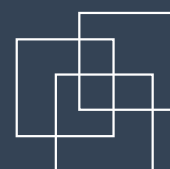
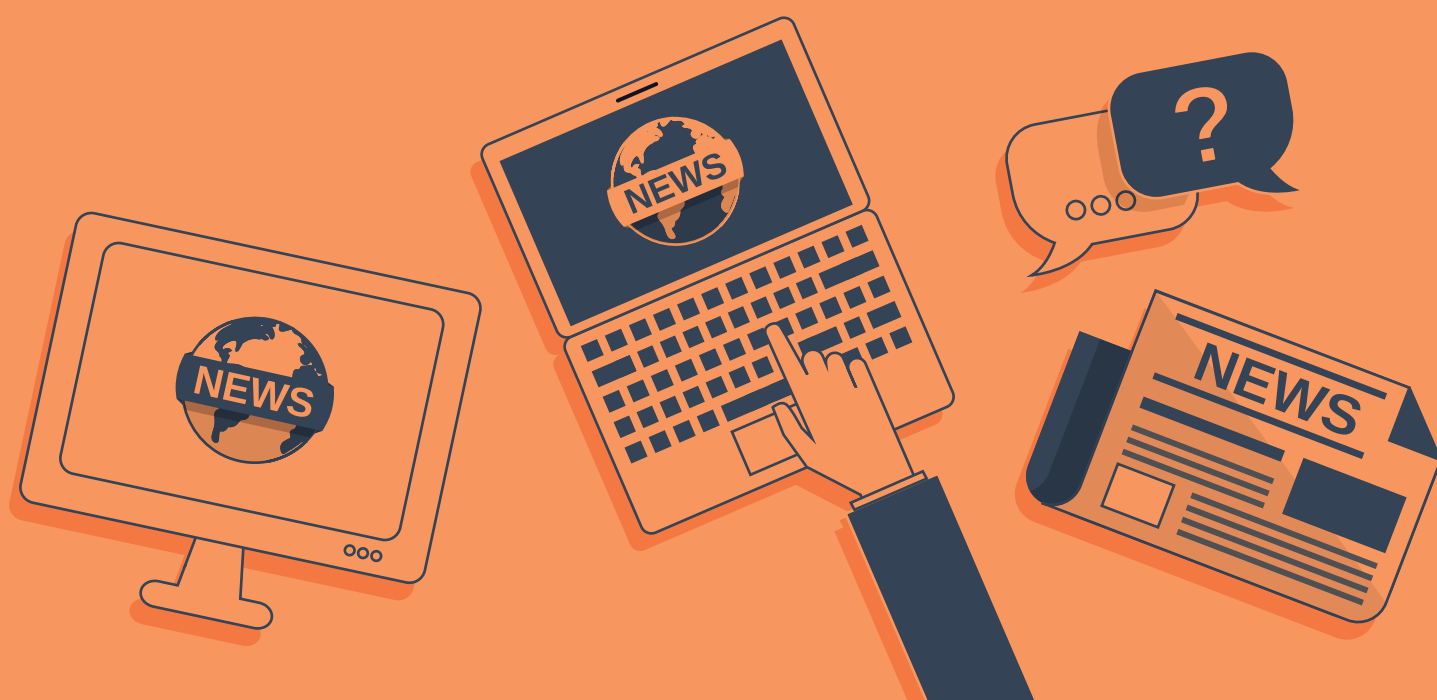




International
Labour
Organization

100
1919-2019

MEDIA REPORTING ON **CHILD LABOUR** IN THE REPUBLIC OF SERBIA



MEDIA REPORTING ON
CHILD LABOUR
IN THE REPUBLIC OF SERBIA

Copyright © International Labour Organization 2018
First published 2018

Publications of the International Labour Office enjoy copyright under Protocol 2 of the Universal Copyright Convention. Nevertheless, short excerpts from them may be reproduced without authorization, on condition that the source is indicated. For rights of reproduction or translation, application should be made to ILO Publications [Rights and Licensing], International Labour Office, CH-1211 Geneva 22, Switzerland, or by email: rights@ilo.org. The International Labour Office welcomes such applications.

Libraries, institutions and other users registered with a reproduction rights organization may make copies in accordance with the licences issued to them for this purpose. Visit www.ifrro.org to find the reproduction rights organization in your country.

FUNDAMENTALS

Media reporting on child labour in the Republic of Serbia, International Labour Office, Fundamental Principles and Rights at Work Branch [FUNDAMENTALS], Geneva: ILO, 2018.

ISBN: 978-92-2-132173-6 [Print]; 978-92-2-132174-3 [Web PDF]

International Labour Office; ILO Fundamental Principles and Rights at Work Branch

Also available in Serbian: *Izveštavanje medija o zloupotrebi dečjeg rada u Republici Srbiji*, ISBN: 978-92-2-132175-0 [Print]; 978-92-2-132176-7 [Web PDF], Geneva, 2018.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

Funding for this ILO publication is provided by the United States Department of Labor (USDOL) under cooperative agreement number IL-24943-13-75-K of the Project “Country Level Engagement and Assistance to Reduce Child Labour [CLEAR]” [GLO/13/22/USA].

This publication does not necessarily reflect the views or policies of the United States Department of Labor, nor does mention of trade names, commercial products, or organizations imply endorsement by the United States Government. 100 per cent of the total costs of the Project GLO/13/22/USA is financed with federal funds, for a total of USD 7,950,000.

The designations employed in ILO publications, which are in conformity with United Nations practice, and the presentation of material therein do not imply the expression of any opinion whatsoever on the part of the International Labour Office concerning the legal status of any country, area or territory or of its authorities, or concerning the delimitation of its frontiers.

The responsibility for opinions expressed in signed articles, studies and other contributions rests solely with their authors, and publication does not constitute an endorsement by the International Labour Office of the opinions expressed in them.

Reference to names of firms and commercial products and processes does not imply their endorsement by the International Labour Office, and any failure to mention a particular firm, commercial product or process is not a sign of disapproval.

Information on ILO publications and digital products can be found at: www.ilo.org/publns.

Visit our website: www.ilo.org/childlabour

Only available in electronic format.
Photocomposed by Dina Alwani, Beirut.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

INTRODUCTION.....	6
DEFINITION: CHILD WORK AND CHILD LABOUR.....	6
THE ROLE OF THE MEDIA.....	8
BACKGROUND.....	10
AIM OF THE STUDY	10
METHODOLOGY	11
OVERVIEW OF THE NATIONAL INSTITUTIONAL AND NORMATIVE FRAMEWORK FOR THE MEDIA RELEVANT TO THE PROTECTION OF CHILDREN FROM CHILD LABOUR	13
INSTITUTIONAL FRAMEWORK	13
SELECTED INTERNATIONAL INSTRUMENTS	15
RELEVANT LEGISLATIVE FRAMEWORK FOR THE OPERATION OF MEDIA.....	16
STRATEGIC FRAMEWORK.....	19
OVERVIEW OF THE QUANTITATIVE ANALYSIS OF MEDIA CONTENT IN PRINT, BROADCAST AND ONLINE MEDIA IN SERBIA RELATED TO CHILD LABOUR	21
OVERVIEW OF THE QUALITATIVE ANALYSIS OF MEDIA CONTENT IN PRINT, BROADCAST AND ONLINE MEDIA IN SERBIA RELATED TO CHILD LABOUR	27
A. FINDINGS ON THE PRESENCE OF THE PHENOMENON OF CHILD LABOUR IN THE MEDIA.....	27
B. FINDINGS ON THE PORTRAYAL OF THE PHENOMENON OF CHILD LABOUR IN THE MEDIA	28
THE THEMATIC FOCUS OF THE ANALYSIS: FORMS OF CHILD LABOUR AND APPEARANCES IN THE MEDIA OF THE CATEGORIES UNDER ANALYSIS	32
DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSIONS (INCLUDING LIMITATIONS)	37
LIMITATIONS.....	38
SUMMARY OF RESULTS	39
REFERENCES.....	40
ANNEX I: KEYWORDS	41
ANNEX II: KLIPING – REFERENCE LIST OF MEDIA	43

INTRODUCTION

DEFINITION: CHILD WORK AND CHILD LABOUR

Child work may present abuse and exploitation of a child, but not always and not in all situations. The child's age, state of health, type of work, circumstances under which the work is carried out, as well as difficulties in or disruption of education will determine whether it is a permissible case of child work or a case of child labour.

There is a distinction between child labour and child work, where child labour means work that is harmful to the health, mental and physical development of the child – unsuitable with respect to the interest, age and developmental needs of the child – whereas child work is used for the so-called admissible work of a child in the right conditions. The Serbian language does not make a distinction between the terms child work and child labour in this way. For this reason, at the beginning of the study it is necessary to clarify why the specific expression is important when discussing this phenomenon.

When a child helps his/her parents with housework, takes part in the family business or earns pocket money in his/her spare time or during the holidays, with these tasks being appropriate to his/her age and mental-physical abilities and carried out in a safe environment then we cannot talk about this as an instance of child labour. On the contrary, the timely and occasional involvement of children in the performance of certain tasks can contribute to their development, teach them skills and give them experience which is important for the future.¹ Also, this kind of work affects the adoption of positive values including an awareness of the relation between effort and realized benefits.

The engagement of children (child work) taking place in accordance with the best interests of the child and within the law, is not considered to be a case of child labour. In almost all countries in the world, it is considered that a child may be employed at 14, 15 or 16 years of age, depending on the national situation. This age usually coincides with the completion of primary education or some form of professional training of the child, which is also recommended by international law.. However, for ages 15 to 18 there are special employment restrictions or prohibitions stipulated in relation to night work, or work in hazardous conditions, with chemicals, etc.² Problems furthermore arise when children at a very early age work under hazardous conditions, because this is when child labour occurs.

The term **child labour** refers to work that, by its nature and the circumstances in which it is carried out, harms the well-being of the child, abuses and exploits children and prevents or hinders their education, development and future life. This work can be paid or unpaid, may take place in the marketplace or outside it, and can be in the form of regular or occasional jobs. Child labour corresponds to work that is mentally, physically, socially and morally dangerous and harmful to the child, affecting the child's education by:

- ◆ hindering the child from attending school;
- ◆ forcing the child to drop out of school prematurely; or
- ◆ obliging the child to attend school under extremely difficult conditions.³

The International Labour Organization (ILO) uses the term “child labour”, but also the terms “working children” and “economically active children”. When the ILO uses the term “child labour”, it refers to the abuse of child work.

1 Vorkapić, S. 2002. About Child Labour [Belgrade: Child Rights Centre].

2 Ibid.

3 Ibid.

According to the ILO Convention on the Worst Forms of Child Labour No. 182 [1999],⁴ the term “the worst forms of child labour” comprises:

- a. all forms of slavery or practices similar to slavery, such as the sale and trafficking of children, debt bondage and serfdom and forced or compulsory labour, including forced or compulsory recruitment of children for use in armed conflict;
- b. the use, procuring or offering of a child for prostitution, for the production of pornography or for pornographic performances;
- c. the use, procuring or offering of a child for illicit activities, in particular for the production and trafficking of drugs as defined in the relevant international treaties;
- d. 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.

It is important to note that this international document applies to all persons under the age of 18. Of special note is paragraph (d), indicating that hazardous child labour is work carried out in dangerous and harmful conditions that may result in a child's death or injury, or illness [often permanent] as a consequence of poor safety and health standards and business arrangements.

ILO Member States have an obligation to determine through a competent authority what type of work consists of the worst forms of child labour, according to its national laws or regulations, after consultation with interested organizations of employers and workers, taking into account relevant international standards, in particular ILO Recommendation No. 190 [1999] concerning the prohibition and immediate action for the elimination of the worst forms of child labour. After consultation with these organizations, the competent authority identifies the existence of such jobs and draws up a list of defined jobs which is periodically examined and revised as necessary, also in consultation with the employers' and workers' organizations.

ILO Recommendation No. 190 provides that in determining the types of work referred to in Article 3 (d) of Convention No. 182, and in identifying cases of their existence, it is necessary, inter alia, to consider: (a) work which exposes children to physical, psychological or sexual abuse; (b) work underground, under water, at dangerous heights or in confined spaces; (c) work with dangerous machinery, equipment and tools, or work which involves the manual handling or transport of heavy loads; (d) work in an unhealthy environment in which children can be, for example, exposed to hazardous substances, agents or processes, or to temperatures, noise levels, or vibrations damaging to their health; and (e) work under particularly difficult conditions such as work for long hours or during the night or work where the child is unreasonably confined to the premises of the employer.

“For the forms of work referred to in Article 3 (d) of the Convention No. 182 and specified circumstances to be taken into account when determining the worst forms of labour – national laws or regulations or the competent national authorities could, after consultation with the interested organizations of workers and employers, give permission for employment or work from the age of 16 on condition that the health, safety and morals of the children concerned [be] fully protected and that the children [acquire] the corresponding actual experience or [complete] vocational training in the relevant branch of activity”.⁵

The normative framework in Serbia does not recognize a uniform definition of child labour

The worst forms of child labour are determined (and incriminated) as specific offences contained in the Criminal Code, such as: neglect and abuse of minors; solicitation of prostitution; display of pornographic material and exploitation of minors for pornography; exploitation of computer networks or other means of communication to commit offences against the sexual freedom of a juvenile; trafficking in human beings, etc. The latest amendments to criminal legislation contain for the first time a clear definition of the concept of abuse of children in pornography (child pornography).

⁴ www.ilo.org/dyn/normlex/en/f?p=NORMLEXPUB:12100:0::NO:12100:P12100_INSTRUMENT_ID:312327:NO.

