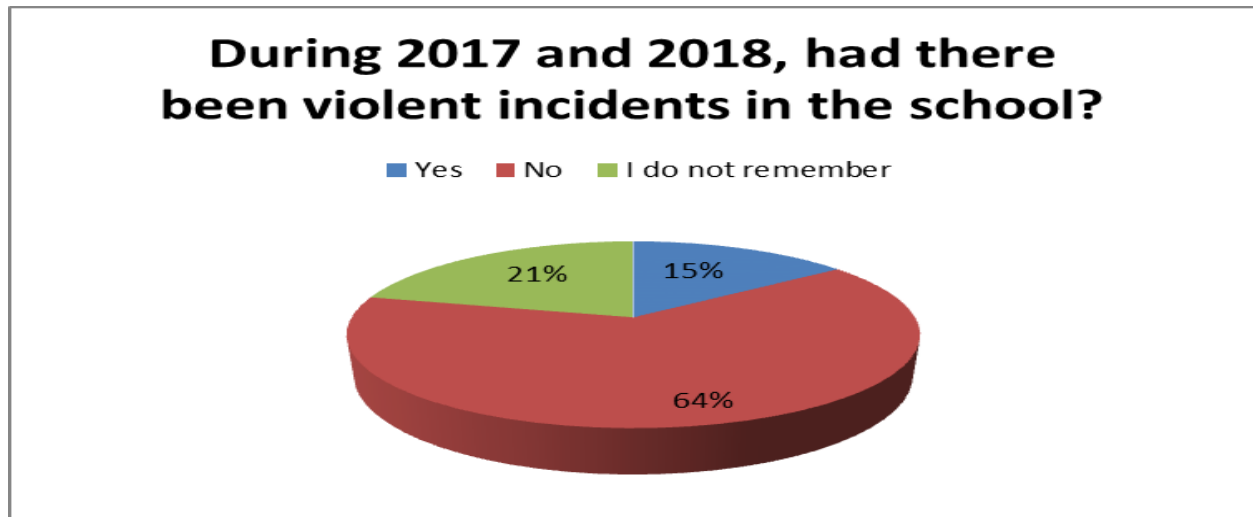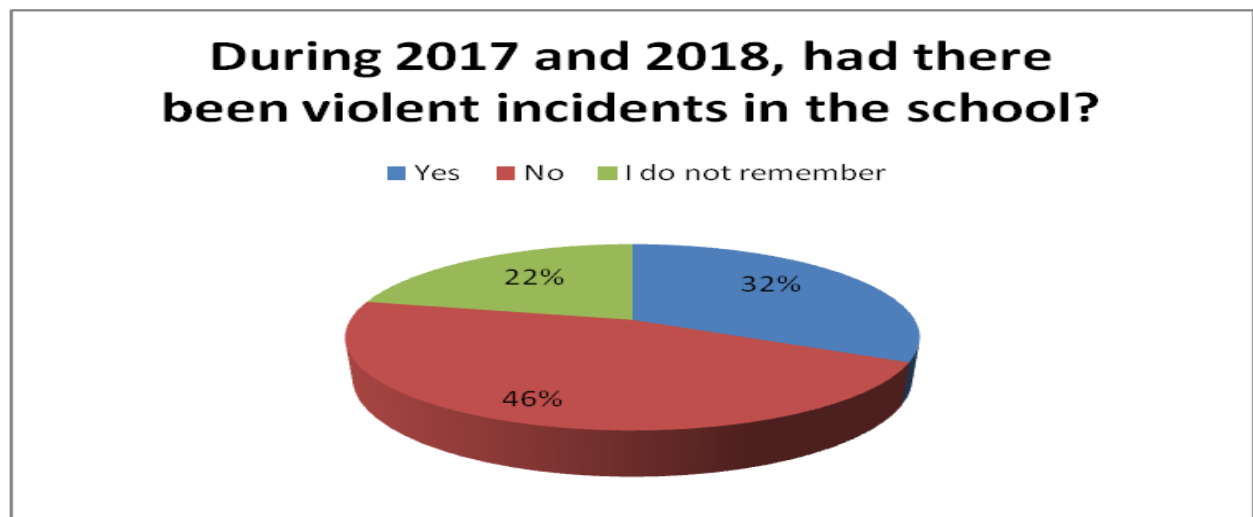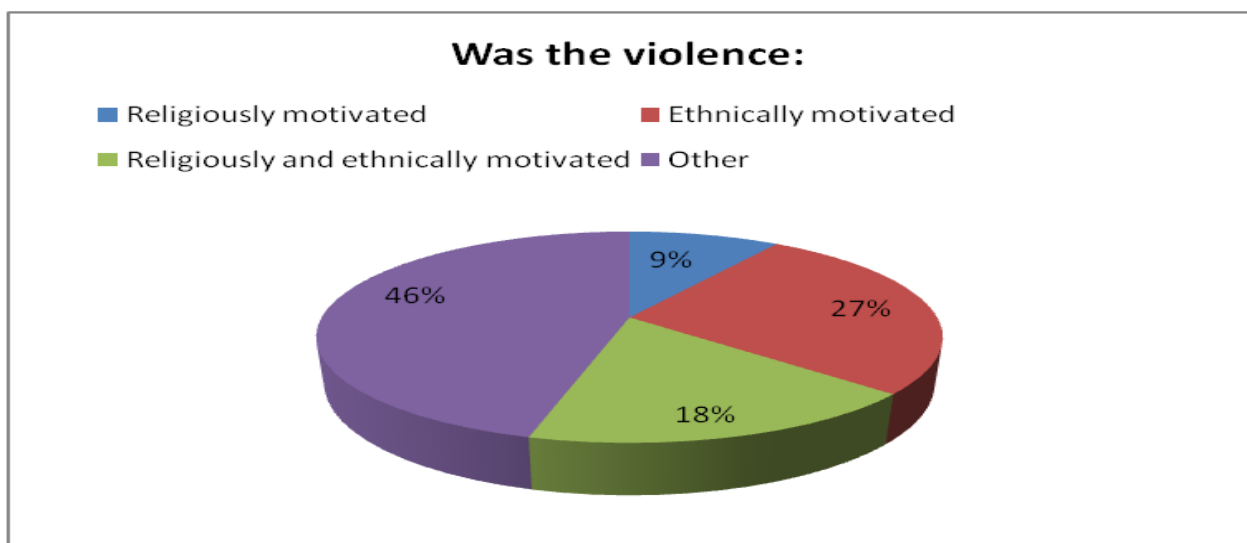*Source: CRPM survey on front-line education workers on violent extremism and radicalization, 2018*

Figure 17: Origin of violence in the schools in Skopje
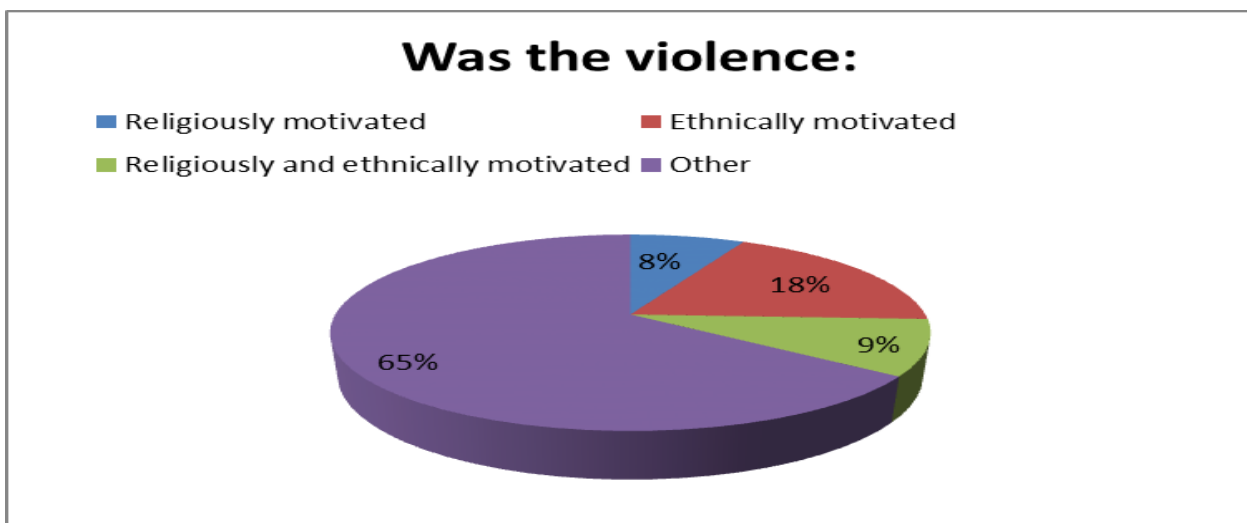
Source: CRPM survey on front-line education workers on violent extremism and radicalization, 2018

