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Rapid Assessment on
***Child Labour in
Agriculture in the
Republic of Serbia***

March 2018

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Abbreviations

AWU	Annual work units
CLEAR	Country Level Engagement and Assistance to Reduce Child Labour
FADN	Farm Accountancy Data Network database
FGD	Focus group discussion
EUR	The Euro
ILO	International Labour Organization
ISIC	International Standard Industrial Classification of All Economic Activities
LFS	Labour Force Survey
MICS	Multiple Indicator Cluster Survey
NAP	National Action Plan
NARDS	National Agricultural and Rural Development Strategy of Serbia for the period 2014–2024
NUTS	Nomenclature of Territorial Units for Statistics
SIMPOC	Statistical Information and Monitoring Programme on Child Labour
SNA	System of National Accounts
SORS	Statistical Office of the Republic of Serbia
UAA	Utilized agricultural area
UN	United Nations
UNICEF	United Nations Children's Fund

Introduction

The rapid assessment on child labour in agriculture in Serbia is part of the International Labour Organization's (ILO) broader international **Country Level Engagement and Assistance to Reduce Child Labour (CLEAR) project**, aimed at providing technical cooperation support to countries in the areas of legislation, enforcement, monitoring, development and implementation of national action plans and improved implementation of policies and social programmes with an impact on child labour.

The objective of the rapid assessment is to strengthen the knowledge base on the situation of children engaged in agricultural work in Serbia by determining the nature, patterns, distribution, dynamics, causes and consequences of child labour in agriculture across three regions in Serbia.

The scope of the assessment is determined by the adopted definitions of child labour and child work, which include the following forms of child work engagement:

- **working children:** includes child engagement not defined as child labour in certain areas of economic activity [agricultural and non-agricultural] and household chores;
- **child labour:** harmful work that affects the children's schools attendance, including work that involves a higher number of hours worked than the defined hourly thresholds for the respective age in the area of economic activity, as well as hazardous work regardless of work hours;
- **child labour in agriculture:** includes only activities that are defined as agriculture according to the International Standard Industrial Classification of All Economic Activities (ISIC), Revision 4.

The target group consists of children aged 5–17 years, in line with the Statistical Information and Monitoring Programme on Child Labour (SIMPOC) approach, which excludes children under the age of 5 due to concerns about accuracy of responses and the ability to test the assumed insufficient understanding of their actions (ILO, 2004).

“The design of the rapid assessment methodology was guided by the Manual on Child Labour Rapid Assessment Methodology by the ILO and United Nations Children's Fund (UNICEF).”

It includes several components:

- A desk review of existing international and national legislation and the institutional framework;
- A desk review of existing research on child labour in Serbia with a focus on child labour in agriculture;
- A small-sample quantitative household survey implemented on 294 households;
- A qualitative survey [conducted through semi-structured interviews and focus group discussions (FGDs)] with representative target groups [children], other relevant groups [parents, teachers, medical doctors in rural areas] and various stakeholders [policymakers, social protection professionals, experts, etc.];
- Three case studies with more detailed analysis of specific factors and forms of child labour in agriculture.

Assessment results and recommendations of measures for the monitoring, prevention and elimination of child labour in agriculture were presented to national stakeholders during a workshop.¹

The final report was presented at the second national workshop with key stakeholders. Based on the assessment results, relevant measures were recommended and validated.²

This rapid assessment report includes several chapters organized according to the components of the methodology as previously described. In the first chapter, definitions and the assessment methodology are presented. In the second chapter, the relevant normative and policy framework which are in line with international and national standards are presented. The third and fourth chapters present the findings of the assessment on child labour in agriculture. The data presented in the third chapter are based on sources other than the research conducted specifically for the purpose of this assessment: the desk analysis of relevant previous research and data derived

¹ 33 stakeholders were present at the workshop. The plenary session consisted of the presentation and validation of the Roadmap for the elimination of child labour [prepared by the Center for Social Policy] and the main findings/recommendations of the Rapid Assessment on Child Labour in Agriculture in Serbia. During this plenary session, agreement was achieved on the proposed inputs from the Rapid Assessment on Child Labour in Agriculture in Serbia to be incorporated in the Roadmap proposed measures relevant also for child labour issues in agriculture.

² 20 participants were present at the launch of the report [representatives of government and civil society organizations].

from other statistical surveys (such as the Labour Force Survey, Agricultural Census and MICS) provided an evidence base for child labour in agriculture and enabled better tailoring of the research design to carry out this specific rapid assessment. Chapter four features a more detailed analysis of the prevalence and characteristics, factors and consequences of child labour in agriculture based on the original questionnaire survey and findings from the

qualitative research undertaken with children, parents, and other local and national-level stakeholders. The fifth chapter consists of three case studies which were selected to present typical forms of child labour (child labour in subsistence family farming, in market-oriented family farming and in an agricultural company). The last two chapters contain conclusions and recommendations.

1. Definitions and methodology

1.1 Definitions

The report utilizes the following concepts in analysing children's involvement in agriculture:

- **Children in economic activity are those working in any form of market** production and certain types of non-market production (principally, the production of goods such as agricultural produce for own use). This group includes children in forms of work in both the formal and informal economy; inside and outside family settings; for pay or profit (in cash or in kind, part-time or full-time); and domestic work outside the child's own household for an employer (paid or unpaid).
- **Economic activity in the agriculture sector** includes, in accordance with ISIC, Revision 4, crop and animal production, hunting and related service activities,³ forestry and logging,⁴ and fishing and aquaculture.
- **Children in child labour** is a narrower category than children engaged in an economic activity and is defined in accordance with three principal international conventions – the UN Convention on the Rights of the Child and ILO Convention Nos 138 and 182 – and national legislation (see discussion on normative framework in next section). Child labour includes children in an economic activity who are below the minimum working age and children above the minimum working age whose work is classified as a worst form of child labour, or, in particular, as “hazardous work”. In Serbia, the Labour Law sets the minimum working age at 15 years. According to international conventions, national laws or regulations may permit the employment or work of persons from 12 or 13 years of age in “light work”. Therefore, for the purposes of this report, child

labour excludes those aged 12–14 years in light work, defined here as non-hazardous work for less than 14 hours a week.⁵

- **Children in hazardous work** are those involved in any activity or occupation that, which, by its nature or the circumstances in which it is carried out, is likely to harm the health, safety or morals of children. In Serbia, the Regulation of the Government of Serbia on Hazardous Work for Children defines hazardous work in line with ILO Recommendation No. 190 in terms of physical hazards, hazardous conditions and hazardous industries.⁶ In accordance with the Recommendation, this includes work which exposes children to physical, psychological, or sexual abuse; work underground, under water, at dangerous heights, and in confined spaces; work with dangerous machinery, equipment, and tools, or which involves the manual handling or transport of heavy loads; work in an unhealthy environment which may, for example, expose children to hazardous substances, agents, or processes, or to temperatures, noise levels, or vibrations damaging to their health; and work under particularly difficult conditions including long hours, night work, or work where the child is unreasonably confined to the premises of the employer.
- **Children performing household chores** refer to those performing domestic and personal services for consumption within their own households. Household chores include the cleaning, decoration and maintenance of the dwelling occupied by the household, including small repairs of a kind usually carried out by tenants as well as owners; the cleaning, servicing and repair of household durables, including vehicles used for household

3 Including growing of non-perennial crops; growing of perennial crops; plant propagation; animal production; mixed farming; support activities to agriculture and post-harvest crop activities; and hunting, trapping and related service activities.

4 Including silviculture and other forestry activities; logging; gathering of non-wood forest products; and support services to forestry.

5 According to ILO Convention No. 138, light work is work that is (a) not likely to be harmful to their health or development; and (b) not such as to prejudice their attendance at school, their participation in vocational orientation or training programmes approved by the competent authority or their capacity to benefit from the instruction received. However, there are not yet any agreed statistical standards for its measurement.

6 This regulation is applied as of 01.01.2018.

purposes; the preparation and serving of meals; the care, training and instruction of children; the care of sick, infirm or old people; the transportation of members of the household or their goods.

Applying these broad concepts yields the following frameworks for the measurement of child labour and for child labour in agriculture.

Table 1: Child labour forms

Age groups	Forms of child labour		
	Non-hazardous work	Worst forms of child labour	
	Economic activities	Hazardous work	Other worst forms
5-11 years	any	In specified hazardous industries + >35 hrs./week in other industries and occupations	Trafficked children, children in forced and bonded labour, armed conflict, prostitution and pornography, illicit activities
12-14 years	≥14 hrs./week		
15-17 years	>35 hrs./week		

Source: Adjusted from ILO 2004: p. 27.

Table 2: Child labour in agriculture

Age groups	Types of work in agriculture		
	Non-hazardous work		Hazardous work
	Hours threshold	Activities	
5-11 years	any	Crop and animal production excluding hunting and related service activities, forestry and logging, fishing and aquaculture	Physical hazards (climate, heavy loads, ultraviolet radiation, noise and vibrations), circumstances (work outside of place of residence for children under 15, work with dangerous machinery and sharp objects, unhealthy positions, overtime), activities – collection and disposal of waste, hunting, logging, services in forestry, fishing, remunerated services in crop production and animal production, breeding of cattle, sheep and goats for children under 15.
12-14 years	≥14 hrs./week		
15-17 years	>35 hrs./week		

1.2 Data collection methodology

The research conducted for the purpose of the assessment included a survey questionnaire, qualitative research conducted through FGDs and semi-structured interviews with children, parents and various stakeholders at the local and national level, as well as three case studies presenting typical examples of child labour within three types of agricultural production: family subsistence and family market-oriented farming as well as a company engaged in agricultural production.

Data collection based on the household survey of child labour in agriculture in Serbia was conducted during September 2017. A stratified multistage sample design was applied, with three NUTS 2 regions forming the strata:⁷

Southern and Eastern Serbia, Vojvodina, and Sumadija and Western Serbia. In each stratum approximately 100 households were selected for interviewing. In the first stage six municipalities were randomly selected in Southern and Eastern Serbia and Vojvodina each and five municipalities were selected in the Sumadija and Western Serbia region. In the second stage four to five villages were randomly selected within each of the selected municipalities. In the last step a certain number of households were systematically selected for interviewing in each of the villages, applying the random route principle. In each of the selected households one questionnaire was completed by an informed adult, usually the parent, and one for each child aged 5–17 years.

Table 3: Household survey sample

Regions/Strata	Municipalities	Households per municipality	Number of children 5-17 years old
Vojvodina	Temerin	16	20
	Vrsac	16	17
	Kikinda	22	44
	Novi Becej	19	41
	Zabalj	5	5
	Sremska Mitrovica	22	39
Subtotal		100	166
Sumadija and Western Serbia	Gornji Milanovac	19	38
	Priboj	19	28
	Valjevo	22	33
	Rekovac	20	40
	Cicevac	22	35
Subtotal		102	174
Southern and Eastern Serbia	Nis	22	36
	Zajecar	22	32
	Leskovac	12	21
	Trgoviste	20	47
	Dimitrovgrad	8	12
	Pirot	10	10
Subtotal		94	158
TOTAL		296	498

⁷ The NUTS classification (Nomenclature of Territorial Units for Statistics) is a hierarchical system for dividing up the economic territory of the EU. A NUT 2 depicts basic regions for the application of regional policies. The region of Belgrade was omitted due to its highly urban characteristic.

During the conduct of the survey the research team faced several challenges which can be grouped into two types: refusal of participation (mainly due to lack of time as the agricultural production season was at its peak)⁸ and reluctance to answer certain questions that were considered sensitive (household income, volume of agricultural production, violence against children, etc.). These problems were solved by applying an approved replacement procedure.⁹ The planned sample size consisted of 300 households with children 5–17 years old. Following the quality check, 296 households were entered into the data set. This also provided a sample of 498 children.

Nine focus group discussions (FGDs) were organized; three in each region¹⁰ (six with children aged 12–17 and three with parents of children aged 5–17). In total, 64 children (33 girls and 31 boys) and 27 parents (25 women and two men) participated in the focus groups. Although the participants of FGDs were selected with equal distribution by age and sex, the proportion of women and girls was much higher as compared to men and boys. The main reason for the lower response rate of men was disinterest in participating in the research. Another important reason for refusing to participate in the research was lack of time, due to the fact that the season of agricultural work, in which men are more involved, was at its peak.

Six individual interviews were conducted with community members. In each stratum one of the villages in the survey area was selected and in each of the villages one interview was conducted with a schoolteacher and one with a medical doctor.¹¹ Additionally, ten central-level actors were selected for interviews; seven of those interviews were completed. Respondents included a representative of the executive power, an academic, a manager of a rural centre for foster family accommodation, an official from the Republic Institute for Social Protection, an official from a local centre for social services, and two representatives of international organizations. Three interviews could not be completed due to non-response or refusals with intended interviewees alleging they had nothing to say about child labour in agriculture.

In order to obtain more detailed insight into the characteristics, causes and consequences of child labour in agriculture, three case studies were researched in order to highlight the diverse types of agricultural production (i.e., whether it is subsistence farming or market-oriented farming) and workplace settings (family holdings or private companies) where children are engaged in agriculture.

Households were selected through non-probabilistic typical case sampling, based on a set of criteria as listed in the table below.

Case Study 1	Case Study 2	Case Study 3
Non-market-oriented farming household	Market-oriented farming household	Agricultural company
Subsistence farming	At least part of products is sold on the market	Presence of child labour
Presence of child labour	Presence of child labour	Commercial agriculture
Presence of boy and girl in the household	Presence of boy and girl in the household	
Geographic area	Geographic area	

8 The response rate was lower (85%) than expected. The usual response rate in such surveys in urban settlements is 60–70%, except in Belgrade where it is 40–50%. In rural settlements the usual response rate is 90% and above.

9 The replacement was done by continuing random route selection until the proposed number of households was selected

10 FGDs were organized in the villages of Staro Djurdjevo and Backi Jarak (municipality of Temerin, Vojvodina region), Pojate and Lucina (municipality of Cicevac, Sumadija and Western Serbia region) and Radovnica and Donji Stajevac (municipality of Trgoviste, Southern and Eastern Serbia region).

11 Staro Djurdjevo, Lučina and Donji Stajevac.

The case studies presenting child labour in household farms (Case Study 1 and Case Study 2) were found through informational leads from survey participants. They were chosen from the same geographical area in order to control regionally specific factors.

Case Study 3 presenting child labour in an agricultural company was selected based on the quantitative survey: during the survey four companies employing children were identified, and the largest one using registered child labour was selected for this case study.

2. Child Labour In Serbia: Normative Framework

2.1 International conventions

Three main international conventions – the UN Convention on the Rights of the Child, and ILO Convention Nos 138 and 182 – together set the legal boundaries for child labour and provide the legal grounds for actions against it.

The UN Convention on the Rights of the Child, 1989 stipulates that signatory states must “*recognize the right of the child to be protected from economic exploitation and from performing any work that is likely to be hazardous or to interfere with the child's education, or to be harmful to the child's health or physical, mental, spiritual, moral or social development*” [Article 32]. It also provides that state parties shall take legislative, administrative, social and educational measures, such as provision of a defined minimum age for admission to employment, appropriate regulation of the hours and conditions of employment and appropriate penalties or other sanctions, to ensure the effective enforcement of this regulation. More generally, Article 36 requests from state parties to protect the child against “*all other forms of exploitation prejudicial to any aspects of the child's welfare*”.

The Minimum Age Convention, 1973 (No. 138), is a landmark convention that applies to all economic sectors and to all working children, whether they are employed for wages or working on their own account or the account of their family. This Convention obliges ratifying states to define a minimum age and to prohibit work below the defined minimum age. The minimum age is set at 15 years, with a more flexible definition for developing countries, which could set the minimum age for work or employment at 14 years. Children from 12 or 13 years of age are exempted from the provisions if engaged in “light work”, which

is defined as [1] not harmful to a child's health and development, and [2] not interfering with attendance at school and participation in vocational training, nor “the capacity to benefit from the instruction received” [Article 7]. Children in the age group of 15–17 are allowed to work in principle, but not in work that is classified as “hazardous work” [due to the nature of the work or conditions, or long hours of work].

The Worst Forms of Child Labour Convention, 1999 (No. 182), requires ratifying states to take immediate and effective measures to prohibit and eliminate the worst forms of child labour as a matter of urgency. This Convention contains no “flexibility clauses” and makes no distinction between developed and developing countries. It applies to all girls and boys under the age of 18. The worst forms of child labour are defined in Article 3:

- all forms of slavery or practices similar to slavery, such as the sale and trafficking of children, debt bondage and serfdom, as well as forced or compulsory labour, including forced or compulsory recruitment of children for use in armed conflict;
- the use, procuring or offering of a child for prostitution, for the production of pornography, or for pornographic performances;
- the use, procurement, or offering of a child for illicit activities, in particular for the production and trafficking of drugs as defined in relevant international treaties; and
- work which, by its nature or the circumstances in which it is carried out, is likely to harm the health, safety, or morals of children, such harmful work to be determined by national authorities.

2.2 National framework

Child work and child labour are defined under the Labour Law,¹² the Law on Employment and Unemployment Insurance¹³ and the Regulation of the Government of Serbia on Hazardous Work of Children,¹⁴ while some rights and obligations related to the earnings and property acquired through work are stipulated in the Family Law.¹⁵

According to the **Family Law**, a child is considered an adult at the age of 18 and is able to fully carry out a work engagement when attaining adult age or entering into marriage before the age of 18 with judicial approval [Article 11]. The law stipulates that children who are 15 years of age can manage the income and property acquired through their work [Article 64]. According to the same law, a child is obliged to assist parents in accordance with his/her age and maturity. If the child is older than 15 years and he/she is earning a salary or receives income coming from property, he/she is obliged to partially finance his/her own living and support parents and minor siblings [Article 66].

Child work and employment laws are regulated by the **Labour Law**. According to this law the minimum age for employment is defined as 15 years [Article 24]. However, the law stipulates that an employment contract could be signed with a child below the age of 18 with the written consent of parents or legal guardians, as long as such work does not endanger the child's health [Article 25]. However, for a labour contract with a person younger than 18 to be legal and valid, confirmation is required from a healthcare institution, stating that the child is able to perform such work and that such work is not harmful to his/her health [Article 25]. The Labour Law contains a regulation for the protection of youth that stipulates that employees younger than 18 years of age cannot perform the following types of work:

1. that which requires particularly heavy physical work, work underground, under water, or at high altitude;
2. that which exposes the employee to harmful radiation or toxic, carcinogenic materials that cause hereditary disorders, as well as to health risks due to cold, heat, noise or vibration;

3. that which could be harmful to health or life with regard to psychophysical abilities, based on the opinion of a healthcare institution [Article 84].

According to this law, hours of work for a person younger than 18 cannot exceed 35 hours per week, nor eight hours per day [Article 87]. Overtime is prohibited by the law, and night work is allowed only if the job is performed in the area of culture, sport, art, or advertising, or if it is necessary to continue work that was interrupted due to force majeure and for a limited time only. In the latter case, the employer is obliged to provide supervision by an adult employee [Article 88]. The law also provides that the labour contract between an employer and an individual younger than 18 years of age can be terminated upon the request of the parents or legal guardians [Article 175]. Penalties are issued to employers who violate these legal provisions [Article 274].

The **Law on Employment and Unemployment Insurance** defines unemployed persons as all persons older than 15 years of age until the age of retirement, or 65 years of age at the latest, who are capable of work, ready to work, not employed and actively seeking employment [Article 2]. A person seeking employment must have attained 15 years of age [Article 3].

It has been noted, based on UNICEF research, that poverty affects the rights of children related to education, survival and development, participation and decision-making, and play. This increases child labour and discrimination [Plan of Action for Children, 2002: p. 11–12]. In Serbia's national **Plan of Action for Children**¹⁶ child labour is recognized within the area of child poverty. In a similar manner, the National Strategy for Preventing and Protecting Children Against Violence¹⁷ recognizes child labour as a form of abuse and states that child labour is more prevalent in poor families, but there are no specific measures for preventing and protecting children against child labour.

As discussed in the previous chapter, hazardous work for children is defined by the **Regulation of the Government of Serbia**, which is annexed to this report.

12 Official Gazette of the Republic of Serbia [RS] No. 24/2005, 61/2005, 54/2009, 32/2013, 75/2014, 13/2017 – Decision of the Constitutional Court.

13 Official Gazette of RS, No. 36/2009, 88/2010 and 38/2015.

14 Official Gazette of RS, No. 53/2017.

15 Official Gazette of RS, No. 18/2005, 72/2011 – and other law, and 6/2015.

16 Council for Child Rights of the Government of the Republic of Serbia, Plan of Action for Children, Belgrade, 2004, available at: www.unicef.org/serbia/sites/unicef.org.serbia/files/2018-08/SPA.pdf.

17 Official Gazette of RS, No. 122/2008.

Child labour is not addressed by **agricultural policies**. The National Agriculture and Rural Development Strategy [NARDS] of Serbia for the period 2014–2024¹⁸ represents an umbrella document that articulates development objectives and priorities of the agricultural sector. The NARDS emphasizes the problem of the difficulty that seasonal workers, temporary employees, and unpaid family labour face in accessing social security protection. Within Priority Area 12, *Improving the social structure and strengthening social capital in rural areas*, an operational objective is defined to improve the social status of the agricultural workforce. The Ministry of Agriculture does not have jurisdiction in this domain, but in this way, it shows commitment in advocating for a better situation for agricultural workers.

In addition to the laws and policies that have been described thus far which directly address areas of relevance for child labour in agriculture, it is important to mention two other relevant sectors: education and social protection. In Serbia, primary education is mandatory; it is seen as an activity of direct social interest and provided as a public service. The **Law on Primary Education** states that “every person has the right to a free and good quality primary education in a public school” [Article 4].¹⁹ In addition to this law, there are a number of laws that regulate the educational system, such as the **Law on Secondary Education**, the **Law on Higher Education** and the **Law on the Foundations of the Education System**.²⁰ Each of these laws prohibits all forms of discrimination. The Law on the Foundations of the Education System goes into further detail by describing the forms of discrimination and segregation that are prohibited [e.g., discrimination based on gender; social, cultural, ethnic, religious or other background; place of residence or domicile; financial or health status; developmental impairments and disabilities]. Children living in rural areas should have the same access to education and the same quality of education as children from urban areas. Other than this anti-discriminatory guidance, the above-mentioned laws do not contain specific provisions or positive discrimination measures for children living in rural areas; neither do laws regulating the education system contain specific provisions related to the education of

working children.

The new **Law on Dual Education**²¹ aims to bolster youth employment by providing a link between schools and companies and enabling high school students to work and study at the same time. As in the Labour Law, working hours for persons under the age of 18 are set at a maximum of eight hours per day from 8 a.m. to 8 p.m. In addition, this law states that children who learn through work can only work during the school year and that the work must be in accordance with the curriculum [Article 6]. The employer has to comply with the regulations and ensure the implementation of safety and health measures at work [Article 10]. A parent or legal guardian is required to sign a formal contract with the employer on behalf of a minor student or a full-time student [Article 20]. Even though this law refers exclusively to children who attend schools offering dual education and does not take into account children in other types of schools who also work, it still plays a role in regulating children’s work. However, the law proposal was received with growing concern by the public about possible labour exploitation of children as well as a decline in the quality of education for children participating in this form of dual education.

While the system of social protection of children and related services are regulated by the **Law on Social Protection**,²² the above-mentioned **Family Law** specifies who can become a guardian of minors. Centres for social work are, according to these laws, basic local units responsible for delivering social protection services to children, including legal custody for children who are abused and/or neglected [Article 12]. The referral system and provision of social protection for children exposed to abuse and neglect is defined by the **General Protocol on the Protection of Children from Abuse and Neglect** [henceforth the General Protocol].²³ The protection of children under this Protocol can also include different forms of labour exploitation and abuse, including the worst forms of child labour linked to child trafficking and slavery. It defines the roles of different institutions involved in the protection of children [i.e., healthcare, education, law enforcement, the judiciary, non-governmental organizations] as

18 Official Gazette of RS, No. 84/14.

19 Official Gazette of RS, No. 55/2013.

20 Official Gazette of RS, No. 72/2009, 52/2011, 55/2013, 35/2015 – authentic interpretation, 68/2015 and 62/2016 Decision of the Constitutional Court).

21 Draft of Law on Dual Education, available at: www.mpn.gov.rs/wp-content/uploads/2016/06/FINAL-NACRTA-ZAKONA-O-DUALNOM-OBRAZOVANJU-12.05.2017..pdf.

22 Official Gazette of RS, No.24/2011.

23 Official Gazette supplement: International Treaties, No. 15/90 and Official Gazette of the FRY – supplement: International Treaties, No. 4/96 and 2/97.

well as the process and referral mechanisms. The centre for social work plays a coordinating role in the multi-sector system for protection, with all other institutions required to report and refer identified cases to it. In the General Protocol, child labour is seen as an activity that, similar to child prostitution, kidnapping, etc., deters a child's development in terms of physical or mental health, education, and moral or social-emotional well-being. Beyond this, there is no other mention of child labour and the procedure of identification, referral and protection is the same as in other cases of child abuse and neglect.

In Serbia child labour in general, and thus child labour in agriculture, is only indirectly subject to the legislative, strategic, and institutional framework. There is no separate strategy for the elimination of child labour, and existing strategies only indirectly deal with child labour and do not explicitly mention goals related

to this agricultural phenomenon. The only exception in this regard is the recently adopted ***Strategy for Prevention and Suppression of Trafficking in Human Beings, especially Women and Children, and Protection of Victims for the 2017–2020 period***, which, among other things, emphasizes that child victims of human trafficking should be protected through the development of specialized programmes focused on the best interest of the child. Regarding the institutional framework, ILO Convention No. 182 on the worst forms of child labour obliges signatory states to establish or designate appropriate national mechanisms to monitor the implementation of national provisions to prohibit and eliminate the worst forms of child labour. However, Serbia has no separate national authority explicitly tasked to monitor the phenomenon of child labour, especially the worst forms of child labour, which would also include child labour in agriculture.

3. Prevalence and characteristics of child labour in agriculture in Serbia: Available knowledge

Child labour in agriculture is not a subject that is systematically researched in Serbia. Data on the prevalence and characteristics of child labour are scarce and far from comprehensive, thus not fully in line with the thematic focus of this rapid assessment [child labour in agriculture]. In sum, available data sources include:

- **Labour Force Survey (LFS)** – Data are available quarterly for children aged 15–17, and it is possible to identify total numbers of children engaged in child work and child labour as well as in child work and child labour in agriculture, but only for this age category. Within these limitations, one can gain insight into various relevant features which are available, such as gender patterns, differences between urban and other areas, sectors, occupations, work hours, earnings, place of work, etc.
- **Multiple Indicator Cluster Survey (MICS)** – Conducted several times and most recently in 2014, it provides data on child work and child labour. Data on work in agriculture are available, but not in terms of child labour. Disaggregation is available according to gender, age groups of children, household wealth, area of living, education of parents, etc.

- **Agricultural Census** – Last conducted in 2012, it provides more details on owners of farms and managers, but not on farm members and seasonal workers. Due to the lack of disaggregation by age among farm family members, it is not possible to gain a sense of child labour in agriculture.

- **Farm Accountancy Data Network database (FADN)** – This uses the same data base as the Census and also looks at farm owners and managers. Still, examination of the original data could provide at least an indicative picture of the engagement of children in agricultural activities on their parents' family farms. The use of these data is, however, strictly controlled and regulated by law.

- **Specific research** – Research on child labour is very rare; a literature review conducted for the purpose of the rapid assessment found research that had been carried out on child labour amongst Roma children and children in foster care [Child Rights Centre, 2006].

3.1 Labour Force Survey data

According to the Labour Force Survey 2016, 2.8 per cent of children aged 15–17 years [5,684 out of 198,392] were engaged in an economic activity. Among them, 18.9 per cent [1,075] were working more than 43 hours per week. According to national legislation, 24.9 per cent of children [1,418] worked more than the legally permissible number of hours (>35). This

percentage increases to 26.5 per cent [1,505] if night hours (prohibited by the Labour Law) are included.