⁵ Jovanović, V. :2016. Protection of Children from Child Labour with a Focus on Normative Regulation [Geneva: ILO] Country Level Engagement and Assistance to Reduce Child Labor [CLEAR] Project, p. 41 .

In addition to the lack of a uniform definition of child labour, the concept of minors engaged in begging also remains undefined, so a minor (as defined as a child from 14 to 18 years of age) involved in begging is treated in the same way as adults begging, and thus subject to penal responsibility.

The only provision of the Family Law that expressly prohibits child labour is contained in the following formulation: “if a parent exploits the child by forcing it to perform excessive work, or work that jeopardizes the moral, health or education of the child, or work that is prohibited by law”, this can be defined as an abuse of parental rights or serious negligence of responsibility and could be the basis for deprivation of such rights.

In addition to the determination that a child who has attained 15 years of age may be given employment only with the consent of parents, adoptive parents or a guardian – and only if such work does not endanger his/her health and moral and educational development, or if such work is not prohibited by law – the Labour Law stipulates that such an employee cannot perform particularly difficult jobs. The Law defines these as jobs that would – based on the findings of the competent health authority – increase and cause a detrimental risk which would affect a child’s health and life, taking into account his/her mental and physical abilities.

The ILO in Serbia worked on the development of the Hazardous Child Labour List, which was the basis for the Regulation on hazardous labour of children. The Regulation is a general act aimed at the protection of children, i.e., underage employees, in accordance with ILO Convention No. 182 and ILO Recommendation No. 190.

THE ROLE OF THE MEDIA

By researching how much and in what way the media report on child labour in Serbia, we have tried to gain insight into perhaps the most important mechanism in the forming of public opinion with respect to children.

The primary role of the media is to propagate media content through video, photos, audio and text that transmit the editorial design of information, ideas and opinions, as well as other content intended for public dissemination to an unspecified number of users. This information should be circulated in such a way that the rules of the journalistic profession are applied with full respect for the rights of citizens to be informed accurately, fully and in a timely manner about matters of public concern. The development of new media has largely changed the traditional unidirectional distribution of information. The traditional media (TV, radio and print) have experienced radical changes: they have introduced online editions, and also developed a two-way communication with their audience through social networks. On the other hand, citizens have not only become an active factor of public communication, but social networks have also made it possible for every individual to become a “medium” (expressing personal views on social networks, blogging, creating photo and video content and publishing on Instagram, YouTube, etc). Communication has become much faster, but its control has been significantly weakened.

“George Gerbner’s Cultural Indicators Project – which researched world media images of different social groups, and which also applies to children – indicates that the media not only reflect, but also largely maintain the existing structure of social power. The findings of this thirty-year research project suggest that the image of the world shown on television is incomplete and biased in a way that reflects the social hierarchy, as well as the relative importance of different social groups, which opens the door to manipulation and abuse.”⁶ It should be added that with the development of new media the challenges multiply.

Bearing in mind the interest of the child, the key question regarding the role of the media is their impact on public opinion, namely, on those who make decisions about children – parents, and adults who directly deal with children, such as decision-makers and institutions. The formulation and realization of the state policy towards children is usually carried out in consultation with experts.

6 Korać, N., Vranješević, J. 2001. The Invisible Child - The Image of a Child in Media Contents Intended for Adults (Belgrade, Yugoslav Child Rights Centre).

However, priority setting and the way in which children and even the phenomenon of child labour is placed on a state's social and political agenda depend on public opinion, which is largely formed under the influence of the media. Therefore, the importance of the role of the media in forming public opinion and their influence on setting social priorities, including on the issue of child labour, is very significant. "In relation to that, Dale Kunkel and Stacy Smith emphasize: 'The way one state conceptualizes childhood, how it perceives or stereotypes the behaviour of young people, how it treats its children – in terms of laws that should protect them and the policies that should favour them – depend on how children are seen by its citizens. All this is certainly influenced by the knowledge that people have about children, and one of the main sources of such information is the media'" [Kunkel & Smith, 1999, p. 79].⁷

Knowledge about children in general is the main prerequisite for the prevention of any occurrence of child labour. In addition to standard education programmes aimed at professionals and parents, the media not only have the possibility but also a great responsibility to work on this very important task –through systematic shaping of public opinion with respect to children that is mostly carried out through programmes and content that reach the widest public. This applies primarily, but not exclusively, to informative, cultural and educational content. Thus, the education of journalists and editorial personnel [who make the decisions regarding the selection of topics, as well as their distribution] becomes even more important. In the first place, the basis of their training should include elementary knowledge on the development, needs and rights of children as well as the skills necessary for journalism related to, for instance, economy, sports and culture. Comprehensive knowledge is necessary in order to provide an adequate journalistic approach to the coverage of anything child-related.

⁷ Ibid, p. 124.

BACKGROUND

One of the objectives of the Country Level Engagement and Assistance to Reduce Child Labour [CLEAR] Project in Serbia refers to the introduction of child labour issues into a broader national framework of protection of children. This study is intended to determine the nature and extent of the phenomenon of child labour in the media in Serbia and develop recommendations on how to make the media more sensitive to proper reporting on this subject. These recommendations formed the basis of a training programme for media representatives aimed at improving ways of reporting on the phenomenon, as well as the discussion about the role of media within the development of the Roadmap to eliminate child labour in Serbia.

In Serbia, there have been no recent studies monitoring media coverage of child labour. It is therefore the intention of this study to demonstrate the visibility of the phenomenon of child labour and the extent to which it is represented in the media in Serbia, as well as its image – the way in which this phenomenon is portrayed in the media.

When it comes to the prevalence of the phenomenon in Serbia, one of the main sources of information is the Multiple Indicator Cluster Survey [MICS], which is implemented every four years by UNICEF in cooperation with the National Bureau of Statistics. The 2014 MICS5 shows that 9.7 per cent of children aged 5 to 17 are involved in child labour.⁸ Boys are more often involved in child labour than girls (12 per cent compared to 7 per cent), and the percentage of children involved in child labour is higher among children whose mothers only have primary education (17 per cent) and among children from the poorest quintile (15 per cent).

AIM OF THE STUDY

The main intention of this research is to determine how and to what extent the media in Serbia report on child labour, taking into account the importance of the role of media in shaping public opinion on children and the phenomenon of child labour, and the impact of such public opinion on attitudes, decisions and actions undertaken towards children. In other words, the intention of the study is to demonstrate the visibility [quantitative representation] of the phenomenon of child labour, as well as the notion of child labour and its abuse [qualitative processing of the phenomenon] in the media.

8 Available at www.unicef.org/serbia/sites/unicef.org.serbia/files/2018-08/MICS_2014.pdf.

METHODOLOGY

From the methodological point of view, the study contains several interconnected parts:

- ◆ analysis of the institutional and normative framework for the media [with special attention to the domestic legislative framework and selected international instruments] relevant to the protection of children from child labour;
- ◆ results of the quantitative and qualitative content analysis of media reports that were the subject of grouping and monitoring by the Kliping agency; and
- ◆ presentation of examples of good and bad practices of media reports that were the subject of quantitative analysis by the Kliping agency.

In conducting the study, the results of research on similar thematic content already published in Serbia and abroad were consulted.⁹ In addition, the study includes an analysis of the child labour phenomenon which was monitored in terms of adequate determination and respect of the rights of the child, as well as conclusions and recommendations. In order to determine how and to what extent the Serbian media report on child labour, techniques to examine the content of media reports were used. For the purpose of the analysis, a quantitative-qualitative methodological apparatus was developed, in which an individual press release represents the unit of analysis.

The quantitative analysis includes the level of representation of the selected media publications – in total, according to type, individually [singly], and according to the authors. Articles from the press are classified according to their frequency of publication [daily, weekly, biweekly, monthly, periodical], the number of front pages about child labour, and the space they take up. All coverage related to child labour is also quantified based on the number of photographs, as well as the image content and its connection to the text.

Based on the initial hypothesis that, when reporting, media professionals in Serbia do not recognize certain forms of child labour, nor the difference between child work and child labour, the following monitored [researched] categories were defined.

The qualitative dimension was operationalized into five categories according to which each individual report was analysed:

1. Publicity [primary, secondary]
2. Motive for reporting [current motive, media initiative]
3. Type of headline [informative, sensationalistic]
4. Source of information [centre for social work, police, other institutions/organizations/individuals, source not listed]
5. The thematic focus as the broader context of the reporting analysis in qualitative terms, including the following categories:
 - a. gender of the child [male, female, gender not specified];
 - b. family status visible and family status not visible [visible: a child living in the biological family, a child living in a foster family, a child in an institution; a child living on the street; a child refugee, asylum seeker, migrant; a child in the readmission process; a child with unresolved parental status or without parents; other];
 - c. nationality/ethnicity visible [Roma, Serbian, other] or nationality not specified;
 - d. age; and
 - e. forms of child labour.

9 Korać, N., Vranješević, J. :2001 The Invisible Child – The Image of a Child in Media Contents Intended for Adults [Belgrade, Yugoslav Child Rights Centre], p. 124; Multiple Indicator Cluster Survey of Women and Children in Serbia in 2014 and Multiple Indicator Cluster Survey of Women and Children in Roma Settlements in Serbia 2014, Final results [Belgrade, Statistical Office of the Republic of Serbia and UNICEF]; Newspaper on the Children – “Bread and games to children and juveniles”, Analysis of daily press in 2004 [Belgrade: Child Rights Centre], unpublished analysis.

For the purposes of the study, the age categories were defined as follow:

- ◆ preschool children – up to 7 years of age;
- ◆ school children – 7 to 14 years of age;
- ◆ school children – 14 to 18 years of age (often referred to as minors);
- ◆ general posts without age determination of child/children.

The study designates persons under 18 years of age as children.

As the most complex category, “forms of child labour” were monitored in media reports as:

- ◆ strenuous farm work (referring to heavy work in the field and/or work with livestock under difficult conditions, i.e., in high or low temperatures, for a long period of time or at night);
- ◆ child begging – passive solicitation of money;
- ◆ child mendicancy as a form of child labour (children earning for their families, children involved in life and/or work on the street);
- ◆ sexual exploitation – the use, procuring or offering of a child for prostitution, production of pornography or for pornographic performances;
- ◆ forced commission of criminal offenses – involvement in organized (criminal) forms (e.g., organized theft or commission of other crimes, trafficking in narcotics and stolen goods);
- ◆ abuse and exploitation of children in sports;
- ◆ collection of recyclable materials (waste);
- ◆ other forms of child labour (including children doing hazardous work, physical work on construction sites, street cleaning, as well as selling in markets and stalls);
- ◆ dual education; and
- ◆ general text (media reports about child labour as a phenomenon, presentation of research and normative regulation).

OVERVIEW OF THE NATIONAL INSTITUTIONAL AND NORMATIVE FRAMEWORK FOR THE MEDIA RELEVANT TO THE PROTECTION OF CHILDREN FROM CHILD LABOUR

The international framework relevant to the issues of preventing and protecting children from abuse and exploitation of child labour is encouraging. It enables states, the EU and international institutions and organizations to deal seriously with this issue by creating directives for national measures.

In the Republic of Serbia ratified international instruments are implemented directly, and due to their legal force, laws pertinent to these instruments are positioned immediately after the Constitution in terms of importance. However, in practice their direct implementation faces challenges due to both objective and subjective limitations. Therefore, in order to realize children's rights, it is essential to ensure that they are implemented, and that legal texts comply with the ratified instruments.

The national normative and strategic framework of the Republic of Serbia is largely in line with international standards, but there is room for improvement and further harmonization. Hence, it is necessary to work on the promotion and implementation of the framework so that it ensures a comprehensive institutional and systemic prevention of, and protection of children from child labour, especially the worst forms of child labour.

Below is an overview of the institutional framework and selected international and national instruments of paramount importance to the subject of the study.

INSTITUTIONAL FRAMEWORK

The Committee on the Rights of the Child of the National Assembly

On 14 July 2016, the National Assembly of the Republic of Serbia established the Committee on the Rights of the Child as its special standing working body. The Committee considers draft laws from the aspect of protection of child rights; it monitors the implementation and enforcement of laws and regulations governing the status and protection of child rights; it verifies the harmonization of national legislation with international standards related to child rights; it cooperates with national and international institutions and bodies, and local authorities; it initiates amendments to the regulations and proposes the adoption of certain acts and measures to protect the rights of the child; it promotes the rights of the child; and it considers other issues of importance to child rights.

The Council for Child Rights of the Government of the Republic of Serbia

The Council for Child Rights of the Government of the Republic of Serbia, in its new configuration, was constituted on 20 December 2016. This advisory body has existed since 2002, but it has not been fully operational as per its mandate. It was formed with the aim of initiating measures for the harmonization of government policies in areas relating to children (health, education, culture, social affairs), initiating measures to build a comprehensive and coherent policy towards children, and proposing policy for the realization of the rights of the child in accordance with the Convention on the Rights of Child, as well as monitoring the realization and protection of child rights in the country.

The Ministry of Culture and Information of the Republic of Serbia

The Ministry of Culture and Information of the Republic of Serbia, as a state administration body, was established by the Law on Ministries,¹⁰ and its scope of work is defined by Article 15 of this Law. The Ministry, among other things, carries out public administration tasks related to: the system of public information; monitoring the implementation of laws in the field of public information; monitoring the work of public enterprises and institutions in the field of public information; monitoring the activities of foreign information institutions, the media, and correspondent bureaus in the Republic of Serbia; informing national minorities; registering foreign information institutions and assisting in the work of foreign journalists and correspondents; cooperating in the field of cultural heritage protection, cultural creativity and information in the languages and alphabet of the Serbian people in the region; establishing and developing cultural and information centres abroad; and other activities as specified by law.