Within the in-depth interviews, the interviewees were also asked *whether in their scope of work they have encountered any religiously or ethnically motivated violence*. Among the high school teachers, the majority of the interviewees commented that in the schools where they work there are no cases of religious or ethnic violence. Understandably, exceptions exist. The interviewees from Skopje claim that the majority of violent incidents in the schools are related to banal issues (Int. 4, SK), and that ethnically motivated incidents are past history (Int. 1, SK). One of the professors from Skopje commented that some of her students were attending the "Monster" court case protests[1], and that one could see familiar faces on TV among the protesters (Int. 3, SK). Another professor from a Skopje high school commented that there were subtle interethnic incidents in his school, when Macedonian and Albanian students exchanged offensive graffiti on the walls:

"We often see calls for violence in the school. It is usually indirect, through messages and graffiti. These writings are removed, and the messages remain anonymous, for example, 'Death to Albanians', on one hand, and then 'Death to Macedonians' on the other. These messages go both ways. When one group writes them, the other one thinks that it should respond immediately. This creates a sort of a vicious circle." (Int. 7, SK)

In regards to Kumanovo, a vast majority of the interviewees claim that there are no such processes as ethnic and religious violence in their schools. Only one professor commented on sporadic incidents in her school, but similar to some of her peers in Skopje, she connected them primarily to puberty (Int. 1, KU). Teachers from Tetovo comment that ethnic and religious incidents are either non-existent or completely fading away, but several of them link that to segregation of the students in different school buildings, or in separate school shifts (Int. 1, TE and Int. 3, TE). One of the teachers commented that sometimes minor incidents happen, mainly due to political tensions created by the political parties (Int. 6, TE). Lastly, three out of four teachers in Gostivar reported minor or major incidents which they linked to religious or ethnic origin. One of the interviewees generally commented that there are several radicalized families in the town that had completely cut-off all family and friendly ties. Some of them had left the city and probably the country (Int. 1, GV). Another teacher commented on sporadic physical incidents between ethnic Albanians and Macedonians (Int. 2, GV). Lastly, one representative of the high school staff in Gostivar commented that both religious and ethnic extremism is stirred in the school:

"In our school there are cases of religious and ethnic extremism. Religious extremism was present especially on our side, the Muslims, both among the students and the colleagues. We had a colleague who wore a beard, always had these shorter pants and performed some actions that were not in line with regular Islam. We talked to him numerous times. The parents were complaining, the principle also intervened, and finally the man quit his job. There were also cases when students from our school protested against the Burmali mosque in the center of Skopje. We incidentally saw them on TV and realized that they were released from school. We needed to investigate who authorized their absence from school. Furthermore, we also had footages where you can see some of our students

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[1] News sources elaborating on the "Monster" case http://meta.mk/en/tag/monster-case/

chanting national and religious slogans against the other group. We used all mechanisms to calm down the situation together with the principle and other stakeholders in society. Sometimes we also have inter-ethnic incidents between the Albanians and the Macedonians before the elections." (Int. 4, GV)

The municipal administration representatives gave ambivalent answers in comparison to those of the teachers. One must note that regarding particular questions linked to the situation in the schools in the City of Skopje, the municipal representatives have much deeper insight into primary school issues due to their legal competencies. The other three municipalities (i.e. Kumanovo, Tetovo and Gostivar), have full competencies both over primary schools and high schools and were eligible to give more valid answers regarding the situation in the high schools. The interviewees from the municipalities in Skopje generally denounced religious and ethnic violence in schools on their administrative territories, but pointed out some examples which, according to them, should be considered rather extreme. One of the interviewees from Skopje spoke about extremism among parents and indoctrination of their own children:

"We have cases of extreme parents. They bring their first graders covered in burkas, asking for gender segregated classes, absence of girls from physical education classes, banning of New Year's Eve celebrations etc. Once we even received a formal letter sent by a trained lawyer…" (Int. 11, SK)

Another interviewee from a rural municipality in Skopje dominantly inhabited by ethnic Albanians is concerned that young ethnic Macedonian students are not enrolling in primary school in the municipality where they live, but travel to a neighboring, dominantly Macedonians-inhabited, municipality (Int. 12, SK). Although the municipality provides them with education in their native language, a majority of these students refuse to study there. The municipal representative in Kumanovo confirmed what the teachers from the high schools had reported, but he sees the ethnic segregation of the schools as a solution, and not as a problem (Int. 6, KU). His counterpart in Tetovo also commented that no ethnic and religious violence has been reported in recent years (Int. 8, TE). Surprisingly, similar comments were given by the municipal administration interviewee in Gostivar (Int. 6, GV), which largely differed from those of the high school teachers.

The police officials that are closely collaborating with the LCPs did not point out any cases of religious or ethnic violence in the high schools where they operate. Still, the representative from Skopje commented on general ethnic incidents in some parts of the city where sporadically Macedonians attack Albanians and vice versa. He was clear that even smaller incidents among high school students happen outside the school fences. On the other hand, according to him, no cases of religious violence were reported (Int. 13, SK). The other two police representatives did not report on any religious or ethnic violence (Int 1 TE and GV), with the interviewee from Kumanovo noting that even regarding smaller ethnic incidents there is a sharp decline throughout the years (Int. 7, KU). Lastly, the majority of the religious leaders interviewed, did not comment on ethnic or religious violence on the territories where they serve (Int. 2, TE and GV; Int. 5, GV; Int. 7, TE). Only the Islamic religious community

representative from Skopje commented that although he didn't have any personal face to face experience, he noticed people with extreme beliefs on social media (Int. 14, SK)

Not many of the questionnaire respondents gave responses to the open question seeking for *further comments on the process of radicalization*. A vast majority of the respondents commented that that there are no processes of this kind in the schools where they work. Several comments point towards the direction that this problem is not taken very seriously as it should and that the school staff should be trained and more heavily involved in the monitoring of these occurrences. These respondents highlight the need for more school staff support members like psychologists, pedagogues and sociologists that will work with and closely follow cases of students leaning towards radicalization. Few answers pointed out that there should be full secularism of education in every aspect, especially that teachers should be very careful regarding what they say and how they dress and act in front of the students. Lastly, there were a couple of comments claiming that every type of praying and religious rituals should be forbidden.

Furthermore, asked about their *personal experiences with radicalization in the schools where they work*, almost all the respondents commented that they have not had any. Still, two responses were very intriguing. The first one highlighted that students and professors practice religious rituals in classrooms in one of the high schools in Skopje. The second one described another situation which had happened in one of the high schools in Skopje:

"When I came into class the students told me that now, following the provisions of the new Law on Languages which officially promotes bilingualism, the professors which teach in ethnic Albanian classes must talk in Albanian. I told them 'No!' According to the principle of bilingualism, you should now start to speak and comprehend Macedonian."

The four categories of interviewees were asked about *how familiar they are with the existence of the CT and CVE national strategies and action plans*. Only the front line school workers which have attended OSCE's basic training on P/CVE were familiar with the existence of these documents and the National Committee for CVE and CT (Int. 1, SK; Int. 7, SK; Int. 4, TE; Int. 5, TE; Int. 6, TE; Int. 1, GV; Int. 2, GV and Int. 4, GV). All other interviewees had never heard neither about the national strategies and action plans, nor about the National Committee.