Almost two-thirds of all child labour in Serbia is found in the agriculture, forestry and fishery sector [56.5 per cent], and 59.4 per cent of total child labour occurs on family farms [Table 4].

Table 4: Industry of child labour

Sector	Valid Percentage
Agriculture, forestry and fishery	63.9
Manufacturing industry	12.7
Wholesale and retail trade, repair of motor vehicles	6.8
Arts, entertainment and recreation	5
Households producing goods and services for their own needs	11.6
Total	100

Source: SORS, LFS 2016.

Concerning the hazardous work of children aged 15–17, the LFS does not provide all categories listed under hazardous child labour [e.g., conditions and circumstances, except overtime]. However, data are available for fishing, cutting of wood, services related to forestry and collection of waste (321 children or 5.5 per cent of all employed children aged 15–17) and the above-mentioned overtime work (1,111 children or 20 per cent of all employed children aged 15–17).

Due to the fact that child labour is mainly found in agriculture and on family farms, the difference between urban and rural child labour prevalence rates is large with child labour beings almost five times more prevalent in rural than in urban areas (1 per cent vs. 0.2 per cent).

Child labour is more prevalent among boys than girls (0.9 per cent vs. 0.1 per cent), but one should bear in mind that household chores are excluded from these statistics. Due to the gendered division of labour backed by still-prevalent patriarchal norms that influence gender relations [UNICEF, 2015a; Babovic, 2010; Blagojevic, 2010; Petrovic, 2011; Pesic, 2016], boys are more often engaged in economic activities while girls are more often engaged in household work.

Long working hours are correlated to the neglect of education. The data in Table 5 indicate that the highest share of school attendance is found among children aged 15–17 who are not engaged in any work. Also, a difference is present in school attendance between children who are engaged in “light work” and those who work long hours.

Table 5: Employment and work hours of children who are out of education

Working status of children	Percentage of those who are out of education
Not working	3.9
Working 35 or less hours per week	3 ¹
Working 36 hours per week or more	57.1

Source: SORS, LFS 2016.

3.2 A picture of child labour based on MICS data

The Multiple Indicator Cluster Survey implemented by UNICEF in Serbia was conducted on two samples: a national sample and a sample of the population living in Roma settlements. The latter represents one of the most vulnerable populations, and MICS has been the only survey to provide precise data on various aspects of the living conditions of children and women in Roma settlements.

The MICS indicator for child labour represents the number of children aged 5–17 years who are involved in child labour, with child labour defined by economic activities at or above the age-specific thresholds, household chores at or above age-specific thresholds and hazardous work (UNICEF, 2014: 311, 313).

According to MICS 2014 data, 9.9 per cent of children in the general population and 4.7 per

cent in the Roma settlements were engaged in child labour (UNICEF, 2014: 204, 208). MICS does not provide data specifically for child labour in agriculture, therefore prevalence rates cannot be disaggregated by sector.²⁴

The prevalence of child labour is higher among boys than girls, even when household chores are included. This is consistent with the gendered dimensions of children's work, where work in agriculture is traditionally considered more as "male work". Another consequence is that rural areas record a higher prevalence of child labour than urban, while among the regions, Sumadija and Western Serbia have the highest prevalence of child labour. Prevalence rates are also higher among poor households. Table 6 outlines the MICS data for the prevalence of child labour.

²⁴ According to UNICEF's definition, 'children's engagement in economic activities that would classify their work as child labour is 1 hour or more weekly for children 5–11 years old, 14 hours or more weekly for children 12–14 years old, and 43 hours or more weekly for children in age-group 15–17 years. As regards engagement in household chores, the number of weekly hours that would classify their work as child labour is 28 hours or more for children in the age-groups 5–11 and 12–14 years old, and 43 hours or more for children 15–17 years old.' (UNICEF, 2014: 201–202).

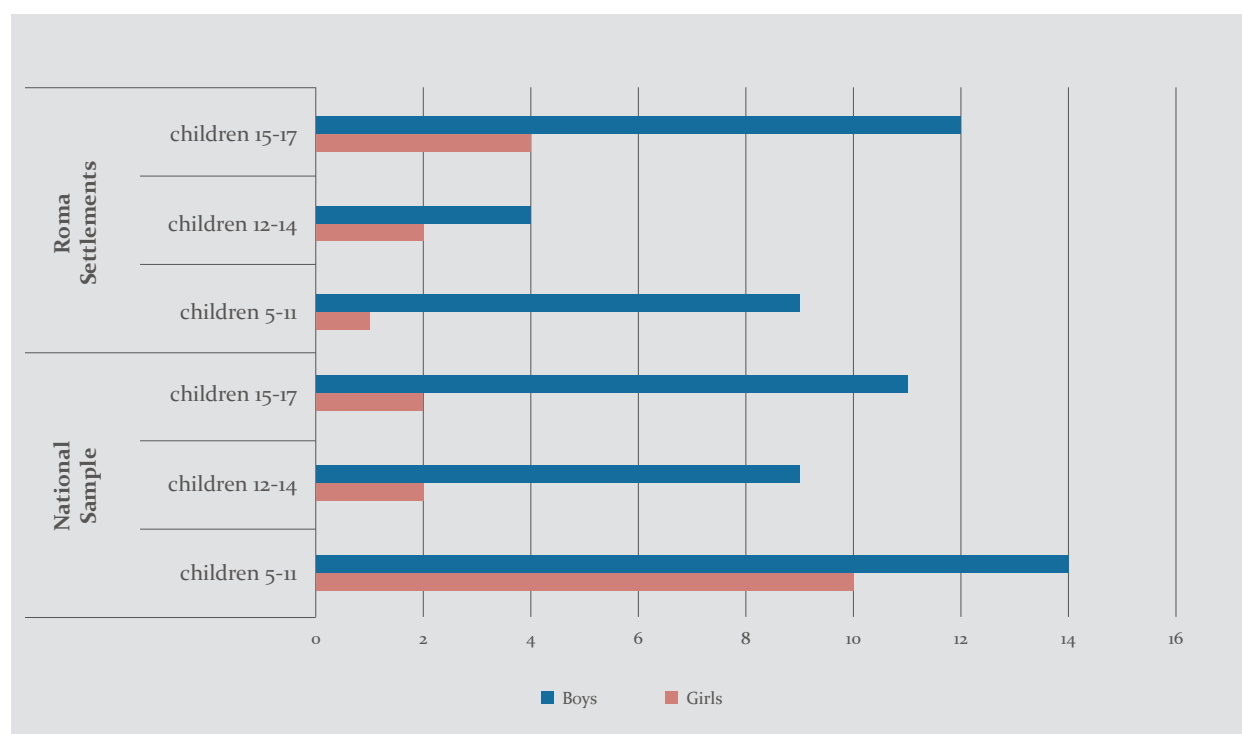
Table 6: Prevalence of child labour

	General population (%)	Roma settlements (%)
Sex		
Boys	12.2	8.3
Girls	6.6	1.7
Area of living		
Urban	4.8	3.5
Rural	16.2	8.7
Region		
Belgrade	6.2	-
Vojvodina	8.5	-
Sumadija and Western Serbia	11.7	-
Eastern and Southern Serbia	10.6	-
Wealth of household		
Poorest quintile	14.6	9.3
Richest quintile	4.4	3.0
Total	9.5	4.7

Source: UNICEF, 2014.

The prevalence of child labour is highest among children aged 5–11 years, particularly among boys [UNICEF, 2015a]; see Figure 1.

Figure 1: Total child labour, by sex and age group, Serbia and Roma settlements, 2014

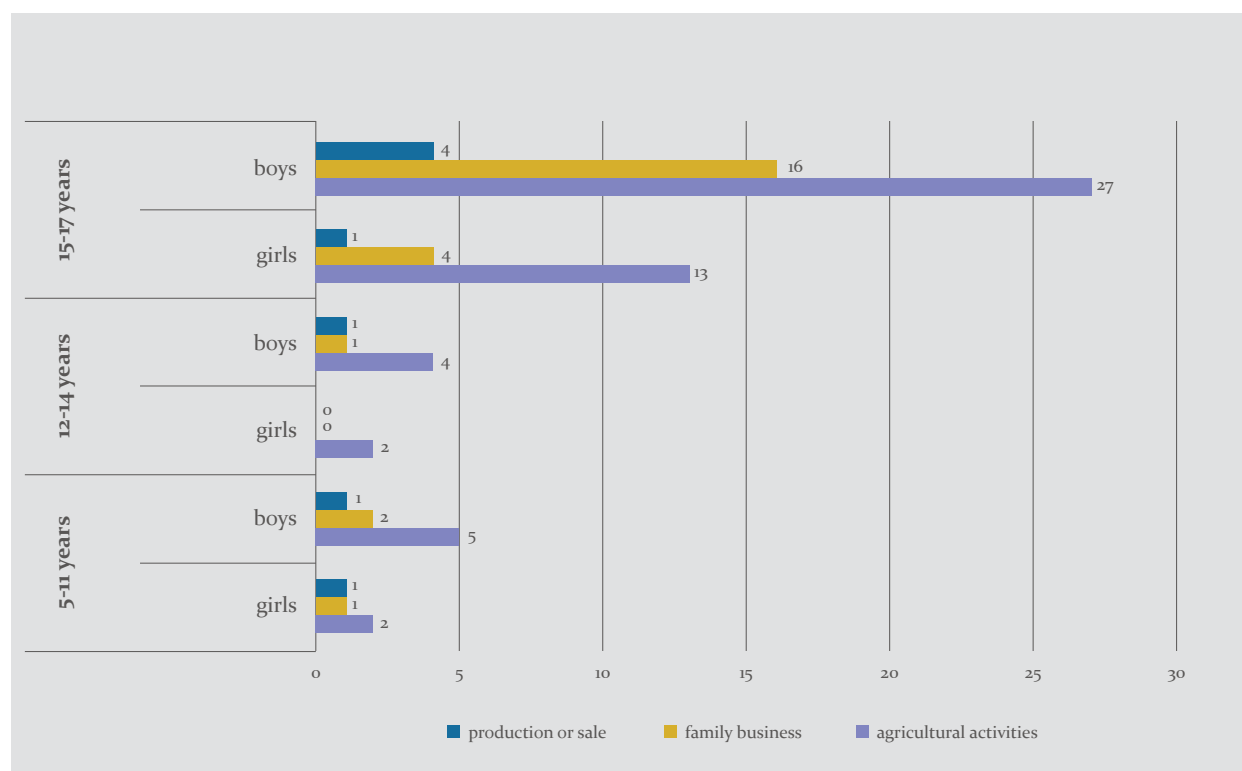


Source: UNICEF, 2015

Boys are more engaged in economic activities [predominantly agriculture], while girls are

more engaged in household chores [Figure 2].

Figure 2: Structure of child involvement in economic activities, by sex and age group

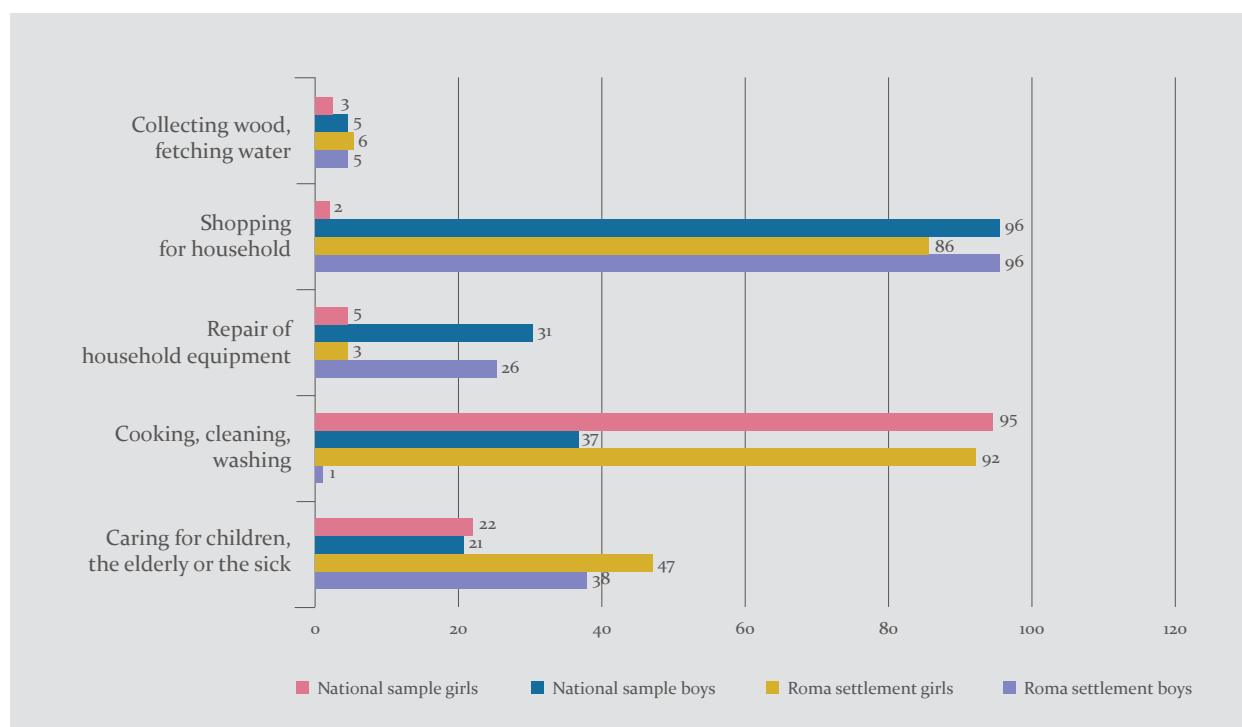


Source: UNICEF, 2015.

In the area of household chores, gendered labour division is visible in activities such as repair of the household's equipment, which is

more frequently the task of boys, and cooking, cleaning and washing, which is more the responsibility of girls [Figure 3].

Figure 3: Structure of child involvement in household chores, by sex, children 15-17, Serbia and Roma settlements, 2014



Source: UNICEF, 2015.

3.3 Agricultural Census data

The size and type of farms and farm operations determine the demand for both labour from family members and hired workers. The agricultural sector of Serbia is extremely diverse and characterized by a dual structure, which ranges from highly mechanized, intensive commercial and industrialized production in the north, to extensive traditional small-scale farming in the rest of the country. The average farm size is 5.4 ha, with large variations at the regional level: from 3.6 in Southern and Eastern Serbia to 10.9 in Vojvodina. However, the vast majority of farms are of a small size, with primarily subsistence or semi-subsistence farming [farms of up to two ha have a share of 48.8 per cent in the total number of farms]. According to the Agricultural Census data, Serbia's agricultural workforce – comprising farmers, farm family members and waged/hired workers – includes 1,442,628 persons, with an average of 2.28 persons per farm. Their labour input, including those who worked seasonally or occasionally, was 646,283 annual work units (AWUs– the work done by a person employed full-time for one year), or 0.19 AWU per hectare of utilized agricultural area (UAA). Family members and relatives who perform work at the farms contribute 303,782 AWUs, i.e., 47 per cent. Even for those who represent regular labour on family farms, agricultural work often

represents a secondary activity or help to other family members. Only 528,790 people have worked in agricultural enterprises or on family farms spending 50 per cent or more AWU in 2012, which indicates the persistence of widespread hidden unemployment. There is no official information available concerning children engaged in child labour in agriculture. It is well known that children engaged in child labour in agriculture in Serbia work mostly on family-run farms and are involved in certain seasonal activities, such as picking fruit and vegetables, packing, storing, shipping and selling on the roadside. However, it is very likely they are also involved in these activities on large-scale farms. In recent years, opportunities for export growth and state incentives to establish new farms have contributed to the expansion of orchards, vineyards and greenhouse vegetable production. Although new large farms are equipped with machinery, the shortage of available seasonal agricultural workers is extremely high. In striving to overcome this gap, employers hire agencies that provide labour from other regions (often these are families with children in higher school grades). The use of child labour in jobs related to extensive livestock farming (herding, collecting water and fodder, milking, etc.) is negligible.

3.4 Specific research on child labour

In 2006, the Child Rights Centre conducted a survey on forms of child labour in ten municipalities of Serbia, including Belgrade. However, this survey was focused more on measuring perception, rather than on the actual prevalence of child labour.²⁵ The survey showed that respondents [adult and child] perceive child labour as being widespread in Serbia. About 40 per cent of adults and 42 per cent of children from the general population and 41.7 per cent of adult Roma said that they had personally witnessed a case of gross child labour exploitation, some of which constitute the worst forms of child labour

[direct assistance in generating revenue, such as collection of papers and iron, work at the market; work in/around the household; organized begging, theft and prostitution], 46 per cent of respondents reported knowing a child who works so much that it interferes with his/her schooling (Vujovic, Dejanovic, et al., 2006).

Children in foster care reported having duties such as assisting with household chores and work in agriculture related to livestock, fields or yards; 27 per cent of them reported being punished if they did not do what they were told.

²⁵ This was a nationally representative quantitative study combined with structured interviewing (Vujovic, Dejanovic, et al., 2006: 25). The survey was conducted on a random sample of adults and a convenient sample of children, 628 in total. The general population was represented by 185 adults and 202 secondary school students from three cities in Serbia and by 115 adult Roma and 77 Roma children in two cities. Also, 49 children in foster care in four cities took part in the survey.

4. Rapid assessment on child labour in agriculture: Key findings from quantitative and qualitative research

In this chapter, we will present key results from the rapid assessment relating to the numbers and characteristics of child labour in agriculture.

In accordance with the ILO methodology, we enquired about the type and duration of work activities during the reference period, or the week preceding the present survey's implementation; therefore, it is important to note that the data were collected at the beginning of September, at a time of intensive agricultural work (though not as much as in June or July). This allowed us to record the children's work engagement and the impact on their school attendance.

Due to the seasonal nature of most agricultural work, we focused on examining

the engagement of children in seasonal agricultural work during each particular month over the year, both for the children working on their family holdings and the children hired during the season by the households that were surveyed.

One important caveat applies in interpreting the results. While some principles of randomization were applied in the survey, it should be understood that it was not a probabilistic household survey. The results, therefore, cannot be interpreted as being necessarily representative of the regions where the survey was conducted. They nonetheless offer key insights and identify areas that merit further, more in-depth investigation.

4.1 Child labour in agriculture: Numbers and characteristics

In order to properly comprehend the characteristics of child labour in agriculture, it is necessary to be fully familiar with the context in which it takes place – primarily family agricultural holdings. An analysis of demand for labour supply and employment of members of agricultural holdings provides important information on the manner of use of the available labour fund on the holding, as well as many other important aspects of the household's functioning as the basic socio-economic unit in the country.

According to the results of the Agricultural Census, as seen above, the total number of persons working in agriculture in Serbia (as household members or regularly employed in holdings) is 1,442,628, resulting in an average of 2.28 persons per holding who are regularly or occasionally engaged in agricultural activities, while in the structure of family holdings,

households regularly or occasionally engaging one to two persons in agriculture predominate (68.6 per cent) [Bogdanov and Babovic, 2013].

Family agricultural holdings in Serbia are generally characterized by low average physical and economical size, with a predominantly mixed type of agricultural production. However, in view of the marked heterogeneity of the terrain and natural resources, one of the equally important features of Serbia's agrarian structure is the highly pronounced polarization of agricultural holdings in terms of production structure, technical and technological equipment and the model of their inclusion in the market chain. Therefore, household demands for labour in agriculture are defined not only by the individual characteristics of individual households, but also by the regional characteristics of the agricultural structure.

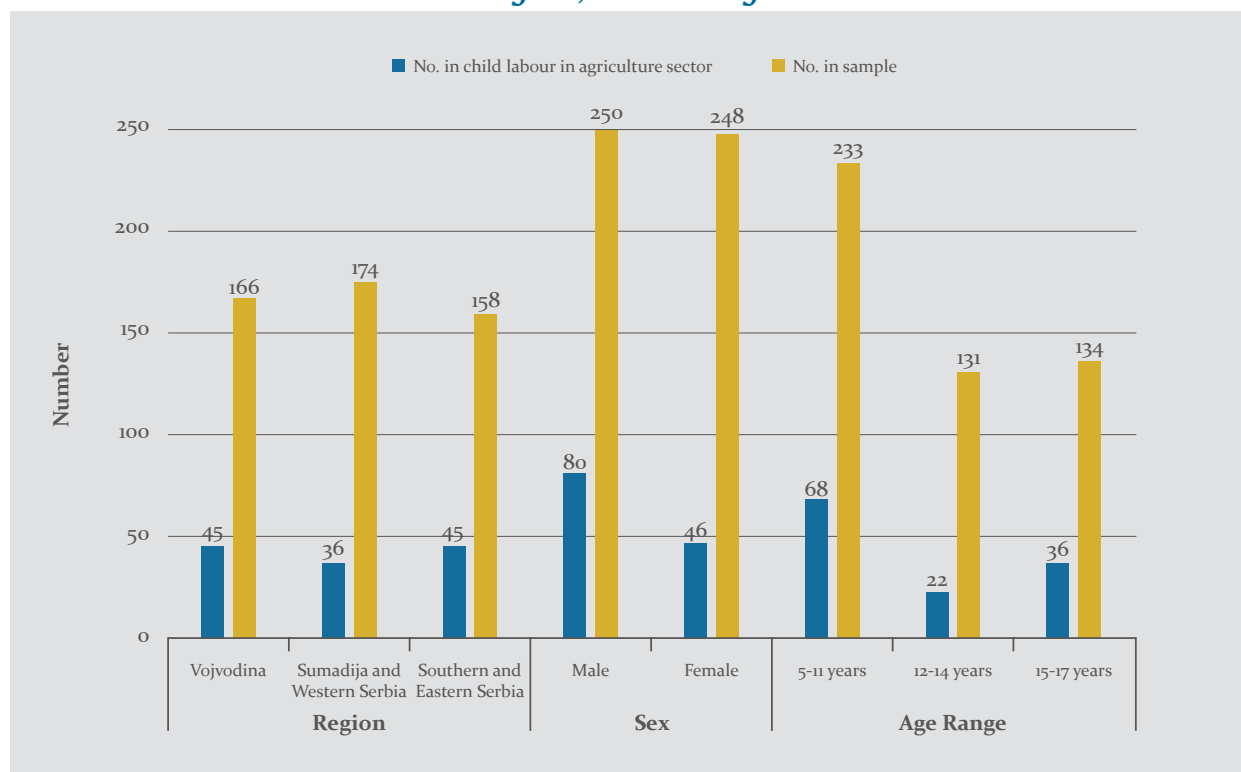
4.1.1 Number of children in agricultural child labour

A total of 261 of the total sample of 498 children were economically active, of whom 255 children worked in the agriculture sector. The high proportion of economically active children (52 per cent of children in the sample) and the predominance of agricultural work (98 per cent of economically active children in the sample) may have been due to the timing of data collection for this research. Data were collected over a period that coincides with

one of the two peak seasons for agricultural work in Serbia (May–June, August–September), when the demand for children's labour on the farm increases.

It was found that 126 children were involved in child labour in the agriculture sector. Figure 4 reports how these children, as well as the 498 children in the total sample, were distributed according to region, sex and age.

Figure 4: Number of sampled children in child labour in the agriculture sector, by region, sex and age



Almost all children involved in agricultural child labour worked within their own households; the practice of children working on other farms was limited among the sampled households [see text box]. In most cases, the work for

household needs was considered something desirable and highly valued, as it is the way in which children acquire work habits and contribute to the survival and reproduction of the household itself.

Regular and seasonal economic activity of children outside their household

The likelihood of children in Serbia being regularly employed on a privately owned agricultural holding is extremely low. Only four households covered by the sample (1.33 per cent) regularly outsourced labour force to their household, totalling nine persons. Among the persons employed long-term on family agricultural holdings, only two were older children (on one holding in Vojvodina) while no children under the age of 15 were reported, which is understandable given that the employment law prohibits the employment of persons under the age of 15. With such a low incidence of outsourced child employment at family agricultural holdings, it is impossible to carry out a detailed, in-depth analysis.

The situation is quite different when it comes to seasonal hiring during the months when more intensive agricultural work takes place, especially as regards the harvesting of fruit and vegetables. Although in the peak season (June to September) the intensity of agricultural child work did not increase, the economic activity did involve children under the age of 15. Outsourcing children on holdings in June was reported by a total of four households, which hired a total of 18 children – nine from the younger and nine from the older age group. One household employed four, and one employed five younger children, and

another two employed three older children each: six in total. Two households reported the engagement of children during the month of July, with one household reporting the engagement of five children from the younger or middle age group, and one case of engaging an older age child. In August, September and October there was no child engagement reported involving children under the age of 15, whereas children aged 15–17 were reported to have worked in one household during August (three of them), in three households during September (one, two and three children) and in one household during October (three children).

In addition to the fact that the extent of this outsourcing of child engagement is extremely small, it is extremely localized as well. Out of nine households that hired children outside their household, six reported hiring children from their immediate neighbourhood; four engaged children through relatives and friends, while none of the households used the services of employment agencies or job announcements.

Respondents were unwilling to talk about how much they pay the seasonal labour force. Only three respondents replied to the question, reporting that the daily wage amounts range from Serbia Dinar (RSD) 1,200 to 2,500 (EUR 10–20).

“At the age of 5 they mostly help around the garden, in the house to a small extent, this is the time when they need to get used to work habits when they get up, knowing when they need to help out, and at the age of 10 they can drive a tractor, collect firewood, go to the field, plant the garden. At the age of 15, they can already do any job.”

“The benefits are that we acquire a work habit, help our parents out, we gain more experience.”

“We practice for working when we grow up, to be hardworking, and things like that.”

Children, FGD participants, aged 12 to 17

4.1.2 Hazardous work

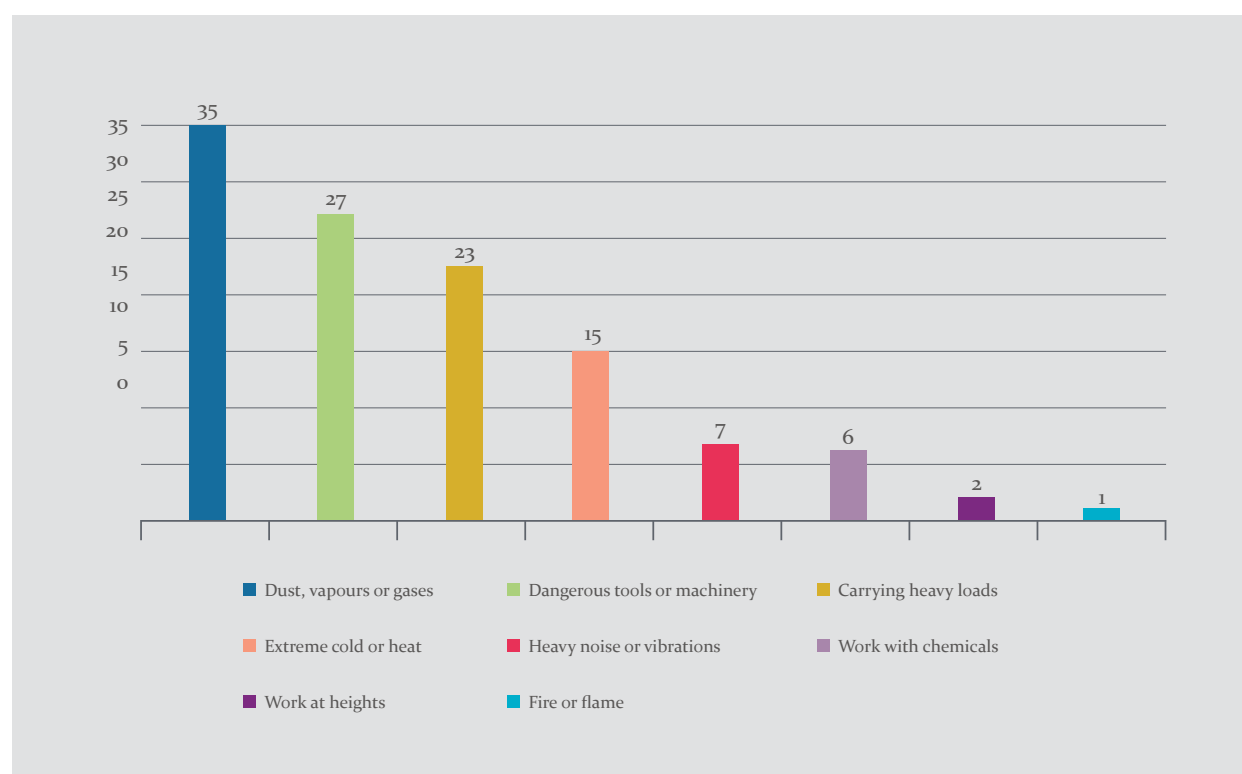
The most common examples of risks and hazards likely to harm the health of employees in agriculture in Serbia pertain to the use of worn-out machinery and equipment, work in poor condition-specific facilities [stables, basements, barns], exposure to adverse weather conditions and improper handling of chemical agents. Occupational risks in agriculture are, to a large extent, caused by the poor availability and reliability of technical and technological equipment on the holdings involved, which is reflected in the scarcity of resources in the respective households, including machinery and equipment.. Meanwhile, over 90 per cent of the equipment and tools seem to be over ten years old and dilapidated, failing thus to satisfy the latest standards governing safety at work. All of the above could potentially pose a great risk likely to harm the safety of the children engaged in agricultural work.