One of the sectors within the Ministry is the Department of Information. Tasks performed within this sector include: preparation and implementation of strategic acts in the field of public information; analysis of the situation and suggestion of measures for improvements in the field of public information; preparation of draft laws and regulations in the field of public information; overseeing the implementation of the laws governing the field of public information; monitoring, proposing and implementing measures of the media and audiovisual policy; providing expert opinions on draft laws and regulations in whole or in part related to public information; preparing draft laws to be adopted by the government; dealing with complaints as an appellate body in resolving administrative matters; digitalization of electronic media; normative regulation of new media; monitoring, proposing and implementing measures to protect the public interest in the field of information; providing conditions for the realization and promotion of the right to information of persons belonging to national minorities; providing conditions for the realization and promotion of the right to information of specific categories of persons; and preparation of reports on the implementation of the conventions of the United Nations and the Council of Europe on the situation of human rights in the Republic of Serbia within the jurisdiction of the department.

The Regulatory Authority of Electronic Media

The Regulatory Authority of Electronic Media (REM) is an autonomous independent regulatory organization with the status of a legal entity exercising public authority aimed at: effective implementation of the established policy in the field of providing media services in the Republic of Serbia; improving the quality and diversity of electronic media services; and contribution to the preservation, protection and development of freedom of opinion and expression, in order to protect the public interest in the field of electronic media and the protection of users of electronic media, in accordance with the provisions of the Law on Electronic Media and in a manner befitting a democratic society.

The REM is functionally and financially independent of state bodies and organizations, media service providers and operators. The REM is responsible to the National Assembly for activities carried out within its jurisdiction, while basic rules of organization and operation regulated by the statute of this organization apply to the performing of professional or administrative tasks.

The authorities of the REM are the Council and the President of the Council. It has nine members elected by the National Assembly of the Republic of Serbia from the ranks of distinguished experts to carry out the activities under the REM's responsibility.

Self-regulatory bodies, professional and business organizations and associations

A) PRESS COUNCIL

In the Republic of Serbia, the only operating self-regulatory body is the Press Council. The Press Council is an independent self-regulatory body that brings together publishers, owners of print media and professional journalists. It was founded in early 2010 in accordance with the Law on

¹⁰ Official Gazette of the Republic of Serbia, No. 72/12 and 76/13. Official Gazette of the Republic of Serbia, No. 51/09.

Associations,¹¹ in order to monitor compliance with the Code of Journalists of Serbia by the media and solve complaints from individuals and institutions related to media content. The jurisdiction of the council also includes mediation between harmed individuals or institutions, as well as the issuing of public warnings for violation of ethical standards established by the Code of Ethics of Journalists of Serbia. Joining the membership of the council is on a voluntary basis.

The Council focuses on spreading awareness regarding compliance with the Code of Journalists and strengthening the role of the media in Serbia. Each individual, organization or institution that is directly affected by published content can file a complaint to the Council. The complaint may be filed on someone's behalf, but this requires a written consent. An appeal on behalf of a child may be filed by a legal representative of the child or a third party with the written consent of the legal representative. Complaints against television and radio programmes are not the responsibility of the Council, but of the REM. Such self-regulatory bodies do not exist in the field of electronic media.

B) PROFESSIONAL AND BUSINESS ORGANIZATIONS AND ASSOCIATIONS

Several professional associations of journalists are established in Serbia and are currently operating, mostly financed by their own funds (membership fees) and donations. The main function of these associations is to promote free and independent journalism and pluralism, as well as to improve professional and ethical standards in journalism and the media in general, protect the rights and interests of journalists, protect the public from media abuse and promote ethically responsible journalism. In addition, one of the important roles of these associations is their positive impact on the important issues in the field of public information, as well as on the process of determining the strategic policy of the state in the development of a public information system, as well as the adoption of regulations in this area.

SELECTED INTERNATIONAL INSTRUMENTS

The largest number of international documents regulating issues related to child labour was adopted within the ILO, founded in 1919. As a result, states have accepted a large number of conventions and recommendations governing the right to work. Analysis of the ILO Conventions that are significant for children's rights show that attention is primarily focused on the protection of children from exploitation at work.

International Labour Organization Convention No. 5 Fixing the Minimum Age for Admission of Children to Industrial Employment and International Labour Organization Convention No. 138 concerning Minimum Age for Admission to Employment

Throughout its existence, the ILO has at all times sought to establish a minimum age for admission to employment, as well as basic criteria for defining and regulating child labour. The first international agreement of this kind was enacted in 1919 with the Minimum Age (Industry) Convention, 1919 (No.5)¹² fixing the minimum age for admission of children to industrial employment. This convention prohibits labour for children under the age of 14 in industrial plants. Following conventions represent an attempt to ban child labour, by establishing clear lines distinguishing acceptable and unacceptable forms of child labour. The Minimum Age Convention, 1973 (No. 138)¹³ concerning minimum age for admission to employment is to date the highest standard in this area. This convention covers all areas of labour, paid or unpaid, and has very ambitious goals related to child labour in certain industries. While Convention No. 138 does not establish a minimum age for employment, it defines a policy that is aimed at the eradication of child labour and raising the age limit for admission to employment.

¹¹ Official Gazette of the Republic of Serbia, No. 51/09.

¹² www.ilo.org/dyn/normlex/en/f?p=NORMLEXPUB:12100:0::NO:12100:P12100_INSTRUMENT_ID:312150:NO.

¹³ www.ilo.org/dyn/normlex/en/f?p=NORMLEXPUB:12100:0::NO:12100:P12100_INSTRUMENT_ID:312283:NO.

International Labour Organization Convention No. 182 concerning the Prohibition and Immediate Action for the Elimination of the Worst Forms of Child Labour

In June 1996, at the regular meeting of the ILO, the governments of the organization's Member States agreed to start the process of adopting a new convention that would particularly pertain to child labour. The suggestion was that the new convention focus on those types of child labour that can no longer be tolerated, in order to prohibit forms of child labour that are the most harmful and dangerous, and that involve the highest level of exploitation. In June 1999, the Worst Forms of Child Labour Convention, 1999 [No.182] was adopted [together with Recommendation No. 190].¹⁴ This international document applies to all persons under the age of 18 and obliges States Parties to take immediate and effective measures to secure the prohibition and elimination of the worst forms of child labour. In addition to the definition of the worst forms of child labour, this document stipulates that countries prohibit any work of children that, by its nature and the circumstances under which it is performed, is likely to harm their health, safety and morals.

In addition to the conventions adopted under the auspices of the ILO, there are other international documents that regulate issues related to child labour. For the purposes of this study we highlight the most authoritative international document in the field of child rights, which guarantees, among other things, the protection of children from exploitation and child labour.

UN Convention on the Rights of the Child

By ratifying the Convention on the Rights of the Child [CRC], the States Parties have, inter alia, committed to the protection of every child from exploitation and from performing any work that is likely to be harmful to the life and health of the child, and that endangers and/or violates their physical, emotional and sexual integrity. By ratifying the CRC, our country has made a commitment to undertake measures to prevent child labour exploitation. The CRC obliges States Parties, in accordance with the applicable international regulations in the field of labour, to determine the minimum age for employment, regulate working hours and working conditions, and provide for appropriate sanctions for non-compliance with these provisions. A specific article of the CRC prohibits the exploitation of child labour in terms of the obligation of the state to "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 of the CRC]. In order to achieve this right, States Parties are required to take all legal, administrative, social and educational measures, and in particular to:

- ◆ provide for a minimum age or minimum ages for admission to employment;
- ◆ provide for appropriate regulation of the hours and conditions of employment; as well as
- ◆ provide for appropriate penalties or other sanctions to ensure the effective implementation of the right of the child to be protected from economic exploitation.

The Optional Protocol to the Convention on the Rights of the Child on the Sale of Children, Child Prostitution and Child Pornography requires States Parties to, inter alia, undertake measures to ensure appropriate training, particularly legal and psychological, for the persons who work with victims of illegal activities prohibited under this protocol, and adopt measures to protect the safety and integrity of persons and/or organizations involved in the prevention and/or protection and rehabilitation of victims of such offenses.

On 19 December 2011, the UN General Assembly adopted the Third Optional Protocol to the Convention on the Rights of the Child on a Communications Procedure. A communications procedure allows an individual, group of individuals or their representatives, who claim to be victims of a violation of rights committed by the State Party to the CRC to submit a complaint to the Committee on the Rights of the Child, under the condition that the State Party has accepted the procedure, and that the complainants have exhausted all viable domestic legal remedies.

¹⁴ www.ilo.org/dyn/normlex/en/f?p=NORMLEXPUB:12100:0::NO:12100:P12100_INSTRUMENT_ID:312528:NO.

RELEVANT LEGISLATIVE FRAMEWORK FOR THE OPERATION OF MEDIA

The media and their work is defined by a series of relevant laws. However, codes of ethics and practice, as well as adopted documents of the REM, also have a very important role to play in the regulation of labour. This normative framework is important for the media with respect to their role in informing the public and shaping public opinion in order to protect children from child labour.

Law on Public Information and Media¹⁵

This law regulates the exercise of freedom of public information, which specifically includes the freedom to collect, publish and receive information; freedom to form and express ideas and opinions; freedom to print and distribute newspapers and freedom of production, delivery and publishing of audio and audio-visual media services; freedom of spreading information and ideas over the Internet and other platforms; as well as freedom of publication of media and performing activities geared to informing the public. This law also regulates the principles applicable to informing the public. In addition, the law regulates the special rights and obligations with regard to informing the public: information about a person; the means and methods of legal protection; supervision of law implementation, as well as penal provisions. Thus, the Law on Public Information and Media foresees mandatory consent for the publication of information relating to private life and writings, without special provisions for minors, which is an omission.

The law stipulates that a minor cannot be made recognizable in coverage that may violate his/her rights or interests. Disclosure of information on someone's private life must be conditioned by the consent of the person. In the case of minors the parents' consent is needed, but this also applies to minors of a certain age. The age limit is not defined by law, so it can be understood as the age of 16 since a child of this age can consent to the publication of information about deceased parents, and consequently about themselves, unless such publication is contrary to the best interests of the child.

As an exception to the requirement of consent, the Law envisages a situation where the public interest in publication outweighs the interest of the person who is the focus of the information. In order to understand the range of this requirement we have to consider it in the context of other relevant laws. First, we return to the Code of Criminal Procedure,¹⁶ which as a rule provides that main hearings be public (the interest of the public to have access to the information outweighs the respect of the right to privacy of the person in the process). However, this rule does not apply in cases where the proceedings involve a minor as an injured party or as the offender since the law provides for the exclusion of the public in order to protect minors.

In the Law on Civil Procedure¹⁷ this procedure is based on the principle of defending the public's interest. The public may be excluded from a legal process only if it is required by law. One of the reasons for this option is the protection of the privacy and interests of children. Furthermore, the Family Law¹⁸ completely excludes the public in disputes which relate to legal relations amongst family members. In this way, the procedure for the protection of child rights is respected.

All laws governing the provision of services to minors in the areas of health, social issues and education explicitly protect the child's right to privacy and determine the age limit at which this right is protected, even taking into consideration the right of parents to obtain information concerning their child.

The conclusion that can be drawn unambiguously is that the limits to the public's right to be informed are bound by law as are the interests of children in having information about them kept from the public. The legal system gives absolute priority to the rights and interests of children; thus, the right of minors to the protection of privacy takes precedence over the public's right to be informed.

15 www.parlament.gov.rs/upload/archive/files/lat/pdf/zakoni/2014/2511-14Lat.pdf [in Serbian].

16 Code of Criminal Procedure, *Official Gazette of the Republic of Serbia* No. 71/2011, 55/2014.

17 Law on Civil Procedure, *Official Gazette of the Republic of Serbia* No. 72/2011, 55/2014.

18 Family Law, *Official Gazette of the Republic of Serbia*, No. 18/2005, 72/2011, and other law 6/2015.

Law on Electronic Media¹⁹

This law regulates the conditions and operation of audio and audiovisual media services, conditions and procedures for issuing licenses for the provision of audio and audiovisual media services, and other issues relevant to the field of electronic media. This law defines the organization and operation of the REM which is in charge of, inter alia, determining detailed rules for the protection of children [Art. 22, paragraph 1, item 15].

Rules on the protection of the rights of minors (children 12 to 18) in the field of provision of media services²⁰

This regulation was adopted by the REM and principally oversees that minors are protected from information that may be harmful to them. The rules also govern issues “in connection with the participation of minors in the programme and the publication of information that is directly or indirectly related to minors” [Art. 1]. Article 3 of the rules obliges the media service provider to act in the best interests of minors when they are included in the content or when information is published on the minor or his/her family. Article 20 of the rules defines children’s programmes (ages up to 12 years) and programmes aimed at minors (ages 12 to 18).

Law on Public Media Services²¹

This law regulates the operation of two public media institutions: Radio-Television of Serbia and Radio-Television of Vojvodina. Regulations cover their activities and the principles that underpin the performance of activities, the public interest they serve, the publicity of their work, the method of selection of governing bodies and authority, the drafting of laws, as well as provision of tools for their work and methods of financing. The importance of this law lies in the fact that it regulates the work of public media institutions that are of great importance in creating public opinion on the issue of the protection of child rights, including the protection of children from child labour.

Code of Journalists of Serbia²²

The code defines the ethical and professional standards of journalists. In accordance with the code, the media are bound to put the public interest in thorough, timely and truthful information above all other interests. However, it is important to underline again that the Law on Public Information and Media determines that the interest of the minor in having his/her privacy protected outweighs the public interest in accessing the information.