The municipal administration representatives are slightly more familiar with the existence of these documents, but only vaguely and through scattered media reports (Int. 11, SK; Int. 12, SK and Int. 6, GV). Still, the majority of the interviewed municipal administration representatives had never heard about the existence of the strategies, action plans and the National Committee for CVE and CT (Int. 8, SK; Int. 9, SK; Int. 10, SK; Int. 6, KU and Int. 8, TE).

Expectedly, the MoI officials are much more informed about the strategies, the action plans and the National Committee. The three interlocutors are familiar with the strategies and the activities (Int. 7, KU and Int. 1, TE and GV), but still stress the need for continuous trainings on potential updates of the documents, as well as the institutional setting (Int. 13, SK).

The last category of interviewees, the religious leaders, is partially familiar with the national strategies and the action plans. The interlocutors in Tetovo and Gostivar (Int. 7, TE, Int. 5, GV and Int. 2, TE and GV) have heard about the documents but are not familiar with its contents, while one of the religious leaders in Skopje had not heard about the strategies and action plans at all (Int. 14, SK)

Part 2: Mapping mechanisms developed on school and/or municipal level for prevention, recognizing and reacting to potential cases of radicalization (detection of potential good practices)

The second part of this research report is primarily based on the responses acquired through the questionnaire for school staff. The issues which are tackled are closely connected to existing mechanisms both on school and municipal level, aimed at prevention, recognizing and reacting to potential cases of radicalization. Some of the addressed questions are additionally examined through the answers of the face-to-face interviews with frontline school workers, municipal representatives, MOI officials, as well as local religious leaders.

The first question posed to the respondents, which is relevant for this section of the research report, asked from the front line school workers to *prioritize the stakeholders that should intervene in case they notice signs of indoctrination and radicalization among students*. They were asked to highlight the most significant and the least significant stakeholders marking them with numbers from 1 to 8. Following the creation of a weighted index in accordance with the Borda count method, using the Dowdall system, we managed to extrapolate the top three choices of the respondents. On national level, the top three stakeholders to intervene in cases of indoctrination or radicalization among the students are the parents (339), the teachers (203) and the school support staff (148). The trend is similar among the two largest ethnic groups. The responses of the ethnic Macedonians were ranked in the following manner: parents (145), teachers (87) and school support staff (77). Among the ethnic Albanian respondents, the answers are as follows: parents (172), teachers (103) and school support staff (60). The figures follow the same trend on municipal level as well. The responses for Skopje are the following: parents (89), teachers (47) and school support staff (43); for Tetovo: parents (103), teachers (73) and school support staff (36); for Kumanovo: parents (63), teachers (42) and school support staff (34); and lastly for Gostivar: parents (84), teachers (42) and school support staff (35).

The following question was posed to the respondents which previously claimed that during 2017 and 2018 there had been violent incidents in the schools where they work. The front line school workers were asked to detect the *typical reactions by the school to these types of incidents*. Within the multiple answers that the respondents had given, we underlined the top three responses. On national level respondents claim that the most typical reaction by the schools is to call the students' parents (38.02%). Secondly, students go to counseling to the schools' psychologist/pedagogue (32.28%), while the third most common reaction is the class master teachers disciplining the students (27.13%). Regarding ethnicity, the figures are following the same trend presented on national level. Moving to municipal level, the same top three choices as on national level are replicated in Skopje (53.33%, 48% and 37.33% respectively), Tetovo (34.67%, 30% and 27.33% respectively) and Kumanovo (37.62%, 26.73% and 19.8% respectively). Regarding Gostivar, the first reaction of the schools would be

the same as in other municipalities throughout the country – students' parents are being called to school (21.15%). The second typical reaction of Gostivar's schools is that master/class teachers discipline the students (19.23%), while in third instance the students go to counseling to the school psychologist/pedagogue (18.27%).

Typical reactions to violent incidents, cases of radicalization and extremism were also discussed with the four categories of interviewees. The frontline school workers which provided answers to this question usually referred to actions taken mainly by the school support staff. The most common ones are sanctions, psychological counseling, conversations with the parents and similar activities. One teacher from Skopje elaborated on several types of reactions that occur in his school, also pointing out his personal involvement in these situations:

"I caught myself resolving problems in the school yard. The school support staff reacts following the standard procedures like conversations and report-writing. I think that this is boring and non-functional. Still, they are doing their job. When interethnic conflicts happen it is obligatory to call the police. I think that this is the main reason why these types of incidents are avoided. The administration calls the parents and tries to solve the problems together with them. I take other actions. I sit down and talk to the children about the problems, trying to calm down the tensions. If the problem reoccurs I send them to the office of the pedagogue. So far, an incident has not reoccurred after this type of conversation. I directly point to the students two ways to resolve the conflict. The first option is to immediately solve the issue among them. The second option is to take them to the pedagogue's office and handle the affairs institutionally. We usually opt for the first way" (Int. 2, SK)

Conversely, his colleague from Skopje shared a bad practice from the school where she works:

"In our school we practice silence and we act as if we do not know. You will rarely find vocal people like me who are eventually silenced. There is no reaction from the management of the school!" (Int. 3, SK)

Couple of other interviewees from Skopje highlighted the need for continuous training of the frontline school workers in order to manage these situations better (Int. 5, SK and Int. 6, SK). In Kumanovo, the majority of schools usually decide to apply the more standard "traditional" ways of handling incidents by involving the support staff, the parents and the principle of the school (Int. 1, KU, Int. 3, KU, Int. 2, KU and Int. 4, KU). The respondents from the high schools in Tetovo gave very similar answers to those from Kumanovo. The same reflections are noted in Gostivar as well.

The municipal representatives were asked whether and how the municipalities where they work react to these types of incidents (i.e. violence, radicalization, extremism etc.). Diverse answers were collected from the interlocutors. Representatives of two municipalities in Skopje (Int. 8, SK and Int. 12, SK) believe that their institutions have no mechanisms at their disposal and cannot take any actions. Another interviewee believes that the key lies in the

cooperation between the municipalities and the MoI (Int. 10, SK). A municipal representative from Skopje shared one of the good practices of municipal reactions following a violent inter-ethnic incident among high school students:

"We have municipal services that deal with these issues. For example, during the physical incidents in the city buses, especially in number 65 that heads towards Stajkovci, and the stoning and fighting in the Singjelic settlement. We assembled different groups of parents in the local office. These misunderstandings are usually resolved through conversation. The police are inserted as a mediator in these situations." (Int. 11, SK)

In the municipalities of Kumanovo and Tetovo, preventive activities are usually undertaken prior to larger collective sports events, as well as before the commencement of electoral campaigns. The first municipality regularly cooperates with the MoI (Int. 7, KU), while the latter assembles forums consisted of supporters' groups and political youth organizations (Int. 8, TE). The Municipality of Gostivar insists on all cases to be solved within the schools. If the school fails to solve them, the municipal administration facilitates the introduction of the police and the parents in order to solve the burning issues (Int. 6, GV).