Hazardous work in agriculture is defined as agricultural work that is likely to jeopardize the health, safety or morals of young persons. This includes working in dangerous environments; working with dangerous machinery, equipment or tools; hauling heavy loads; or working under unhealthy exposures such as pesticides,

hot temperatures, loud noises or vibrations damaging to health. According to these parameters, 66 of the children sampled were estimated to be engaged in hazardous child labour. This represents about half of all sampled children involved in child labour in agriculture, and about one quarter of all sampled children working in agriculture – very high shares that merit further investigation in a larger representative survey.

As reported in Figure 5, the most common hazards faced by children were exposure to dust (mostly during harvesting of corn), vapours and gas (mostly from pesticides used in fruit growing), followed by work involving dangerous tools and heavy machinery or work involving transport of heavy loads. It is also important to mention exposure to extreme temperatures (during summer harvests). Other hazardous work (work at heights, exposure to heat and flame) appears in a negligible number of cases. While the largest number of children exposed to hazardous conditions were in the 15–17 years age range, hazardous work was by no means limited to this age group. Even children in the sample from the lowest, 5–11 age range, reported exposure to hazards in the workplace.

Figure 5: Number of children exposed to work hazards during agricultural work, by type of hazard



Note: Some children reported exposure to more than one hazardous condition.

Source: Rapid assessment survey.

Feedback from parents and children who participated in the FGDs offers further insight into hazardous work in agriculture. They identified a series of activities that they consider harmful to the health and safety of children, which can be grouped into three main subsets:

- Work involving the operation of agricultural machines and heavy motor vehicles [e.g., tractor driving];

- Work involving exposure of children to toxic chemicals and other harmful substances [e.g., during fertilization of crops];

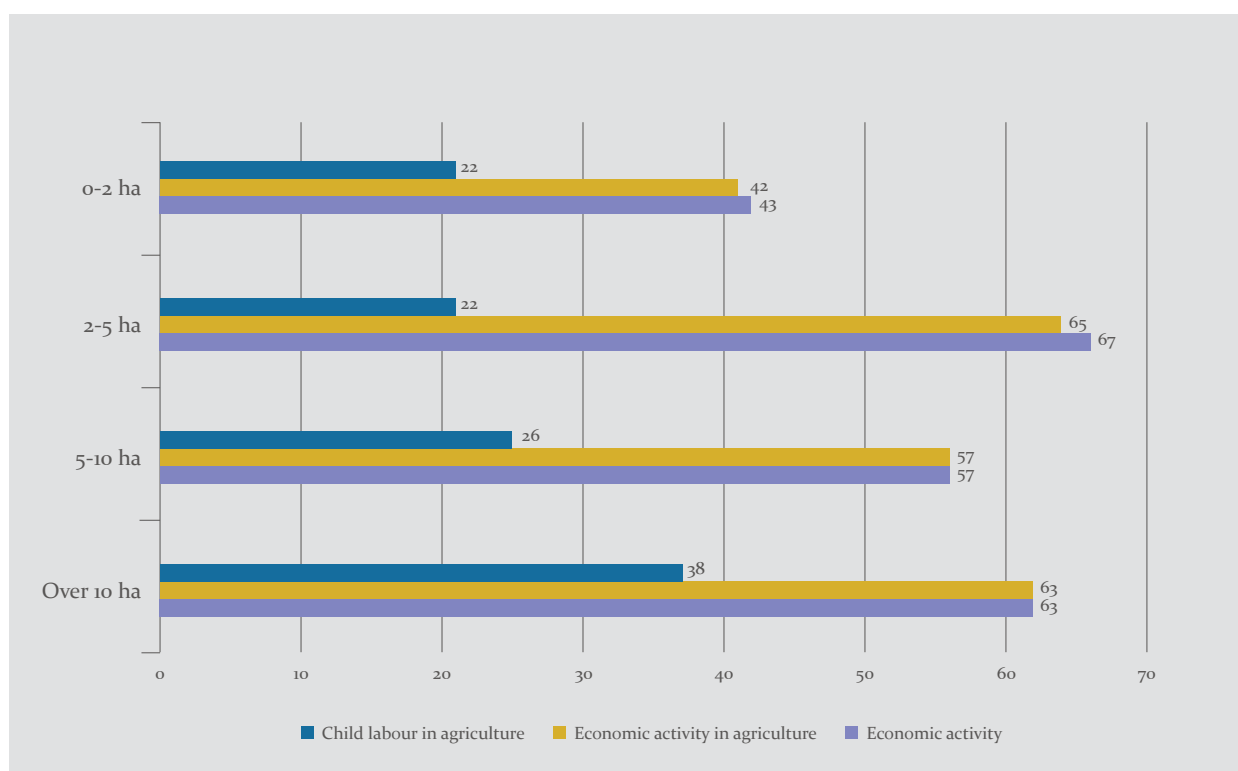
- Work involving the use of tools that can cause injuries [the most common being the use of axes and chainsaws during wood cutting].

4.1.3 Child labour and farm size

The share of children's economic activity in general, including their work in agriculture, and especially child labour, increases with the size of cultivated land within their holdings. In the households cultivating up to 2ha of land, 113 [41.9 per cent] of sampled children were working in agriculture, with 59 [21.9 per cent] engaged in work characterized as child

labour in agriculture. On the other hand, in the households cultivating the largest areas of land [over 10 ha], the number of economically active children engaged exclusively in agricultural work was reported at 59 [62.8 per cent], while the percentage of child labour was as high as 38.3 per cent, with 26 children.

Figure 6: Children's economic activity and incidence of child labour in agriculture in Serbia, by land size (percentage of children aged 5–17)



Source: Rapid assessment survey.

Although the greatest concentration of children's economic activities was reported in the holdings ranging between 2.01 and 5 ha [57 children or 65 per cent], these holdings appear to have the lowest share when it comes to child labour [19 children or 21.6 per cent]. This category provides a typical picture of the work engagement of children in rural households in Serbia, because it very often includes households where adult members are employed outside the holding and are involved in farming as a secondary job; thus, the children

are engaged in helping with agricultural activities, but not usually for more than the acceptable number of hours. The average size of these households is 5.5 members including one to two children aged 5–17 is. The families are three-generational, and the presence of grandparents implies a repetition of a traditional patriarchal culture, as confirmed in our qualitative research. This assumes early inclusion of children in agricultural work as a form of family solidarity. On the other hand, the holdings are relatively small and there are

plenty of hands on the farm, so children do not have to work very much.

A related issue that merits further investigation is the link between hazards and farm size. Larger farms are characterized by crop fields, which may be associated with greater exposure to dust, high temperatures, handling of loads

and tractor driving. Results from Vojvodina farmlands, characterized by larger cultivation areas as compared to other regions, reflect this finding. In that region, 30 children from the sample were exposed to hazardous conditions, compared to 17 children in Sumadija and Western Serbia and 19 children in Southern and Eastern Serbia.

4.1.4 Child labour and farm type

The type of agricultural products and the production system at the farm holdings are the strongest indicators of labour supply needs. Analysis of children's economic activity and child labour in agriculture indicates that a significantly lower percentage of children are engaged on holdings such as household plots. Economic activities are primarily related to subsistence agriculture, with 15 (19.7 per cent) of children from such holdings economically active in agriculture and eight of them (10.5 per cent) engaged in child labour. This result confirms that the small holdings are by and large characterized by low economic activity, thus reporting a lower rate of child labour in agriculture. In contrast, commercially oriented holdings with market production of grain and industrial crops engage 160 (58.2 per cent) children in agriculture, while the number of children engaged in child labour is almost half at 79 (28.7 per cent). Although the greatest need for labour force is observed in holdings specializing in fruit and vegetable production, the relative number of economically active children engaged in agricultural work on these holdings is slightly lower compared to that on the commercial holdings which produce grain and industrial crops – 54 per cent (80 children) of whom 39 (26.5 per cent) were involved in child labour.

As indicated in the previous section, the economic activity of children in agricultural work was found almost exclusively on family-owned agricultural holdings (97.6 per cent). This high concentration may be a result of a low demand for third-party labour force engagement (even in peak season demand periods), which occurs only in specific areas and in specific types of holdings – mostly in mixed households in hilly areas.

The findings of the qualitative research indicate the following features of child work engagement in agricultural activities. Certain differences are observed in the form of children's economic engagement in relation to the type of rural settlement: the lowland agricultural holdings are more focused on agriculture, while in the villages in the mountainous areas animal husbandry is prevalent. Also, the geographical position of the rural settlement in relation to the administrative centre of the respective municipality is of great importance. The proximity of the rural settlement to the urban area offsets farming as a primary core activity. Residents of villages that are closer to urban areas often have permanent employment in other activities and are engaged in agriculture as an additional activity.

“... We are neither rural nor urban. And we all have jobs, and I think that we are at a loss in a sense because we all do our jobs and then run to the field, at least those who have a small field. And then we are neither here nor there, we are full of stress at work, then you come home and run to the field to save what you have there. And, if we were focused on one thing only, I mean if we were satisfied with our salaries and wages at work, or if we could afford to go for a walk in nature after work, take care of our children, ourselves or dedicate some time to ourselves ... Instead, we do both, so we do not get from either one what we should actually, and I think that Temerin in general, that we are in a double bind...”

Female FGD participant with parents.

4.1.5 Labour dynamics in agriculture

Some important knowledge regarding the dynamics and scope of the economic activity of children was obtained based on the awareness of their work throughout the year grasped on a month by month basis. Findings show that the smallest-size holdings (up to 2 ha) engage children only when there is demand for peak season work, during the summer months [June to September]. With larger holding sizes, the number of workdays and work hours increases, along with the period, extending

beyond seasonal work peaks thus boosting the engagement of child work. In households cultivating the largest portions of land, with plots exceeding 10 ha, the children are engaged on a permanent basis throughout the year, with a slightly increased number of workdays and work hours during seasonal peaks [Table 7]. Based on the above, it can be concluded that in these households, the children are regularly engaged in agricultural work throughout the year.

Table 7: Calendar of children's economic activity in agriculture, by size of cultivated land, percentage of children involved, and mean values for workdays and work hours

		Size of cultivated land			
		0-2 ha	2-5 ha	5-10 ha	10+ ha
January	% of children	0	0	0	10% (n=9)
	days	0	0	0	6
	hours	0	0	0	6
February	% of children	0	0	0	10% (n=9)
	days	0	0	0	6
	hours	0	0	0	6
March	% of children	0	0	0	13% (n=12)
	days	0	0	0	7
	hours	0	0	0	6
April	% of children	0	0	0	25% (n=24)
	days	0	0	0	6
	hours	0	0	0	6
May	% of children	4% (n=11)	10% (n=9)	0	35% (n=33)
	days	5	10	0	6
	hours	7	8	0	8
June	% of children	12% (n=34)	26% (n=22)	30% (n=14)	42% (n=40)
	days	10	15	20	8
	hours	17.5	15	13	10
July	% of children	16% (n=45)	33% (n=29)	35% (n=15)	47% (n=45)
	days	10	15	20	10
	hours	20	20	13	10

August	% of children	16% (n=45)	35% (n=30)	28% (n=13)	50% (n=47)
	days	10	15	20	10
	hours	15	20	10	11
September	% of children	9% (n=24)	26% (n=22)	20% (n=9)	40% (n=39)
	days	7	8.5	10	7.5
	hours	10	21	10	8
October	% of children	4% (n=11)	13% (n=11)	0	18% (n=17)
	days	5.5	7	0	8
	hours	9	14	0	9
November	% of children	0	0	0	0
	days	0	0	0	0
	hours	0	0	0	0
December	% of children	0	0	0	0
	days	0	0	0	0
	hours	0	0	0	0

Note: Values calculated for months in which ten or more children were engaged.

Source: Rapid assessment survey.

Findings of the qualitative research also indicate that the intensity of children's engagement in agricultural activities varies across different times of the year. All FGD participants and interviewees report that children are mostly involved in performing agricultural activities during the summer and early autumn; that is, in the period when the amount of work in agriculture is significantly increased, especially during harvesting, fattening, and harvesting of fruit and vegetables. In addition to this large-scale agricultural work, which requires the engagement of a large number of people,

during the summer and early autumn, the children help with gardening, planting, cattle care, etc.

If the scope of child work is analysed by holding type and size of production, holdings which are focused on the production of grain and industrial crops engage more working children as compared to those focused on labour-intensive crops (fruit and vegetables). This is measured both in terms of the number of workdays and work hours, and the number of months in which the children are engaged (Table 8).

Table 8: Calendar of children's economic activity in agricultural work, by type of main product, percentage of children involved and mean value for workdays and work hours

		Type of main product		
		Only kitchen garden is cultivated, or none	Grain and industrial crops	Fruit and vegetables
March	% of children		4% (n=11)	0
	days		6	0
	hours		6	0
April	% of children		10% (n=28)	8% (n=12)
	days		6	7
	hours		6	8
May	% of children		14% (n=39)	14% (n=21)
	days		6	8
	hours		8	8
June	% of children		25% (n=69)	25% (n=36)
	days		10	10
	hours		12	13.5
July	% of children		32% (n=86)	29% (n=44)
	days		10	14.5
	hours		14	20
August	% of children		35% (n=95)	24% (n=36)
	days		10	15
	hours		14	15
September	% of children		26% (n=70)	11% (n=16)
	days		7.5	6.5
	hours		10	6.5
October	% of children		12% (n=33)	0
	days		7	0
	hours		10	0

Note: Values are calculated for months in which there were ten or more children working; those owning just a kitchen garden are too small in number and children from that category work less than other children, so in no month were there ten or more of them working; in January, February, November and December all values are 0.

Source: Rapid assessment survey.

Agricultural enterprises and cooperatives as seasonal employers hiring children

A special questionnaire was implemented for companies employing seasonal labour force in the rural sample. The interviewers found a total of four such entities: one limited liability company and one agricultural cooperative in Sumadija and Western Serbia, and two limited liability companies that are part of a larger system in Vojvodina. The first two entities are engaged in potato production, whereas the other two are involved in seed production. Both types of production require intensive manual work for farming/harvesting, as well as during crop maintenance.

The first two entities are small-size companies having only one full-time employee, while the companies from Vojvodina have more than 70 full-time employees. None of these companies employ children on a regular basis, but all four of them employ them seasonally. The companies situated in Sumadija and Western Serbia employed 15–20 workers over the last season, whereas the companies located in Vojvodina employed 200 and 9,500 seasonal workers, respectively. Among those workers no children under the age of 15 were reported, whereas there were three and five (all boys) children between the ages of 15 and 17 working as reported by the companies from Sumadija and Western Serbia, respectively; 83 boys and 30 girls in one of the two companies located in Vojvodina; and 400 boys and 400 girls in the other one. Employers from Sumadija and Western Serbia found seasonal

workers mainly through acquaintances mostly from Southern and Eastern Serbia, while employers from Vojvodina, apart from relying upon their acquaintances, found their seasonal workers through student and youth cooperatives, mostly in their own or some of the neighbouring villages. In line with the above-mentioned availability of seasonal labour force on the labour market, daily wages in Sumadija and Western Serbia were slightly higher than the ones paid in Vojvodina: RSD 1,700 (around EUR 15) compared to RSD 1,200–1,400 (around EUR 10–12).

Activities performed by the children who work on a seasonal basis within these companies involved planting, extraction and loading of potatoes in the first region, and processing plants and farming in the seed production in the other region. These activities carry certain health and safety risks. Three of the four companies that were surveyed reported that children who work with them seasonally have been exposed to some of the risks that classified their work as hazardous. The companies in Sumadija and Western Serbia assigned children to tasks involving large cargo handling; the children's work hours exceeded eight hours on a daily basis; and their work week included Saturdays and Sundays. In the large-size company in Vojvodina, the main risk identified for children was the summer heat. It is interesting that this company has an on-duty medical team hired for its own purposes during the summer season work period.

4.1.6 Types of agricultural activities performed by children

The list of activities within agriculture in which children are engaged is diverse. Animal husbandry is most frequent, with 43 per cent of children working in this area, followed by a group of activities involving fruit farming (32 per cent) and those relating to vegetable production (29 per cent). Activities relating to the harvest of grain and industrial crops involved fewer children (18.5 per cent), but if we add the number of children who were engaged in ploughing and lawn mowing (5.1 per cent) as

well as collecting hay and straw (13.8 per cent), the share of child work in this field increases significantly (Table 9).

In terms of regional differences, a relatively low share of child labour required for fruit farming stands out when it comes to children in Eastern and Southern Serbia, but an extremely high percentage of children are engaged in crop farming (in the field) in Vojvodina.

Table 9: Incidence of children's economic activity in different agricultural activities, by region

	All three regions	Vojvodina	Western Serbia and Sumadija	Eastern and Southern Serbia
Vegetable farming	28.7%	24.1%	35.2%	26.7%
Fruit farming	31.8%	36.7%	36.6%	15.6%
Gardening	15.4%	17.7%	18.3%	6.7%
Crop farming (corn harvest, sunflower harvest, soybean harvest, ploughing, mowing, tractor driving)	23.6%	44.3%	12.7%	15.5%
Animal husbandry, stable maintenance	42.6%	44.3%	42.2%	45.3%
Food processing (preserving food for winter, etc.).	4.1%	2.5%	1.4%	15.6%
Grass, leaves, hay, straw stacking, cutting, loading firewood	13.8%	10.1%	16.9%	6.7%

Note: The sum exceeds 100 per cent as children perform more than one activity.

Source: Rapid assessment survey.

More complex activities such as livestock care [milking sheep and cows, animal feed preparation], mowing and machinery operation [pickers, harvesters] were not reported by respondents.

Participants in the FGDs and interviews in the rural areas covered by the present research agree that the most common activities involving children are engagement in household chores and participation in agricultural activities, as well as other specific activities, among which the preparation of firewood was prevalent. Many respondents have stated that children perform almost all types of work their parents usually do, only on a smaller scale and at a lower intensity. In addition to assisting in performing agricultural activities and household chores, there are cases of children who help their parents in performing other kinds of work.

When it comes to agricultural activities involving children, the most commonly mentioned include: assistance in crop fields, work in fruit plantations, handling and feeding cattle, mowing and hay harvesting, gardening [planting, plant watering, grass cleaning], harvesting fruit and vegetables, and similar jobs.

“Kids love to work because it's only occasionally and it's quite interesting to go into the garden, pick something, since, after all, this is something for you yourself to eat.”

“My parents used to grow cucumbers, and every night I would come home from school to see my mother among the cucumbers. She used to get up early in the morning, make coffee, have a cup of coffee and go to the cucumber garden, and, me, I would finish my homework and other school things to do, I would join my dad and we would take the car and go to the garden to pick the cucumbers and water them, then, my dad and I, we would load the big bags and head to the market. So, once we finished the job, we would go back to pick up my mother and take the watering machine. Sometimes we would get up at midnight to go there and start the watering machine to water the plants when they were smaller, we used to spray and water them constantly.”

“For example, when my father has some work to do, for example, to chop the firewood, or if he has to cut the firewood, my brother and I would help him by loading the firewood into the log cart and stacking it where necessary. As for the difference you mention, well, the parents do a bit harder work than the children and so on...”

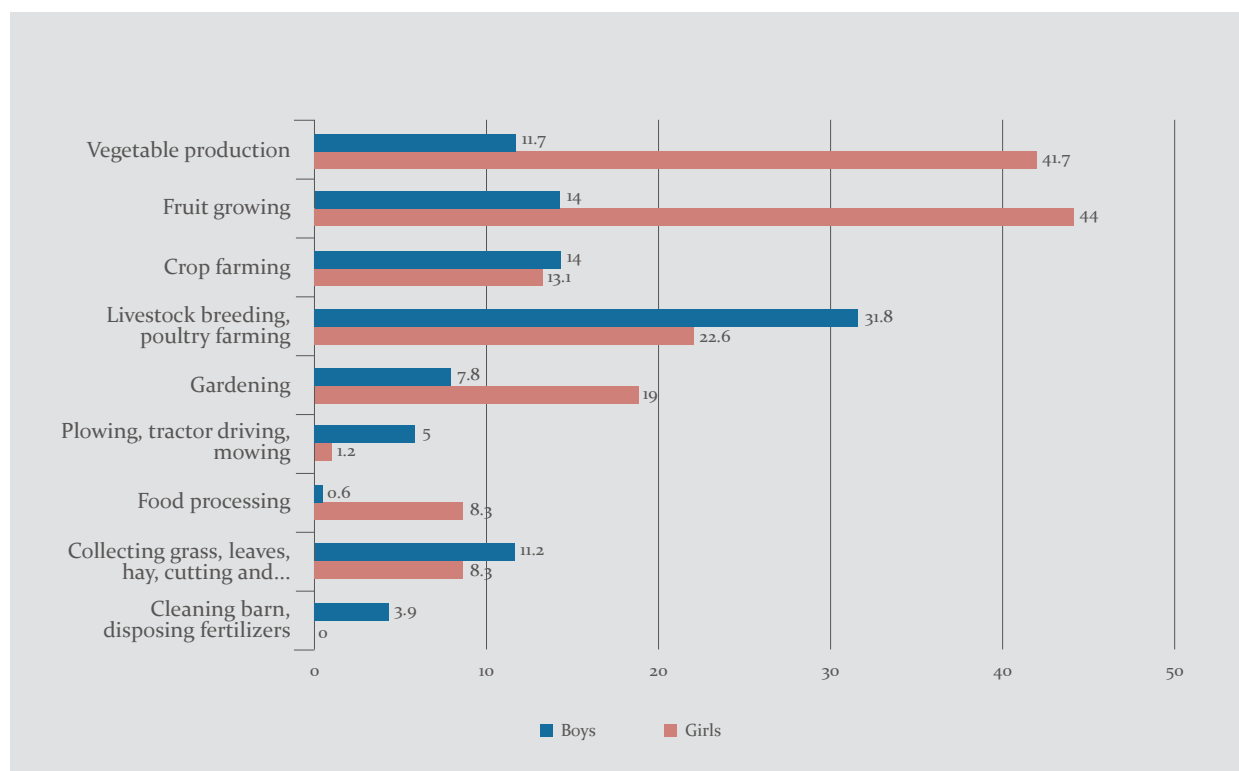
Children, FGD participants, aged 12 to 17.

4.2 Gender dimensions of child work in agriculture

Patterns of gender segregation are visible in agricultural work, with noticeable differences observed when it comes to the participation of boys and girls in different types of activities. As illustrated in Figure 7, girls seem to participate in activities related to vegetable and fruit production more frequently than boys, as well as in gardening activities or in food processing activities (preserving food for winter, etc.),

whereas boys are more likely to perform tasks related to livestock and poultry; tasks involving the use of machinery and vehicles; activities that require the use of sharp tools and handling loads, such as cutting, splitting, chopping and loading firewood, stacking, etc.; as well as activities related to stable cleaning, fertilizer handling and the like.

Figure 7: Participation in different agricultural activities, by gender (percentage)

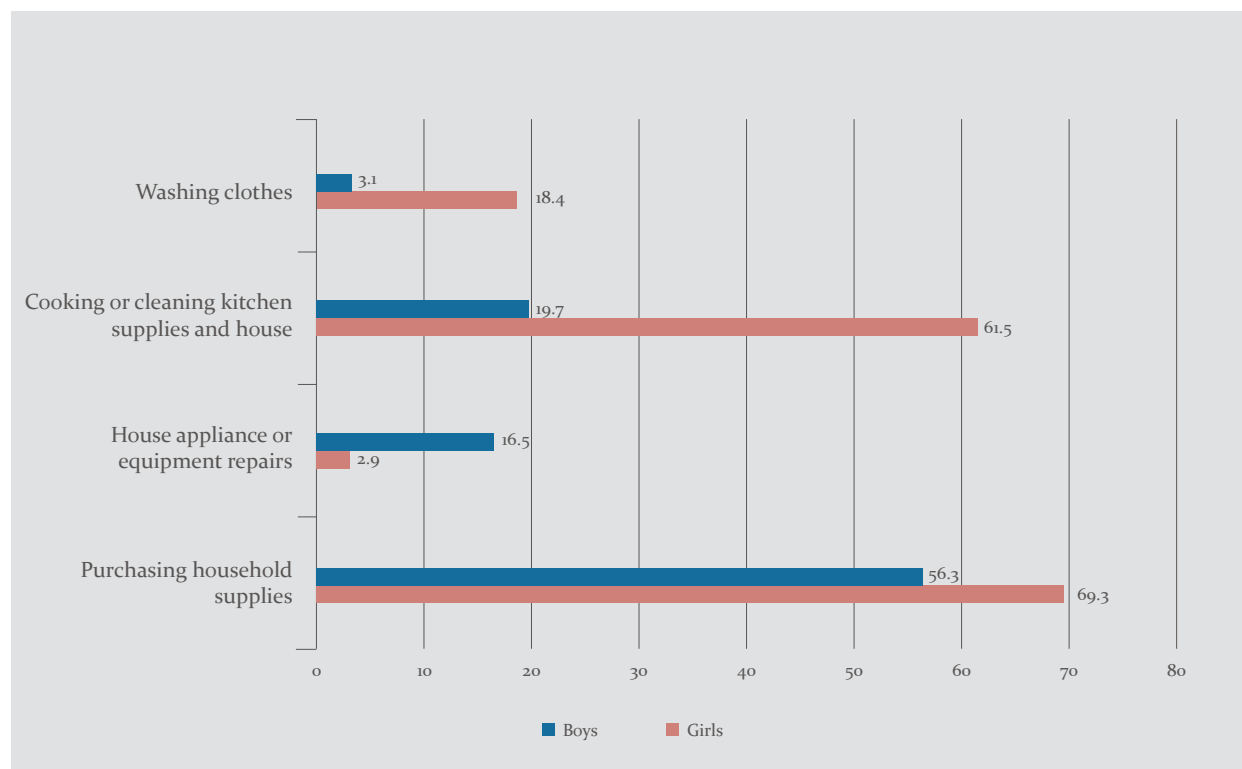


Source: Rapid assessment survey.

Patterns of gender segregation are visible even when we narrow our focus to household chores only. Girls tend to perform activities including washing clothes, cooking, cleaning kitchen supplies and house cleaning, and purchasing groceries and other household supplies more frequently than boys, whereas boys are more

likely to be engaged in household appliance or equipment repairs as compared to girls. When it comes to activities involving care and nursing; that is, caring for younger children or older or sick people, the research showed no significant differences in the involvement of boys and girls in these activities.

Figure 8: Percentage of children aged 5–17 who are involved in household chores, by gender



Source: Rapid assessment survey.