The code contains special provisions relating to the protection of the rights and dignity of children. A journalist is forbidden to use inappropriate, disturbing, pornographic and other content that can have a harmful impact on children. According to the code, children, as a rule, may be interviewed only in the presence of or with the consent of parents or guardians. The journalist is obliged to ensure that the child is not endangered or at risk due to the publication of his/her name or photograph or recording containing his/her image, the house or the community in which he/she lives, or recognizable surroundings.

The code also lays out guidelines that closely define the work of journalists. They suggest that representatives of state and public institutions dealing with the protection of children are sometimes unaware of the impact of the media and their way of working. Thus, the information they provide to journalists often involves revealing the identity of children. A journalist, however, must not abuse their benevolence or ignorance and must refrain from publishing this information. Similarly, information

19 www.parlament.gov.rs/upload/archive/files/lat/pdf/zakoni/2014/2512-14Lat.pdf [in Serbian].

20 <http://rem.rs/uploads/files/Pravilnici/6075-Pravilnik%20o%20zastiti%20maloletnika%20u%20oblasti%20pruzanja%20medijskih%20usluga%20za%20sajt.pdf> [in Serbian].

21 www.parlament.gov.rs/upload/archive/files/cir/pdf/zakoni/2014/2513-14.pdf [in Serbian].

22 <http://www.savetzastampu.rs/english/serbian-journalists-code-of-ethics>.

The Code is a joint document of the two journalists’ associations. The Code of Journalists of Serbia was adopted in 2006 by the Independent Association of Journalists of Serbia and the Association of Journalists of Serbia. In 2013 the journalist associations amended the code with provisions on the prevention of corruption and conflict of interest.

provided by physicians, social workers, educators, etc., that directly or indirectly indicates the identity of the child should not be published. All decisions on whether the Code of Journalists of Serbia has been violated are delivered by the Appeals Committee (consisting of representatives of the media industry, professional associations of journalists and representatives of the public). If the Committee decides that there has been a violation of the journalistic code, the media responsible for publishing the content in question must publish the committee's decision.

The code lists examples from the practice of the Appeals Committee of the Press Council.

Shortly after a minor E.B. was killed in Becej, his parents had shared with a mass circulation daily newspaper a picture of the dead boy with a visible hematoma on his face. Their wish was to deny the thesis that their child died in an accident, but to prove that he died of being beaten. The photo was published on the front page, to which the Child Rights Centre appealed. The Appeals Committee decided that in this case multiple points of Article IV of the Code of Journalists of Serbia had been violated: in addition to publication of inappropriate content that can have a harmful impact on children, it is a question of why there was no protection according to the legal standard pertaining to "the rights and dignity of children, victims of crime, persons with disabilities and other vulnerable groups". Most members of the committee considered that the publication of such photos could not be justified by the public interest or the desire of the editorial board to prove that the young man was murdered and that the authorities were not doing their job. In their view, there was no need for such a dramatic act, especially because the photo is not accompanied by any serious analysis of events. This case illustrates well the provisions of the code concerning the attitude towards sources of information – in this case, to the family of the deceased young man. Article VI states that a journalist must not abuse the emotions of other people or their ignorance – in particular, he/she has to bear in mind that the sources are not always aware of the power of the media and the consequences that their statements (or actions) may have for them personally, as well as for other people. "Intentional abuse is incompatible with the profession of journalism, as well as negligence that can potentially result in abuse of interviewees", according to the Guidelines' Article V.

Guidelines for the implementation of the Code of Journalists of Serbia in the online environment²³

Although the Code of Journalists of Serbia is equally applicable to all media, regardless of the way the information is released, it was necessary to provide proper interpretation and guidance in order to ensure the successful and correct application of professional standards in the online environment. This gave rise to the adoption of these guidelines, which are primarily intended for journalists and media available online but are also applicable to other forms of expression on the internet, where the editorial media content is present on different platforms. The aim is to clarify a number of concerns relating to the implementation of standards that require journalistic attention, the attitude towards sources of information, the way the media content is transmitted, respect for privacy, respect of authorship and other important matters governed by the code. The document is divided into chapters that follow the structure of the Code of Journalists of Serbia. It applies to media and communication channels over which the Press Council has jurisdiction in accordance with its statute. It also is applicable to other entities dealing with journalism in the broadest sense, which are willing to accept the jurisdiction of the Press Council.

General Protocol on Protection of Children from Abuse and Neglect²⁴

The general protocol was adopted in 2005 by the Government. This document aims to contribute to the establishment of an effective coordinated procedure for the protection of children from abuse and neglect, and provide adequate intervention, recovery and conditions for further safe development of the child. Following the adoption of the general protocol, relevant ministries adopted specific protocols for: social care institutions [2006], the police [2006, as amended in 2012], the educational system [2007], the healthcare system [2009] and the judiciary [2009].

²³ www.savetzastampu.rs/smernice-za-primenu-kodeksa-novinara-srbije-u-onlajn-okruzenju.html [in Serbian].

²⁴ www.pravdeteta.com/attachments/653_286_OPSTI%20PROTOKOL.pdf [in Serbian].

STRATEGIC FRAMEWORK

Numerous strategies exist in specific areas which aim at improving the situation of children and even that of victims of child labour. However, at the time of completion of this study the strategic document defining the state policy of Serbia in relation to children in general, as well as the phenomenon of violence, abuse of children and the public information system, has ceased to apply.

Currently, the Republic of Serbia has no comprehensive document that determines state policy towards children. Formerly it had the National Plan of Action for Children adopted by the Government of the Republic of Serbia in 2004, which was in force until 2015.

The National Strategy for Preventing and Protecting Children from Violence (adopted in 2008 by the government) was operationalized by an action plan that was adopted by the government in 2010, for the period until 2012. Creating the new strategy is specified in the Action Plan for Chapter 23 during the process of Serbia's accession to the EU.

At the time of this study, the Government, at the inaugural session of its advisory body – the Council for Child Rights – initiated the development of a new National Plan of Action for Children and a new Strategy for the prevention and protection of children from violence.

Now obsolete, the Strategy for the Development of the Public Information System in the Republic of Serbia until 2016 determined the development strategy of the public information system in the Republic of Serbia, with the primary aim of strengthening established democratic relations in the domain.

OVERVIEW OF THE QUANTATIVE ANALYSIS OF MEDIA CONTENT IN PRINT, BROADCAST AND ONLINE MEDIA IN SERBIA RELATED TO CHILD LABOUR

The analysis sample consists of 111 reports from 27 print media outlets, 108 posts on 54 Internet portals and 17 broadcasts on nine television stations. The analysis was conducted by carrying out a research of articles and media releases published from 1 October 2015 to 30 September 2016. Selection of the reports was made on the basis of the articles and texts archived by the Kliping agency which were made available. For the purpose of the study period, the agency's archive contained 703,438 articles from the print media, 223,408 from internet portals and 146,996 television reports.²⁵ Furthermore, internet releases were researched according to previously set keywords. For the purpose of making a relevant sample, 120 keywords related to the phenomenon of child labour in the Republic of Serbia were researched.²⁶

TABLE 1: NAME OF THE MEDIA AND THE NUMBER OF RELEASES THAT ARE INCLUDED IN THE ANALYSIS

MEDIA	CATEGORY	NUMBER OF RELEASES	MEDIA	CATEGORY	NUMBER OF RELEASES
BLIC	Press	21	DNEVNE.RS	WEB	1
ALO!	Press	12	DANAS - BELGRADE	Press	1
BLIC.RS	WEB	11	POLITIKA.RS	WEB	1
DNEVNIK	Press	10	ZIGINFO.RS	WEB	1
NOVOSTI.RS	WEB	7	DNEVNO.RS	WEB	1
VEČERNJE NOVOSTI	Press	7	VRŠAČKE VESTI	Press	1
RTS.RS	WEB	7	BLIC - BELGRADE	Press	1
KURIR	Press	7	SSP.ORG.RS	WEB	1
POLITIKA	Press	6	VESTINET.RS	WEB	1
DANAS	Press	6	BOR030.NET	WEB	1
RTV.RS	WEB	5	INFORMER.RS	WEB	1
INFORMER	Press	5	MOJRADIO.NET	WEB	1
TELEGRAF.RS	WEB	5	ECOFEMINIZAM.COM	WEB	1
VEČERNJE NOVOSTI - BELGRADE	Press	5	BEOGRAD.RS	WEB	1
TV KCN	TV	4	TV B92	TV	1
RS.N1INFO.COM	WEB	4	SRBIN.INFO	WEB	1
VESTI - FRANKFURT	Press	4	TV PRVA	TV	1
NARODNE NOVINE	Press	4	LICEULICE	Press	1
KURIR.RS	WEB	4	BETA.RS	WEB	2

²⁵ Annex II has a list of all the searched electronic and print media the Kliping agency has in its archives.

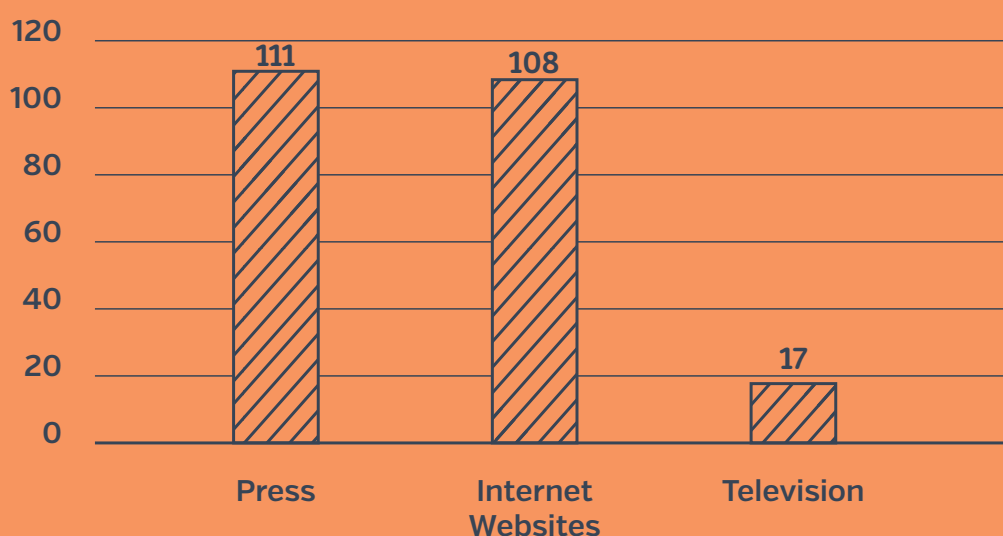
²⁶ Annex I has a list of keywords.

MEDIA	CATEGORY	NUMBER OF RELEASES	MEDIA	CATEGORY	NUMBER OF RELEASES
RTS 1	TV	4	TV PINK	TV	3
PRAVDA.RS	WEB	3	24SATA.RS	WEB	3
SRBIJADANAS.COM	WEB	3	VOJVODINA.GOV.RS	WEB	2
VREME	Press	3	B92.NET	WEB	3
SRPSKI TELEGRAF	Press	4	TANJUG.RS	WEB	3
DANAS.RS	WEB	2	ALO.RS	WEB	2
SPORTSKI ŽURNAL	Press	2	POLITIKA – BELGRADE	Press	2
DNEVNIK.RS	WEB	2	021.RS	WEB	1
MONDO.RS	WEB	2	VREME.COM	WEB	2
VEČERNJE NOVOSTI – VOJVODINA	Press	2	ESPRESSO.RS	WEB	2
GLASZAPADNESRBIJE.RS	WEB	1	AKTER.CO.RS	WEB	1
DETINJARIJE.COM	WEB	1	NOVE KIKINDSKE NOVINE	Press	1
NEDELJNE NOVINE – BAČKA PALANKA	Press	1	TV STUDIO B	TV	1
MACVAINFO.RS	WEB	1	BKTVNEWS.COM	WEB	1
PALANKADANAS.COM	WEB	1	NOVAEKONOMIJA.RS	WEB	1
PANČEVAC	Press	1	MODRICAINFO.COM	WEB	1
TV N1	TV	1	NISKEVESTI.RS	WEB	1
HAPPYTV.RS	WEB	1	OKRADIO.RS	WEB	1
JUZNEVESTI.COM	WEB	1	SOS KANAL	TV	1
STORY.RS	WEB	1	RADIOKOSAVA.RS	WEB	1
JUGMEDIA.RS	WEB	1	NOVI MAGAZIN	Press	1
MOJNOVISAD.COM	WEB	1	STUDIOB.RS	WEB	1
LEPOTAIZDRAVLJE.RS	WEB	1	SRBIJADANAS.NET	WEB	1
OZONPRESS.NET	WEB	1	24 SATA	Press	1
HAPPY TV	TV	1	BLIC – MAGAZIN	Press	1
SLOBODA – PIROT	Press	1	ROMINFOMEDIA.RS	WEB	1

In the selected sample, a total of 236 posts were recorded that concerned child labour. Compared to the total number of archived articles at the Kliping agency in Belgrade [1,073,842], 0.02 per cent were devoted to child labour.