The MoI officials provided more details on preventive and repressive actions undertaken by them when encountering violence, radicalization, or extremism in their area of operations. In Skopje, the interlocutor explained how the police work with potential sport supporters' groups, and also engages other relevant stakeholders:

"During preventive one-day seminars which we deliver, we mark potential members of sport supporters' groups. We group them and deliver further preventive seminars. When minors commit misdemeanors we follow all the procedures. We inform the inter-municipal centers for social work and the parents. Maybe not immediately, but after the second or the third repetitions the institutions react" (Int. 13, SK)

The two other MoI officials reflected on the numerous legal procedures and inter-institutional obligations when adolescents commit misdemeanors or felonies in Tetovo, Gostivar and Kumanovo (Int. 1, TE and GV and Int. 7, KU). Lastly, the religious leaders gave general declarative comments regarding their reactions to potential cases of religious radicalization (Int. 7, TE, Int. 5, GV and Int. 2, TE and GV). One religious leader from Skopje went into further details explaining how his religious community tries to prevent religious radicalization:

"The Skopje Muftiate takes preventive measures before something such as this can happen. We trained the imams in all the mosques, and in the near future we plan another training that will focus on ways of teaching and communication skills, in particular with the young believers. If any cases of violence, radicalization, or extremism occur, we are in close coordination with the imam and the parents." (Int. 14, SK)

The same group of respondents to the questionnaire that provided answers to the previous question, were further asked for their opinion *whether if the violence is conducted due to ethnic or religious motives, the religious communities should get involved*? On national level 21.76% said that the religious communities should be involved, while 45.61% opposed this idea. High 31.38% of the respondents did not know. Regarding the responses of the two largest ethnic communities in the country, the figures presenting those who encourage religious communities' involvement are very similar: 22.22% of the Macedonians and 21.95% of the Albanians. Conversely, 49.49% of the Macedonians and 39.84% of the Albanians were against the idea to involve religious communities. Lastly, 26.26% of the Macedonians did not know compared to 37.4% of the Albanians. On municipal level there is a diversity of ratio between the responses. In Skopje, 27.78% responded affirmatively to the involvement of religious communities, while 43.33% opposed the idea, and 27.78% did not know. In Tetovo, the figures were 12.86%, 51.43% and 35.71% respectively. In Kumanovo, the ratio of the responses was the following: 17.39%, 52.17% and 28.26% respectively. Lastly, in Gostivar, 30.3% supported the involvement of religious communities and equal 30.3% opposed this idea. A high number of 36.36% of the respondents did not know.

Furthermore, all the 505 respondents were presented a list of hypothetical situations, and a set of possible reactions for each situation. They were asked to choose one or more possible reactions from the school for each presented situation. The first situation presented to them was the following one: "*A student refuses to participate in certain activities due to religious motives!*" On national level, 45.66% proposed advising with the support/professional staff, 24.44% claimed that there should be no reaction, while 19.8% opted for a verbal warning. The same trend of answers was present both among the Macedonian (50.24 %, 24.64% and 18.01% respectively) and the Albanian (41.04%, 24.7% and 22.71% respectively) respondents. On municipal level, the same three reactions were dominant among respondents from Skopje (58.33%, 24.31% and 15.28% respectively) and Gostivar (41.75%, 23.30% and 16.5% respectively). Respondents from Tetovo and Kumanovo provided slightly different responses. In Tetovo the first choice of action was the same one presented on national level – 42.28% proposed advising with support/professional staff. As a second reaction, the teachers from Tetovo proposed taking no action (16.78%), while the verbal warning was presented as a third possible reaction (15.28). Lastly, in Kumanovo, the largest percentage of respondents opted for taking no action (37.37%), followed by those that suggested advising with professional staff (36.36%), while 18.18% proposed a verbal warning.

The second hypothetical situation presented to the teachers was the following: "*The student refuses to learn certain contents due to religious motives*!" On national level, 49.8% suggested advising with professional staff, 22.29% opted for verbal warning and 16.27% believe that taking no action is the best reaction. On ethnic level, the results followed the same trend. Ethnic Macedonians responded in the following manner: 57.35%, 17.54% and 16.59% respectively, while Albanians provided the following figures: 44.66%, 26.88% and 15.81% respectively. On local level the same trend was reflected in all municipalities. On municipal

level, the same three reactions were dominant in all four parts of the country. The figures are the following: Skopje – 46%, 20% and 17.93% respectively; Tetovo: 44.67%, 26% and 14.67% respectively; Kumanovo: 45.45%, 25.25% and 18.18% respectively; and Gostivar: 47.12%, 17.31% and 14.12% respectively.

The next hypothetical situation is the following: "*A student begins to dress more conservatively!*" On national level, 39.64% of the respondents believe in advising with professional staff, 24.75% would not take any action and 21.53% would issue a verbal warning. There are some differences on ethnic level. Ethnic Macedonians are following the national trend with the following figures: 40.76%, 33.18% and 19.91% respectively. On the other hand, 38.74% of the ethnic Albanians suggested advising with support/professional staff, 23.72% opted for verbal warning, while 17.79 would not suggest any action. Within the municipalities, the majority followed patterns similar to the national trend with exception of Tetovo. In Skopje, the results were the following; 50.34%, 23.45% and 20% respectively. In Kumanovo: 36.36%, 33.33% and 23.23% respectively, and in Gostivar: 34.62%, 24.04% and 21.15% respectively. In regards to Tetovo, 34.9% picked advising with support/professional staff, 22.15% chose the verbal warning and 20.81% advised not taking any action.

The fourth presented hypothetical situation was the following: "*The student separates from the peers (the group s/he was socializing with)!*" On national level, more than half of the respondents (53.52%) chose advising with professional staff, 21.93% believe in the verbal warning as an appropriate reaction, while 12.88% would not take any action. The figures follow the same trend in regards to ethnicity. The results from the responses of the ethnic Macedonians are the following: 57.62%, 21.9% and 13.81% respectively, while among the ethnic Albanians as presented: 50.59%, 23.32% and 11.86%. On local level, all municipalities follow the national trend. The figures per municipality are the following: Skopje (63.19%, 17.36% and 14.58% respectively; Tetovo (50%, 26.67% and 11.33% respectively); (Kumanovo 47.47%, 29.29% and 12.12% respectively); and Gostivar (50.96%, 20.19% and 13.46% respectively).

The next presented hypothetical situation is the following: "*The student shares flyers/propaganda materials which call to violence in the school or outside the school!*" On national level, 35.41% of the respondents believe that the appropriate reaction is advising with support/professional staff, while 32.88%, opted for expulsion from school and 14.49% claim that a verbal warning would be a sufficient reaction from the schools. The trends are slightly different between the largest two ethnic groups. 39.52% of the ethnic Macedonians see expulsion of school for these students as the most appropriate action, while 34.29% support advising and support from professional staff. 9.05% of the respondents proposed a negative assessment of behavior as a suitable reaction. The largest part of the ethnic Albanian respondents chose advising with the support/professional (32.41%), closely followed by 32.02% who suggest expulsion for those students and 18.58% that are in favor of verbal warning. Moving to municipal level, the national trend is followed in Skopje, Tetovo and

Kumanovo, while differences are noted in Gostivar. Namely, Tetovo gave the following results in respect to the national trend: 38%, 30% and 15.33% respectively, Kumanovo presented the following landscape – 48.48%, 24.24% and 10.1% respectively. In Skopje, the figures were the following in regards to the national trend: 39.76%, 32.88 and 20.17% respectively. Lastly, in Gostivar, 35.29% of the respondents suggested advising with support/professional staff, 23.53% believe in the verbal warning, while 22.55% opted for expulsion from school.

The following situation presented to the respondents was: "*Student shares video materials which call to violence on the Internet/social media!*" The data on national level shows that 39.72% suggest expulsion from school, 30.65% want advising with support/professional staff and 12.3% find the verbal warning as the most appropriate reaction from the school. In regards to ethnicity some differences occur. 46.67% of the ethnic Macedonians chose expulsion from school, 28.1% advising with support/professional staff, while 9.05% opted for negative assessment of behavior and a verbal warning. Ethnic Albanians follow the national trend as shown through the following figures: 34.39%, 33.9% and 14.62% respectively. Moving to local level, Tetovo (43.62, 38.86% and 12.75% respectively) follows the national trend. In Skopje, 37.24% suggested expulsion from school, 33.79% advising with a support/professional staff and 11.03% believe that receiving a negative assessment of behavior would be the most suitable reaction from the schools. The responses from Kumanovo follow those from Skopje (49.49%, 20.2% and 10.1% respectively). In Gostivar 38.83% of the teachers suggest advising with the school's professional staff, 28.16% are for expulsion and 18.45% see the verbal warning as the most appropriate action.