Based on the data obtained in the qualitative research, it may be concluded that there is a difference between the attitudes of the respondents involved and what seems to be the reality in terms of the gender-based division of labour in the household. Some of the respondents believe that a division of male and female work should not exist and that the gap in the type of work performed by boys and girls gradually decreases with time. On the other hand, the majority of the respondents involved believe that a division between male and female jobs is normal, and that women should do work that is “easier to do”, which does not require great physical strength [household chores and care of a household member, including food preparation for all household members, work in the garden, etc.], whereas men have to perform more physically demanding work that involves the use of machinery, crop field work, firewood preparation and logging, and the like.

When they talk about what is actually happening in reality, most respondents involved confirm that the male/female division of labour still exists and that it is highly prevalent. Gender-

based division of labour is transmitted from generation to generation, and girls are more often engaged in activities performed by their mothers and other female members of the household, while boys help their fathers in the work they perform. Accordingly, girls are often responsible for helping other adult female members in tidying and cleaning the house, preparing meals for the whole household, preparing family celebrations [e.g., patron saint day, birthdays] and gardening. Boys more often help their fathers in field work, feeding domestic animals and preparing firewood.

“From the youngest age, boys try to look to their fathers as role models, helping them, cutting wood, carrying stuff and the like, while girls prepare lunch, water the plants...”

“Men mainly help their fathers on the farm, doing what their fathers do. If the father has a craft, they try to learn that craft, too, for later, when they grow up. Girls mainly help their mothers with the household chores and the like.”

Children, FGD participants, aged 12 to 17.

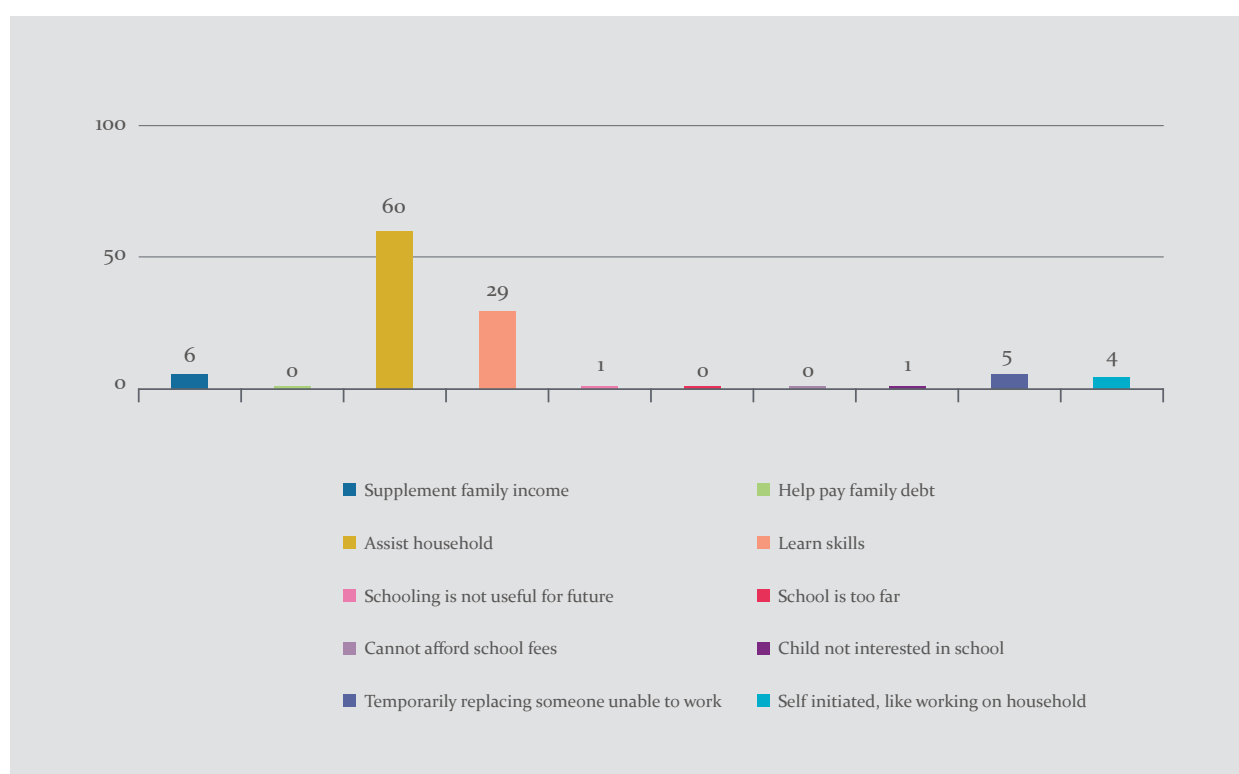
4.3 Factors influencing child labour

Few studies on child work have identified important factors that seem to influence the occurrence and prevalence of child labour. Analysis of urban and rural differences conducted based on MICS data [UNICEF, 2015b] showed that children from rural areas were 2.7 times more likely to have been engaged in child labour compared to children living in urban areas, indicating as well that the child labour rate is significantly higher among children from poorer families than those better off. The research conducted by the Child Rights Centre indicates that lack of motivation for education is not a reason for the increased incidence

of child labour, contrary to some of the most popular beliefs. According to the findings of this research, 92 per cent of children engaged in child labour said that if they were to choose between work and education, they would choose education [Vujovic, Dejanovic, et al., 2006].

According to the findings of the research conducted for this rapid assessment on child labour in agriculture, the most important reasons why children are engaged in agricultural activities are to assist the household and learn skills [Figure 9].

Figure 9: Main reasons for children's involvement in agriculture, direct response of respondents, percentage of total responses



Source: Rapid assessment survey.

This structure indicating the reasons for children's engagement in agriculture does not change significantly even when analysing only child labourers: the percentage of those who work to assist the household drops to 55 per cent, and those who work to supplement family income rises to 10 per cent.

Examining these responses further, the answer denoting that a child replaces a family member temporarily unable to work, for example, was three times more common, based upon the respective answers, in Vojvodina than in Southern and Eastern Serbia [14 vs. four children, respectively], and supplementing family income was twice as common a reason for the economic activity of children

in Southern and Eastern Serbia as compared to Sumadija and Western Serbia. Finally, it is worth noting that similar differentiation exists among children depending on their age: children under the age of 12 (the survey taken by the parents on their behalf) seem to be working to contribute to family budgets less often than other children, but more often to learn skills.

The fact that the respective percentage of children work to contribute to the family budget, and the fact that many rural households are engaged in agriculture to survive with minimal income generated, gives rise to the assumption that child work engagement, and especially child labour, is a key feature of lower-income,

poor and less educated families. In order to test this assumption, we will proceed by analysing the distribution of economic activity and child labour according to indicators related to the financial standing of the households involved, as follows below. By analysing the correlation of multiple variables that show the economic status of households, we have selected two of the most discriminating ones, one subjective and one objective.²⁶

Analysis of the correlation between the indicators on financial standing, on the one hand, and economic activity of children in agriculture and child labour in agriculture on the other hand, has shown that low economic status does not seem to be the factor that generates child labour. This indirectly confirms the earlier findings indicating that the key factor accounting for the children's economic activity in agriculture, and consequently their involvement in child labour, is the lack of labour force on the holding and the inefficiency in hiring third party labour. The only finding that deviates from this conclusion is the connection between the subjective perception of financial

status and the economic activity of children in agriculture. The children who stated that their parents easily make ends meet are less often engaged in agricultural work compared to the children who reported their families had difficulty making ends meet. Nevertheless, it can be concluded that children's light work in agriculture is widespread, rather as a part of the rural way of life or as a form of labour socialization and social care than as an economic survival strategy, which was confirmed by the findings obtained following the interviews and FGDs.

“I live with my uncle, aunt, grandmother, grandfather and I have a great-grandfather. Grandfather brings in the firewood and we help him, since he is an elderly man and cannot do it on his own. In our family, we all help each other. Uncle and auntie sometimes make lunch. My mother, father and I are in charge of chickens, turkeys and the rest of the poultry, feeding them. Uncle and auntie sometimes help, they make lunch. Grandma and grandpa work in the field and sometimes we all do.”

Child, FGD participant, aged 12 to 17.

4.4 Factors influencing child labour

Due to its harmful consequences, child labour is classified as one of the forms of violence against children [UNICEF, 2017]. In this rapid assessment on child labour in agriculture, the consequences of child labour have been examined through the following aspects:

- impact on education/schooling;
- overload and fatigue; and
- work-related injuries and health problems.

At the time of the survey, 452 (90.7 per cent) children covered by the sample attended school. With the exclusion of the preschool aged children, there was only one child in the sample left who was not attending school. The

research revealed further indications showing that the households in the sample recognized the importance of education, and that child work engagement is most often organized in such a way that does not interfere with school obligations. Parents attach great importance to children's education, substantiated by the fact that 95.3 per cent of them stated that in this stage of their child's life, it was in the best interest of the child to go to school.

Research data indicate that children usually work on the weekends and after school. In the week preceding the survey, every fifth child worked both before and after school, and only one child worked during school days or missed school to engage in agricultural activities [Table 10].

26 A subjective assessment of the economic situation will be monitored through the question: Taking into account the total income of your household, do you think that your household can “make ends meet”, that is, cover the necessary expenditures? The original five-question scale was transformed into a three-step one with the following possible responses: hardly, with difficulty and easily. The objective indicator of the economic position of the household is the number of vehicles owned by the household. These two indicators stand in a strong and statistically significant correlation.

Table 10: Period in which children worked during the week preceding the survey

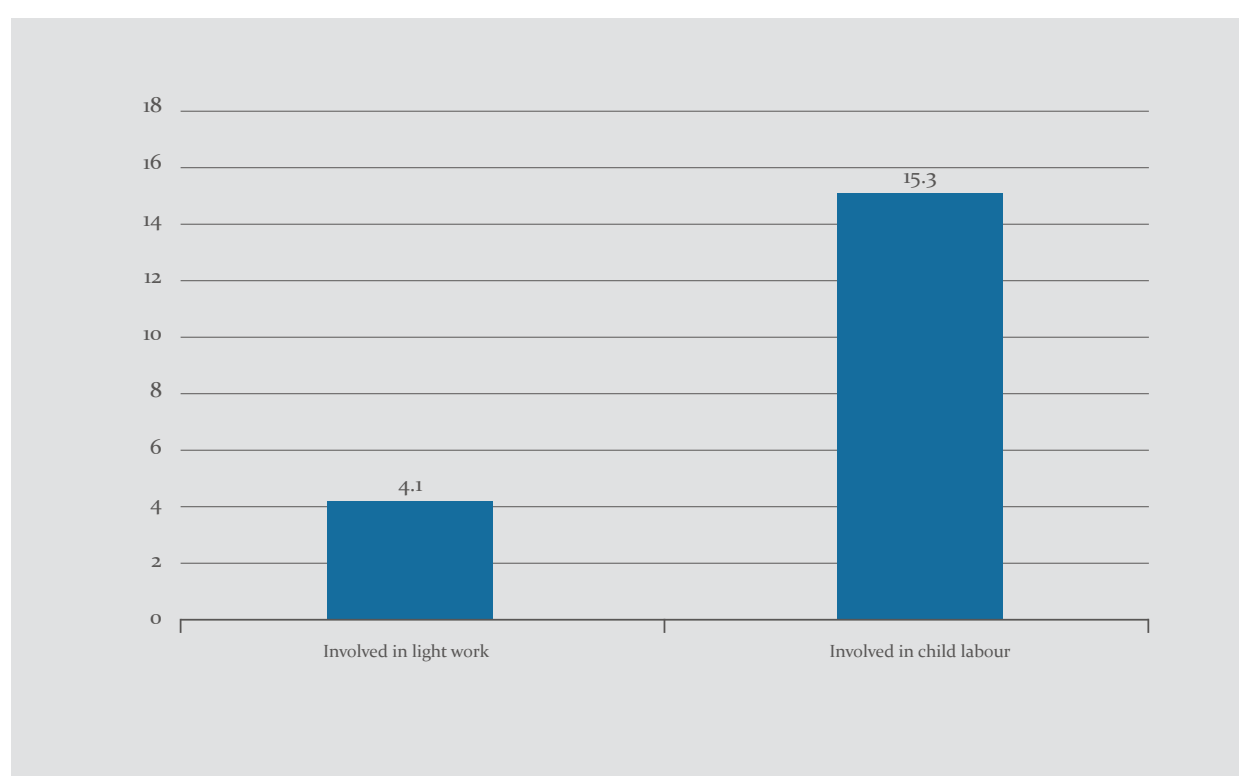
Work time	% of children engaged in child labour in agriculture
After school	31.3
Before school	3.5
Both before and after school	14.8
On the weekend	49.6
During missed school days	0.9
Total	100

Source: Rapid assessment survey.

Child work affects the level of a child's overload and fatigue. When comparing the children who do not carry out any economic activity or household chores, the children who perform only "light work" (either in the form of economic activity or household chores) and the children

who are recognized to be child labourers in agriculture, there is a significant difference in overload and fatigue. Of course, among the 60 (12 per cent) children not involved in any economic activity or household chores, no case of overload and fatigue was recorded.

Figure 10: Children who are overloaded and fatigued due to household chores, by type of economic activity



Source: Rapid assessment survey.

When it comes to work-related injuries or health problems, it should be noted that among the children who were engaged in "light work", nine of them experienced such problems, while 15 children among the children engaged in child labour suffered in this way were. Due to the small number of cases it was not possible to carry out a quantitative analysis. It can only be noted that in both groups the following

types of injuries or health problems were registered: superficial injuries or open wounds; dislocations, sprains and strains; burns, scalds or frostbites; stomach problems, diarrhoea; and fever. In addition, bone fractures, eye problems and extreme fatigue were reported in recognized child labour cases. The present findings point to the conclusion that during the period under observation, child

labour in the given sample had no influence on the disregard for schoolwork. Here, however, we need to keep in mind the period in which the survey was conducted: the beginning of the school year, when children did not yet have many school tasks, although it was the agricultural peak season period. Additionally, although the number of children with registered health-related consequences in the form of overload, physical fatigue, injuries and health problems was not high in the sample, it is important to note that the impact of child labour is noticeable and that the health and fatigue effects are more serious in children exposed to child labour than in children engaged in "light work".

The findings of the qualitative research coincide with those obtained from the questionnaire survey. Most respondents highly value education and view it as one of the key channels for achieving mobility. In addition, they believe that the work performed by children does not negatively affect their schooling, either in terms of achievement, performance at school, or regular attendance.

"People with lower levels of education have a smaller choice of jobs. And they are... They are fit only for a single job, they do not have a great choice, they cannot choose their profession, while people with higher education can. Because, after all, a person with an elementary education and a person with a university degree are not the same. A university educated person can choose the wage he will work for, while a person from a primary school can never have a wage like the one with a university degree."

Child, FGD participant, aged 12 to 17.

"It's the foundation. Later, one can learn anything, can do anything, yet the foundation is the education."

Parents, FGD participants.

The respondents stated that children are mostly not engaged in activities that cannot be balanced with schoolwork, and that they work exclusively in their free time, after completing classes and homework assignments. However, in rural areas where the population is more intensively engaged in agriculture, there are a higher number of agricultural activities involving children, which makes the balancing of school and work responsibilities somewhat harder.

From the perspective of parents and teachers, the education of children comes first, so in most cases the engagement of children in various work activities does not have a negative impact on their schooling. On the contrary, children who are more engaged in household chores and agriculture achieve better results at school because they acquire good work habits and organize their time in a sound way. Some parents even stated that children are overprotected and spared from participating in certain work activities, which they do not consider beneficial for their later development. Some parents point out that in rare instances, when children are more intensely engaged in certain work activities, teachers show understanding when they are occasionally absent from school. On the other hand, one of the teachers pointed out as a problem that parents are not sufficiently interested in the education of their children, do not have enough time or, in some cases, the capacity to fully monitor their child's school activities, leaving everything up to the teachers.

Children also believe that their engagement in household and agricultural work has no negative effects on their schooling and that they manage to balance all commitments. They help parents mostly in their free time during the working week after completing schoolwork, as well as on the weekends. It is important to note that children see household chores and agricultural work as a minor obstacle to their education when compared to lack of financial resources. They state that, due to low salaries, parents often lack the ability to afford books and other learning materials that they need. Also, because of their own work overload, parents do not have time to devote themselves to children and help them with schoolwork.

In a small number of cases, the children who participated in the FGDs identified fatigue as one of the consequences of their work engagement in agricultural activities. Fatigue is most often associated with the amount of work that needs to be done, as well as with certain harder physical tasks, such as, for example, splitting wood, haying, lifting sacks with vegetables, etc. Although these jobs are more physically demanding, some children prefer to perform them rather than some household chores.

The respondents agree that most of the agricultural activities performed by children do not endanger their health and safety. This finding has been confirmed by interviews with doctors from the local primary healthcare centres, who are responsible for the general health of the inhabitants of the rural communities covered by the research, and therefore for the health of the children in these rural areas. Almost all respondents (children, parents, teachers, health professionals) point out that parents take measures to protect their children, not allowing them to perform activities that could endanger them in any way, instead taking on the more difficult tasks themselves.

“Well parents always do the harder [jobs] and the jobs possibly hazardous for children, those likely to cause injuries ...”

“Parents do [the harder jobs], children do the easier ones, we protect them more. We just say ‘Don’t do that, you are still small, that’s not for you.’”

Parents, FGD participants.

“Well, our parents are most often very careful when we do something, they watch us, they teach us, and say what not to do, how something should be done. That we need to be careful.”

“Because they never leave us alone, like... here you are, go and work. Instead, they show us how to do it first, and only when the time comes for us to work alone, then we know everything, how to be careful enough and the like.”

Children, FGD participants, aged 12 to 17.

However, the respondents state that there are exceptions, and that they are familiar with cases where children performed activities that directly exposed them to safety and health risks. As examples, they cited the operation of agricultural machinery that resulted in a child’s injuries, the use of various chemicals in fertilizing crops that are detrimental to a child’s health, as well as the use of tools and sharp objects (axes, chainsaws).

4.5 Knowledge and attitudes towards child labour

A great lack of knowledge about child labour was revealed during the desk review. This disadvantage is due to the lack of adequate statistical monitoring and the scarcity of research specifically focused on the problem. The disadvantages that were identified include:

- absence of the precise rate of participation of child labour in agriculture for children aged 5–17 years, in accordance with the ILO definition;
- lack of insight into specific causes that increase the participation of child labour in rural areas;
- lack of insight into the gender-based division of labour in agriculture and household chores in holdings;
- lack of accurate insights into the consequences of child labour in general, and especially child labour in agriculture, on a child’s development and well-being.

In this rapid assessment, efforts were also made through interviews with experts and decision-makers to understand the elements of the future national framework and to measure awareness and political will to eradicate child labour in agriculture. We aimed to interview

high-level officials from governmental bodies relevant for labour inspection, child protection, agricultural production, health and safety at work, etc., as well as experts dealing with policy design or policy implementation in the field of child protection. Only one out of four planned participants from the executive authorities responded to the invitation to participate in the research, completing the questionnaire in writing, whereas two refusals came from respondents who answered that they did not consider themselves competent to discuss the present topic. The fourth never replied. Such responses speak volumes about the current weakness of institutional capacity to address this issue in an efficient manner.²⁷

Interviews with national-level actors have demonstrated that there is a lack of specific knowledge about child labour in agriculture, in both a normative and factual sense. Our interviewees, both experts and decision-makers, are familiar with the main conventions relating to child’s rights and the prevention and abuse of these rights. Also, they understand why child labour is harmful to a child’s development and can make a nuanced distinction between light work that is beneficial to a child’s development – as it helps develop

²⁷ Interviews were conducted with one representative of the executive authorities, two representatives of international organizations, one representative of the academic sector, one director of the Family Housing and Adoption Centre, one representative of the Republic Institute for Social Protection and one representative of a local centre for social work.

work habits and a sense of solidarity with household members – and child labour that is harmful to a child’s development. In addition, all interviewees are familiar with the manner in which the law regulates the employment of children, and most have heard about the recently adopted Regulation on Determining Hazardous Work for Children, but they are not familiar with its contents (with the exception of the person in charge of Occupational Safety and Health), most probably because the regulation was adopted a month before the interviewing. Considering the above, as well as the lack of official data and systematic reporting on child labour in agriculture, it was expected that our respondents would not be familiar with the current situation relating to this phenomenon, its prevalence, or the most commonly occurring forms. The specific features of child labour in agriculture are

mainly overshadowed by other topics and concepts widely used in political discourses, such as child violence and child trafficking, or else by the misleading assumptions that all rural children carry out a large portion of work in agriculture and that child labour widely occurs during seasonal work. As a result of the neglect of the topic of child labour in agriculture, the lack of information on this issue, and the poor communication among relevant actors regarding rural children’s work engagement and potentially child labour, there appear to be no ideas among central-level actors for determining the competence of the relevant body that would prevent child labour in agriculture and the manner of the implementation thereof, especially given the fact that the majority of child labour in agriculture takes place in family-run holdings, within the family.

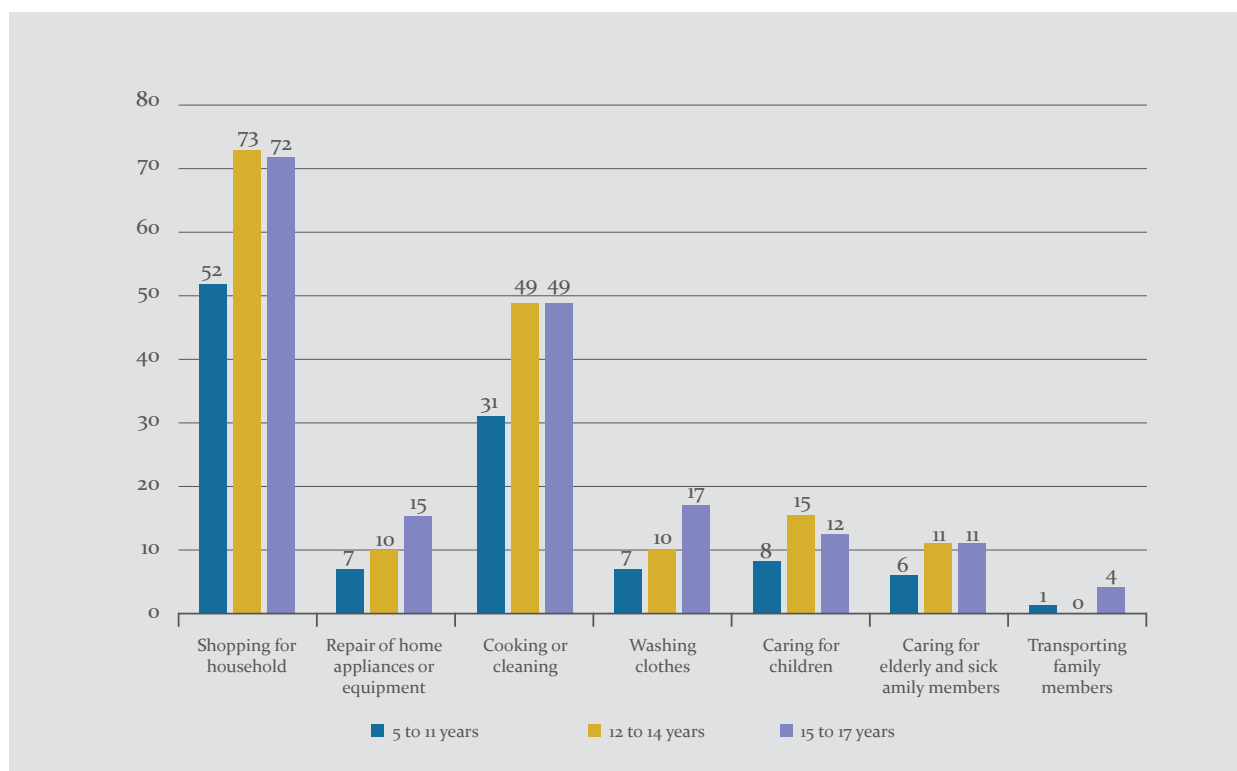
4.6 Household chores

Child labour, according to the definition of the ILO, excludes children who perform household chores. Engagement in household chores may constitute an important aspect of work and family socialization. However, excessive involvement in household chores (e.g., maintenance of the household or family member care) may impede children’s schooling, leisure time, or development. In addition, monitoring engagement in household chores, coupled with economic engagement in agriculture, is also important from the point of view of a gendered division of labour that is established in early childhood, which has

been analysed in more detail under a separate chapter in this assessment.

Research findings indicate that children are more likely to participate in household chores than carry out an economic activity in agriculture. In the week preceding the survey, household chores were performed by 115 (86 per cent) children aged 15–17, 116 (88 per cent) children aged 12–14 years and 160 (69 per cent) children of age 5–11 years. Their participation in specific tasks covered by the survey is presented in Figure 11.

Figure 11: Involvement of children in household chores, by age (percentage)



Note: The 1 per cent of children aged 5–11 who transported household members refers to two boys aged 10 and 11 years, from the same household, which, in addition to a car, also has a scooter.

Source: Rapid assessment survey.

During FGDs, children reported performing activities such as cleaning and tidying the house (vacuuming, dusting, changing the bedding), dishwashing, buying groceries for the house, preparing meals for the family, helping with preserving food for winter, pet care (mostly dogs and cats), yard cleaning and garbage disposal, as well as caring for other household

members, especially younger children.

“When I get up, I wash the dishes, vacuum the house, dust everything because my mom goes to work in the morning as well as my dad, and then I do everything while my brother plays games ...”

Child, FGD participant, aged 12 to 17.

5. Case studies

In order to obtain detailed insight into the characteristics, causes and consequences of child labour in agriculture, a qualitative survey was conducted to enable the analysis of typical examples of child labour. Three case studies were researched to highlight the diverse types of agricultural production, [i.e., whether subsistence farming or market-oriented farming] and workplace settings [family holdings or private companies] where children are engaged in agriculture [for the selection method see the chapter on methodology].

The aim was to examine in the selected cases certain aspects of child labour which are present in all three cases:

- characteristics of child labour in terms of working hours and hazardous work;

- dynamics between work and schooling;
- children’s motivation to work and employers’ motivation to engage children;
- consequences of child labour on children’s health and welfare;
- gender aspects of child labour.

In addition, concerning child labour in family farms, the aim was to examine:

- to what extent poverty affects child labour;
- what norms and values direct child work engagement;

- what the gender aspect of labour socialization of children looks like, how the perception of gender roles reflects on the division of labour among children;
- in what way the family dynamics overlap with the farming organization (who makes farming-related

decisions, assigns duties, work schedules, are there any conflicts in respect of labour division, etc.);

- parents' and children's future expectations, perception of desirable patterns of work and life for children in the future.

5.1 Case study 1: Child labour in subsistence family farming

One definition of child labour is applied to all case studies: children are categorized as being engaged in child labour either because their

working hours exceed age-specific thresholds, they are engaged in hazardous work, or both.

5.1.1 Household characteristics

The household consists of an extended multigenerational family: a grandmother and a grandfather, single divorced father and two children – a 14-year-old boy and a 16-year-old girl. They live in a village in Western Serbia on 4.5 hectares of land owned by the grandfather. The grandparents are retirees, with the grandfather receiving a pension based on non-agricultural work, and the grandmother receiving an agricultural pension [this type of pension is very low – less than EUR 100]. The father is employed at a local plant where he receives a minimum wage, which is paid irregularly. In addition to the house, the household owns an outbuilding – stable, and machinery which includes a tractor with basic mounted implements.

The farming conducted by the household members is typical of households of this size in Central Serbia which are not market oriented. This includes diversified production of subsistence crops such as wheat, maize, barley, clover, various vegetables such as onion, garlic, paprika, potato, etc. The household owns one cow on which they depend for milk and dairy products, which traditionally constitute a major nutritional component in Serbia, as well as a goat, poultry and several

pigs. The farm is not market oriented, and even if they do manage to sell some products [cheese or eggs], the revenue gained does not significantly affect the household income. Adult household members estimate that compared to other Serbian households, their living standard is relatively lower. This is due to small pensions, minimum salary and lack of income from agriculture. The father stated that he was thinking of reorganizing production and turning one part of it into market-oriented farming, but lack of funding is a major setback.