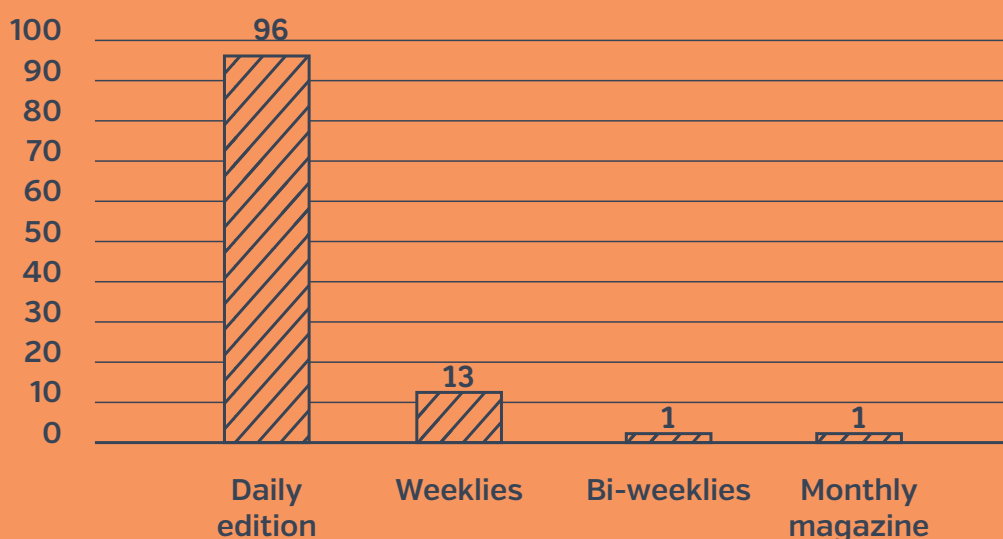
When analysed by media types, most of the media texts were recorded in the press, with 111 releases, 108 were recorded on Internet portals, while television broadcasts had the fewest contributions with 17 [Table 2].

FIGURE 1: NUMBER OF TEXTS BY MEDIA TYPE



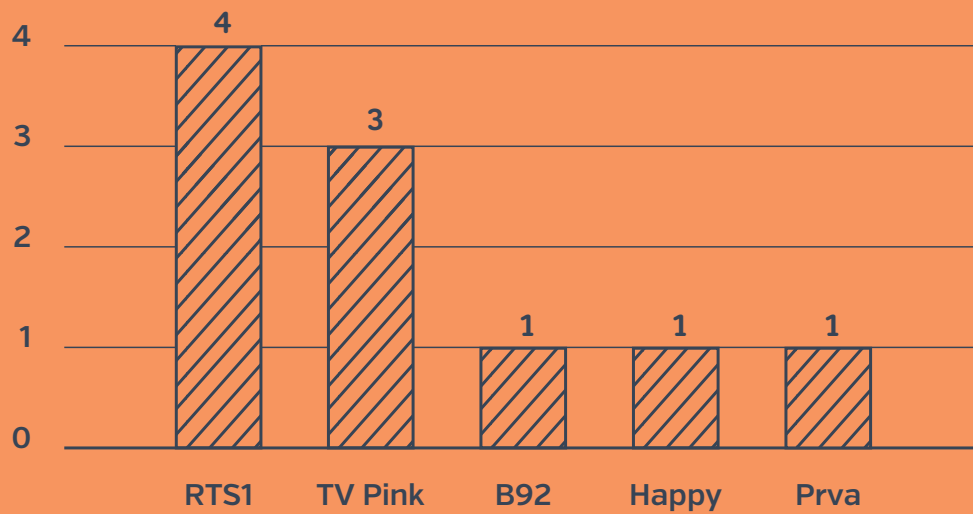
The largest number of articles was published in the daily newspaper *Blic*. In terms of frequency of publication, articles were mostly published in daily editions [96], followed by weeklies [13], bi-weeklies [1] and monthly magazines [1] [Table 3].

FIGURE 2: NUMBER OF TEXTS BY FREQUENCY OF PUBLICATION



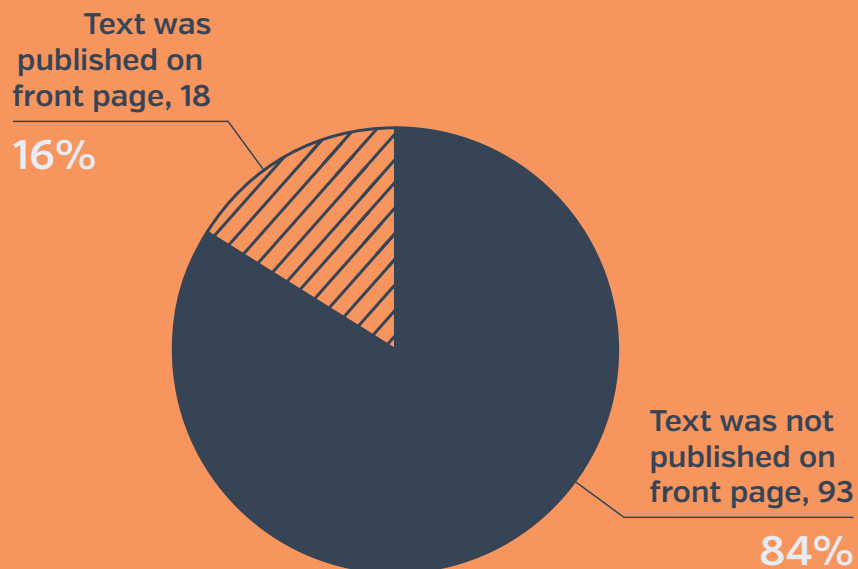
The internet portal of the daily newspaper *Blic* published the largest number of articles [11], while the television station *Kopernikus* and the public service television *RTS* recorded four broadcasts each. Of the television stations with national coverage, the largest number of reports was recorded on *RTS1* [4], followed by *TV Pink* [3], *B92* [1], *Happy* [1] and *Prva* [1] [Table 4].

FIGURE 3: NUMBER OF RELEASES ON TV STATIONS



Out of the 111 articles that were analysed with respect to child labour in the print media, 18 were published on the front page [Table 5].

FIGURE 4: POSITION OF THE PUBLISHED ARTICLE



One third of the total number of releases have no identified authors [87], followed by the number of posts released by the news agency Tanjug [17]. In third place are texts which have signed authors. The foremost of these was placed in the newspaper *Blic* and its journalist with the article “RAPE, BEATING, PROSTITUTION – The most horrific destinies of children in Serbia” [*blic.rs*, 31 July 2016], which was re-released by six other media outlets.

Comparative analysis of the number of media reports per individual media outlet shows that among the top ten there are seven daily newspapers or their portals. The exception is the site of the public service *RTS*, with seven published articles on child labour.

TOP TEN JOURNALISTS BY NUMBER OF RELEASES

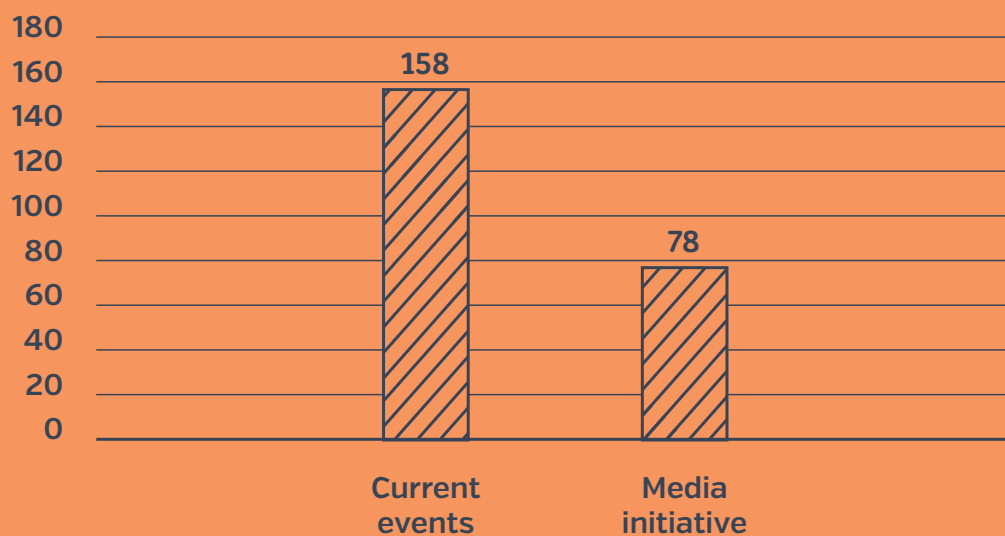
JOURNALIST	NUMBER OF RELEASES
UNIDENTIFIED	21
TANJUG	12
ANA ĐOKIĆ	11
J.D.	10
K. MALEŠEVIĆ	7
A.Ž.A.	7
FONET	7
V. PETROVIĆ	7
KURIR	6
BETA	6

TOP TEN JOURNALISTS BY NUMBER OF RELEASES

JOURNALIST	NUMBER OF RELEASES
BLIC	21
ALO!	12
BLIC.RS	11
DNEVNIK	10
NOVOSTI.RS	7
VEČERNJE NOVOSTI	7
RTS.RS	7
KURIR	7
POLITIKA	6
DANAS	6

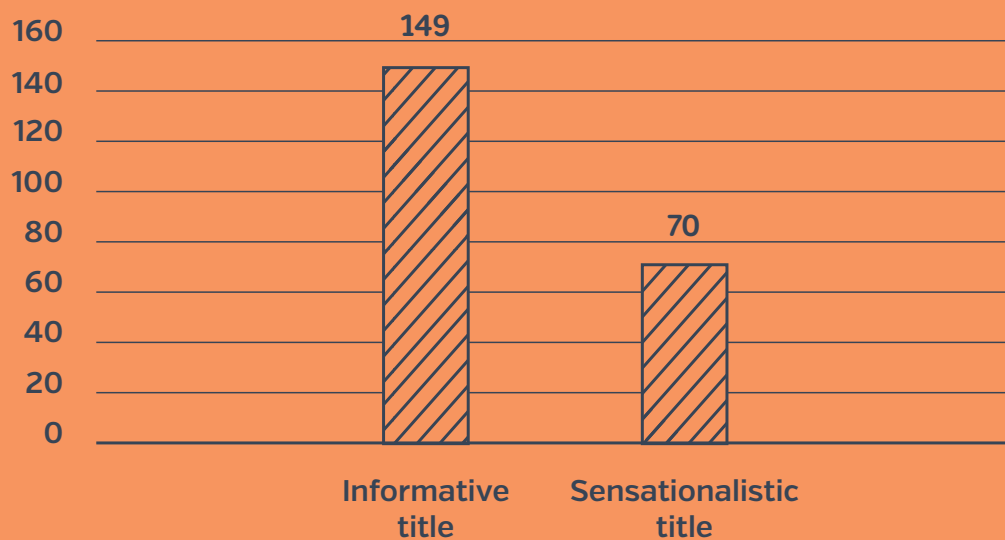
In the period under analysis, more than 65 per cent of the media reports concerning child labour presented cases that were current at the time, such as the arrest of persons who in some way abused minors. Other coverage included reports of independent control bodies, ministries, NGOs and international organizations, and the observation of Universal Children's Day or World Day Against Child Labour [Table 6].

FIGURE 5: MOTIVE FOR THE RELEASE



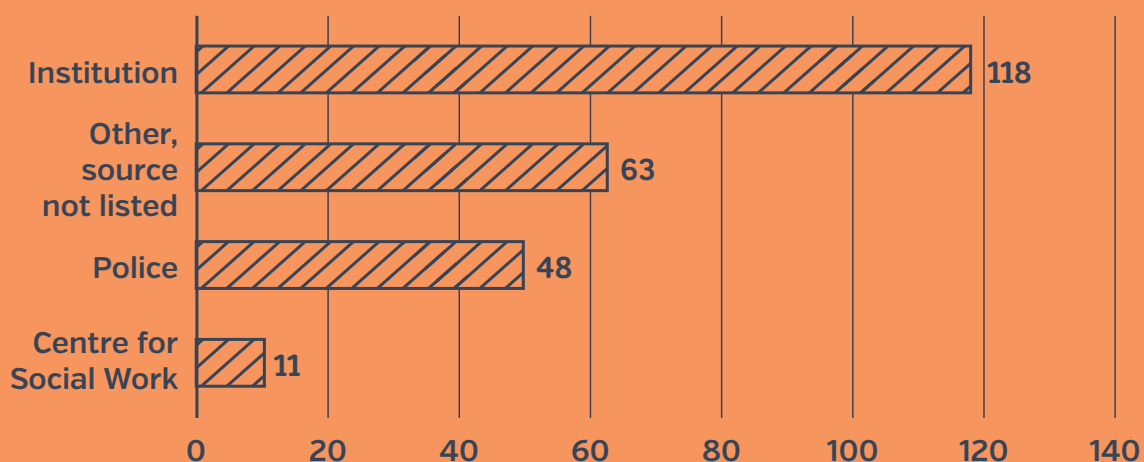
The largest number of titles are informative – 149 [63 per cent], while 70 [30 per cent] are sensationalistic and 17 [7 per cent] offensive [Table 7].

FIGURE 6: TYPE OF HEADLINES



Media releases on child labour are not deemed to come from a large variety of information sources according to the Law on Public Information and Media although 48 media posts [18 per cent] originate from the police, 11 posts [5 per cent] cite a centre for social work as a source of information on child labour, while 50 per cent of the posts refer to information gathered from other institutions, organizations and individuals. In a significant number of releases [63, or 27 per cent], information comes from other unnamed sources [Table 8].²⁷

FIGURE 7: SOURCE OF INFORMATION



²⁷ According to the Serbian Law on Public Information and Media, a media release needs to have no less than three sources of information for the sources to be considered a variety. In this particular case, a total of 236 media releases were analysed, with a total of 240 sources of information. For this number [236] of articles, there should be more than 500-600 sources of information for that to be considered a variety.