The seventh situation presented to the teachers was the following: "*A student acts arrogantly towards teachers and school staff!*" On national level, 35.74% of the respondents opted for advising with support/professional staff, 31.12% believe that expulsion from the school is the most appropriate action while 15.66% think that lowering the grade in behavior would be sufficient. There are some differences among the largest two ethnic groups. The ethnic Macedonians follow the national trend with the following figures: 43.6% 20.85% and 17.54% respectively. The most appropriate action for ethnic Albanians is expulsion from school (39.92%), followed by advising with support/professional staff (29.95%) and receiving a negative assessment in behavior (14.62%). On local level, Skopje follows the national trend with the top three appropriate actions being the same (39.31%, 33.79% and 9.66% respectively). The only difference is that the figures for the third choice are equal both for a negative assessment in behavior and a verbal warning. The results from Tetovo follow those on national level among the ethnic Albanians (33.33%, 30.67% and 21.33% respectively). Respondents from Kumanovo follow the same trend (35.35%, 26.26% and 17.17% respectively). The same trend is noticed also in Gostivar (38.46%, 28.85% and 14.42% respectively).

The next presented hypothetical situation is the following: "*A student skips classes in order to meet with extremist or extremist groups!*" On national level, the largest percent of

teachers (38.13%) would suggest expulsion from school, followed by 32.05% who opted for advising with support/professional staff, while 10.95% would proceed with a verbal warning. Some differences among the largest two ethnic groups are visible. Ethnic Macedonians are in line with the national trend regarding the first two appropriate actions (41.83% and 35.10% respectively), but a negative assessment of behavior (9.13%) would be their third preferred choice. On the other hand, the ethnic Albanians are in line with the national trend: 34.92%, 30.56% and 15.08% respectively. Skopje (39.16%, 33.57% and 10.49% respectively) and Gostivar (33.33%, 28.43% and 17.65% respectively) are also following the national trend. On the other hand, Tetovo (42.28%, 30.87% and 12.08%) and Kumanovo (40.4%, 30.3% and 10.1% respectively) follow the trend of the ethnic Macedonian respondents.

The following hypothetical situation presented to the teachers was the following: "*A student refuses to contact/communicate with students belonging to different ethnic and/or religious community!*" On national level, more than half of the respondents (53.32%) opted for advising with support/professional staff, 20.93% chose the verbal warning as the most appropriate action, while 8.45% believe that there should be no reaction. There are differences between the ethnic groups on national level. Hefty 63.81% of the Macedonians chose advising with support/professional staff, followed by 22.38% who chose the verbal warning, while the most appropriate action for 4.76% of the respondents is expulsion from school. The ethnic Albanian respondents follow the national level trends with the following figures: 45.85%, 20.16% and 11.07% respectively. On municipal level there are also some differences in trends. In Skopje the national trend is replicated: 63.89%, 22.22% and 7.64% respectively. Tetovo also follows the national trend (48%, 18.67% and 12% respectively). 48.48% respondents in Kumanovo support advising with support/professional staff, 22.22% are for verbal warning and 9.09% chose the lowering of the grade in behavior. Lastly, Gostivar follows the trend of the ethnic Macedonians through the following figures: 50.96%, 21.15% and 13.46% respectively.

The tenth hypothetical situation presented to the teachers was the following: "*A student verbally attacks/insults students belonging to different ethnic and/or religious community!*" On national level, 43.55% of the respondents chose advising with professional school staff as the most appropriate action by the schools, 19.56% opted for expulsion from the school while 15.73% believe the verbal warning to be sufficient. The trend among the largest two ethnic groups is the same. The figures for the ethnic Macedonians are the following: 48.82%, 16.59% and 13.74% respectively. The figures among the ethnic Albanian respondents are as follows: 40.64%, 21.12% and 16.73% respectively. The national trend is also replicated along the municipalities: Skopje (48.61%, 16.67% and 14.58% respectively); Tetovo (48.99%, 16.78% and 14.77% respectively); Kumanovo (29.29%, 23.23% and 17.17% respectively) and Gostivar (42.31% 24.04% and 17.31% respectively).

The last hypothetical statement presented to the respondents was the following: "*A student physically attacks/insults students belonging to different ethnic and/or religious community!*" On national level, 44.15% of the respondents would expel the student from the

school, 29.23% think that advising with professional school staff is the most appropriate action, while 11.09% would opt for a decreasing mark in behavior. The two largest ethnic groups follow the national trend. The trend among the largest two ethnic groups is the same. The figures for the ethnic Macedonians are the following: 50%, 24.76% and 11.43% respectively. The figures among the ethnic Albanian respondents are as follows: 39.68%, 34.13% and 11.11% respectively. On municipal level there are minor differences. Skopje (53.1%, 26.21% and 9.66% respectively) and Kumanovo (59.6%, 10.1% and 8.08% respectively) follow the figures on national level. On the other hand, in Tetovo, 35.57% of the respondents think that advising with professional school staff is the most appropriate action, 32.21% would expel the particular student from the school, while 15.44% would opt for a negative assessment of behavior. Gostivar follows the same trend as Tetovo with the following figures: 42.72%, 33.98% and 9.71% respectively.

Through the in depth interviews with the four main groups of stakeholders, we wanted to know more about the *gathering and flow of information related to issues such as radicalization and violent extremism*. Talking to the frontline school workers, a majority of the interviewees highlighted the role of the teachers and the support staff within the schools, mainly the physiologists and the pedagogues. Furthermore, they also stressed the role of the students, but also noted acquiring information through informal sources from the other side of the school fences. The teachers are undoubtedly the first recipients of information that is further transferred to the support staff. In Skopje, several interviewees highlighted this cooperation in information gathering among the teachers and the support staff (Int. 1, SK; Int. 5, SK; and Int. 6, SK). Few schools in Skopje gather this kind of information primarily from the students (Int. 2, SK), noting that not always students are the most trustworthy source (Int. 3, SK) because, at the end of the day, they are still children. In Kumanovo, a majority of the frontline school workers could not provide an answer to this question, but the two respondents that did answer, mentioned the key role of the teachers (Int. 1, KU and Int. 4, KU). In regard to the schools in Tetovo, the majority of the respondents reaffirmed the role of the teachers and the support staff (Int. 1, TE; Int. 2, TE, Int. 3, TE; Int. 4, TE; and Int. 5, TE). One of the respondents mentioned the daily communication with the people, the internet and the TV as other useful sources of information (Int. 6, TE). Lastly, in Gostivar, the support staff and the teachers usually jointly gather these information (Int. 2, GV; Int. 3, GV; and Int. 4, GV), while on rare occasions, similar to Tetovo, information is also gathered informally (Int. 1, GV).

Moving to the interviewed municipal representatives, the general impression is that they are unable to reflect on the process of collecting information related to radicalization and violent extremism. Majority of the interviewees failed to answer this question or provided very vague answers (Int. 8, SK; Int. 9, SK; Int. 12, SK; Int. 11, SK; Int. 6, KU and Int. 8, TE). In one of the rural municipalities in Skopje, the mayor receives the information directly from the citizens, but also frequently communicates with MoI officials, the dominant religious community, as well as with primary school principles (Int. 10, SK). According to the municipal

representative in Gostivar, all information on the aforementioned issues is gathered from the school principles during face to face meetings (Int. 6, GV).

The MoI officials collaborating with the LCPs named multiple sources of information. The interlocutor from Skopje noted that in recent times the police rely mainly on social media as a primary source of information:

"In recent times, our main source of information about these issues is the internet, in particular the social media. We join many groups and 'like' Facebook pages in order to stay informed. As other less important sources of information I would also mention the colleagues, random bystanders etc." (Int. 13, SK)

Another interviewee covering the territories of Tetovo and Gostivar commented that he usually gathers information from the schools and the municipal administrations. Sometimes, when violent incidents had happened, the information arrives directly from the hospital (Int. 1, TE and GV). The MoI official from Kumanovo did not respond to this question.