The family's dynamics and decision-making power are closely intertwined with those of production, which is common for family farms. These relations are rooted in tradition and patriarchal culture, which leads to the grandparents, even in their early seventies, wielding more decision-making power than the father, i.e., the grandfather is still the key decision-maker in respect of farming and the farm is registered in his name. Such relations are deemed as "normal" by the father because the grandparents are "older and have more experience and knowledge". This seniority principle defines the hierarchical decision-making structure at the farm.

5.1.2 Characteristics of child labour and perceptions of hazards¹

Out of 4.5 hectares of land owned by the household, an area of 3.5 hectares is arable land while the remainder is forested. The patterns of children's work engagement are in line with the picture obtained from the quantitative survey. There are clear gender patterns in labour division, where the girl is more involved in household chores [this is her primary activity] and the boy, in agricultural activities [as measured by hours of engagement and primary activity]. The household chores include activities such as dusting, cleaning, washing dishes, preparing food and doing the laundry. Both children "help in the garden" with growing vegetables such as paprika, beans, onions, and potatoes and are engaged in

different stages of vegetable production, from planting, to watering and picking. The boy is engaged in working with crops, cutting wood, reloading maize and wood, and driving the tractor. He also feeds the animals and cleans the stable. The duration of the children's work engagement varies. According to the father, during the summer agricultural season, the children work several hours a day on average; however, the number of hours decrease as the school starts. The working hours do not exceed permissible levels as defined by relevant laws.

However, both children are exposed to various types of hazardous work. The boy is exposed to dust and pesticide fumes. He carries heavy

loads and uses dangerous tools and machinery. The father recognizes the risks of such hazardous work and says that he tries to make sure the children are protected against them. Therefore, children are instructed to keep away from the field or garden after pesticide spraying [which he says is being increasingly used]. The boy is only allowed to carry a load that is appropriate for his age and in the summer, they protect themselves from heat and UV rays by working only in the morning and early evening, and the tractor can be driven by the boy only under supervision. The boy uses a saw and other tools to cut wood, but the father insists that he always does it when supervised. The father believes there are risks, but that children nevertheless need to gradually become involved in that kind of work, and to learn to work with tools and under such conditions. He stresses that the duty of adults is to supervise and be watchful, but the duty of the children is to look out for themselves as well.

“Spraying various chemicals is just as dangerous. Not only for children, but generally, for adults too... To tell you the truth, spraying is increasingly used now and...in particular at the height of the season, in the summer, then for some time we do not go out into the field because of such chemicals and... I think the children should stay away from the chemicals and sprayed areas.”

Father

5.1.3 Gender patterns in labour division

Gendered patterns of labour socialization are noticeable. The father says that the children learn from adults by observing and working together, under adult supervision. However, gender patterns are established as early as adolescence, so the boy works more with the father and grandfather and learns from them, whereas the girl works more with the grandmother. At the age these children are now, the gendered patterns are already clearly defined, and they are accepted and supported by all household members. Thus the girl is engaged in household chores and the boy in agriculture.

“Well... the girl does chores around the house. Although, the boy often wants to take part in those chores, housework, so to speak...The girl helps with cleaning, and with preparing meals. The boy, again, helps with the wood...he wants to chop wood, and here are some small logs that he chopped and brought in himself... He wants to saw, he also likes tending the animals... But, again, as I say, while I’m keeping an eye on him.”

Father

The children are also aware that different kinds of work are hazardous. The girl is especially afraid of working to tend to animals and agrees to do it only if no one else will. During the interview, she explains how she tries to reduce the risks of injury when she is to give water or food to the cow.

“I’m careful, I take the bucket and go slowly. For example, I say: “Bulka“ and give her a little pat, but then she shakes her head and I flinch, I get afraid, while she’s drinking water, I let her, I don’t care if she drinks it or not, I move away.”

Girl

The children are occasionally asked to help their relatives with agricultural activities, but according to their testimonies, this happens very rarely. For the work carried out in their own or their relatives’ or friends’ household, they mostly do not get any compensation in cash as this is regarded as a customary exchange of work between households. The children express their wish that some of these activities be paid but adults do not consider that the children’s work should be paid, and the father notes that the children receive regular pocket money.

These gendered divisions in labour specialization have become internalized expectations and preferences of the children. The girl notes that she was more involved in agricultural work when she was little and she does not do that anymore. She does not like doing it and others no longer try to involve her in it. On the other hand, she prefers doing household chores.

“...I tidy the room, clean, sometimes prepare food...I can cook beans, soup, I can make pancakes, some cakes. I have recipes, my aunt gave them to me, I have a notebook...I dust, clean windows. I prefer that...it’s more important for me to know how to do the things around the house, for one day when I get married...”

Girl

The girl openly says she does not enjoy being engaged in agricultural activities, and particularly those involving cattle and poultry. The children compare each other’s workload. Thus, the girl believes that, even though she does not do agricultural work, she does more

work in total, but she also claims that they both “slack off” when they are asked by the adults to work in the vegetable garden, although her brother “slacks off more”.

“...I work more because he only likes looking at his phone and every time he goes to the neighbour’s house ‘cause there’s Internet there and he gets online, and when he comes home he just turns on cartoons and watches. We always quarrel about that.”

Girl

5.1.4 Reasons and consequences of child labour

The reasons for the children’s engagement in agricultural work in this household are consistent with results from the quantitative study. When a household is not market oriented but subsists on diversified farming and has a sufficient number of adults, children are not required to work as intensively in agricultural activities. Children’s work is rather understood as labour socialization, preparation for future agricultural work, and learning how to perform various activities, than as a livelihood.

“Mostly to learn to work and for their own sake, so that later on they could run their own household and work.”

Father

The children too are aware that engagement in agricultural work on the farm in providing occasional help to the adults serves an instructive, labour socialization purpose.

The father believes that the children should start working in agriculture at the age of 9 or 10. The girl states that she started engaging in agricultural activities such as planting paprika at the age of 8 and doing chores such as tidying the room and folding laundry at the age of 9. However, when asked when children should be allowed to work, she responded at the age of 11 or 12, despite her own experiences. According to the girl, there should be no difference between boys and girls in respect of the age at which they start performing household chores or agricultural activities.

The attitudes of adult household members towards schooling are similar and reflect traditional gender roles. Both children attend school. The boy attends primary school and the girl secondary vocational school for hairdressers. According to the father, the children’s work is secondary, with school being a priority. The children are engaged in agricultural activities or household chores when they are not subject to school obligations. The father believes that both children should attend schools that “teach

The boy’s favourite work activities are those involving wood, such as cutting and arranging it etc. and driving the tractor. He also sometimes feeds the animals and cleans the stable. In the vegetable garden, he usually does the hoeing and watering, but he has never planted vegetables, and claims this work was usually done by his sister. On the other hand, the boy claims he does not like household chores at all. He notes that the division of labour is such that his sister is more involved in housework, and he in farming.

vocational skills”. However, the boy mentions that he sometimes skips school because of his duties on the farm and that his teachers accept the explanation that he has to stay and help his father and grandfather.

According to the girl, teachers in school monitor if and how children are engaged in agriculture and that they often ask about it and explain the risks and hazards. The boy also notes that teachers ask what children do, but only to obtain information, which is not usually followed by lectures about hazardous work or advice on how to protect themselves against certain risks.

The father claims the children have not been subject to injuries or diseases caused by performing agricultural activities, even though he is aware that in other households in the village, some children have been injured while driving a tractor or working with tools or machinery. However, the children mention some examples of injuries resulting from performing agricultural activities or household chores. In addition to minor cuts or falls in the garden without any major health consequences, the children provided examples of events that increased the risk of harm or injury. The girl describes a situation in which her brother suffered an injury while tending to animals, after which he was physically punished for being neglectful.

“We have a billy goat. It is belligerent, it has horns. I’m most afraid of it because it can pierce someone in the belly with its horns and that can be a disaster. For example, my brother once wanted to be like to goat, so he wrapped the rope around his own throat, he could have hanged himself if my father hadn’t been there, I called him for help so my brother wouldn’t choke. Then he got beaten up because of disobedience.”

Girl

The boy lists other examples of injuries.

“It happened when we were slaughtering the pig. My father took the little saw in his hands. I was holding the meat for him and as my finger slipped, it fell on that little saw and started bleeding. My father did not really see it. I saw it.”

Boy

The boy is not aware of all the risks to which he is exposed while performing agricultural activities. He recognizes the hazards he is subjected to by using tools, such as a hand saw and chainsaw, knives, chemicals sprayed

on plants, but he is not aware of hazards in working with animals or driving a tractor. He says that he protects himself against injuries by “being careful”, and has learned how to protect himself by watching his father perform such work. Learning is mostly done by observing, and from hands-on experience of family members, without too much in the way of instructions or explanations.

Both the boy and the girl say they wish to leave the village and move to the town, and the major reason stated by the girl is the lack of amenities in the villages (fun, shops, cafés), while the boy mentioned hard work and life in the country.

5.2 Case study 2: Child labour in market-oriented family farming

5.2.1 Household characteristics

The farm belongs to a multigenerational family consisting of a grandmother and a grandfather, parents and two children, a 12-year-old boy and a 9-year-old girl. The grandfather is a retired mechanical engineer having earned his pension as a non-agricultural employee, the father is a veterinary technician who works as a driver in a private company, the mother finished a secondary trade school and worked for a while in a graphic design company, but lost her job and now she and the grandmother work in agriculture only.

The household owns 3 hectares of land, but also rents additional land (0,5 hectare). The household's strategy for generating income is diversified; it is both market oriented and subsistence farming. The farm produces wheat, maize, vegetables (onions, paprika, beans, potatoes, tomatoes, carrots, cucumbers, etc.) in the garden and greenhouse, and owns some cattle (cows and pigs), as well as poultry. Wheat, maize, dairy products, veal, pork and chicken are sold in the market or from home as they have regular customers. Last year, they started growing baby cucumbers (exactly one row spanning 1km) on rented land, for which they had guaranteed purchase and good earnings, so they will continue with

the production. They plan to expand market-oriented farming, primarily by growing fruit, which they have never done before. First, they will start growing strawberries for which they have allocated a field, and they are also in the process of procuring a drip irrigation system, foils and other equipment. Their plan is to finance this expansion from their own funds and have not enquired into support programmes. The household also has basic machinery (a tractor with mounted implements), and owns outbuildings for cattle – a stable, hen house, pigsty, etc. They estimate their financial status as being middle class (“golden mean”).

The grandfather and father own the property. The key decision maker as it relates to farming is the grandfather, in whose name the farm is registered. The main impression conveyed by household members is that the agricultural work is intensive, led by the grandfather, with support from the entire family, including the children. The household is characterized by a strong “work ethic.” Work is highly valued and the grandfather is the one who motivates and is responsible for the work dynamics, mostly by setting an example; other adult members support him and apply the hard work model which the children have already internalized.

5.2.2. Characteristics of child labour and perceptions of hazards

In this case study, both children are involved in child labour due to two criteria – being younger than the allowed minimum age for an economic activity and their involvement in hazardous work.

According to the interview, the children's engagement in agricultural activities started very early and spontaneously. The children

were first taken to the field because it was the best way to take care of them during high season when all household members were engaged in agricultural work. In the beginning, the children only played around the adults, but they also observed, learned and slowly started “assisting” out of curiosity and for fun at a very early age (4-5). Later on, at the age of 8-9, they started to help out and work alongside the

adults. The son even began driving the tractor at the age of 8.

“Son, maybe at 8 or 9, started helping my husband to operate the tractor. I mean not operating on the road or so, but in the field, when we load hay, and then one needs only to move the tractor. He started doing that very early. Little daughter too, and son too, when we go to the garden and need to pick what we produced then they come with us and help us collect, load, and then we take it out of the dirt and sort it. It’s some of the work they did when they were little.”

Mother

The number of working hours depends on the season and type of products requiring the most intensive activity in a given period. The parents estimate that the children work on average three hours per day, but, in the peak season of picking cucumbers, for example, they spend about six hours a day working only on that activity. In the agricultural peak season, the boy is engaged about six to ten hours a week, and the daughter a little less than that.

When the boy works he is engaged in various agricultural activities: working in the field and garden, feeding the animals, maintaining the area where the animals live, as well as operating the tractor. In addition to driving the tractor, the children perform other hazardous work, such as: working with heavy tools and machinery, carrying loads [even though the parents note this is always in line with the child’s age], cutting wood. Among the activities the boy described being involved in, animal production, hunting, logging, support services to forestry have been identified as hazardous activities. One of the riskiest activities is operating a tractor which is also the favourite type of work performed by the boy.

“During the day, if the grandfather or father go into the field, I come along to help if necessary or if the tractor breaks down, I come home to let the neighbour know and he goes and tow it away... sometimes we plough, sometimes we disc, sometimes we sow. I like best to go into the field and drive the tractor. When my grandfather goes to plough, he gets off the tractor and lets me drive it. He starts ploughing for two or three metres and then I continue, and when he tills the land with a disc harrow, he gets off and I do everything myself.”

Boy

While the father states that the boy is only allowed to drive the tractor in the field, the boy

reveals that he drives it on the road as well, and not only the local country road.

“First when I started, I drove it in the field. I wasn’t allowed to drive it on the road. I drove it in the field myself. Dad shifts into the first slow gear and I drive. Later, I started driving on roads too, and after about a year I started driving on main roads as well.”

Boy

Even though both parents and both children mention that neither take part in activities related to spraying nor go into the field during and after spraying due to harmful chemicals, the boy mentioned during the interview that he sometimes participates in pesticide preparation.

“When spraying is done, I stay away. Because of poisons, fumes, so I wouldn’t inhale those. I don’t like when sprayed is done. I stay away ‘cause the poisons stink, they don’t smell nice..... when poison needs to dissolve it is poured into a barrel, he (father) fills the barrel, pours the poison in a bucket. I mix it by hand so that poison is all nicely dissolved, for him to fill and go.”

Boy

The boy even took part in hunting and foraging activities, including mushrooms without sufficient knowledge regarding edible and inedible types of mushrooms.

“Yes, we picked mushrooms (father and son), but we are not too reliable when it comes to that...I don’t know which one is good.”

Father

The girl is involved in gardening activities such as picking baby cucumbers, and also tends to cattle. She particularly likes taking care of the cow, but she does more difficult work as well, such as cleaning the stable.

“I like brushing it (the cow). When grandfather is not there, I give it some hay. I clean and tidy the stable... I take out the manure, we have a special cart to take it out. When it is full, we take it all out and pour it outside and then take the empty cart back inside.”

Girl

The children are not taken to the field during spraying or whenever chemicals are used. The parents are well aware that it is harmful to their health. In addition to chemical hazards,

the parents recognize the risks of working with machinery, as well as with larger animals, but other than those they claim there are no risks.

The children learn how to work and to protect themselves against risks by watching their parents. Thus, for instance, they approach the animal slowly and allow it to get to know them, they stay clear of tools, and the children are not allowed to go into the field during or immediately after spraying to avoid chemical risks. The boy lists several protective mechanisms he has learned from his father and grandfather.

“When a tree is chopped down, then if someone does not know where the other person is, he cuts down the tree, and it can fall on that person and kill them.

When they go to the stable, I noticed that tactic too, they never approach a cow or a bull from behind. I had such a case. I came up to a calf. It was two

months old maybe, and I came up to it from behind and touched it on the back and it got scared, so it kicked me and I flew all the way to the other calf and... So, don't approach it until you let it know. When you do, it knows where you are and will not budge and when touch it, it prefers to be patted or scratched on the neck.

In the field you must be careful when using a rototiller. No one may stand on the rototiller. They may fall in front of it and get minced like meat. And when clover is mowed no one should come near the mower as it has 1600 rotations per second.... Grinding machine, when something is ground, if you're not careful you can cut yourself. Drill, if you're not careful, you can drill yourself, your hand, finger, something, and get injured again. The hot glue, if it sticks somewhere, and then if you shake to make it fall off, it won't fall off, and you get burned and you have sensitive spot if you leave it like this.”

Boy

5.2.3 Gendered patterns in labour division

Gendered patterns in labour division were observed in this household. They follow the general patterns established in the quantitative survey – the boy is more engaged in agricultural activities and the girl in household chores. The parents are aware of these differences, and they partly interpret them as the children's preferences rather than only the custom or other reasons being the cause of labour division. This is precisely the mechanism through which gendered division of labour becomes the norm. Since early childhood, children are directed towards different areas of work, and when they internalize social expectations, these models are interpreted as preferences rather than imposed social norms.

Therefore, the parents note that the boy generally shows greater interest in agricultural activities, he is generally more willing to work, he works harder, while the daughter is less willing to engage not only in agricultural activities but also in housework, and that she often protests and finally does something only when someone makes her do it. They attribute the daughter's unwillingness to work to her younger age. However, these statements were not reflected in an interview with the girl. Even though she mentions what she likes or does not like to do, her statements and behaviour show a clearly internalized norm of “work model.” She shows no negative attitudes towards work and on the contrary, she is happy to talk about some activities she performs. The boy emphasizes that he likes working in agriculture

and that he prefers it to going to school, even though he intends to be educated.

The father and the mother had conflicting responses when asked about patterns of labour division. The mother reported smaller differences in types of work completed by the girl and the boy, compared to the father's response. At first, she would say there were no differences in the types of work or activities completed by both children; however, with further questioning, she reported significant differences. She first reported that the children's engagement in agriculture was similar, at first justifying differences with the girl's younger age, but later stating that the children actually have different preferences, i.e., that the boy likes working in agriculture more than the girl. Her explanations appeared to minimize gender-based differences in children's engagement which are strongly rooted in local (and national) culture.

In a similar way, she described the work practices of adults. She initially stated that all of them work together and that everyone performs all activities, but in more detailed descriptions, her responses revealed gender-based labour divisions. Her narrative presented below intended to show that the boy is very much engaged in various household chores, which is usually the area of women's and girls' responsibilities.

“He (her son – author’s comment) does everything in the house except for washing dishes and he doesn’t like to collect leaves. No, he doesn’t like that. Otherwise, he does everything. He helps me with vacuuming, dusting, bringing in wood, emptying the ashtray, firing up the stove. In the house, what he likes most is bringing wood... It’s kind of a man’s job for him, as you say. He also likes firing up the stove... My little daughter is younger, she is still adjusting, but she wants to help too when we tell her to do something and she does help us, and me personally, in the kitchen, in doing household chores, in the vegetable garden, she is willing to do that.”

Mother

On the other hand, the father unambiguously indicates that the division of labour among children conforms to the norms on gender roles and considers it completely natural and appropriate. He said that the boy is engaged more in agriculture and the girl in household chores, explaining that this is exactly how it should be. When asked why he thinks this is how labour division should look like, he explained it by stressing the boy’s greater physical strength and endurance. On the other hand, he justifies the inferior engagement of the boy in household chores with [implicitly] cultural factors.

“Well, the boy can do the same things the girl does, but he shouldn’t. To some extent only. Well, we shouldn’t exaggerate, it’s Serbia we live in.”

Father

The boy internalized these norms and explains why the division of labour is such that boys [not only him, but all other boys in the village as well] are more engaged in agriculture, and girls more in household chores.

“Boys physically work harder than girls. Girls can’t just take an axe and cut wood, but boys can. Boys are stronger and bigger and more developed than girls. Girls are gentle, careful. Girls do housework: washing dishes, bringing in wood, nothing too heavy, vacuuming and dusting.”

Boy

On the other hand, the girl points to the important role of the mother in shaping these gender patterns of division of labour.

“Mom says to me, you are a woman, you should do more work in the house, and he is a man, he needs to do more work outside in the yard.”

Girl

Gender patterns are also noticeable in property inheritance plans. The father expressed his intention that the boy should inherit the land one day, because it is the tradition.

“Well, that’s how it is here, I mean from one generation to the next. You know, from father to son, and from son to grandson, and so on. That’s the only reason, no other particular reasons.”

Father

The mother also shared her experience from when she renounced her property rights in her brother’s favour. This foregoing of rights is expected from women and is deemed to be a positive attitude of a woman, who should be ready to waive her own benefits because male successors are those who will continue “the family line”.

“According to some ancient Serbian tradition, the son usually inherits the property, but not necessarily. I also have an older brother and, as his sister, one day I may be offered to take a part. And my daughter will one day be offered or we will make sure she gets something, so to speak, but we are not raised to take something from our brothers, at least I didn’t take anything from mine. My father offered me, but that is how I was brought up ... And the son inherits the last name. In the days to come, that house and that last name will remain there, and the daughter, according to Serbian customs, moves house.”

Mother

These expectations and plans are also reflected in children’s minds. The boy claims that he would like to stay in the village, inherit the property and be engaged in agriculture. He repeatedly stated that he loves animals and agriculture and that he could not live in the city. The girl, on the other hand, for now has no clear idea of what she wishes for the future which should not be surprising as she is still very young, but this also reflects the parents’ tendency to direct their son more specifically towards staying and taking over the land.

5.2.4 Reasons and consequences of child labour

In this household, labour socialization is only one of the reasons why children are engaged in agricultural activities. Early engagement in agriculture is a social norm that is transferred from parents to children for generations. Children in this household also believe it is only natural that they engage in work activities so early. Their statements show internalized norms reflecting high value for work and work accomplishments. The girl estimates that children as young as 4 years old in the countryside could help out in the garden, while they should engage in household chores somewhat later, at 5-6, because household chores are more difficult. This is probably because she is more engaged in household chores, as is presented below, in the chapter dealing with gender aspects of child labour. The boy estimates, though, that children should begin engaging in household chores at the age of 5 and in agriculture at the age of 7.

The children are also working because the household has a need for additional labour, due to the relatively high level of production. However,, external labour supply is not sought but rather the household includes the children and gradually increases the work engagement of household members. Neighbours from the village occasionally come to help, as part of a customary exchange of work between households, rather than as day labourers.

In this case too, schooling is considered a priority which must not be neglected due to agricultural work. Both parents and children express this view. The boy states he skipped school only once, to go to the agricultural fair in Novi Sad with his grandfather and the teacher accepted this explanation. In addition to school duties, extracurricular activities are also considered very important, hence the mother says that, if the child has a folk-dance class, he or she will not take part in housework.

“School comes first. Education should not suffer because the family is engaged in agriculture.”

Mother

The parents express the desire for their children to receive education, at least to graduate from secondary school, and preferably from university as well. They hope that the children will be able to find a job outside of agriculture,

with employment in the state sector having a higher value than working for a private employer.

According to the parents, the children haven't suffered any injuries or health problems due to work performed in agriculture. The girl said that she occasionally gets injured while picking cucumbers, because they are prickly. She also talked about some dangerous experiences she experienced with her brother while performing work activities, which her brother confirmed.

“He was little (her brother – author's comment), he turned on the tractor and the tractor started moving and my brother crawled under where we store the maize and the tractor went on moving, and my brother managed to get out later.”

“Granny told me and my brother to keep an eye on the fire, we kept on putting wood in the stove to make sure it doesn't die down and my sock caught fire so I took it off immediately and threw it away.”

“Grandpa is usually there and he tells me he cannot get off the tractor and the tractor will stop working and he (her brother – author's comment) is not there, mom is not there, there is nobody else and so I have to jump over the spikes in order to move, so that grandpa can...”

Girl

The children's daily routine involves performing work activities, but it does not affect their education; it is part of the lifestyle and socialization of children in rural areas. Work is considered a part of socialization which is developed by observing others and taking part in the work while being “mentored” by adult household members. The models of gender roles and socialization also involve learning strategies about how to protect oneself from the risks associated with hazardous work. The example of the boy from this farm shows to what extent children may be exposed to diverse and high risks, which the parents and other adults raising the children accept as usual and “normal”. This case clearly shows the need to raise awareness about hazardous work among the rural population and to specify more precisely what kinds of activities children of a particular age should be excluded from when regularly performed by the household.

5.3 Case study 3: Child labour in a company engaged in agriculture

5.3.1 Background on the company

The company that is the focus of this case study was established after the Second World War as an agricultural estate engaged in farming and livestock production. It was socially-owned until the first half of the 2000s, when the privatization of state and social property began in Serbia. After privatization, it operated as a branch of a larger private company engaged in agricultural production (farming and livestock production), storage, transportation and trade in agricultural goods, the sale and servicing of agricultural machinery and other activities on the territory of Vojvodina province.

The company's core activities today are the production of various seeds and vegetables on more than 1,000 hectares, as well as livestock production (pig farm). In the last few years, the goods and services produced have been sold on the local/regional market, while some of it has been exported.

The company is medium-sized with about 70 full-time employees, and every year it hires

seasonal workers during the summer months for extensive agricultural activity (from mid-June to mid-September). This year about 9,500 seasonal labourers were engaged, of which about 1,000 children. In addition to the population of the municipality where the company is based, seasonal work also involved people mainly from the surrounding municipalities.

According to publicly available financial reports for the past three years, which can be accessed through the website of the Business Registers Agency, the company generated a profit for two years, and reported financial losses for one year. Based on the information received from the manager the company's production remains stable even though agricultural production which is the core activity, largely depends on climate conditions and changes from year to year.

5.3.2 Characteristics of child labour

The company owns large tracts of land and has a substantial volume of work and thus needs to employ a large number of people. In addition to adult seasonal labourers working for the company each year, certain activities

involve a substantial number of children. According to the manager, the trend of the last couple of years indicates an increasing number of children engaged seasonally.

5.3.3 Work involving children

Children are engaged in seed production through youth/student associations, and they perform different types of activities. Children are involved in two key occupations: the majority of children are field workers (performing various tasks in seed production, above all removing tassels from maternal plants (maize), removing atypical plants and weed from around the crops), while those who have several years of experience in

the company are employed as supervisors (controllers) of other labourers. Some children are also engaged in other tasks which are not strictly agriculture-related. For example, a respondent who was engaged by the company as a child for several consecutive years performed construction work during the building of a new facility.

5.3.4 Age and gender of children

In the majority of cases, the employed children are between 15 and 17 years of age. There are, however, certain exceptions. Even though we were told during the survey that none of the employed children were younger than 15, two respondents who as children worked seasonally for the company said they started

working before turning 15. This is in violation of the statutory minimum age for employment.

According to the responses received from the company manager in the first, survey phase of the research, boys and girls are equally engaged in agricultural work in this company.

5.3.5 Dynamics and intensity of work

The company does not employ any children full-time ; children are solely engaged under temporary and occasional work contracts. As already mentioned, children are engaged during the most intensive agricultural activity, namely during the summer peak period, from mid-June to mid-September. According to information received from both the manager and former employees, the working hours are eight hours a day and the working week is most often six days, Monday to Saturday. However, when production so requires, workers work seven days a week. Working on Sundays is voluntary and the manager says that it involves far less people, mostly for quality control purposes.

“...we work six days a week and one more, when required. That means six plus one, i.e., all seven days of the week, which depends on seed production, but on the seventh day, for example we do some control work, since this is a specific production and we hire, let's say, four or five times less people than the previous day, in order not to fall behind with the seed production.”

Company Manager

5.3.6 Working conditions

According to information gathered from the interviews, the company has cooperative agreements and contracts with youth and student associations to employ children. Before they start working, children sign a temporary and occasional work contract with the association, which stipulates inter alia the working hours, payment method, contributions, health insurance, and occupational injury insurance. The wage is calculated on an hourly basis and paid once a week through the association. Employees of the company report that in the past years, they were always paid on time.

The average working hours are eight hours per day, but the start and end of the working day depend on weather conditions. At the beginning of the season, it is usually from 7 a.m. to 3 p.m., but the working hours are adjusted in periods of intense heat, so as to start two hours earlier in order to finish an hour or two earlier.

Although the respondents emphasized that the amount of work is strictly voluntary, namely that children have the possibility to decide how much they want to work, there are clearly cases of child labour. This is due to the total number of working hours, as well as in relation to the age of the children engaged. On one hand, many children work all six days and their total number of hours exceeds the statutory 43-hour limit per week for children aged 15–17. It should be taken into account that some children work on Sundays as well, which increases the number of weekly working hours [although these children work of their own free will]. On the other hand, as has already been mentioned, the company employs children younger than 15, which is not legal.