OVERVIEW OF THE QUALITATIVE ANALYSIS OF MEDIA CONTENT

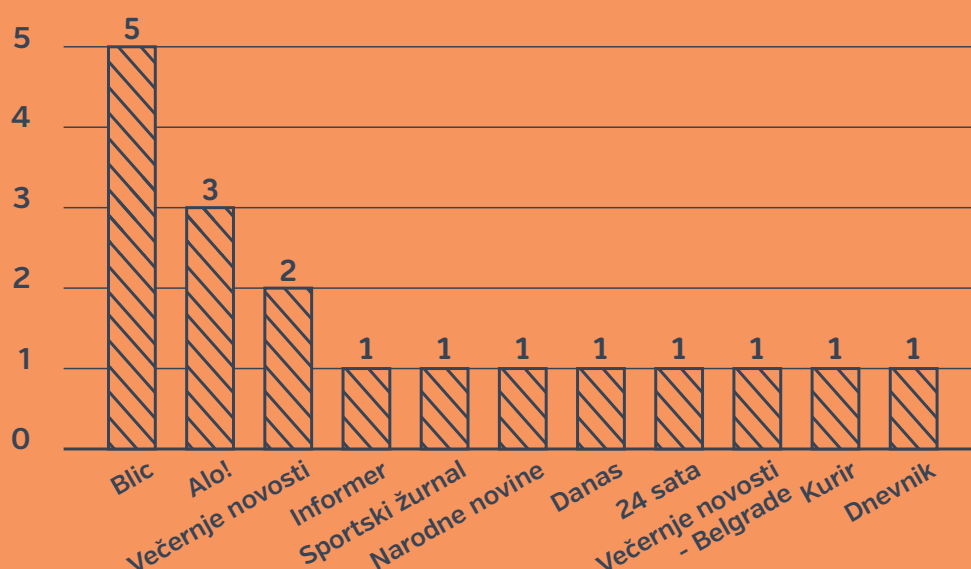
IN PRINT, BROADCAST AND ONLINE MEDIA IN SERBIA RELATED TO CHILD LABOUR

FINDINGS ON THE PRESENCE OF THE PHENOMENON OF CHILD LABOUR IN THE MEDIA

We can conclude from the statistical data presented here that the phenomenon of child labour is primarily dealt with by the print media, while the electronic media, especially television stations with national coverage – *RTS*, *TV Pink*, *B92*, *Happy TV*, and *TV Prva* – have considerably less content dealing with child labour. This leads to the conclusion that the topic is not sufficiently recognized by the editorial boards of those media, or that there is a lack of understanding about the essence of the phenomenon and its importance. This conclusion is also confirmed by the fact that the activities of these television stations are guided by secondary publicity [82 per cent] and address issues only when they are initiated by someone else. Investigative reporting on this phenomenon is not of concern to these media. However, in addition to reporting on incidents, some media reports and journalists try to draw attention to the danger of these forms of abuse of children and the need to encourage and mobilize the public to report cases. Likewise, they point out the necessity of a regulated systemic response of responsible institutions in order to prevent and combat child labour.

Out of the 111 articles that were analysed regarding child labour in the print media, 18 were published on the front page. The largest number of articles on the front page appeared in the daily newspaper *Blic* [5], followed by *Alo!* [3], *Večernje novosti* [2] and one each in *Informer*, *Sportski žurnal*, *Narodne novine*, *Danas*, *24 sata*, *Večernje novosti – Belgrade*, *Kurir* and *Dnevnik* [Table 9].

FIGURE 8: NUMBER OF FRONT PAGE ARTICLES REGARDING CHILD LABOUR



accompanied by large photos: “The Bishop made me pimp boys for him” [18 November 2015]; “They don’t let us go the toilet and they stab us with pins” [*Blic*, 21 March 2016]; “Bishop orgy while Pavle is buried” [*Alo!*, 19 November 2015]; “Prostitute spreads AIDS among children” [*Alo!*, 18 July 2016]; “What’s happening to us? Coach rapes a student” [*Alo!*, 15 July 2016].

Most of the articles that are published do not represent an analysis of the phenomenon of child labour, but rather are related to current, high attention events such as the arrest of certain persons who in some way abused and exploited minors and are part of the crime news. Provoking sensationalism is an overriding managerial motive and positioning the exploitation of minors in the context of child labour is usually not a priority.

FINDINGS ON THE PORTRAYAL OF THE PHENOMENON OF CHILD LABOUR IN THE MEDIA

The qualitative analysis examined why or to what extent the media report on child labour, including whether child labour is actually recognized by them. Inevitably, reasons for reporting give rise to questions: whether the type of reporting is comprised in editorial policy, or whether it reflects the personal sensibility of a journalist who writes about a particular topic. This is only possible to observe while taking into account the context and the connection between the releases under analysis and publicity.

Bearing in mind that the creation of publicity is one of the specialized activities of market and corporate public relations, publicity itself is the result of the activities geared to build relationships with the media. On the other hand, publicity results from the space or time that the media devote to a particular event, person, organization, social phenomenon or topic in an area where advertising space is not paid for. Most authors accept the basic classification of publicity as primary and secondary. Primary publicity is generated by media coverage of a particular subject. It is not initiated by the person or organization that is its subject. Secondary publicity is generated as a result of planned and organized activities aimed at initiating media coverage of an event. This type of media content originates from an initiative that did not come from the journalists themselves, but rather from individuals or organizations whose interest is served by the coverage.

The comparative analysis of publicity regarding the releases that mention child labour showed that 121 selected texts are of secondary origin, and 115 of primary. Secondary publicity is most widely used in television broadcasts [8.2 per cent of total broadcasts], followed by the press [49 per cent of the total number of articles] and Internet portals [48 per cent]. In the press and on portals there were 56 recorded texts with primary publicity each, and on television there were three broadcasts [18 per cent]. The total area of all articles analysed in the press is 41,072 cm², of which nearly half [18,701 cm²] represents primary publicity related directly to some form of child labour. It was found that the duration of broadcasts mentioning child labour is 72 minutes, of which six are directly related to child labour.

In the period under analysis, the topic of child labour, presented primarily as media-initiated coverage of an event [secondary publicity] was recorded on the following TV stations: *TV KCN*, *RTS1*, *TV PINK*, *TV Studio B*, *TV N1*, *SOS*, *TV B92* and *TV Prva*. These are primarily broadcasters with national coverage, while others are not particularly interested in dealing with the problem of child labour. In the print media [*Blic*, *Alo!*, *Dnevnik*, *Večernje novosti*, *Kurir*, *Politika*, *Danas*, *Informer*, *Srpski telegraf*, etc.] and on internet portals, this topic is much more prevalent as writing on a particular subject, i.e., related to a current event (almost 50 per cent of the analysed texts), is often linked to a sensationalistic presentation in order to raise circulation.

In more than 65 per cent of cases the trigger for reporting on child labour during this period are events that were current at the time, such as the arrest of persons who in some way abused minors; reports of independent control bodies, ministries, NGOs and international organizations; and the observation of Universal Children’s Day or World Day Against Child Labour.

To a significantly lesser extent, the media initiate on their own topics related to some form of child labour [78]. Most of them are texts from Internet portals [39], the press [33] and TV [six]. The reason for the presence of a larger number of media-initiated articles on internet portals is that articles are transferred from the press to internet versions, and then taken over by other media.

The highest number of headlines are informative [68 per cent], while 70 of them [32 per cent] are sensationalistic or offensive, such as: “I wanted to smash the sicko's skull” [*Kurir*, 13 October 2016]; “He gropes her and threatens with photos” [*Blic*, 18 July 2016]; “She makes her son rape his sister” [*Vesti – Frankfurt*, 3 June 2016]; “Girl and harp are big scam” [*Večernje novosti*, 22 January 2016]; “God forbid Kačavenda” [*Blic*, 20 November 2015]; “Bishop orgy while Pavle is buried” [*Alo!*, 19 November 2015]; “The Bishop made me pimp boys for him” [*Blic*, 18 November 2015]; “Bishop wanted only boys” [*Večernje novosti*, 18 November 2015].

The most inappropriate content can be found in the news of the so-called black chronicle. During the period covered by the analysis, the worst aberrations were reported by the dailies *Blic*, *Informer*, and *Alo!* in reporting on Bishop Kačavenda and a prostitute Vesna M. [24] from an area of Belgrade called Mali Mokri Lug, who performed oral sex on boys aged 12 to 14 and as a “counter-favour” forced them to beg.

On the other hand, there are situations that describe the lives of “child-heroes” – children who due to life circumstances have to assume the role of breadwinner. These children, despite their education, perform work that, by its nature and characteristics, is completely inappropriate for their age. Moreover, it jeopardizes their education, health and leisure. This kind of work is portrayed positively, without any perception at all of the fact that it is basically an abuse of their work and jeopardizes their well-being and best interests. The key question of responsibility regarding the deliverance of the child from this situation most often remains unasked.

In order to attract readers, these texts are often accompanied by photographs of the persons themselves, and those who are suspected of having abused or exploited child labour. A total of 49 per cent of the articles contained photos depicting children. Their content shows the children and some form of abusive work they are exposed to, violence, incidents, daily activities, antisocial behaviour, etc. The releases that do not contain photos of children usually display politicians, the place where the child was sexually exploited or performed an activity, school facilities, or persons who in some way abused child labour.

The fact that almost half of all published articles are accompanied by a photograph of the child (either specific or not – usually the latter) is worrying and clearly points to the use of the character of the child as a means of attracting public attention. In further analysis we can conclude that the children and their situation of exploitation are a means of attracting attention, and they are repeatedly abused for a much different purpose: capturing media attention and sensationalism.

Findings on production of child labour coverage in the media

With the aim of drawing up final conclusions of the research and the formulation of recommendations for media coverage of child labour in the Republic of Serbia, semi-structured interviews with representatives of the media who were reporting on this topic were conducted. In the period from 13 to 20 February 2017, a total of five journalists and one deputy editor were interviewed. Of those, four were from print and two from electronic media.

The aim of the interview was to receive answers to the following questions:

- ◆ Why do the media report on child labour in the manner presented in this study?
- ◆ Do they recognize what the terms child work and child labour mean?
- ◆ What do they think is a motive for reporting?
- ◆ Are reports on certain issues a matter of editorial policy or do they show the personal sensibility of a journalist who writes about a particular topic?

The most important outcomes of the interviews are summarized below. Quotes of the media representatives are listed in the text such as they were stated during the interview, but are unidentified. The authors of the study opted for this approach for reasons of confidentiality of data both with respect to the journalists and the editorial offices from which they come. In view of the specificity of the topics covered, and for reasons pertaining to their own safety, representatives of the media especially requested this prior to the interview.

- ◆ Everyone interviewed agreed that journalists and editors are not able to recognize the concept of child labour, nor can they differentiate between the terms child work and child labour, hence the headlines of articles such as: “Children must not work!”. They are therefore of the opinion that informing and training of media professionals on the meaning of the concept of child labour and the distinction between the terms is a precondition for professional reporting on this topic. Four media professionals asserted that this lack of understanding contributed to the portrayal of a child as a “child hero” when in fact he was a victim.

“It is probable that in wanting to portray this as a model of good practice, we actually contribute to a misunderstanding; especially, as you have illustrated in the study, that the responsibility for delivering the child from this situation is not addressed.”

“Perhaps it would be a good idea to organize joint events and campaigns, which would raise awareness as to the nature and extent of the phenomenon of child labour in which, for example, representatives of the media, civil society, and others would take an active part.”

“From this perspective, headlines that clearly indicate that children should not work are wrong, but...”

“We know how it should look, but someone else makes the decisions...”

- ◆ Most of the interviewees were of the opinion that initiating research on child labour is of great importance and that it would certainly contribute to a greater impact on the coverage of this phenomenon on a larger scale. Also, it was thought that such research would be useful to media professionals to gain insight into the situation surrounding child labour, the prevalence of the phenomenon and the consequences it has for a child.

“I think that research on this subject is necessary and useful, and that it can certainly result in greater media attention to the problem of child labour.”

“It would be helpful if there were more sources of information and different studies on this subject, which would provide the basis for further investigative journalism.”

- ◆ Most of those interviewed stated that certain issues are reported exclusively because they fit into the editorial policy, and not because of the personal sensibility of journalists. Motives for reporting are mostly events that are current at a given moment. As shown in the comparative analysis of publicity, in a number of cases the initiatives for creating media content mentioning child labour did not originate from the journalists themselves, but from the individuals or organizations whose interest is served by the coverage.

“Unless it is an issue of violence against children/bullying or some current event, the protection of the child is most often reported on when some special dates related to children are observed.”

- ◆ Media professionals confirmed the results that indicate that the media do not sufficiently take into account the protection of the best interest, privacy, reputation and personal dignity of each child who is a victim of child labour (70 headlines have been sensationalistic or comprise offensive content; almost half of all published texts are accompanied by a photograph of the child). Interviewees agreed with the statement that this is alarming and that such practices

clearly show that the character and action of a child is a means of attracting public attention. Therefore, one of the priorities that stands out should be the improvement of the knowledge of professionals in the media regarding the current normative framework on the protection of child rights, with its special emphasis on the protection of children from all forms of abuse and neglect. Continuous training of editorial staff who influence the selection of topics and decide on their final ranking is necessary if the aim is contribute to better professional reporting that respects the dignity and integrity of the person who is the focus of the coverage. In addition, media professionals have indicated that it is important that all actors in society continually draw attention to violations of law on this subject.

“For example, it is important to draw attention to all those situations that represent violations of the Code of Journalists of Serbia. The Appeals Committee of the Press Council decides whether a violation of the journalistic code has occurred, and the media that posted the disputable content must publish the decision of the Committee. Bearing in mind that the media are partially project funded and compete, for example, for European Commission projects, it is important to emphasize this because if they violate the Code, they might have a problem with the application.”

“The involvement of expert journalists in educating regulatory bodies would greatly contribute to reporting in accordance with the law, the Code, regulations ...”