The last category of interviewees, the religious leaders, was rather laconic when asked about the means of acquiring information related to radicalization and extremism. All the religious representatives apart from the mufti in Skopje, either failed to provide information, or gave imprecise answers. The mufti from Skopje pointed out the formal network of imams and mosques under his authority as the primary source of information. All other stakeholders usually share the information with the imams which later disseminate the information through the vertical hierarchy:

"We gather information from multiple sources. Taking into consideration that we have imams in more than 130 mosques on the territory of Skopje, we have contacts on daily basis both with the imams and the 'mosque committees'. In this manner, we have immediate information about the events in all the mosques. If something out of the normal appears it attracts our immediate and full attention. We also gather information from the parents, because when they notice something unfamiliar with their children, they ask for help from the imams. These cases are not very frequent, but they still occur." (Int. 14, SK)

The same four categories of interviewees were asked *whether they think that there are existent formal mechanisms for facilitating coordination and communication among the stakeholders on local level in the process of preventing violence, radicalization and extremism.* Among the frontline school workers, the majority of interlocutors from Skopje could not point out any existing mechanisms of communication and coordination, especially not in the field of C/PVE (Int. 1, SK; Int. 2, SK; Int. 3, SK; and Int. 4, SK). Several other believe that there are some mechanisms already in place, but they are either very informal, or not really related to the topics under investigation (Int. 5, SK; Int. 6, SK; and Int. 7, SK). The interviewees from Kumanovo had also not heard about any formal mechanisms in place (Int. 1, KU; Int. 2, KU; and Int. 4, KU). Some commented that if there were such functional mechanisms, they would

have at least heard of them, or would have even been familiar with them (Int. 3, KU and Int. 5, KU). The frontline school workers from Tetovo, can be easily divided in two groups regarding this issue. The first group believes that no formal mechanisms of any kind exist (Int. 5, TE and Int. 6, TE), while the latter mentioned the municipal coordinative body for safe schools which was labeled by the majority as non-functional (Int. 1, TE; Int. 2, TE; Int. 3, TE; and Int. 4, TE). Similar to the answers from Tetovo, the interlocutors in Gostivar do not believe that there are any established mechanisms on local level (Int. 1, GV; Int. 2, GV; Int. 3, GV; and Int. 4, GV).

The municipal representatives could also not point towards any existing formal mechanism for communication and coordination between the stakeholders on local level in the process of preventing violence, radicalization and extremism. Some of the interviewees from the Skopje-based municipalities mentioned cooperation with NGOs, but not in the field of P/CVE (Int. 11, SK and Int. 12, SK). Furthermore, the municipal administration representatives from Kumanovo and Tetovo failed to provide any precise answer to the question (Int. 6, KU and Int. 8, TE). Lastly, the interviewee from the Municipality of Gostivar mentioned coordinative meetings discussing school security among local stakeholders, but he labeled most of them useless and not related to radicalization of any kind (Int. 6, GV)

The MoI officials working closely with the LCPs have diverse views regarding whether mechanisms for coordination and communication between stakeholders on local level, in order to prevent violence, radicalization and extremism, have been established. The interlocutor from Kumanovo perceived the LCPs exactly as this type of mechanism (Int. 7, KU). Her colleague covering the areas of Tetovo and Gostivar spoke only about informal communication between various stakeholders, but stressed the need for formalization when C/PVE is under consideration (Int. 1, TE and GV). Lastly, the MoI official from Skopje shared the following concerns:

"The police have contacts with all local stakeholders, but not regarding violence, radicalization, or extremism. In some parts of the City of Skopje there is a strong need for establishing of these mechanisms: Gjorche Petrov, Saraj, Gazi Baba, Chair and Bit Pazar would be the hotspots in the City of Skopje". (Int. 13, SK)

All the interviewed religious leaders concluded that there are no formal mechanisms established. Two interlocutors in particular underpinned the need for their establishing (Int. 7, TE and Int. 2, TE and GV)

Part 3: Policies required for appropriate tackling of problems such as radicalization and violent extremism (including development of skills of school and municipal staff, development of curricular and extra-curricular materials and referral mechanisms)

The last part of the research report is once again dominantly based on the responses from the questionnaire for frontline school workers examining issues such as development of skills of the stakeholders (i.e. the skills of high school and municipal staff), the directions in which curricular and extra-curricular materials should be developed, as well as creation of a viable referral mechanism. Some results are strengthened by responses gathered through the in-depth face-to-face interviews with school and municipal staff, as well as comments from MoI officials working with the LCPs and several religious leaders.

The first question in the third part measured the respondents' perceptions regarding *which are the most appropriate places for addressing the problems of radicalization and indoctrination of students/young people*? The respondents highlighted their top three choices. On national level, a majority of the respondents (52.28%) said that the most appropriate place is home, with the parents, followed by 47.33% who think that it is the school, and lastly 41.58% picked the internet and the social media (Fig. 18). In regards to the ethnic structure of the respondents some differences are present. For example, while 71.03% of the Macedonians agreed the first option to be family and parents, the first answer of the Albanians was the internet and the social media (50.39%). School is the second choice for 64.95% of the Macedonians, but for the Albanians it is home with the parents with 35.83%. The third choice of the Macedonians was the internet and the social media with 32.24%, while 32.28% of the Albanian respondents opted for the school. On municipal level, in the City of Skopje, the first choice of more than half of the respondents was home with the parents (62%), followed by 42% that pointed towards the school and 39.33% highlighted the internet and the social media. In Tetovo we have an almost similar percentage between the first two answers: home with the parents (42.67%) and school (42%). The third option for the Tetovo respondents was internet and social media with 41.33%. Citizens of Kumanovo followed the trend of choosing the home as the most appropriate place for addressing radicalization and indoctrination (54.46%), followed by the school (42%) and the internet and social media (41.33%). In Gostivar, a vast majority of the respondents chose the school as a first option (57.69%), the home as a second one (50%) and the internet and social media came in as a third option (44.23%).

Figure 18: Most suitable places for tackling indoctrination and radicalization of students/youth in Macedonia
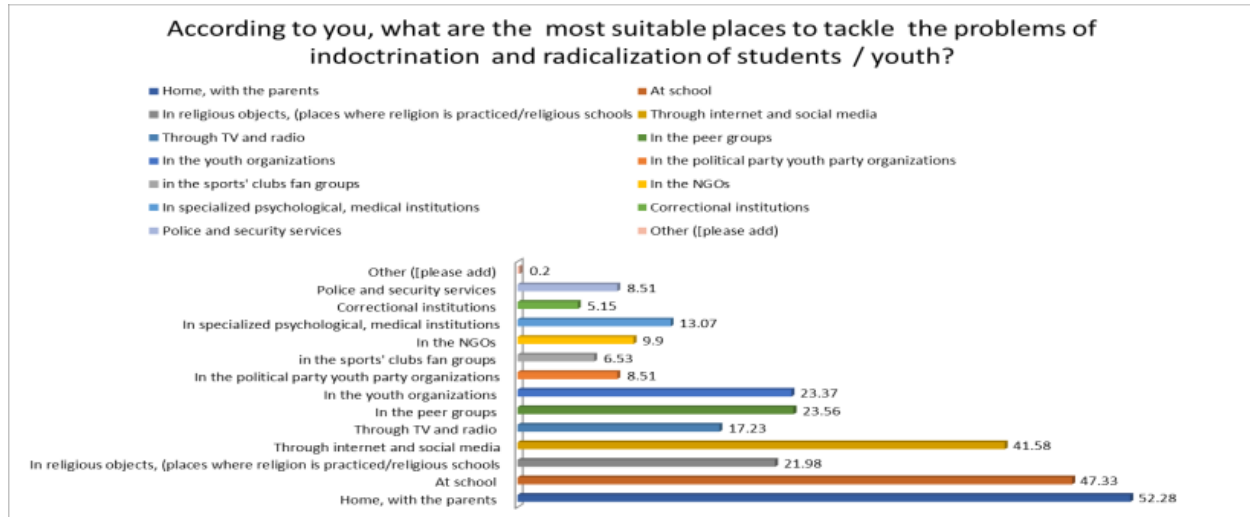
Source: CRPM survey on front-line education workers on violent extremism and radicalization, 2018