Children's involvement in agricultural production for the company is a seasonal practice and coincides with the summer vacation and thus does not affect their schooling. Even children who wish to continue working after the start of the school year in September only work on weekends.

Organized transport to and from the place of work is provided for children and other seasonal labourers. In addition, water is provided in sufficient quantities, but the workers need to bring their own food. They may take breaks, the frequency and duration of which increases in hot weather.

“Well, regarding the weather, when it was really hot and when you couldn't work, people took longer breaks so that they could rest and wouldn't collapse. Or, when it was too cold, nobody was forced to work, they could go home at any moment, their working hours would be recorded and they would get paid accordingly. So it was up to you, whether you want to work or not. Nobody was forced to work, whether hot or cold you could choose, but it was ok most of the time, we were able to work. It wasn't like people couldn't work, and when they really couldn't, there were longer breaks, every 15 to 20 minutes we take a break for 5 to 10 minutes, so that people could continue working.”

Male respondent who worked in the company as a child

5.3.7 Organization of work and social relations in the work environment

During the season of intensive agricultural work, seasonal labourers (both adults and children) are divided into a certain number of groups, each having one person in charge of process and quality control. According to the respondents who worked in the same company as children, even though the groups were both homogenous and of mixed ages, children tended to stick together with their peers or acquaintances wherever possible.

“Well, frankly, there was great solidarity amongst us children, and we were really united, and we always helped each other out, we always tried to stick together and not mix with adults. They simply had their own groups, that’s all.”

Female respondent who worked in the company as a child

“...It was kind of a relief; the work was less difficult when I was with someone I knew.”

Male respondent who worked in the company as a child

There is a strong sense of solidarity and mutual support among the children, however, there is also a certain generational gap. Namely, the respondents who worked in the company as children say that communication with adults was sometimes difficult for them, even burdensome. This was due to the way adults communicated (using foul language) and to occasional verbal conflicts and tension among the groups. While this was especially characteristic of the initial period of their work engagement most workers managed to gradually develop friendly relations after coming to work for several years in a row.

5.3.8 Exposure to difficult conditions and hazards at work

According to the respondents’ statements, the key risk factor at work is exposure to extremely high temperatures, but also to UV radiation and dust. However, the company is aware of these risks and the working hours are accordingly adjusted to the weather conditions with earlier starting and finishing times, or a shorter workday than the envisaged eight hours. Furthermore, breaks are taken more frequently in extremely hot or cold weather and a medical team from the local healthcare centre is on standby in case somebody should require medical help. To this day, no children have suffered from health problems that are directly work-related. Such cases have mainly involved adults.

“Generally speaking, there have been no problems with children, but there were cases of adults collapsing, so during the hottest weather we cooperate with the local healthcare centre, and when necessary, they send an ambulance since the land plots are quite big and work may get very

tiring, especially if the maize has been watered and the water has started evaporating on that particular day when we arrive, the municipality... so they send the ambulance car from the healthcare centre, just to be here if someone should collapse or something, but this year we only had one such case, and it was an elderly lady.”

Company Manager

Due to the heavy work load, occasionally there is a need for overtime work, which is paid double per hour. However, the workers are not obligated to stay longer than their prescribed working hours. Overtime work is a matter of personal choice, the respondents told us.

Finally, a respondent who was engaged in agricultural work for many successive years in the company when she was a girl, states that there were risks of injury (cuts from maize leaves and irritations on unprotected parts of the skin), due to which she wore protective clothes.

5.3.9 Gender aspects of child labour

According to the respondents, it can be concluded that gender does not play a major role in the work performed by children in the company which is the focus of the analysis. There are neither gender-based divisions of labour nor differences in pay and the hourly rate depends on the type of work a person does [children engaged as controllers have slightly higher hourly rates].

Although the respondents didn't point out any differences between the tasks assigned to children, a young man who worked in the

company as a child believes there are certain jobs that elderly women are not able to do. Namely, while children perform tasks that are considered "easier" and age appropriate [such as removing tassels], adult labourers are mainly engaged in more physically demanding tasks [picking beet, loosening the soil, working in taxing positions and the like]. According to this young man, work should be organized so that elderly women are less involved in such demanding activities and more in those adapted to their capabilities, i.e., in "easier" tasks.

5.3.10 Children's motivation to work and employer's motivation to engage children

From the manager's perspective, the engagement of children is not conditioned by their age, namely the company does not look explicitly for children when recruiting seasonal labourers for specific jobs [primarily de-tasselling maize and the like]. However, engaging children has become a practice, especially the children living in the municipality where the company is based, as well as in the surrounding settlements. All respondents say that there are almost no harmful consequences for children, and the manager says that children are often quicker and more efficient than adults in performing certain tasks, as well as more responsible and dedicated.

"...we do not hire children or request them by default, we don't do that for our own benefit, they rather apply for jobs themselves, and they also prove to be slightly more resourceful than adults. They

are slightly quicker as well, those children that are responsible and want to work."

Company Manager

On the other hand, from the children's perspective, the key motive for working in this company is to earn money, as well as to gain experience and spend time with their peers. The wage they earn is most often used for personal pocket money that they spend on clothes, going to the movies or concerts, going out or buying school accessories.

However, this money also contributes to improving their household's standard of living, since during the summer entire families often engage in the extensive agricultural work that takes place at that time within this particular company.

6. Conclusion

Child labour in agriculture is a social problem that is not sufficiently examined and is not embedded in relevant policies.

In Serbia there is a basic legal framework covering protection of children. This framework is defined by key international conventions and domestic laws, but it does not define child labour as a specific category of structural violence against children that should be eradicated. Policies in the field of agriculture and rural development do not recognize and do not address the issue of child labour in rural areas (where it most often occurs) and in agriculture.

The survey conducted as part of this rapid assessment has yielded much new information about the extent and characteristics of child labour in agriculture in Serbia. The data show that a large number of children in rural areas, slightly more than half, are economically active. If the definition of child labour is strictly applied, around half of this economic activity can be classified as child labour, which is a fairly high rate. However, if we look deeper into the characteristics of such defined child labour, we see that approximately half of this is the occasional work of children aged 5–11 within their own holdings and for a short duration, with slightly longer intervals in the harvest season. The extent and content of the children's economic activity in rural areas is predominantly determined by the lifestyle of their households and the respective role of agriculture, which means that children generally work little, and primarily in order to help their parents and acquire work habits. These economic activities do not, as a rule, jeopardize school attendance and the normal development of rural children.

The second group, slightly more than half of child labourers, are mostly older children, who are exposed to hazardous work and unfavourable working conditions. About one eighth of rural children aged 5–17 years in Serbia are involved in such work, which is characterized by risks typical for the main agricultural work in which children are engaged, namely grain, fruit and vegetable farming. Thus, it commonly occurs that children

work in dust or heat, carry heavy loads, work with dangerous tools or heavy machinery, and are also exposed to increased noise or chemicals. The older the children are, the more frequent their economic activity in agriculture becomes, and likewise the exposure to the above-mentioned hazards. These are the problems that should be prioritized when planning and implementing measures for monitoring and preventing child labour in agriculture. Parents, representatives of local educational and healthcare institutions, and even children themselves are aware that work in agriculture carries risks and should be carefully monitored and controlled, but the impression given is that the tolerance threshold there has been moved and that some of the hazards are assumed as inevitable.

Another important conclusion relates to the economic activity of children in agriculture as a source of gender segregation at an early age. The research exhibited a clear expression of gender patterns of labour, where the participation of boys is greater in an economic activity, while girls are more engaged in household chores. Therefore, boys are more exposed to agricultural work hazards, while girls are withdrawn from activities that ultimately generate income and are thus deprived of a specific dimension of labour socialization.

Regarding the development of measures and mechanisms for monitoring and preventing child labour in agriculture, there are two important conclusions. The first is that this task is currently not under the direct competence of any executive authority at the national level. Private holdings do not fall under the competence of labour inspection, which could register cases of violations of the Labour Law and the Regulation on Determining Hazardous Work for Children; therefore, it can only react to, as we have seen, cases of child labour in legal entities that are engaged in agriculture. The economic activity of children is not the subject of centres for social work, except indirectly in cases where its outcome is some

form of child abuse reported through a regular procedure. The Ministry of Agriculture is not in charge of dealing with the issue of child work in agriculture, because the issues of labour and employment, as well as the issues of the social protection of children, exceed its competences. Another important conclusion is that local institutions dealing with children, such as schools and clinics/health centres (if any), already play an indirect role in preventing child labour in agriculture, which should be used in planning an appropriate policy in this field.

Not only do these institutions already have an obligation to report cases in which child labour results in visible negative consequences for a child (school non-attendance, over-fatigue, injuries, chronic illness), but they also contribute to local communities, where they can form a platform and raise awareness of the detrimental consequences of child labour on the child's healthy and safe development, as well as the harmful practices that occur in agricultural work. But for now, these activities do not have a proper framework or regulation.

7. Recommendations

The above conclusions lead to the following recommendations:

- **Address child labour elimination through rural development policies.** Our research has demonstrated that important factors related to rural areas generate higher rates of child labour. There are two major sources of risk: [1] the way of life on small farm holdings assumes the economic engagement of children in light agricultural jobs at an early age, with an increase of their participation in hazardous work as they approach the age of 18; and [2] new investments in agriculture, especially those increasing fruit and vegetable production, bring a higher probability of seasonal engagement of children aged 15–17 under hazardous circumstances.
- **Establish a coordination body at national level for the prevention of child labour.**
- **Determine the direct competence of the appropriate national authority to monitor and prevent child labour in agriculture.** This may be a new competence of the appropriate authority within the Ministry of Agriculture. At the local level the Teams for the protection of children from abuse should be utilized for the purpose of monitoring and preventing child labour. A decentralized approach to this problem leaves many relevant actors uninformed and/or powerless, thus marginalizing child labour and its consequences.
- **Strengthen the inspection oversight of legal entities engaged in agricultural activities, especially during seasonal work periods.** The rapid assessment shows that in the harvest season large producers engage children's work under hazardous circumstances.
- **Address child labour through child protection policies, because child labour can endanger child development and welfare.** Much of child labour occurs within rural families, where the labour inspectorate does not have authority, while centres for social work only pay attention to reported cases of neglect or violence. Therefore, child labour should be treated more widely as a problem and different actors should be included in its prevention.
- **Increase the number of institutions for daily care for children during seasonal peaks in agricultural work.** This way parents could leave their children in specialized institutions for child care and development and decrease the risk of involving them in child labour.
- **Define procedures through which local schools and clinics/health centres, as well as relevant centres for social work, will play a role in regular reporting on child labour, and raise awareness in the local community about the detrimental effects of child labour and the risks posed by agricultural activities.** The rapid assessment findings show that local schools and clinics/health centres are the actors most engaged with children at the local level and have the most accurate information on child labour in their surroundings. They should cooperate closely with centres for social work as the first-line actors in the system of child protection and warn them in the case of long absence from school or physical injury or fatigue.
- **Design and conduct a national awareness-raising campaign on child labour in general and specifically child labour in agriculture, as it is likely the most common form of child labour in Serbia.** This campaign should also include workshops with decision-makers and creators of public opinion, and information dissemination to the public about this topic. One important way of awareness raising should be the formal introduction of the topic of child labour in a relevant syllabus, so that children have a duty to discuss issues and become familiar with health and safety hazards already at the beginning of their formal education. Child labour in agriculture is most often normalized as a part of traditional culture, both in rural families and among institutions dealing with children, thus exposing children to hazards. Also, companies as tentative employers of children should be targeted in this campaign through the forums and platforms in which they participate together with public institutions and civil society organizations .
- **Disaggregate administrative statistics reports on child labour according to a definition base:** Excessive work and hazardous activities for different age groups; the indication of hazardous labour activities could be generated from the occupation description provided for by the International Standard Classification of Occupations (ISCO) in the LFS. In order to monitor and assess child labour inside rural households (natural production), economic activities should be registered for each household member aged 5–14, also in the LFS.
- **Include the above recommendations in the new National Action Plan for Children (to be initiated in 2018).** This will motivate an awareness-raising campaign and prevention related to it, as well as accelerate the definition and implementation of a policy for the prevention of child labour in agriculture in Serbia.

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Annexes

Annex I: Regulation on hazardous labour of children

Pursuant to Article 123, Item 3 of the Constitution of the Republic of Serbia [“Official Gazette of RS”, No. 98/06], Article 4, Paragraph 1 of the ILO Convention No. 182 on the Worst Forms of Child Labour [“Official Gazette of FRY-International Agreements “, No. 2/03] and Article 42, Paragraph 1 of the Law on Government [“Official Gazette of RS”, No. 55/05, 71/05 - correction, 101/07, 65/08, 16/11, 68/12 – decision of the Constitutional Court, 72/12, 7/14 – decision of the Constitutional Court and 44/14]

The Government issues the following:

Regulation On Hazardous Labour Of Children

Basic provisions

Article 1

This Regulation shall determine the hazardous labour for children taking into account Paragraphs 3 and 4 of the ILO Recommendation No. 190 on Prohibition and Immediate Action for the Elimination of the Worst Forms of Child Labour [“Official Gazette of FRY - International Agreements “, No. 2/03].

The purpose of the Regulation hereof is to ensure protection of children from hazardous labour in accordance with regulations governing children’s rights, as well as regulations in the field of labour, safety and health at work, health protection and education.

All terms used in this Regulation in masculine gender comprise the same terms in feminine gender.

Meaning of certain terms and designations

Article 2

Certain terms for the purpose of this Regulation have the following meaning:

1. Hazardous labour for children represents the work that is likely to harm the health, safety or moral of children; labour which might expose children to hazards or might be performed within hazardous circumstances or hazardous economic activities for children;
2. The term “child” includes all young persons of less than 18 years of age;
3. The term “employer” includes every natural or legal person that employs or under whose directive the child performs work, regardless of whether the child is formally or informally engaged;
4. Vocational education represents a form of secondary education for acquiring an appropriate qualification for work in a profession or in a group of professions. It comprises secondary education in duration of three or four years, and other forms of vocational education – education for work, vocational training and practical training.

Sections, divisions, classes and groups in Lists No. 3-5 are labelled in accordance with the regulations governing the classification of activities.

Lists of hazardous exposures, hazardous circumstances and hazardous economic activities for children

Article 3

Hazardous labour for children, in addition to the hazardous exposures, processes and work specified in the Rulebook on preventive measures for safe and healthy work of young people [“Official Gazette of RS”, No. 102/16] also encompasses the hazardous exposures, circumstances and economic activities specified in the Annex to the Regulation hereof, forming its integral part and containing the following:

1. List No. 1 «Hazardous exposures for children (physical and chemical) »;
2. List No. 2 «Hazardous circumstances for children»;
3. List No. 3 «Hazardous economic activities for children»;
4. List No. 4 «Hazardous economic activities for children under the age of 15»;
5. List No. 5 «Hazardous economic activities for children in process of vocational education».

The sequence of hazardous exposures, circumstances and economic activities indicated in the Lists from Items 1)-5) is not made according to the increasing extent of their harmful effects.

Article 4

If during the work in the sections mentioned in Lists No. 3-5 of this Regulation there is an exposure to hazards or circumstances mentioned in the Lists No. 1 and 2, the hazardous work refers to all tasks within divisions, classes and groups of the mentioned sections.

Obligations of institutions for vocational education and ensuring the implementation of preventive measures

Article 5

Institution for vocational education, professional school or organizer of a practical training is obliged to provide supervision of teachers or mentors to children in the context of vocational education, as well as the highest standards of safety and health at work.

Exposure to specific risks in vocational education is prohibited or limited, in cases of:

1. Hazardous exposures, which refer to:

[a] high-pressure atmosphere[pressurized containers, diving and similar]; ionizing radiation; acute toxicity, category 1, 2 or 3 [H300, H310, H330, H301, H311, H331]; explosives, categories ‘Unstable explosive’, or explosives of Divisions 1.1, 1.2, 1.3, 1.4, 1.5 [H200, H201, H202, H203, H204, H205]; Self-reactive substances and mixtures, type A, B, C or D [H240, H241, H242]; Specific target organ toxicity after single exposure, category 1 or 2 [H370, H371]; Carcinogenicity [asbestos and other human carcinogens listed by WHO and IARC, Lion, in I and IIA groups, as well as, category 1A, 1B or 2 [H350, H350i, H351]]; Germ cell mutagenicity, category 1A, 1B or 2 [H340, H341]; Reproductive toxicity, lead and its derivatives [if those substances can be absorbed by human organism], and other matters from category 1A or 1B [H360, H360F, H360FD, H360Fd, H360D, H360Df] – shall not be permitted,

[b] Unfavourable climate or microclimate conditions [extreme cold or heat conditions, high humidity etc.]; Heavy mental and/or physical workload [e.g., energy consumption of more than 20 kJ / min, lifting of a load in one operation for children over the age of 15 years not more than 10 kg and for children under the age of 15 years not more than 7 kg with individual approach considering the degree of development of locomotor system and organism as a whole, as well as conditions in which work is performed; high level of non-ionizing radiation [ultraviolet and infrared above threshold limit values defined in the Rulebook on preventive measures for safe and healthy work when exposed to artificial optical radiation]; Noise above 85 dB[A]; Harmful vibrations; Biological agents of risk groups 3 and 4 [as defined in the Rulebook on preventive measures for safe and healthy work when exposed to biological hazards]; Skin corrosion, category 1A, 1B or 1C [H314]; Flammable gas, category 1 or 2 [H220, H221]; Flammable aerosols, category 1 [H222]; Flammable liquid, category 1 or 2 [H224, H225]; Organic peroxides, type A or B [H240, H241]; Specific target organ toxicity after repeated exposure, category 1 or 2 [H372, H373]; Respiratory sensitization, category 1, subcategory 1A or 1B [H334]; Skin sensitization, category 1, subcategory 1A or 1B [H317]; Tobacco smoke – shall be permitted up to a maximum of 1/3 of monthly work hours of adults;

2. Circumstances, which refer to:

- [a] Underground works [work in mines and similar]; Overtime work; Work on crossroads; Work with fierce or poisonous animals; Work involving a risk of structural collapse; Work outside the place of residence for children under 15 years of age - shall not be permitted,
- [b] Work involving high-voltage electrical hazards of 230/400 V or more; Animal slaughtering on an industrial scale - shall be permitted up to a maximum of 1/3 of monthly work hours of adults,
- [c] Work in confined spaces [entrances to machinery, channels, etc.]; Work at height or in depth; Manufacture and handling of devices, fireworks or other objects containing explosives; Work which includes handling of equipment for manufacturing, storing or application of compressed, liquefied or dissolved gases; Work with dangerous machines, instruments and sharp objects; Work in un-physiological body positions [prolonged standing, kneeling, curved position etc.]; Work the pace of which is determined by machinery [work at moving assembly line and similar]; Work with barrels, tanks, reservoirs or bottles containing chemicals referred to in Item 1) Sub item [1] of this Annex; - shall be permitted up to a maximum of 1/5 of monthly work hours;

3. Activities which refer to: collection of hazardous waste; Waste treatment and disposal; Remediation activities and other waste management services; Security and investigation activities; Gambling and betting activities; Funeral and related activities - shall not be permitted.

Obligations of an employer and ensuring the implementation of preventive measures

Article 6

The employer shall not engage the child or require them to perform hazardous work, unless this Regulation prescribes a manner in which persons under 18 years of age can perform the hazardous work.

The employer is obliged to implement preventive measures prescribed by the law regulating occupational safety and health, to eliminate or reduce to a minimum health risks of children at work, in particular regarding their mental and physical development.

Entry into force and implementation

Article 7

This Regulation shall enter into force on the eighth day from the day of its publication in the "Official Gazette of the Republic of Serbia", and it shall be implemented as of January 1, 2018.

05 No: 110-5096/2017
In Belgrade, 29 May 2017

G O V E R N M E N T

PRIME MINISTER

Aleksandar Vučić

Appendix to the REGULATION ON HAZARDOUS LABOUR OF CHILDREN

List no. 1: Hazardous exposures for children (physical and chemical)

1.1. Physical hazards

1.1.1. Work in a high-pressure atmosphere, e. g. in pressurized containers, diving etc.

1.1.2. Heavy mental and/or physical workload [e.g., energy consumption of more than 20 kJ / min, lifting of a load in one operation for a. children over the age of 15 years not more than 10 kg and for children under the age of 15 years not more than 7 kg with individual approach considering the degree of development of locomotors system and organism as a whole, as well as conditions in which work is performed]

1.1.3. Work involving harmful exposure to non-ionizing radiation [ultraviolet and infrared above threshold limit values defined in the Rulebook on preventive measures for safe and healthy work when exposed to artificial optical radiation]

1.1.4. Noise above 85 dB[A]

1.1.5. Harmful vibrations;

1.2. Chemical hazards

1.2.1. Tobacco smoke;

List no. 2: Hazardous circumstances for children

2.1. Underground works [work in mines]

2.2. Overtime work

2.3. Work on crossroads

2.4. Work outside the place of residence for children under the age of 15 years

2.5. Work in confined spaces [carrying out operations in confined spaces-entrances to machinery, channels, etc.]

2.6. Work at height and in depth

2.7. Work with dangerous machines, instruments and sharp objects

2.8. Work in un-physiological body positions [prolonged standing, kneeling, curved position etc.]

List no. 3: Hazardous economic activities for children

	Section	Division	Group	Classes	Jobs performed within following economic activities
3.1	B				Mining and Quarrying
3.2	D				Electricity, Gas, Steam and Air Conditioning Supply
3.3	A	1	6	1	Support activities for crop production
3.4	A	1	6	2	Support activities for animal production
3.5	A	1	7		Hunting, trapping and related service activities
3.6	A	2	2		Logging
3.7	A	2	4		Support services to forestry
3.8	A	3	1		Fishing
3.9	E	37			Sewerage

3.10	E	38	1	2	Collection of hazardous waste
3.11	E	38	2		Waste treatment and disposal
3.12	E	38	3		Materials recovery
3.13	E	39			Remediation activities and other waste management services
3.14	N	80			Security and investigation activities
3.15	Q	86			Human health activities
3.16	R	92			Gambling and betting activities
3.17	S	96		3	Funeral and related activities
3.18	S	96		4	Activities of physical well-being institutes
3.19	S	96		9	Other personal service activities n.e.c.

List no. 4: Hazardous economic activities for children under the age of 15

	Section	Division	Group	Classes	Jobs performed within following economic activities
4.1	C				Manufacturing
4.2	F				Construction
4.3	E	38	1	1	Collection of non-hazardous waste
4.4	A	1	4	1-4	Animal production
4.5	I	56			Food and beverage service activities
4.6	N	81			Services to building and landscape activities
4.7	S	96		1	Washing and (dry-)cleaning of textile and fur products
4.8	S	96		2	Hairdressing and other beauty treatment
4.9	T	97			Activities of households as employers of domestic personnel

List no.5: Hazardous economic activities for children in process of vocational education

	Section	Division	Group	Classes	Jobs performed within following economic activities
5.1.	E	38	1	2	Collection of hazardous waste
5.2.	E	38	2		Waste treatment and disposal
5.3.	E	39			Remediation activities and other waste management services
5.4.	E	37			Sewerage
5.5.	N	80			Security and investigation activities
5.6.	R	92			Gambling and betting activities

5.7.	S	96		3	Funeral and related activities
5.8.	B				Mining and Quarrying* ⁶
5.9.	C				Manufacturing* ⁶
5.10.	D				Electricity, Gas, Steam, and Air Conditioning Supply* ⁶
5.11.	F				Construction
5.12.	A	1	4	1-4.	Animal production
5.13.	A	1	6	1	Support activities for crop production
5.14.	A	1	6	2	Support activities for animal production
5.15.	A	1	7		Hunting, trapping and related service activities
5.16.	A	2	2		Logging
5.17.	A	2	4		Support services to forestry
5.18.	A	3	1		Fishing
5.19.	E	38	1	1	Collection of non- hazardous waste
5.20.	E	38	3		Materials recovery
5.21.	I	56			Accommodation and food service activities
5.22.	N	81			Services to buildings and landscape activities
5.23.	Q	86			Human health activities
5.24.	S	96		1	Washing and (dry-)cleaning of textile and fur products
5.25.	S	96		2	Hairdressing and other beauty treatment
5.26.	S	96		4	Activities of physical well-being institutes
5.27.	T	97			Activities of households as employers of domestic personnel

Annex II: Research tools

Instruments used during the research process:

4. Household survey questionnaire
5. Questionnaire for registered agricultural entities (excluding family farms)
6. Guide for focus group discussion with children
7. Guide for focus group discussion with parents
8. Protocol for the interview with the medical doctor/nurse
9. Protocol for the interview with the school teacher
10. Interview guide for case studies 1 and 2
11. Interview guides for case study 3

1. Household survey questionnaire

Child Labour Rapid Assessment Survey

Dear Household Member,

My name is [XXXXXXXX]. I work for SeConS, which is a social research organization based in Belgrade. SeConS is undertaking a social study on behalf of the International Labor Organization (ILO). The purpose of the study is to learn about work engagement of children aged 5–17 in agriculture in Serbia. For this purpose, SeConS is conducting a survey of rural households in 60 villages.

There are some questions about the household to be answered by the head of the household or his/her spouse. Also, there are some questions about individual work experiences of children in the household 5–17 years old, where we would like children's parents/guardians to answer for children 5–14 years old and children 15–17 years old to answer for themselves.

We appreciate that the data is very personal so please be reassured that this survey is confidential. Your information will be stored in a secure database that can only be accessed by the project team.

Complete one form for each household (A household consists of one or more people who live in the same dwelling and share the costs of living)

Household Questionnaire

(to be answered by the head of the household or his/her spouse)

A. LOCATION

A1. Settlement Location	
A1.1. Settlement name:	A1.2. Municipality:

A1.3. . What is the distance in KM to the nearest of this public buildings? (If less than 1 km please write 0,5)

A1.3.1. Primary health care for at least 1 day a week	_____ km	A1.3.5. Veterinarian ambulance	_____ km
A1.3.2. Primary school	_____ km	A1.3.6. Post office	_____ km
A1.3.3. Kindergarten	_____ km	A1.3.7. Grocery store	_____ km
A1.3.4. Public transportation every day	_____ km	A1.3.8. Agricultural pharmacy store	_____ km

B. HOUSEHOLD SURVEY IDENTITY

B1. Household Survey Identifier	
B1.1 Household Survey ID number:	B1.2. Number of household members
Settlement Interviewer initials Survey no. -	
B1.3 Number of children 5–14 years old in the household	B1.4 Number of children 15–17years old in the household
B2. Interviewee Details:	
B2.1. Name of person interviewed	
B2.2. Relationship to head of household (if person interviewed is not head of household)	
B2.3. Reason head of household not interviewed (if applicable):	

CONFIRMATION:

Print name of interviewee – (BLOCK CAPITALS)	Date and signature / initials
Print name of interviewer - (BLOCK CAPITALS)	Date and signature
Print name of reviewer - (BLOCK CAPITALS)	Date and signature

C. HOUSEHOLD DEMOGRAPHICS

Note. This table should be completed for all members of the household (whether related or not). Include all immediate family members (head, spouse, parents and children) who live away for work but return home to live on a regular basis (e.g., at least once a year).

#	C1.1 Name and Surname	C1.2. Relation to Head of Household	C1.3. Sex	C1.4. Year of birth	C1.5. Marital Status	C1.6. Literacy	C1.7. The level of completed education?	C1.8. Employment status
1.								
2.								
3.								
4.								
5.								
6.								
7.								
8.								