“The Press Council, as well as professional and business associations and organizations should adopt a clear position when it comes to reporting on this phenomenon.”

“The publication of photos next to the text is especially straightforward when it comes to the death of a child, but the responsibility also lies with the family that allows photos and information to be published.”

- ◆ All interviewees agreed that the media must play a proactive role in improving the situation with respect to the protection of children in general, including the phenomenon of child labour. They agreed that the power and importance of the media is reflected not only in reporting but also in initiating social change through conveying measures aimed at protecting children as well as measures which contribute to the eradication of child labour.

“...However, the media, in addition to writing about the phenomena they discover themselves, write about the social/state functioning related to these phenomena. So, I think that it is necessary for the society/state to be presented in such a way that they must take action against child labour, and then encourage the media to write about it. This recommendation is the result of discussions that gave rise to the article published in Vreme No. 1299, ‘Children must not work’.”

“This phenomenon should be written about critically.”

“The media should be informed about what institutions and organizations dealing with the protection of children exist in addition to the centres for social work and UNICEF.”

THE THEMATIC FOCUS OF THE ANALYSIS:

FORMS OF CHILD LABOUR AND APPEARANCES IN THE MEDIA OF THE CATEGORIES UNDER ANALYSIS

BEGGING (GENERAL TEXT)

TOTAL NUMBER OF REPORTS	36	
CHILD'S GENDER	Number of media appearances	%
Gender unknown	28	74
Male	5	13
Female	5	13
FAMILY STATUS	Number of media appearances	%
Family status is not apparent in the media publication	32	84
Family status is apparent in the media publication	6	16
ETHNICITY	Number of media appearances	%
Ethnicity is not apparent in the media publication	11	82
Ethnicity is apparent in the media publication	7	18
AGE	Number of media appearances	%
Age unknown	33	87
School children - 7 to 14 years old	3	8
School children - 14 to 18 years old	2	5
Preschool children - up to 7 years old	0	0

CHILD BEGGING AS A FORM OF CHILD LABOUR

TOTAL NUMBER OF REPORTS	27	
CHILD'S GENDER	Number of media appearances	%
Gender unknown	16	59
Male	6	22
Female	5	19
FAMILY STATUS	Number of media appearances	%
Family status is not apparent in the media publication	23	85
Family status is apparent in the media publication	4	15
ETHNICITY	Number of media appearances	%
Ethnicity is not apparent in the media publication	23	85
Ethnicity is apparent in the media publication	4	15
AGE	Number of media appearances	%
Age unknown	20	74
School children - 7 to 14 years old	4	15
School children - 14 to 18 years old	3	11
Preschool children - up to 7 years old	0	0

BEGGING (PASSIVE FORM OF ASKING FOR MONEY)

TOTAL NUMBER OF REPORTS	25	
CHILD'S GENDER	Number of media appearances	%
Gender unknown	12	44
Male	12	44
Female	3	11
FAMILY STATUS	Number of media appearances	%
Family status is not apparent in the media publication	17	63
Family status is apparent in the media publication	10	37
ETHNICITY	Number of media appearances	%
Ethnicity is not apparent in the media publication	22	81
Ethnicity is apparent in the media publication	5	19
AGE	Number of media appearances	%
Age unknown	18	66
School children - 7 to 14 years old	5	18
School children - 14 to 18 years old	3	11
Preschool children - up to 7 years old	1	5

HEAVY AGRICULTURAL WORK

TOTAL NUMBER OF REPORTS	9	
CHILD'S GENDER	Number of media appearances	%
Gender unknown	7	78
Male	2	22
Female	0	0
FAMILY STATUS	Number of media appearances	%
Family status is not apparent in the media publication	9	100
Family status is apparent in the media publication	0	0
ETHNICITY	Number of media appearances	%
Ethnicity is not apparent in the media publication	9	100
Ethnicity is apparent in the media publication	0	0
AGE	Number of media appearances	%
Age unknown	6	67
School children - 7 to 14 years old	2	22
School children - 14 to 18 years old	1	11
Preschool children - up to 7 years old	0	0

ABUSE AND EXPLOITATION OF CHILDREN IN SPORTS

TOTAL NUMBER OF REPORTS	6	
CHILD'S GENDER	Number of media appearances	%
Gender unknown	5	83
Male	1	17
Female	0	0
FAMILY STATUS	Number of media appearances	%
Family status is not apparent in the media publication	5	83
Family status is apparent in the media publication	1	17
ETHNICITY	Number of media appearances	%
Ethnicity is not apparent in the media publication	6	100
Ethnicity is apparent in the media publication	0	0
AGE	Number of media appearances	%
Age unknown	5	83
School children - 7 to 14 years old	1	17
School children - 14 to 18 years old	0	0
Preschool children - up to 7 years old	0	0

SEXUAL EXPLOITATION

TOTAL NUMBER OF REPORTS	76	
CHILD'S GENDER	Number of media appearances	%
Gender unknown	34	39
Male	29	34
Female	23	27
FAMILY STATUS	Number of media appearances	%
Family status is not apparent in the media publication	64	74
Family status is apparent in the media publication	22	26
ETHNICITY	Number of media appearances	%
Ethnicity is not apparent in the media publication	71	83
Ethnicity is apparent in the media publication	15	17
AGE	Number of media appearances	%
Age unknown	62	72
School children - 7 to 14 years old	20	23
School children - 14 to 18 years old	4	5
Preschool children - up to 7 years old	0	0

GENERAL ARTICLE

TOTAL NUMBER OF REPORTS	48	
CHILD'S GENDER	Number of media appearances	%
Gender unknown	41	76
Male	7	13
Female	6	11
FAMILY STATUS	Number of media appearances	%
Family status is not apparent in the media publication	44	81
Family status is apparent in the media publication	10	19
ETHNICITY	Number of media appearances	%
Ethnicity is not apparent in the media publication	54	100
Ethnicity is apparent in the media publication	0	0
AGE	Number of media appearances	%
Age unknown	42	78
School children - 7 to 14 years old	6	12
School children - 14 to 18 years old	3	5
Preschool children - up to 7 years old	3	5

In qualitative terms, the thematic focus taking into account broader context of the analysis included the following categories: a) forms of child labour; b) age; c) gender of the child (male, female, unspecified); d) family status – visible or not visible (visible: the child lives in the biological family; in a foster family; in an institution; on the street; the child is a refugee, asylum seeker, or migrant; the child is in the readmission process; the child has an unresolved parental status; the child is without parents; other); and e) nationality visible (Roma, Serb, other) or nationality not visible.

When looking at the category of age, for the purpose of the analysis it was classified as follows: preschool children – up to 7 years; school children from 7 to 14 years; school children from 14 to 18 years (children 14 to 18 years are also referred to as minors), and general publications not mentioning the age of the child/children.

As the most complex category, the following **forms of child labour** were monitored in media reports: strenuous farm work (referring to heavy work in the field and/or work with livestock under difficult conditions, i.e., in high or low temperatures, for a long period of time or at night); child begging – passive solicitation of money; child mendicancy as a form of child labour (children earning for their families, children involved in life and/or work on the street); sexual exploitation – the use, procuring or offering of a child for prostitution, production of pornography or for pornographic performances; forced commission of criminal offenses – involvement in organized (criminal) forms (e.g., organized

theft or commission of other crimes, trafficking in narcotics and stolen goods); abuse and exploitation of children in sports; collection of recyclable materials (waste); other forms of child labour (including children doing hazardous work, physical work on construction sites, street cleaning, as well as selling in markets and stalls); dual education; and general text (media reports about child labour as a phenomenon, presentation of research and normative regulation).

The most common form of child labour mentioned in the media is begging (31 per cent), followed by sexual exploitation (27 per cent), general text (18 per cent), other forms of child labour (10 per cent), forced commission of criminal offenses (5 per cent), strenuous farm labour (3 per cent), abuse and exploitation of children in sport (2 per cent), dual education (2 per cent) and the collection of recyclable materials/waste (2 per cent). Of the total number of releases that report on child begging, in 41 per cent this type of work is referred to as the child labour phenomenon, in 31 per cent of releases child begging is identified as a form of child labour (children earning for the family, children involved in life and/or work on the street), while 28 per cent of releases refer to it as the passive solicitation of money.

When comparing the **age** of children who are involved in child labour, in 63 per cent of the releases the child's age is unknown (135 media reports). In second place are school children from 14 to 18 years of age (62 media releases or 23 per cent), followed by children aged 7 to 14 years (27 media releases or 10 per cent) and preschool children up to 7 years (10 media releases or 4 per cent). By crossing these data with the form of abuse of child labour, it can be seen that begging is almost equally represented in all age categories when they are known (five, ten and six cases), while sexual exploitation is recognized mostly in cases where children belong to the age category of 14 to 18 years (20 cases). In the first age category this form is not apparent, while in the second it was analysed in four cases where it was possible to determine the age. Of the 135 media releases, where the age was impossible to determine by analysing the media content, begging (71 cases) and sexual exploitation (62 cases) were also dominant, with a large number of general articles, i.e. not mentioning any particular type of exploitation (42 cases).

The analysis showed that, most often the **gender** of children involved in child labour was not specified in the media (171 releases). References to male children were made in 66 releases, while in 71 of them girls are mentioned in the context of exploitation of child labour. Instead of specifying the child's gender, the media generally use the terms "minors" or "kids", or mention their initials, which prevents identifying their gender.

When this data is crossed with the form of child labour, we see that 66 publications noted that in most cases the children identified as victims of sexual exploitation were male; in 14 instances they are involved in begging, in six cases the boys were forced into criminal activity, and in five cases the boys appear as waste collectors. Other forms of child labour that include boys in dangerous work, such as physical work on construction sites, street cleaning, and selling in markets and stalls were identified in eight cases; two of them cite boys involved in strenuous agricultural work, and only in one case abuse in sport. In seven cases of general release the male gender was identified, while in 71 releases the minors are females. Among these, the most common forms of child labour were sexual exploitation (29 cases) and begging (22 cases), which represent more than two thirds of all the analysed content in which the female gender is recognized. In ten releases we find "other forms" as the defined category; in three cases girls were forced into criminal activity; in a text about dual education one girl was recognized as a potential victim of child labour, which was also the case in six general releases.

In 171 of the analysed media releases in which gender was specified, begging and sexual exploitation were represented as the most common forms of child labour (in 56 cases and 34 cases, respectively), while seven of the cases detailed involvement of children in heavy farm work, eight cases were involved in the forced commission of criminal offenses, there were five cases of child abuse in sport, five cases of dual education, and 15 cases of "other forms". In 41 cases portrayed in general releases, the text did not specify the gender of the child/children in them.

When writing about this phenomenon, in more than half of the cases studied, the media neglect the gender of the child, which is the wrong approach, bearing in mind the importance of this information given the very nature of the incident reported. The reason why the media report on the gender status in this way is unclear, because very often they give the initials of the child, which shows that they know the child's gender, but this also indicates that the initials are more important to them than the

gender of the child. The expressions “minors” and “little ones” are often used without defining what these terms mean, probably making people think that this is about children – persons under 18 years of age. The term “little ones” is used to elicit compassion.

Comparative analysis of the visibility of **family status** shows that 162 media reports (69 per cent of the cases) did not clearly indicate the family status of a child who is involved in child labour. However, in 31 per cent of the releases, which represent 74 media reports, the family status of the child is visible, and sexual exploitation (in 22 cases) and begging (in 20 cases) emerge as the dominant recognized forms of child labour in these cases. – In fact, there is an even greater number of reports pertaining to these two most serious forms of child labour– begging and sexual exploitation given the number of analysed media reports in which the family status is not visible: in 72 cases the media analysed begging and in 64 cases sexual exploitation, with no data being given on the family status of the people they write about.

The largest number of releases in which the family status is visible shows that the child lives in the biological family (50 per cent of releases), followed by children living on the street (19 per cent) or in an institution (10 per cent); other: child refugees, asylum seekers, and migrants (8 per cent); children in the process of readmission (6 per cent); and children without parents (5 per cent) or in a foster family (2 per cent). Under “Other” in this category are included reports in which a minor child ran away from home.

The analysis also showed that when reporting on child labour, in 87 per cent of cases, the media do not mention the child’s **nationality or ethnicity**, while in 13 per cent of the reports they do. Out of the total number of releases highlighting the ethnicity of the child, 35 of them (85 per cent) indicated that the child in question was of Roma ethnicity.

DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSIONS (INCLUDING LIMITATIONS)

- ◆ The phenomenon of child labour in Serbia is not sufficiently recognized by the media, and it is mostly reported on in order to attract readers' attention and boost circulation. Analysis indicates that these are reports about children who are exploited and abused by some adults, who make money from them, while the media only observe and record for the sake of narration of events and pure sensationalism.

When the media write about this phenomenon, the dominant tone of reporting is sensationalistic with a desire to ignite compassion in the general public, rather than examine the phenomenon critically. This is corroborated by the finding that almost half of all published articles are accompanied by a photograph of the child [sometimes specific, but usually not]. Likewise, the finding that 30 per cent of the headlines of the total number of analysed releases are sensationalistic, and 7 per cent abusive, points to this trend.

This study also suggests that, in treating these issues, a journalistic style that is full of stereotypes and prejudices, and which is also imprecise ["kids"], still prevails. We can conclude that there is a continuation of the reporting method called "marginalization of the marginalized", which was noted by the Child Rights Centre in its study *Newspaper on children – "Bread and games to children and juveniles"*,²⁸ back in 2004. Even then, the study recorded constant media neglect of some social phenomena and/or issues, namely, the right to protection from child labour [commonly known as the phenomenon of "street children", although the problem is much wider]: "If, by law, a person is a child until 18, why is [he/she] in a large number of releases called 'a little one' [when it should cause pathetic feelings] or a minor [when it should evoke negative connotations]? In both cases it is about a child who is a person; therefore, the kind of feelings we have, how we define childhood or which attitudes shape our behaviour in relation to children, should not collapse our professional standards."