Being asked about *potential activities conducted in the schools, aiming at tackling indoctrination and radicalization among students*, the respondents highlighted the methods that they thought were the most appropriate. On national level, the respondents' first two choices were within the extracurricular activities (35.34%) and within the frames of the regular/mandatory curriculum during the master class (36.91%). The third highest percentage belongs to respondents who do not know (20.48%). There are some differences regarding the ethnic structure of the respondents. 45.02% of the Macedonians chose the extracurricular activities, 31.28% opted for the regular/mandatory curriculum during the master class, and 9% for the regular/mandatory curriculum. The dominant choice for the ethnic Albanian respondents was the extracurricular activities with 37.89%. A large portion of the ethnic Albanians do not know the answer to this question (31.47%), while the third preferred option was within the frames of the regular/mandatory curriculum, during the master class (24.3%). There are differences on municipal level as well. In the City of Skopje, 34.33% of the respondents believe that these issues should be dealt with in the frame of the obligatory courses, within master class, 31.29% claim that the most appropriate manner is within the mandatory curriculum and 17.69% do not know. The respondents in Tetovo provided the following most appropriate solutions: 33.78% opted for the extracurricular activities, 29.05% of the respondents do not know, and 25.68% believe that the most appropriate method is within the frames of the regular/mandatory curriculum, during the master class. In Kumanovo 34.34% chose the frame of extracurricular activities, 32.32% believe that these issues can be dealt with in the frames of the regular/mandatory curriculum, during the master class, while 16.16% within the frames of the regular/mandatory curriculum. Lastly, in Gostivar, the primary choice of the respondents (40.38%) chose the frame of extracurricular activities, 22.12% did not know, while 17.31%

perceive the regular/mandatory curriculum during the master class as the most appropriate method.

Furthermore, the respondents were *asked to which extent religion and religious teaching should be included in the formal education*. On national level, 31.94% of the respondents believe that all larger religions should be taught on a basic level, followed by 22.42% who claim that they should not be part of the curriculum. 21.63% think that all religions that students associate with should be taught on a basic level. There are some differences regarding ethnicity. The responses of the ethnic Macedonians followed the national trend with 42.25%, 32.86% and 13.15% respectively, while the landscape is somewhat different among the ethnic Albanians. 27.95% of the latter believe that all religions that students associate with should be taught on a basic level, while 23.62% think that all larger religions should be taught on a basic level. 13.39% point out that religion and religious teaching should not be part of the curriculum. There are slight differences on municipal level. Within the municipalities in the City of Skopje, the respondents followed the national trend with 36.24%, 26.85% and 18.12% respectively. The same trend is visible in Kumanovo with 38.61%, 25.74% and 16.81% respectively. In Tetovo, 28% of the respondents believe that all larger religions should be taught on a basic level, while 23.33% believe that all religions that students associate with should be taught on a basic level. Conversely, 18% claim that they should not be part of the curriculum. Lastly, Gostivar follows the same trend as Tetovo with the figures being 38.85%, 25% and 19.23% respectively.

The front line school workers were then asked *which topics should be included in the high school curriculum in order to enhance the process of preventing radicalization of students*. The following topics were presented: basics of radicalization violent extremism and prevention; ethnic tolerance; religious tolerance; recognizing hate speech; recognizing extremist propaganda; conflict resolution; stereotypes and conflicts and their influence and critical thinking. The respondents were also provided with space to suggest other topics as well. Looking at the preferences on national level, 303 teachers opted for ethnic tolerance, while religious tolerance was mentioned 252 times followed by conflict resolution (223). Basics of radicalization, violent extremism and prevention were mentioned 206 times, while stereotypes and conflicts and their influence were the choice of 178 respondents.

In regards to the question *whether in the last five years they have participated in any trainings related to interethnic integration, conflict resolution, dealing with violent and/or deviant behavior among students, introduction to processes of indoctrination and radicalization of students or any similar trainings*, 78.18% responded negatively, while 21.61% confirmed their participation. The trends are similar on ethnic level, but almost twice as many Macedonians have been trained in comparison to Albanians: 28.78% vs. 14.64%. On municipal level, the figures dominantly followed those on national level.

The frontline school workers that have responded affirmatively to the previous question were asked to *enlist the trainings they took in the last 10 years connected to the following topics: interethnic integration; conflict resolution; dealing with violent and/or deviant behavior among students; introduction to processes of indoctrination and radicalization of students or any similar trainings*. From the responses we were able to distinguish few general types of events they have attended. Firstly, most of them attended workshops which were tackling the phenomena of violence, in general or specifically targeting violence in school environment. Notable examples addressing this matter include workshops on: nonviolent communication, conflict resolution, hate speech, hate crimes, decreasing violence in the school, ant bullying and peaceful education. The vast majority of them were organized either by OSCE or by USAID. Other notable organizers include: City of Skopje, Ministry of Education, Megjashi Children's Embassy and UNICEF. The second category of workshops dealt with multi-ethnic relations and was attended by a notable number of participants. The most important issues discussed during these workshops were: multiethnic integration, multiethnic interaction, diversity promotion, tolerance, ethnic belonging, social cohesion and culture. Again we dominantly see OSCE or USAD as organizers, but also the British Embassy, CEEU and Ministry of Education. Another area of workshops is general pedagogical work and the overall processes of teaching, learning and grading. Based on the answers gathered by the participants one can conclude that none of them ever attended specified workshops tackling violent extremism and radicalization among high school students.

The participants in prior workshops were also asked to name *three things that they liked/enjoyed during previous trainings*. From all gathered responses the most frequent were the following: exchange of ideas and experiences, the setting of the workshops and the creative atmosphere, the socializing with professionals from different schools.

Regarding *things that should be evaded by the organizers during similar workshops and trainings*, some of the participants gave constructive suggestions and proposals. The most frequent were the following: non-engagement of students; mono-ethnic groups with teachers from similar backgrounds; lack of sustainability of the activities.

Furthermore, all respondents were asked to reflect on the *future challenges they see within their work-related activities related to: interethnic integration, conflict resolution, dealing with violent and/or deviant behavior among students, introduction to processes of indoctrination and radicalization of students*. Most of the respondents put emphasis on the following issues: multi-ethnic integration, peaceful conflict resolution, early conflict detection, conducting multi-ethnic school trips, celebrations, happenings, tackling deviant behavior, cooperation between the schools, capacity building, indoctrination, radicalization and better communication.

Lastly, the respondents were asked *which types of trainings they need in order to realize their work-related activities related to: interethnic integration, conflict resolution, dealing with*

violent and/or deviant behavior among students, introduction to processes of indoctrination and radicalization of students. The vast majority expressed the need for systematic approach to hold workshops for extremism and radicalization. Moreover, other suggestions included workshops for: conflict resolution, multi-ethnic integration, tolerance, deviation, mediation, emotional intelligence and coexistence.

Proceeding with the in-depth face to face interviews, all four categories of respondents were asked *what they lacked institutionally in order to better prevent cases of violence, radicalization and extremism*. The frontline school workers in general commented that they need more trainings and seminars, as well as resources for projects that would further engage the students. In Skopje, the majority of the interviewees (Int. 2, SK; Int. 7, SK; and Int. 3, SK) reaffirmed these needs, while one of the school support staff members stressed the importance of C/PVE trainings and workshops (Int. 5, SK). An evident growing concern for politicization of the education system was raised by two interlocutors in Skopje (Int. 3, SK and Int. 4, SK). They stressed the urgent need of de-politicization. Lastly, another school support staff member mentioned the need for strengthening the capacities of both the school support staff and the parents in order to better tackle issues like violence, radicalization and extremism (Int. 6, SK). In Kumanovo the trainings and workshops were also in the center of the answers (Int. 2, KU and Int. 3, KU), but one interlocutor highlighted the need for specialized C/PVE trainings (Int. 4, KU) both for the teachers and the school support staff. Other two interviewees from Kumanovo highlighted that the aforementioned issues should be dealt with centrally by the state (Int. 6, KU and Int. 2, KU). The interlocutors from Tetovo highlighted the two most important needs in order to tackle the discussed burning issues: more focused C/PVE trainings and workshops (Int. 1, TE; Int. 3, TE; Int. 5, TE; and Int. 6, TE) combined with study visits and experience-sharing, as well as further equipping of the school support staff (Int. 2, TE and Int. 4, TE). Lastly, in Gostivar, specialized C/PVE trainings and workshops were recognized as the basic need for the high schools. Additionally, one teacher mentioned the need for protocols on further activity if a teacher detects violent, radical, or extremist behavior (Int. 1, GV), while another interviewee highlighted the need for equipping of the school support staff, as well as additional finances in general (Int. 2, GV)