REFERENCE TABLE

C1.2. Relation to head of household

1. HoH
2. Spouse of HoH
3. Child of HoH
4. Spouse of child of HoH
5. Grandchild of HoH
6. Parent of HoH or of spouse of HoH
7. Other relatives living with household
8. Non-relative, living with household
9. Other (specify)

C1.3. Sex

1. Male
2. Female

C1.5. Marital Status

1. Married
2. Widowed
3. Divorced
4. Single
5. Co-habiting

C1.7. Highest Completed Education

1. None, N/A/too young
2. Some grades of elementary
3. Primary/elementary school
4. 3-years vocational secondary education
5. 4-years vocational secondary education
6. General secondary education
7. Tertiary education (e.g., Post-secondary school/university)

C1.6. Literacy

1. Fully literate (can read and write)
2. Basic literacy (can read but can't write)
3. Illiterate

Registered business is a business registered at Business Register Agency. A formally employed person is a person who has taken up employment with an employer and signed an employment contract granting them the formal status of an employee and a stable source of income (definition by the SORS). A farmer working on his/her unregistered farm to be coded as unregistered business owner. Such persons cannot perform additional informal farming, but can do other formal or informal jobs, including agricultural labor at other people's farms.

C1.9. During the last 7 days did _____ do any of the work activities remunerated in money or in kind and for how many hours?	C1.10. Primary occupation in the last 7 days (describe in couple of words) – ISCO	C1.11. Sector of primary occupation in last 7 days (describe the main activity i.e., goods produced and services rendered) - ISIC	C1.12. Where the main work in last 7 days was carried?	C1.13. If _____ had a secondary occupation in last 7 days, what was its sector (describe work activity) - ISIC

C1.8. Employment status:

1. Business owner – registered
2. Business owner – unregistered
3. Head of registered farm
4. Permanent full-time employee (with contract)
5. Permanent part-time employee (with contract)
6. Temporary employee (on short-term contract < 1 year)
7. Employee without contract
8. HH member helping on the family farm
9. HH member helping in the family business
10. Registered self –employed
11. Unregistered self-employed
12. Unemployed (looking for a job)
13. Retired
14. Pupil/student
15. Housewife
16. Other

C1.12.

1. At (his/her) family dwelling
2. Client's place
3. Formal office
4. Factory / Atelier
5. Plantations / farm / garden
6. Construction sites
7. Mines / quarry
8. Shop / kiosk / coffee house / restaurant / hotel
9. Different places (mobile)
10. Fixed, street or market stall
11. Pond/lake/river
12. Other

D. HOUSE/LAND OWNERSHIP

D1. Land Ownership

D1.1. Does a member of the household / the household itself own land apart from house garden (okucnica)?			
1	Yes	2	No
If not a land owner skip to question D1.5			
If a land owner:			
D1.2. Insert reference number of the household member (s) that owns the land:			
D1.3. What is the approximate size of the land owned in hectares		Hectares	
D1.4. Is the farm registered?	1	Yes	2 No
D1.5. Insert reference number of the household member (s) on whose name the farm is registered:			
If a land user/tenant			
D1.6. Do you rent land for farming purposes?	1	Yes	2 No
D1.7. What is the approximate size of the land that you rent (in hectares)?	Hectares		
D1.8. What is the total size of the land that your household cultivates? (owned and rented)	Hectares		

D2. Household Assets

D2.1.1. What is the status of the house your household lives in?			
1	Owns the house	2	Rents the house
3	Using someone's house for free		
D2.1.2. Since when has your household been living in this village?			
Since the year _____			
D2.1.3. If your household moved in here sooner than 1989, where did they come from?			
a) Country _____ b) Settlement _____			
Is your house equipped with the following?			
D2.2.1. Running water	1. Yes	2. No	
D2.2.2. Toilet	1. Yes	2. No	
D2.2.3. Bathroom	1. Yes	2. No	
D2.2.4. Washing machine	1. Yes	2. No	
D2.2.5. Deep freezer	1. Yes	2. No	
D2.2.6. Satellite TV	1. Yes	2. No	
D2.2.7. Mobile telephone	1. Yes	2. No	

Do members of your household own any of the following?		
D2.3.1. Modern stable (concrete floor, electricity, water supply)	1. Yes	2. No
D2.3.2. Modern chicken farm (same as above, more than 50 chickens)	1. Yes	2. No
D2.3.3. Equipment for modern fruit and/or vegetable production (greenhouse, anti-hail net, irrigation system, etc.)	1. Yes	2. No
D2.3.4. A barn	1. Yes	2. No
D2.3.5. A silo	1. Yes	2. No
D2.3.6. A warehouse	1. Yes	2. No
D2.3.7. Another housing unit (here or in another settlement)	1. Yes	2. No
D2.3.8. A business space (a store, an office or similar)	1. Yes	2. No

D2.4.1 Does a member of your household own a vehicle? (if no, go to G1.4)	1	Yes	2	No				
D2.4.2. If yes, what type (select all that apply)	1	Car	2	Motorbike	3	Tractor	4	Truck
	5	Other (specify)						
D2.4.3 If yes, how many vehicles are there in total in the household?								

E. AGRICULTURAL LIVELIHOODS

E 1.1 Does the household cultivate crops? If no, go to E2	1	Yes	2	No
E1.2 What do you cultivate crops for? (select all that apply)	1	Household consumption	2	Sale (crops and crops products)
	3	Exchange (barter)		
E1.3 What are the top three crops in volume that you produce?	1. Primary crop: _____kg			
	2. Secondary crop: _____kg			
	3. Third crop: _____kg			

E2. Livestock

E2.1 Does the household own livestock? If no, go to E4	1	Yes	2	No
E2.2 What do you keep livestock for? (select all that apply)	1	Household consumption	2	Sale (animals and animal products)
	3	Exchange (barter)		
E2.3 What are the top livestock that you rear?	1. Primary livestock:			
	2. Secondary livestock:			
	3. Third livestock:			
E2.4 What is the furthest location that you graze/herd your livestock in kilometers?	kilometers			

kilometers

E3. Engaged labour force

E3.1. Does your household engage labour force outside the circle of family members and relatives?		1. Yes	2. No
E3.2. If yes is the outsourced labour force engaged permanently throughout the year or seasonally?		1. Permanently	2. Seasonally
E3.3. If permanently, please state the number of outsourced employees		_____	
E3.4. Out of permanently engaged, how many are 15–17 years old?		_____	
E3.5. Out of permanently engaged, how many are 5–14 years old?		_____	
E3.6. If seasonally, please state number of days and outsourced employees for each month in last year and indicate if some of those were children	Total days	Total persons	Total children 5-14
1. January			
2. February			
3. March			
4. April			
5. May			
6. June			
7. July			
8. August			
9. September			
10. October			
11. November			
12. December			
E3.7. If you engage child labourers, how do you usually find them? (Odaberite svaki odgovor koji je tačan)		Yes	No
1. Directly, in my neighborhood		1	2
2. With a help of a friend or a cousin		1	2
3. Through employment agencies		1	2
4. Through an advertisement in electronic/printed media		1	2
5. Through social networks advertisements		1	2
6. In other ways, pelase specify _____		1	2
E3.8 What is the average monthly wage of permanently engaged workers with less than 18 years of age? (Nett wage, without taxes and contributions)			
E3.9 What is the minimal daily wage you pay to your seasonally enaged workers with less than 18 years of age? (Please specify separately for the age 5-14 and the age 15-17)		age 5-14 _____ age 15-17 _____	

E4. Forest Products

E4.1 Is anyone in the household engaged in the collection of forest products? If no, go to E3				1	Yes	2	No
If yes,	E4.2 Household consumption (0 = no, 1 = yes)	E4.3 Sale (0 = no, 1 = yes)	E4.4 Both (0 = no, 1 = yes)				
Firewood							
Timber							
Medicinal plants							
Mushrooms							
Forest fruits (e.g., strawberries, blueberries etc.)							

E5. Hunting

E5.1 Does anyone in the household hunt? If no, go to E5	1	Yes		2	No	
E5.2 What do you hunt for? (select all that apply) (if recreation, go to E6)	1	Household consumption	2	Sale	3	Recreation

E6. Fishing

E6.1 Does anyone in the household fish? If no, go to F	1	Yes	2	No
E6.2 What do you fish for? (select all that apply)	1	Household consumption	2	Sale
	3	Recreation		

F. HOUSEHOLD INCOME AND ECONOMIC SITUATION

F1. Sources of income

F1.1. In 2016, did your household make income from the following sources:			
a.	Regular formal salaried employment	Yes	No
b.	Occasional jobs	Yes	No
c.	Agricultural products sale	Yes	No
d.	Rent (house, land, machines, etc.)	Yes	No
e.	Pension	Yes	No
f.	Monetary social assistance	Yes	No
g.	Interest, dividend	Yes	No

h.	State subsidies for agriculture	Yes	No
i.	Stipend for students	Yes	No
j.	Bank loan	Yes	No
k.	Financial support from relatives and/or friends living abroad	Yes	No
l.	Financial support from relatives and/or friends living in Serbia	Yes	No
m.	Other, what _____	Yes	No

F2. Financial situation

F2.1 In the previous 12 months have you been in a situation where you're late with the payment of costs or to repay the loan due to financial difficulties:

a.	Yes	b.	No (go to question F2.3)	c.	Non-applicable (go to question F2.3)
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F2.2 Explain the purpose of payment and the frequency of financial difficulties
(choose all appropriate responses)

		Yes, once	Yes, 2 or more times
a.	Repayment of loan for house or land	1	2
b.	Repayment of other loans (credit cards, car, machinery, animals, etc.)	1	2
c.	Rent for house, land, warehouse, machinery	1	2
d.	Utilities for the house you live in (electricity, heating, telephone, etc.)	1	2

F2.3a. How do you compare the economic situation of your household now compared to 2010?

1	Much worse	2	A little worse	3	The same	4	A little better	5	Much better
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F2.3b. Please provide a reason for your answer above

F2.4. If your household would be in urgent need for Euro 2,000 (investment, cost) how would you get it? (one answer)

1.	We wouldn't be able to get it
2.	We have that much savings We would borrow from friends/relatives
3.	We would borrow from friends/relatives
4.	We would take a loan
5.	We would sell something quickly from the house
6.	Other – Please describe

Individual Questionnaire For Each Child From The Household Old 5-17

(A parent to answer for children 5–14, children 15–17 to answer on their own)

A child's ordering number and the name from table C in the household questionnaire

#	Name
---	------

CL1 During last week did _____ (name) do any of the following activities even for only one hour?	Yes	No
CL1.1 Did _____ (name) do any work or help on household's plot/farm/food garden or looked after animals? For example, growing farm produce, harvesting, or feeding, grazing, milking animals?	1	2
CL1.2 Did _____ (name) do any work or help on someone else's plot/farm/food garden or looked after animals in this settlement?	1	2
CL1.3 Did _____ (name) do any work or help on someone else's plot/farm/food garden or looked after animals in another settlement?	1	2
CL1.4 Did _____ (name) help in family business or relative's business with or without pay or run his/her own business?	1	2
CL1.5 Did _____ (name) produce or sell articles, handicrafts, clothes, food or agricultural products?	1	2
CL1.6 During last week did _____ (name) engage in any other activity in return for income in cash or in kind, even for only one hour? (e.g., construction, transport, services, etc.)	1	2
<i>If 'no', probe:</i> CL1.7 Please include any activity _____ (name) performed as a regular or casual employee, self-employed or employer; or as an unpaid family worker helping out in household business or farm Activity _____	1	2
CL2.1 During last week about how many hours did _____ (name) engage in this activity/these activities, IN TOTAL? (If less than one hour, enter 'oo') (if the response is 'oo', go to CL3)	/___/___/	
CL2.2 Out of this, how many hours in activities in agriculture (growing crops, fruit and vegetables, breeding animals)?	/___/___/	
CL2.3 Out of activities in agriculture, how many at your own farm/household?	/___/___/	
CL2.4 Do these activities _____ performed require carrying heavy load?	1	2
CL2.5 Do any of performed activities require working with dangerous tools (knives, etc.) or operating heavy machinery?	1	2
CL2.5a If yes, what type of tools, equipment or machines do you use at work? (Write 2 most frequently used)	1. _____ 2. _____	
CL3.1 Even though _____ (name) did not do any of these activities in the past week, does he/she have a job, business, or other economic or farming activity that he/she will definitely return to? (For agricultural activities, the off season in agriculture is not a temporary absence). If the response is 2, go to CL4.1	1	2
CL3.2 Describe the main job/task _____ (name) is performing e.g., carrying bricks; mixing baking flour; harvesting maize; etc. ("Main" refers to the work on which (NAME) _____ spent most of the time during the week.)		ISCO

CL3.3 Describe briefly the main activity i.e., goods produced and services rendered where _____ (name) is doing this job or task		ISIC
CL3.4 How would you describe the work environment of _____ (name)?	Yes	No
CL3.4.1 Is _____ (name) exposed to dust, fumes or gas?	1	2
CL3.4.2 Is _____ (name) exposed to fire/open flame	1	2
CL3.4.3 Is _____ (name) exposed to extreme cold, heat or humidity?	1	2
CL3.4.4 Is _____ (name) exposed to loud noise or vibration?	1	2
CL3.4.5 Is _____ (name) required to work at heights?	1	2
CL3.4.6 Is _____ (name) required to work underground?	1	2
CL3.4.7 Is _____ (name) required to work under water?	1	2
CL3.4.8 Is _____ (name) required to work with chemicals, (pesticides, glues, etc.) or explosives or radiation?	1	2
CL3.4.9 Is _____'s (name) workplace too dark or missing ventilation?	1	2
CL3.4.10 13 Is _____ (name) exposed to harassment or physical violence at workplace?	1	2
CL3.4.11 13 Is _____ (name) exposed to verbal, mental or sexual violence at workplace?	1	2
CL3.4.12 13 Is _____ (name) exposed to salary reduction without sufficient reason at workplace?	1	2
CL3.4.13 Is _____ (name) exposed to other things, processes or conditions bad for _____'s health or safety? Please specify _____	1	2
CL4.1 During last week did _____ (name) fetch water or collect firewood for household use?	1	2
CL4.2 In total, how many hours did _____ (name) spent in fetching water or collecting firewood for household use during last week?	/___/___/	
CL5 During last week when has _____ (name) usually performed any of the below activities ? (Mark one response)		
1. During the day (from 6 to 18h)	1	
2. In the evening/at night (after 18h)	2	
3. During the day and in the evening (all day long).	3	
4. During the weekend	4	
5. Sometimes during the day, sometimes at night	5	
CL6 During last week did _____ (name) do any of the following for this household?	Yes	No
1. Shopping for household	1	2
2. Repair any household equipment	1	2
3. Cooking or cleaning utensils or the house	1	2
4. Washing clothes	1	2
5. Caring for children	1	2
6. Caring for the old or sick	1	2
7. Providing transportation for family members	1	2
8. Other household tasks	1	2

CL6a During last week about how many hours did _____ (name) engage in these activities, in total? (If less than one hour, enter 'oo')	/___/___/
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ADDITIONAL: For children attending school ONLY

CL7 During the past week when did _____ (name) usually carry out any of the above-mentioned activities? (tick one answer)
--

1. After school	1
2. Before school	2
3. Both before or after school	3
4. On the week-end	4
5. During missed school hours/days	5

For all children

CL8 Is _____ (name) sometimes too tired due to his/her work in the field/household ?	1. Yes	2. No
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CL9.1 Did _____ (name) miss any school day during the past week? If the answer is NO, go to question CL10	1. Yes	2. No
---	--------	-------

CL9.2 How many school days did _____ (name) miss during the past week? (Write the number of days)	/___/
--	-------

CL9.3 Why did _____ (name) miss school day(s) during the past week? (Read each of the following options and circle two most appropriate options)

1. School vacation period	1
2. Teacher was absent	2
3. Bad weather conditions	3
4. To help family business	4
5. To help at home with household tasks	5
6. Working outside family business	6
7. Illness/ Injury/disablement	7
8. Other	8

CL9.4 For how many days in last year did _____ (name) miss school because of working or helping on household's plot/farm/food garden or looked after animals?	_____ days
--	------------

CL10.1 Why does _____ (name) work? (tick each that applies)
--

1. Supplement family income	1
2. Help pay family debt	2
3. Help in household farm/enterprise, no 'enough hands to help'	3
4. Learn skills	4
5. Schooling not useful for future	5
6. School too far / no school	6

7. Cannot afford school fees	7	
8. Not interested in school	8	
9. To temporarily replace someone unable to work	9	
10. Something else, please specify _____	10	
CL10.2 Did _____ (name) have any of the following in the past 12 months because of his/her work? (Mark "YES" or "NO" for all options)	Yes	No
1. Superficial injuries or open wounds	1	2
2. Fractures	1	2
3. Dislocations, sprains or stains	1	2
4. Burns, corrosions, scalds or frostbite	1	2
5. Breathing problems	1	2
6. Eye problems	1	2
7. Skin problems	1	2
8. Stomach problems / diarrhea	1	2
9. Fever	1	2
10. Extreme fatigue	1	2
11. Other (specify) _____	1	2
CL10.3 Is there a season in which _____ (name) works on family farm or on other people's farm more frequently?	1. Yes	2. No
CL10.4 What are the months in which _____ (name) works more in agriculture? Please enter approximate number of days and hours of work in agriculture in each month	Total days	Total hours
1. January		
2. February		
3. March		
4. April		
5. May		
6. June		
7. July		
8. August		
9. September		
10. October		
11. November		
12. December		
Perceptions/Observations of Parents/Guardians about working children (5–17) <i>These questions are intended to solicit views from parents or guardians about children's work. Therefore, reference should only be made about children who were reported to be working</i>		
What do you consider currently best for _____ (name)? (Read the options)		
1. Work for income	1	
2. Assist family business	2	

3. Assist with household chores	3
4. Attend school	4
5. Other (please specify) _____	5

What are the main reasons for letting _____ (name) work? (Indicate 3 most important reasons)

1. Supplement family income	1
2. Help pay family debt	2
3. Help in household enterprise	3
4. Learn skills	4
5. Schooling not useful for future	5
6. School too far / no school	6
7. Cannot afford school fees	7
8. Child not interested in school	8
9. Temporarily replacing someone unable to work	9
10. Preventing him/her from making bad friends and/or being led astray	10
11. Other (please specify) _____	11

Child Labour Rapid Assessment Survey

The information obtained in the survey are anonymous and will be used only for scientific purposes. The name of the agricultural entity or your personal name will not be written in any records, and the data will only be presented aggregately with others [summarized]. Your information will be stored in a secure database that can only be accessed by the project team.

A1. Settlement Location	
A1.1. Settlement Name:	A1.2. Municipality:

A2. Entity Survey Identifier	
A2.1 Entity Survey ID number: Settlement Interviewer Initials Survey number -	A2.2. Registered name of the entity
A2.3 Is the entity the only unit entity? 1. Only unit 2. Headquarters 3. Subsidiary	A2.4 Year of establishment of the entity

A3. Interviewee Details:	
A3.1. Name of person interviewed	
A3.2. Position in the firm	
A3.3. Reason owner or general manager not interviewed (if applicable):	

Print name of interviewee – (BLOCK CAPITALS)	Date and signature / initials
Print name of interviewer - (BLOCK CAPITALS)	Date and signature
Print name of reviewer - (BLOCK CAPITALS)	Date and signature

B. Particularities about entity

B1. Entity status:			
B1.1 Ownership type	1. State		
	2. Private		
B1.2 Entity type	3. Mixed		
	1. Cooperative		
B1.4 In the last 3 years did your entity use government subsidies for development of agriculture?	2. Limited Company		
	3. Unlimited company		
B1.4 In the last 3 years did your entity use government subsidies for development of agriculture?	4. Partnership responsible all members		
	5. Partnership responsible some members		
B1.4 In the last 3 years did your entity use government subsidies for development of agriculture?	6. Association of citizens		
	7. Other (please specify)		
B1.4 In the last 3 years did your entity use government subsidies for development of agriculture?	2016	1. Yes	2. No
	2015	1. Yes	2. No
	2014	1. Yes	2. No

B2. Employees:		
B2.1 Total number of contracted employees in the entity		
B2.2 Total number of employees in the entity with a contract 2 years long t or longer		
B2.3 Total number of employees without contract in the entity		
B2.4 Do you engage more employees on a seasonal basis?	1. Yes	2. No
B2.5 How many seasonal workers did you employ this year?		
B2.6 For how many months do you usually employ seasonal employees in one season?		
B2.7 Please specify two most frequently employed seasonal occupations and number of people engaged	Occupation 1	No. of employees
	Occupation 2	No. of employees
2.8 Average monthly wage of your employees (Net wage with taxes deducted)		
B2.9 What is the minimum daily fee that you pay to your SEASONAL employees?		

C. Information about products/services

C1. Products/services	
C1.1 What are your major products/services?	1. _____
	2. _____
	3. _____
C1.2 In which geographic markets did your entity sell the largest share of goods and/or services during the last two years? (single answer)	1. Used for further processing in our entity
	2. Local or regional market
	2. National market
	3. Foreign countries _____ (country name)
	4. Don't know

D. Information about child economic activity and child labour

D1. Working children			
D1.1 How many of your contracted employees are younger than 18? (Please specify separately for boys and girls)	Boys _____		
	Girls _____		
D1.2 How many of your seasonal employees in this year were younger than 18? (Please specify separately for 5-14 and 15-17 and for each sex)		Boys	Girls
	5-14		
	15-17		
D1.3 Please specify two most frequent occupations for which you have engaged child workers in this year	Occupation 1 _____	No of employees	
	Occupation 2 _____	No of employees	
D1.4 Average monthly wage of your employees younger than 18 (Net wage with taxes deducted)			
D1.5 What is the minimum daily fee that you pay to your SEASONAL employees younger than 18? (Please specify separately for 5-14 and 15-17)	5-14 old _____		
	15-17 old _____		

D2. If you engage seasonal child workers, how do you usually recruit them? (choose each that applies)	Yes	No
1. Directly, in my neighborhood	1	2
2. Through friends and relatives	1	2
3. Through employment agencies	1	2
4. We advertise in electronic/printed media	1	2
5. We advertise through social networks	1	2
6. Other, please specify _____	1	2

D3. Where do your seasonal workers younger than 18 mostly come from? (single answer)	1. Mostly this village
	2. Mostly other neighbouring villages
	3. Equally this and other neighbouring villages
	4. Mostly neighbouring city/ies
	5. Equally village/s and city/ies
	6. Other, please specify _____

D4. How would you describe work activities of your employees, permanent and seasonal, younger than 18? Do these tasks carry the following characteristics FOR ANY CHILD AT ANY TIME?	Yes	No
1. Do these activities require carrying heavy loads?	1	2
2. Do any of the performed activities require working with dangerous tools (knives, etc.) or operating heavy machinery?	1	2
2a. If yes, what type of tools, equipment or machines do you use at work? (Write down 2 mostly used)	1. _____ 2. _____	
3. Are your employees younger than 18 exposed to dust, fumes or gas?		

4. Are your employees younger than 18 exposed to fire or flames?		
5. Are your employees younger than 18 exposed to extreme cold, heat or humidity?		
6. Are your employees younger than 18 exposed to loud noise or vibration?		
7. Are your employees younger than 18 required to work at heights?		
8. Are your employees younger than 18 required to work underground?		
9. Are your employees younger than 18 required to work underwater?		
10. Are your employees younger than 18 required to work with chemicals, (pesticides, glues, etc.) explosives, or radiation?		
11. Are the workplaces too dark or missing ventilation for your employees younger than 18 ?		
12. Are your employees younger than 18 exposed to other things, processes or conditions bad for their health or safety? Please specify _____		
13. Are your employees younger than 18 required to work longer than 8 hours per day?		
14. Are your employees younger than 18 required to work over night?		
15. Are your employees younger than 18 required to work Saturdays and Sundays?		

D5. DID ANY OF YOUR SEASONAL EMPLOYEES YOUNGER THAN 18 have any of the following in this season because of his/her work? (Mark "YES" or "NO" for all options)	Yes	No
1. Superficial injuries or open wounds		
2. Fractures		
3. Dislocations, sprains or stains		
4. Burns, corruptions, scalds or frostbite		
5. Breathing problems		
6. Eye problems		
7. Skin problems		
8. Stomach problems / diarrhea		
9. Fever		
10. Extreme fatigue		
11. Other (specify) _____		

If yes for any of the items above, please describe how you provided medical care to your employee

1. They took care of themselves
2. Their parents took care of them
3. Care was taken by other employees
4. I took care on my own
5. I took the child to the nearest medical center
6. Other, please specify _____

3. Guide for focus group discussion with children

Number of participants: 8-12

Duration: 90 min

Intro: 10 min

Discussion: 70 min

Break: 10 min

Main Discussion Topics:

1. Growing up in a village: school, family, work and leisure (20 min)
2. Attitudes towards work and education (25 min)
3. Engagement in work, experiences, gains and risks (25 min)

Intro, Explaining The Project And The Methodology

A. Moderator presents him/herself and explains the purpose of the project.

Good day, I am _____ and I will moderate today's discussion. I come from a Belgrade based research organization SeConS. In collaboration with the ILO, SeConS is conducting research on work engagement of children in Serbian villages. We invited you to participate in today's discussion as representatives of children who grew up in a village and who have experience of combining education, family duties and free time in a rural environment. This experience of yours is important for us to understand how children respond to demands in the education system and the farm economy. We hope to build conclusions and recommendations about ways of improving living conditions and development prospects for children in rural areas in Serbia. Before we start, please let me explain to you how we will work in this focus group discussion and to respond to your tentative questions related to that.

B. Explanation of the process of the focus group discussion

FGD is a research procedure similar to interviewing, but instead of raising questions one by one to each group member to respond, we will raise more general questions to the whole group, and you should discuss them between yourselves and thus reach one or more answers. You should address more each other than me and you should freely expose your opinion, no matter how different it is from other people's opinions.

The whole discussion will be voice recorded and analysed later on, but the records will be confidential and everything that you say will not be traced to your personal name. The discussion will last for an hour and a half and in the middle of the discussion there will be one short break.

C. Invite the participants to introduce themselves and collect basic information about them (form A in the ANNEX).

Please be so kind as to introduce yourselves. Please tell us your name, your age and the school class you are attending.

Group Discussion Topics

1. Growing up in a village: school, family, work and leisure (20 min)

Probe

1. What does living look like for children in this village? What does your day look like? How do you spend your time [working day, weekends, holidays]? How is it different between the seasons?
2. How do most of families live here? What do they do for a living? What are their habits? Who does what in the family? What is the difference between parents and children? What are the differences between boys and girls? If any, why?
3. How do children combine their school duties, house duties and free time?

2. Attitudes towards work and education (25 min)

Probe

1. How important is education for children? How far should one go with education? Which professions are the best? For boys and for girls?
2. How supportive are parents of children's school tasks and education plans? What are the major obstacles in achieving the desired education?
3. How important is it to get work habits early in life? At which age should children start working in the household and on the farm? What should be a normal work load at different ages [5, 10, 15]?
4. Should there be any difference between boys and girls with regard to the type of work, work load, age to start, etc.?
5. Do you like working on the farm and in the household? What do you like and what do you dislike doing? Why?
6. Do you plan to continue living in the village and doing farming after you complete your education? After which level of education?

3. Engagement in work, experiences, gains and risks (25 min)

Probe

1. How much do children in this village work? What are ordinary work tasks in the household? What are ordinary work tasks of children in the farm, field, orchard, stable? Do children sometimes go to work on other people's farms or do children from other households sometimes come to your farm to work?
2. Is there any variation between the seasons? How much do children work at peaks of field work and how do they combine that with school duties? If children are absent from school at certain periods how do teachers look at it?
3. Are you sometimes too tired of working at the farm/in the household? When does it happen and why, for which tasks? Are there any risky work tasks children get involved in? What are the risks? Do you know about the case of a child being hurt by an animal, or cut while working with tools, or poisoned with chemicals, burned, or similar?

For the end:

Before we close our discussion, would you like to add anything else as a comment or your observation related to the work of children in agriculture?

THANK YOU FOR YOUR KIND COOPERATION!