The representatives of the municipal administration have similar needs to those of the frontline school workers in order to play a role in prevention of violence, radicalization and extremism on their territories. Two municipal representatives from Skopje stressed the need for tailor-made C/PVE trainings and workshops (Int. 9, SK), the second also noting the need to include the religious communities in these types of activities (Int. 8, SK). An interlocutor coming from one of the rural municipalities near Skopje made a general comment about the increase of both human and financial resources for the municipalities (Int. 10, SK). The needs of another Skopje-based municipality amount to support of joint events that will deepen the integration among the adolescent Macedonians and Albanians through picnics, cultural and sport activities (Int. 11, SK). Lastly, the suggestion by the municipal representative in Tetovo

was to equip the municipality with several psychologists and to organize youth forums in the neighborhoods on municipal territory (Int. 8, TE)

The MoI officials were asked whether the police lack any resources or know-how in order to prevent violence, radicalization, or extremist activities. The representatives working on the territories of Kumanovo, Tetovo and Gostivar (Int. 7, KU and Int. 1, TE and GV) suggested, once again, more specialized and continuous C/PVE trainings and communication workshops. An interesting suggestion was pointed out by the MoI representative from Skopje. He spoke of the need for creation of a new unit which will work exclusively on prevention of radicalization and monitoring of citizens in early phases of radicalization. (Int. 13, SK)

The last category of interviewees, the local religious leaders, commented on their needs in order to prevent religious violence, radicalization and extremism on the territories where they are active. A local religious leader from Skopje elaborated on three crucial things:

"We need direct institutional financial support from the ministries in order to stuff the shelves of the mosque libraries with appropriate literature so that the believers can be relevantly informed. A second very important thing is having a TV or a radio channel in order to inform all believers about their religion. Lastly, religious communities need more authority and autonomy in order to be respected!" (Int. 14, SK)

A local religious leader from Tetovo also mentioned financial support from the state, but added the significance of the interaction with all relevant local institutions and stakeholders (Int. 7, TE). Profound communication with the institutions was also highlighted by a religious leader from Gostivar (Int. 5, GV). Lastly, another interlocutor mentioned that his religious community needs to have larger participation in schools and education in general (Int. 2, TE and GV)

Furthermore, the four categories of interviewees were asked *how issues like violence, radicalization and extremism can be resolved in the best possible manner within the local communities, including which are the main stakeholders and in which way they should react*. We received a plethora of answers. Starting with the frontline school workers, a lot of them shared various ideas on how these issues can be solved. The interviewees from Skopje had several proposals. The first suggestions was that parents play a crucial role in this process and that they should be more present in the schools and communicate more frequently with the class masters and the school support staff (Int. 1, SK). The second suggestion was to depoliticize the municipal administration in order to have independent experts that would contribute more to tackling these issues (Int. 3, SK). One of the interviewees named two key stakeholders that should be engaged: the family, as the nucleus of society; and the schools – which should create mediation bodies that will closely follow these issues (Int. 4, SK). Another suggestion was to have a "first detect – first react" approach, regardless of which stakeholder notices unusual behavior among the adolescents (Int. 5, SK). One of the interviewed professors

believes in the collaboration between the central and the local governments, highlighting that in the end, the politicians and the teachers act as the best role models in Macedonia (Int. 7, SK). In Kumanovo, couple of interviewees could not provide any answer (Int. 1, KU and Int. 2, KU). One of the interlocutors believes that all stakeholders on all levels should be engaged in this process: the local community, the state, the school, the parents… (Int. 3, KU) Another suggestion was that specially trained psychologists, in the high schools that are also familiar with the surroundings, should be hired and engaged (Int. 4, KU). Lastly, an interviewee suggested that the civil society should play the pivotal role in this process (Int. 5, KU). The interlocutors in Tetovo also provided various answers. The emphasis, however, was put on the key role of the high schools (Int. 3, TE) and the parents (Int. 2, TE), which should work closely with the municipalities and the police (Int. 1, TE; Int. 4, TE; and Int. 5, TE). One of the interviewees from Tetovo highlighted the role of media, the internet and the political parties in alarming vocally regarding the discussed issues (Int. 6, TE). The interlocutors from Gostivar believe in stronger cooperation between the central and the local governments (Int. 1, GV and Int. 3, GV), but also in the inclusion of other stakeholders such as the teachers, the school support staff and the police (Int. 2, GV). Lastly, one of the ideas was the need for improvement of the economic conditions in general (Int. 4, GV) and allocation of more funds for delivering trainings to the teachers and the school support staff (Int. 2, GV).

The municipal representatives were not as reflective as the frontline school workers regarding the question who should be the main stakeholders within the local communities to take actions in resolving incidents of violence, radicalization and extremism. Half of the municipal representatives could not provide a precise answer to the question (Int. 8, SK; Int. 11, SK; Int. 12, SK and Int. 6, KU). One interlocutor from a municipality in Skopje spoke about the need for overall involvement of all state institutions (Int. 10, SK). His colleague from another Skopje-based municipality ordered the stakeholders in terms of reaction starting with the school support staff, then the parents/guardians of the students, followed by the police, the municipal administration and the centers for social work (Int. 9, SK). The interviewed municipal representative from Tetovo highlighted the involvement of the following stakeholders: the municipality, the MoI, the centers for social work, the civil society and the OSCE (Int. 8, TE). Lastly, the representative from Gostivar underlined the pivotal role of the schools, together with the parents and the municipality. The police and other stakeholders should be only included as a last resort (Int. 6, GV).

The MoI officials working closely with the LCPs opted for a more integrative approach, synergizing as many stakeholders as possible in the process of preventing violence, radicalization and extremism on community level. Our interlocutor from Skopje recalled a good practice from one of the municipalities in his area of operation:

"A very good example is the Municipality of Kisela Voda with its Center for Prevention and Treatment of Drug Addiction which is full of patients. A coordinative body was created from experts

and citizens from many spheres. Still, institutions should increase their levels of specialization and knowledge in C/PVE." (Int. 13, SK)

His colleague from Kumanovo also highlighted that all relevant stakeholders in one local community should have their share in tackling these issues. Only a joint, coordinated approach between the schools, the centers for social work, the municipal administration and the LCPs can lead to success when preventive activities are discussed (Int. 7, KU). The MoI official operating in the municipalities of Tetovo and Gostivar believes that the schools should be the first ones to react, followed by the parents and the municipalities. According to him, the MoI should be included only as a last resort (Int. 1, TE and GV).

The last category of interviewees, the local religious leaders, gave diverse answers regarding the crucial stakeholders on local level who should play a crucial role in preventing violence, radicalization and extremisms. A religious leader from Gostivar believes that all competent institutions, but primarily the schools and the municipalities should be engaged (Int. 5, GV). His counterpart from Tetovo believes in the crucial role of the state, followed by the municipalities, the schools and then all other stakeholders (Int. 7, TE). One of the religious leaders working in both previously mentioned municipalities, stressed the role of the parents, the teachers and the religious leaders, followed by the mayors (Int. 2, TE and GV). Lastly, a religious leader from Skopje noted that he could speak only about the Albanians and the Muslims. According to him, only three crucial institutions should be a part of the solution on community level:

"The religious communities, the schools and the municipalities are crucial. A theologian, a sociologist and a psychologist should be involved. The theologian will contribute from a religious aspect. The psychologist will analyze the reasons behind the radicalization process, while the sociologist will give an overview of the entire process. All three elements must be included!" (Int. 14, SK)