4. Guide for focus group discussion with parents

Number of participants: 8-12

Duration: 90 min

Intro: 10 min

Discussion: 70 min

Break: 10 min

Main Discussion Topics:

1. Growing up in a village: school, family, work and leisure (15 min)
2. Attitudes towards work and education of children (25 min)
3. Children engagement in work, experiences, gains and risks (30 min)

Intro, Explaining The Project And The Methodology

A. Moderator presents him/herself and explains the purpose of the project.

Good day, I am _____ and I will moderate today's discussion. I come from a Belgrade based research organization SeConS. In collaboration with the ILO, SeConS is conducting research on work engagement of children in Serbian villages. We invited you to participate in today's discussion as parents of children who are growing up in a village and who have experience of combining education, family duties and free time in rural environment. This experience of yours is important for us to understand how children respond to demands in the education system and the farm economy. We hope to build conclusions and recommendations about ways of improving living conditions and development prospects for children in rural areas in Serbia. Before we start, please let me explain to you how we will work in this focus group discussion and to respond to your tentative questions related to that.

B. Explanation of the process of the focus group discussion

FGD is a research procedure similar to interviewing, but instead of raising questions one by one to each group member to respond, we will raise more general questions to the whole group, and you should discuss them between yourselves and thus reach one or more answers. You should address more each other than me and you should freely expose your opinion, no matter how different it is from other people's opinions.

The whole discussion will be voice recorded and analysed later on, but the records will be confidential and all that you say will not be traced to your personal name. The discussion will last for an hour and a half and in the middle of the discussion there will be one short break.

C. Invite the participants to introduce themselves and collect basic information about them (form A in the ANNEX).

Please be so kind as to introduce yourselves. Please tell us your name, your occupation and composition of your household.

Group Discussion Topics

1. Growing up in a village: school, family, work and leisure (15 min)

Probe

1. What does living look like for children in this village? What does their day look like? How do they spend their time? How do children combine their school duties, house duties and free time? How is it different between the seasons?
2. How do most of families live here? What do they do for a living? What are their habits? Who does what in the family? What is the difference between parents and children? What are the differences between boys and girls?
3. What would you like to afford to offer your children but are unable to?

2. Attitudes towards work and education of children (25 min)

Probe

1. How important is education for children? How far should one go with education? Which professions are the best? For boys and for girls?
2. How do you assess the quality of education for your children? What are the major obstacles for your children to acquire quality education?
3. How supportive are parents for children's school tasks and education plans? What are the major obstacles in achieving the desired education?
4. How important is it to get work habits early in life? At which age should children start working in the household and on the farm? What should a normal work load be at different ages [5, 10, 15]?
5. Should there be any difference between boys and girls with regard to the type of work, work load, age to start, etc.? If yes, why?
6. Would you like your children to stay in the village and work in agriculture? Please explain. Do children plan to stay? What would motivate them to do so?

Engagement in work, experiences, gains and risks (30 min)

Probe

1. How much do children in this village work? What are ordinary work tasks for them in the household? What are ordinary work tasks in the farm, field, orchard, stable? Do children sometimes go to work on other people's farms or do children from other households (rural and urban!) sometimes come to your farm to work?
2. Is there any variation between the seasons? How much do children work at peaks of field work and how do they combine that with school duties? If children are absent from school at certain periods how do teachers look at it?
3. Are there any risky work tasks children get involved in? What are the risks? Do you know about the case of a child being hurt by an animal, or cut while working with tools, or poisoned with chemicals, burned, or similar?
4. Do you know what 'child labour' means? Do you know about legal provisions related to child work and child labour? What is the age at which a child could get formal employment? Which work tasks are considered illegal for children? Can you notice cases of child labour in your village?

For the end:

Before we close our discussion, would you like to add anything else as a comment or your observation related to the work of children in agriculture?

THANK YOU FOR YOUR KIND COOPERATION!

5. Protocol for the interview with the medical doctor/nurse

Presenting the interviewer and the project

Good day, I am _____ from the research organization SeConS – development initiative group. In collaboration with the ILO, SeConS is conducting research on work engagement of children in Serbian villages.

The aim of the research is to strengthen the knowledge base on the situation of children engaged in agricultural work in Serbia by determining the nature, patterns, distribution, dynamics, causes and consequences of child labour in agriculture in three regions in Serbia. High quality information coming 'first hand' from immediate experience of those who work with children and know their attitudes and behaviour is of exceptional importance. You were chosen as one of 15 respondents in Serbia to provide a variety of views and explanations of child labour in agriculture. The information that you will provide during the interview will be integrated into a summary report without presenting the names or any other personal information revealing your identity.

Getting the consent for the interview

This conversation will last around 45 minutes. We need answers as informative and honest as possible. Your personal insights and interpretations are very important, so there is no right and wrong answers to the questions raised, only as thorough information on the topics as possible. During the interview please feel free to point out if you don't know the answer to a certain question, or if you think it should be formulated in a different or broader way in order to aptly reflect the problem.

Our job will be much easier if we collect a voice record of the interview, so I ask you to kindly agree that this conversation be recorded.

Realization of the interview (instruction to the interviewer)

Ask to have the interview conducted in a space in which you will not be disturbed. Remain concentrated on the conversation flow and the questions from this interview guide. Look at your interlocutor, let him/her be completely aware of your interest in his answers. Stay focused on deepening the conversation and getting necessary information, and not on taking notes.

It is recommended to maintain the order of questions in the guide and not let the respondent make big digressions. It is important to start with introductory and general questions about the respondent and the institution and after that let the conversation flow as effortlessly as possible. Make sure that no topic remains uncovered and that all important questions are discussed in sufficient depth.

1. The way of living of children in the village

What does living look like for children in this village?

What does their day look like? How do they spend their time?

How do children combine their school duties, house duties and free time? How is it different between the seasons?

Are there differences in the children's way of living from one type of family to another ?

Do inhabitants have health insurance? What is the dominant way of taking care of one's health?

What about children? Do parents bring them to you or take care of them on their own?

2. Health of rural children

In your opinion, how healthy are the children in this village? Is there any prevalence of a chronic disease? Epidemics?

How regularly do children from this village pass medical checks? Do they have a healthy life style?

If not, what are the treatments for major health risks ? What are unhealthy habits?

What is their parent's attitude towards health and health care?

How frequently do children in this village get exposed to health and injury risks and which ones?

What are the major sources of risk?

Are you aware of injuries and diseases of children caused by work engagement in agriculture, on the house plot, in the field, on the farm, in the stable...? Any injuries caused by animals, sharp tools, agricultural machinery, pesticides and other toxins, hunting shot guns, timber chainsaw, etc.?

If yes, please describe some of the most recent cases?

Are you organizing any preventive work in the village related to the above-mentioned causes of risks and possible injuries?

3. Child work and child labour

According to you know, how often are children engaged in agriculture, on the farm, in working in the field , in taking care of animals?

Is there any difference between boys and girls in this regard? Please explain, what the difference is.

Do children from other villages and/or cities come to this village to work? In which season and for what type of work?

Who is the major employer of children in this village?

How does the work in agriculture reflect on children's health?

Are you familiar with the concept of 'child labour'? Do you know about legal provisions related to child work and child labour? What is the age at which a child can get formal employment? Which work tasks are considered illegal for children? Can you notice cases of child labour in your village?

Thank you for your time! This information will be very useful for further work on the prevention of child labour and raising of awareness of the negative effects of child labour on child development.

6. Protocol for the interview with the school teacher

Presenting the interviewer and the project

Good day, I am _____ from the research organization SeConS – development initiative group. In collaboration with the ILO, SeConS is conducting research on work engagement of children in Serbian villages.

The aim of the research is to strengthen the knowledge base on the situation of children engaged in agricultural work in Serbia by determining the nature, patterns, distribution, dynamics, causes and consequences of child labour in agriculture in three regions in Serbia. High quality information coming 'first hand' from immediate experience of those who work with children and know their attitudes and behaviour is of exceptional importance. You were chosen as one of 15 respondents in Serbia to provide a variety of views and explanations of child labour in agriculture. The information that you will provide during the interview will be integrated into a summary report without presenting the names or any other personal information revealing your identity.

Getting the consent for the interview

This conversation will last around 45 minutes. We need answers as informative and honest as possible. Your personal insights and interpretations are very important, so there is no right and wrong answers to the questions raised, only as thorough information on the topics as possible. During the interview please feel free to point out if you don't know the answer to a certain question, or if you think it should be formulated in a different or broader way in order to aptly reflect the problem.

Our job will be much easier if we collect a voice record of the interview, so I ask you to kindly agree that this conversation be recorded.

Realization of the interview (instruction to the interviewer)

Ask to have the interview conducted in a space in which you will not be disturbed. Remain concentrated on the conversation flow and the questions from this interview guide. Look at your interlocutor, let him/her be completely aware of your interest in his answers. Stay focused on deepening the conversation and getting necessary information, and not on taking notes.

It is recommended to maintain the order of questions in the guide and not let the respondent make big digressions. It is important to start with introductory and general questions about the respondent and the institution and after that let the conversation flow as effortlessly as possible. Make sure that no topic remains uncovered and that all important questions are discussed in sufficient depth.

1. The way of living of children in the village

What does living look like for children in this village?

What does their day look like? How do they spend their time (days, weekends, holidays)?

How do children combine their school duties, house duties and free time? How is it different between the seasons?

Are there differences in children's way of living from one type of family to another?

How does the household economy affect the children (parents employed in agriculture, parents employed in other industries, unemployed parents)?

2. Education of rural children

Tell us the basics about your school: how many children in how many classes, how many teachers, do children from neighbouring villages attend this school? How is your school equipped (infrastructure, educational tools)?

How regular are children in this village in attending school?

What about the dropout rate, how large is it?

How regular are children in learning and doing homework?

How successful are children from this village in completing school tasks?

What is their general attitude towards education, do they continue after primary, how many of them continue to university?

What is the general attitude of parents towards education? How supportive are they of their children?

Does your school organize extra-curricular activities that bring the rural environment and cultural heritage closer to children?

3. Child work and child labour

How often do children get engaged in agriculture, on the farm, in working in the fields, in taking care of animals?

Is there difference between boys and girls in this regard?

How frequently do they perform other work (e.g., construction, services)? Do they get paid?

Do children come from other villages and/or cities to this village to work? In which season and for which type of work?

Do children discuss these issues among themselves and with teachers? Do they complain or just describe the situation?

Who is the major employer of children in this village?

Why do children work in this village? Through habit or necessity?

How much is this affecting their education? Obstructing their school attendance? Decreasing their school achievement? Influencing their decisions about further education? For those who lag behind, is their engagement in agricultural work a major problem for school achievement or anything else?

Are you familiar with the concept of 'child labour'? Do you know about legal provisions related to child work and child labour? What is the age at which a child can get formal employment? Which work tasks are considered illegal for children? Can you notice cases of child labour in your village?

Is the school taking action if it notices pupils overloaded with work activities? If yes, what? If no, why not?

Thank you for your time! This information will be very useful for further work on the prevention of child labour and raising of awareness of the negative effects of child labour on child development.

7. Interview guide for Case Studies 1 and 2

Instructions for interviewers: this should be an in-depth interview with parents and children separately. Therefore, each parent should be interviewed individually, without other household members listening in or interjecting, and the same goes for the children. The household should include both female and male children (one each at least) aged 5–17. The basic household information may be collected from the father or the mother. It is very important here to keep asking for answers to the question WHY. As often as possible ask why something is the way it is, why do they think so, why do they do so, etc.

Introductory explanation for respondents:

A recent large-scale survey of child labour in agriculture in Serbia was conducted on behalf of the International Labour Organization. This research is now being supplemented by a more in-depth analysis of the situation in agricultural households with children of both sexes. Please take some time to talk to me about certain work practices in your household.

Basic Household Information

Household information was provided by _____
(father, mother)

- Please indicate who lives in your household and tell us their names, ages and relationship with yourself.
- Now I will ask you something about each household member:
 - **Member 1 (state name, age and relationship with respondent):**
 - What is the highest level of education he/she completed? Why did he/she not go further?
 - What does he/she do (is he/she employed, retired, engaged in agriculture, work more than one job concurrently; provide a detailed description of his/her economic status: occupation(s), whether he/she works illegally or is formally employed, in agriculture on the farm or outside the farm, outside agriculture, is he/she permanently or seasonally employed, etc.), is he being educated, where is the school, for what occupation?
 - **Member 2 (same as above) and so on for all household members**
- What does the household own in total?
 - How much land? Does all the land belong to the household or is some of it being rented?
 - Does the household own a house? What about outbuildings?
 - Does the household own farming equipment?
 - Vehicles?
- To whom does the farm belong? Who owns the land, the house, outbuildings and equipment?
- What is being produced on the farm? What kind of agricultural products?
- Who in the household has the main say when deciding what kind of work will be done on the farm, what will be produced, what the work schedule will be, who will do what?
- Why is that particular person the decision-maker? Why is that person in charge?
- Is the household farm registered? Who is the holder of the farm? Why is that person the holder?
- Which household member does what in agriculture, are certain jobs someone's particular duty? What is the division of labour like?
- Please indicate in as much detail as possible what kind of agricultural work each child performs (ask for each child individually)
- How many hours per week on average does each child work in agriculture, in season and out of season?
- Have any of the children ever been hurt or has she/he fallen ill from working on the farm, while doing agricultural work? What happened then?

- What do you think presents danger in agricultural work [orchard, field, garden, forest, stable, meadow, animals, machinery, tools, climate, etc.], which, in particular, are risks to health and safety? How do you protect yourself against these risks, and how do your children? How have you learned what presents danger, and how are your children learning about it?
- While working, do your children come across any of the following circumstances [read all the circumstances in Table 1 and if they say YES to any of them, ask which one it is]?
- Are the children engaged in any of the following activities? [read all the activities in Table 2]
- Does the household hire anyone who does not live in the household permanently/seasonally to work on the farm? Who? Are these persons paid? How much? How do you find these people? What are the months they work most? Are there any children among them, how old and how many? Are those children from this village, other village or the town?
- How would your household manage if none of the children worked in agriculture?

Father/Mother

- To what extent does the survival of your household depend on agriculture? Does the household use up everything you produce or do you sell something?
- What do you sell and how much?
- If you were to estimate the revenue from selling agricultural products in relation to the total household income, how much would it be? Almost 100 per cent, half, how much?
- How would you rate the material position of your household, would you say that you are among the poor, medium or wealthier households?
- Would you like to produce more? What's stopping you? Have you ever thought of increasing market-oriented production? What do you need to achieve it? What are the biggest obstacles? Do you have a plan for overcoming these obstacles?
- What is the most important reason that children work in agriculture in your household? [helping out, replacing someone who is temporarily not able to work, supplementing income, learning to work, what are the most important reasons]?
- How are the children involved in agricultural work? Please try to describe the earliest they start, what they do, how you instruct them...
- Do they like to get involved or do you have to make them?
- Which child is most involved in agricultural activities? WHY?
- Are there differences in the division of work among children, the workload? WHY?
- Do the children get money or another kind of compensation for performed agricultural work? In what situations and how much?
- What kind of household chores do the children perform? [ask for each child individually]
- When do you begin to include them in household chores? What chores do they do first? Which child does most household chores? Why?
- Are there any differences in the division of household chores among them? If so, why?
- Do you think that boys and girls should perform different chores? Please explain.
- To what extent do you think education is important for the children? What is the highest level you would like them to complete [secondary school, university]?

- Do you give advice to children on which type of school to focus on, which one would be good for them to finish, which profession to choose for the future? Which schools and professions are these, please tell me for each child?
- Who will inherit the farm? Why have you decided to divide the farm among the heirs in this way?
- Do children sometimes become exhausted from performing agricultural activities?
- Have the children ever been injured due to working in agriculture?
- Have they ever had to miss school or miss out on some homework because they had to work in agriculture?
- How do you see the future of your children? What would you most like to do for them, how would you like to direct them?
- Who does the child (each child individually) most look up to in the family? Why?

Children

NOTE: STATE SEX AND AGE OF EACH CHILD IN THE TRANSCRIPT

- How many brothers and sisters do you have? Where do you stand among your siblings?
- Do you go to school? Do you like school? What do you like in school and what do you dislike?
- What would you like to be when you grow up? Have you given this some thought?
- Please describe what your ordinary day looks like, on days when you go to school. (you could ask what the day before was like, if it was a working day) And what is your most arduous time of the year like? Which day is this? What do you do; do you go to school that day? How many hours do you work, how many days does this last?
- Which jobs on the farm do you perform? Which ones do you like and which do you dislike? Why?
- Are some of these jobs very difficult for you?
- Do you ever feel tired because of it?
- Do you work more than your siblings? Why? (for both answers, more and less)
- Do you ever work at someone else's farm? Whose? The neighbours', the family's, or somebody else's? Do you ever go to another village to work in agriculture? When do you usually work at someone else's farm? Do you receive money or another type of compensation for your work and what is it? If you receive money, how much do you usually get a day and for what kind of work?
- Do you get money or another type of compensation for the work done on your family's farm? When, what [how much] and for what activities?
- Which household chores do you do? Which ones do you like and which do you dislike?
- Do you work in the house more than your siblings? Why? (ask both if the answer is more and if it is less)
- What do you think, how old should a child be to start working on the farm, in agriculture?
- What do you think, how old should a child be to start doing household chores in the house?
- Is this different for boys and girls, who needs to do what? Why? (ask both if the answer is yes and if it is no)
- Who gives you most instructions about what you should to do in agriculture?
- Who gives you most instructions about how to perform household chores?

- Who helps you to do school homework?
- Do your parents tell you what they would like you to study after this school? What? Why this?
- Do your parents tell you what they would like you to do when you grow up? What? Why this?
- Have you ever been hurt or have you fallen ill from working on the farm, while doing agricultural work? What happened then?
- What do you think presents a danger in agricultural work (orchard, field, garden, forest, stable, meadow, animals, machinery, tools, climate, etc.), which, in particular, do you think are the risks to your health and safety? How do you protect yourself from these risks, and how do other members of your family do this? Who did you learn from about all the dangers, and how do other household members deal with this?
- While working, do you come across any of the following circumstances (read all the circumstances in Table 1 and if they say YES to any of them, ask which one it is)?
- Do you engage in any of the following activities? (read all the activities in Table 2)
- Do you sometimes talk about agricultural work at school, what is done and how? Do you talk about risks and dangers and how to prevent them? What do you talk about with your peers, and what about with your teacher(s)? Has there been any lecture at school about hazardous agricultural work?
- Do you have as much free time as you'd like ? If not, why don't you have enough free time?
- What do you like to do most in your free time?
- Do you like living in the village and why? Would you like to stay and live here and what would you do for a living?

THANK YOU FOR YOUR COOPERATION!

Table 1

1. Dust, fumes, gas
2. Fire or flame
3. Extreme cold, heat or humidity
4. High levels of noise and vibration
5. Work at height
6. Work underground
7. Work under water
8. Work with chemicals (pesticides, adhesive, etc.), explosives
9. Radiation, ultraviolet radiation
10. Transport of heavy loads
11. Work in non-physiological body position
12. Work with dangerous machines and sharp objects (tools)
13. Overtime work
14. Work in a place that is too dark or a place without ventilation
15. Bullying or physical abuse in the workplace
16. Verbal, physiological or sexual violence in the workplace
17. Salary reduction without adequate reason
18. Work outside the place of residence for children under the age of 15 years
19. Other, specify _____

Table 2

Hunting
Fishery
Forestry (silviculture and other forestry activities)
Logging
Gathering of fire wood
Gathering of non-wood forest products

8. Interview guides for Case Study 3

8.1 Questionnaire for company which employs children

Good day, I am _____ and I work for the Belgrade based research organization SeConS. In collaboration with the International Labour Organization, SeConS is conducting research on work engagement of children in Serbian villages.

In the previous period, a survey was conducted in 15 municipalities in Serbia, and Temerin was one of the municipalities covered. A qualitative survey involving children, parents, teachers and health professionals was also conducted.

In order to obtain more detailed information, at this research phase, it is very important for us to get some additional information about your company and its experience in employing people below the age of 18.

Please first introduce yourself and tell us your position in this company, how long you have been working for it and what your duties are.

Description of company

Note: If the respondent already filled in the questionnaire for companies engaged in agricultural production which employ children, skip the following set of questions (to Children's engagement).

- When was your company founded? Please describe its history [privatization, transformation, change of activity, diversification, etc.].
- What are the core activities?
- How big is the company in terms of employees?
- What is the company structure? Does it have separate units, branches? Where is the company location (one or many locations)?
- How successful is this company? Has the company recorded an increase in production, profit? Please explain.

Children's engagement

- How many employees are there in your company? How many women and how many men? What qualifications do the employees have, what is your main workforce?
- How many children did you engage in the previous year? How many on average over the last few years? (over the past 5 years)

- When, in which periods do you engage children?
- How do you engage children, through which channels?
- What age are those children?
- How many boys, and how many girls, were there last year?
- What jobs do children perform? Are there differences between age, sex, or experience, based on which you assign children to different jobs?
- Where do children who work for you come from? [the municipality of Temerin or other municipalities and which]
- What are the average working hours a day of children in the peak season? How many days a week do they work?
- While working, are children exposed to any of the following: [precisely specify all that is listed in Table 1, which you have, and after each YES, ask for clarification, description]
- Has it occurred that children have suffered some health problems during work? What were these problems? What was done in such cases?
- Do children sign a contract? What type of contract? [A detailed description of what the contract contains, what are the rights and obligations, if possible obtain information or get a copy of the contract].
- Do you ask for parental consent to engage children? Have you had any contact with parents, has it happened that parents protest against the engagement of their children?
- How much do children get paid, are there any differences in relation to adults? Are there differences in wage rates among children, what causes them? How are their wages paid? By wire transfer, in cash?
- Why do you engage children? What are children as a workforce like in relation to adults?
- What are the problems related to children's work? What difficulties have occurred in children's work?
- Who supervises the work of children?
- Do children work during the school year or only during vacation? If they work during the year, do they work on working days or just on the weekends? Do children miss school due to work?
- Do you cooperate with agricultural schools? What does this cooperation look like, what does it include? What do the students and schools each get out of this cooperation, and what schools,?
- What should be improved in engaging children? What can you do as a company? What should others do? Who should do it and what should they do?

THANK YOU FOR YOUR COOPERATION!

Table 1

1. Dust, fumes, gas
2. Fire or flame
3. Extreme cold, heat or humidity
4. High levels of noise and vibration
5. Work at height
6. Work underground
7. Work under water

Table 2

Hunting
Fishery
Forestry (silviculture and other forestry activities)
Logging
Gathering of fire wood
Gathering of non-wood forest products

8.2 Questionnaire for a person who worked in a company engaged in agricultural production

Hello, I am _____ and I work for the Belgrade based research organization SeConS. In collaboration with the International Labour Organization, SeConS is conducting research on work engagement of children in Serbian villages.

In the previous period, a survey was conducted in 15 municipalities in Serbia, and Temerin was one of the municipalities covered. A qualitative survey involving children, parents, teachers and health professionals was also conducted.

In order to obtain more detailed information, at this research phase, it is very important for us to get some additional information about your experience in a company engaged in agricultural production.

Please first introduce yourself and tell us your age, and the place where you live. Who do you live with [the number of household members]? How many of your household members have income [the number of the employed – legally and illegally, the number of retired members]?

Sex:

Age:

Place of residence:

- When did you work for this company? What year, what months?
- How did you find out that you could get employment in this company? How did you come to work for this company?
- Why did you work for this company? What were your most important motives? (here it is important to find out not only the main motive, but also whether it was voluntary or forced, whether he/she reluctantly or willingly went to work)
- What were your expectations, what did you imagine before the first engagement? Were you scared, intimidated? Of what?
- Please describe your first impression rate your satisfaction with working in this company on a scale of 1 to 10 (this is important before any further questioning on work experience there)
- What were the positive sides? And what were the negative? (then discuss each side, what exactly was, and WHY). What could have been different, better?

Skip any of the following if it was the subject of the conversation in the previous section.

- What were the working hours? How many hours a day, and how many days a week did you work?
- How was your transport to and from work arranged? Were there any problems, could it have been better arranged? How? What could the company do about it?
- What were the climatic conditions? [great heat, cold, humidity, rain ...] Was it difficult to work in such conditions? What did the company do to make it easier? And what did the employees themselves do to make it easier?

- What specific duties did you perform? [to describe duties in detail]
- While working, were you exposed to one of the following conditions (read all the conditions listed in Table 1), for each yes describe why, how, how it affected immediately or later your experience, health, the feeling of discomfort / comfort, stress, etc.
- Did you have any health problems, or some other problems caused by this job? What kind? How were these problems addressed?
- Did others have health problems, or some other problems? What kind? How were these problems addressed?
- Who did you work with; – with adults, with other children? What was your relationship with others at work? Could you communicate, socialize, help each other? How did you feel about this relationship with others?
- Who supervised you while you worked, what was your relationship with your boss? Were there any problems? How did you feel about this relationship with your boss?
- Did you sign an employment contract? [if yes, describe the content of that contract, your rights, and the like]
- Did you have health insurance, as well as workplace injury insurance?
- How did you get paid? [per hour, day, week or month] How much did you get paid? Did you get paid on time or not and how much did you have to wait for payment? Were you paid in cash or by wire transfer?
- Do you think that t wage was fair with regard to how hard your job was? Explain.
- Was your wage the same as for others who did this job? Was there a difference in payment between boys and girls? Was there a difference in payment between adults and children?
- How did you spend that money, why did you need it?
- What did your parents think about this work engagement? Did they support you or not? Did they encourage you or unwillingly accept your work? Why?
- Did anyone else have an influence on you to work for this company?
- Did you do other jobs than this one? Where, what types, under what conditions? Can you compare them, what was better and what was worse and why?
- If someone asks you to recommend what the company could do to improve its engagement of children, what would you recommend? His/her advice and to explain it.
- Would you recommend this company to others, friends, relatives?
- Would you like to work for this company again? Let him/her explain why.

THANK YOU FOR YOUR COOPERATION!

Table 1

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2. Fire or flame
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8. Work with chemicals (pesticides, adhesive, etc.), explosives

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14. Work in a place that is too dark or a place without ventilation
15. Bullying or physical abuse in the workplace
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17. Salary reduction without adequate reason
18. Work outside the place of residence for children under the age of 15 years
19. Other, specify _____

Table 2

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Fishery
Forestry (silviculture and other forestry activities)
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Gathering of fire wood
Gathering of non-wood forest products

Annex III: Qualitative research schedules

Focus group discussions

Municipality and region	Focus group discussion (FGD)	Date	Number of participants (by sex)
Ćićevac, Sumadija and Western Serbia region	First FGD with children (village Lučina)	6th October 2017	11 (5 girls, 6 boys)
	Second FGD with children (village Pojate)	26th October 2017	12 (6 girls, 6 boys)
	FGD with parents (village Lučina)	12th October 2017	10 (10 women)
Temerin, Vojvodina region	First FGD with children (village Staro Djurdjevo)	6th October 2017	8 (4 girls, 4 boys)
	Second FGD with children (village Bački Jarak)	26th October 2017	8 (4 girls, 4 boys)
	FGD with parents (village Staro Djurdjevo)	6th October 2017	8 (7 women, 1 man)
Trgovište, Southern and Eastern Serbia region	First FGD with children (village Donji Stajevac)	6th October 2017	10 (6 girls, 4 boys)
	First FGD with children (village Radovnica)	28th October 2017	15 (8 girls, 7 boys)
	FGD with parents (village Donji Stajevac)	6th October 2017	9 (8 women, one man)

Interviews with community members

Municipality and region	Interview	Date
Ćićevac, Sumadija and Western Serbia region	Interview with schoolteacher	12th October 2017
	Interview with medical doctor	7th November 2017
Temerin, Vojvodina region	Interview with schoolteacher	6th October 2017
	Interview with medical doctor	1st November 2017
Trgovište, Southern and Eastern Serbia region	Interview with schoolteacher	5th October 2017
	Interview with medical doctor	20th October 2017

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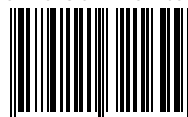
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