- ◆ In addition, the study showed that almost half of all published articles are accompanied by a photograph of a child [sometimes specific, but usually not], which clearly indicates the use of the character of the child as a means of attracting public attention. Despite the duty to protect the rights and dignity of children, some internet portals [for example *Kurir.rs*, *Ozonpress.net*, *Glaszapadne Srbije.rs*] showed a photo and specified the name and surname of the child, thus making the child completely recognizable and exposing him/her to the process of secondary victimization [for instance, a minor S.J. from the village of Trbušani, who drowned while trying to cross the river with his brother to transfer used goods, the sale of which his family lives on]. In order to recognize the child labour phenomenon, as well as to improve practices in reporting about it, it is necessary to educate editors and journalists in such a way as to fully respect the parameters of professional journalism and not threaten the dignity and integrity of the child.

Based on the research results, we can conclude that the media do not sufficiently take into account the protection of the best interest, privacy, reputation and personal dignity of each child who is a victim of child labour. We can safely presume that there would be a significant impact on public opinion if the media were more active in overcoming the populist manner of reporting and assumed a more significant educational function in the process of identifying and familiarizing the public with the phenomenon of child labour. In their manner of reporting the media should point to and contribute to launching issues of systematic prevention and improvement of protection. Because its importance, role and power are of paramount significance for the creation of public opinion, the media can further contribute to decision-making by the responsible authorities and the state.

28 *Newspaper on children – "Bread and games to children and juveniles"* analysis of daily newspapers in 2004, Child Rights Center, unpublished paper.

- ◆ From the media reports it is not always possible to determine the gender of the child, his/her age nor his/her family status. Regardless of whether these categories are visible or not, the forms of child labour that are commonly recognizable are begging and sexual exploitation. All other forms of abuse are represented to a much lesser extent. From this we can infer that the phenomenon essentially goes unrecognized, which results in the disbelief that surrounds it.

The basic elements of gender and age are necessary to portray relevant information, but for a more complete analysis the media should report the child's family status and nationality/ethnicity [if the respondent wishes to tell]. These elements are to a great extent not given in more than half of releases despite being crucial for understanding the condition/situation the child is in, and hence the phenomenon of child labour in general. Knowledge of the topic and presentation of the above-mentioned relevant elements would allow the public to perceive the phenomenon realistically and thus be able to correct its own behaviour. Increased knowledge of the phenomenon could also stimulate the state to work towards improvement of the situation with targeted measures.

- ◆ The results regarding the lack of diversity of information sources used in media reports is an indication that the problem linked to a lack of understanding, and even a lack of investigative journalism, affects the way in which the phenomenon of child labour is portrayed in the media.
- ◆ Due to insufficient familiarity or for other reasons [sensationalism, circulation, lack of critical thinking], the media in Serbia contravene the legislation and self-regulation that address the protection of the rights and dignity of children, and thus –to an even greater extent– the issue of child labour. Education of media representatives therefore emerges as one of the key tasks, both in order to increase public awareness, and to elicit a more active role of the state, institutions, experts, non-governmental organizations and individuals in improving the situation of children involved in child labour.
- ◆ Protection of children from child labour should be provided in the context of a unified system of protection from abuse, neglect and exploitation of children in the Republic of Serbia. Abuses which are carried out by the media are also prohibited by the framework and according to the rules contained in legislation covering the media, as well as in the codes of ethics. It is the duty of the media to inform the general public accurately, fully, and in a timely manner. However, the interest of the child to be protected, including the right to privacy, is placed above all other interests and takes precedence over the public interest to receive information that includes personally identifiable information about a child and his/her family, which could cause harm to his/her dignity and psychological integrity. This is especially pressing because the provisions of the documents pertaining to this matter are not consistent, which further complicates their implementation in practice. For instance, the Code of Journalists of Serbia defines the professional and ethical standards of journalists. In accordance with this code, the media are bound to put the public interest above all other interests in terms of access to full, timely and truthful information. However, the Law on Public Information and Media determines that the interest of a minor in having his /her privacy protected outweighs the public interest to have access to the information.
- ◆ In order to create future strategic documents that will be relevant to: the realization of children's rights and protection from violence; the definition of a state policy in relation to the media; as well as to acts of self-regulation of the media, it will be necessary to incorporate important questions relating to the protection of children , as well as to the responsibility of the media to report in such a way that takes into account the best interests of the child [for instance, the above questions should be identified in the new National Plan of Action for Children, the Strategy for Preventing and Protecting Children from Violence, the Strategy for the Development of the Public Information System in the Republic of Serbia, the Code of Journalists of Serbia, etc.].

LIMITATIONS

This study has certain limitations due to the fact that despite the keywords being predefined and serving as the basis for the collection of quantitative data and determination of categories for the classification of articles, the classification itself was not done by the author of the text. In this regard, certain deviations conditioned by subjective factors are possible. Specifically, in media articles that can be classified into several categories according to their characteristics, the person analysing them selects the prevailing characteristic and categorizes the article accordingly. In such cases, grouping variations are inevitable, conditioned by an individual approach to the classification.

We also note that the time period for the collection of quantitative data was determined by the contracting authority [retroactive data collection] – the ILO's Country Level Engagement and Assistance to Reduce Child Labour [CLEAR] Project. This had an impact on the formulation of conclusions and recommendations, as well as on certain positions that were taken in the section related to the qualitative analysis of data.

SUMMARY OF RESULTS

The analysis sample consists of 111 reports from 27 print media outlets, 108 posts on 54 internet portals and 17 broadcasts on nine television stations. The analysis was conducted by carrying out a research of articles and media releases published between 1 October 2015 and 30 September 2016. Selection of the reports was made on the basis of the available articles and texts which were archived at the 'Kliping' media monitoring agency in Belgrade. For the purpose of creating a relevant sample, a search was conducted for 120 keywords related to the phenomenon of child labour in the Republic of Serbia.

- ◆ Of the total number of articles archived at the Kliping agency 0.02 per cent [236 posts] were devoted to child labour.
- ◆ The largest number of articles was published in the daily newspaper *Blic*. In terms of frequency of publishing, there were more articles published in daily editions, followed by weeklies, biweeklies and monthly magazines. The Internet portal of the daily newspaper *Blic* published the largest number of articles [11], and the television station *Kopernikus* and the public service television *RTS1* recorded four broadcasts each, followed by *TV Pink* [three], *B92* [one], *Happy* [one] and *Prva* [one]. Out of 111 analysed articles in print media concerning child labour, 18 were published on the front page.
- ◆ One third of total releases has no identified authors, followed by the posts of the news agency Tanjug. The newspaper *Blic* had the most texts with signed authors.
- ◆ When analysing media reports related to child labour per individual media outlet the study shows that among the top ten are seven daily newspapers or their portals. The exception is the site of the public service *RTS*, with seven published articles on child labour.
- ◆ In more than 65 per cent of media reports covered current events, e.g., arrests of persons who in some way abused minors; events organized by ministries, NGOs and international organizations on the occasion of Universal Children's Day or World Day Against Child Labour; the publication of a report of an independent control body, such as the Ombudsperson.
- ◆ Most titles are informative – 63 per cent, while 30 per cent are deemed sensationalistic and 7 per cent offensive.
- ◆ Media releases on child labour do not stem from a variety of information sources. Thus 18 per cent of posts originate from the police, 5 per cent cite a centre for social work as a source of information on child labour, and 50 per cent cite information collected from other institutions, organizations and individuals. A significant number of posts [27 per cent] report information from other unnamed sources.

- ◆ Most often, the gender of child labourers is not specified in the media, i.e. in 171 media releases. References to male children were made in 66 releases, while in 71 of them girls are mentioned in the context of exploitation of child labour. Instead of specifying the child's gender, the media generally use the terms "minors" or "kids/little ones", or mention their initials, which prevents identification of gender.
- ◆ Regarding the visibility of family status, in 69 per cent of the reporting the family status of the child labourer is not clearly specified, while in 31 per cent of the posts it is. Most of these show that the child lives in the biological family (50 per cent of releases); this is followed by children living on the street (19 per cent); children living in an institution (10 per cent); other such as child refugees, asylum seekers and migrants (8 per cent); children in the process of readmission (6 per cent); and children without parents (5 per cent) or living in a foster family (2 per cent).
- ◆ When reporting on child labour, 87 per cent of media releases do not indicate the child's nationality/ethnicity, while a total of 13 per cent of the releases do; of the latter 85 per cent note that the child was Roma.
- ◆ Comparison of the age of children who are abused at work in some form shows that in 63 per cent of the reports the child's age is not indicated. The balance of articles however mentions school children from 14 to 18 years of age (23 per cent), school children from 7 to 14 (10 per cent), and preschool children up to 7 years of age (4 per cent).

REFERENCES

- ◆ Independent Association of Journalists of Serbia and the Association of Journalists of Serbia, 2015. *Serbian Journalist's Code of Ethics*, Press Council.
- ◆ Independent Association of Journalists of Serbia and the Association of Journalists of Serbia, 2016. *Guidelines for the implementation of the Code of Journalists of Serbia in the online environment*, Press Council.
- ◆ Korać, N.; Vranješević, J. 2001. *The Invisible Child - The Image of a Child in Media Contents Intended for Adults* [Belgrade, Yugoslav Child Rights Centre].
- ◆ *Newspaper on children – “Bread and games to children and juveniles”, Analysis of daily press in 2004*, [Belgrade, Child Rights Centre] unpublished analysis.
- ◆ Vorkapić, S. 2002. *About Child Labour* [Belgrade, Child Rights Centre].
- ◆ Vujović, R. et al. 2006. *Child Labour in Serbia* [Research] [Belgrade, Child Rights Centre].

LEGAL SOURCES

- ◆ Code on Criminal Procedure, *Official Gazette of the Republic of Serbia* No. 71/2011...55/2014.
- ◆ Constitution of the Republic of Serbia, *Official Gazette of the Republic of Serbia* No. 98/2006.
- ◆ Family Law, *Official Gazette of the Republic of Serbia* No. 18/2005, 72/2011 – and other law, No. 6/2015.
- ◆ General Protocol for Preventing and Protecting Children from Abuse and Neglect.
- ◆ Law on Civil Procedure, *Official Gazette of the Republic of Serbia* No. 72/2011...55/2014.
- ◆ Law on Electronic Media, *Official Gazette of the Republic of Serbia* No. 83/14.
- ◆ Law on Public Information and Media, *Official Gazette of the Republic of Serbia* No. 83/2014 and 58/2015.
- ◆ Law on ratification of the UN Convention on the Rights of the Child, *Official Gazette of the Socialist Federative Republic of Yugoslavia – International Treaties* No. 4/96 and 2/97.
- ◆ Rules on the protection of the rights of minors in the field of provision of media services, *Official Gazette of the Republic of Serbia* No. 25/15.

ANNEXES

ANNEX I: KEYWORDS

- abuse of child by media
- abuse of children in sports
- abuse of talented children
- abuse_child_labour
- assets acquired by child labour
- beggary
- begging stopped
- child abuse
- child at intersection
- child beggars
- child craftspeople
- child day-labourer
- child dropped out of school
- child exploited/abused in foster family
- child financially supporting its family
- child garbage collectors
- child heroes – a child hero – little heroes
- child hunters
- child illegal work
- child labour
- child labour
- child labour in agriculture
- child labour in factory/child factory worker
- child labour involving hazardous substances
- child labour on the streets
- child living on the street
- child not attending school
- child playing violin on Knez Mihailova Street
- child slavery
- child slaves
- child stopped going to school
- child washes windshields
- child working at traffic lights
- child working during summer break
- child working in bars/nightclubs
- child working on construction site
- child/children providing food – supporting the family
- child/minor forced to loot
- child/minor forced to stealing
- child_labour
- children at crossroads
- children at markets – stalls
- children collecting scrap metal/waste paper
- children from refuge, shelters
- children in factories
- children night work
- children physical labour
- children seasonal workers
- children singing on buses
- children taking care of children
- children taking care of their mother
- children working in car repair shop – child mechanic – juvenile mechanic
- children working in slaughterhouse
- children working on roads
- compulsory child labour
- contracts for transfer of young athletes
- criminal offenses committed by children
- domestic work_child
- doping of young athletes to accomplish top results/achievements
- dysfunction of child's body due to physical and mental efforts
- eating disorders in young models
- elimination of child labour
- employment of children
- endangering work conditions
- excessive child labour
- exploitation of a child/young athlete
- exploitation of child in sports
- exploitation of children for the production and trafficking of drugs

- exploitation of children in armed conflicts
- exploitation of talents
- exploitation_child_labour
- exploitation_children_labour
- exposure of child to inadequate labour
- forced child labour
- forced children beggary
- forcing child to hard labour in the family
- forcing child to hard labour in the fields
- hard physical labour
- heavy physical labour of children
- homeless children
- housework, yard work, work around livestock and poultry, work on the fields
- illegal work
- ILO
- inadequate child labour
- inadequate conditions for implementation of training process and competitive activities
- inappropriate stimulation of talents of child
- incompatibility of training activities with school work
- juvenile prostitution
- juveniles_labour
- labour market for young people
- minor, juvenile, minors, kids
- minors produced drugs/marijuana
- minors selling drugs/marijuana
- offering of a child
- offering of child for prostitution
- permitted child labour
- pimping a child
- pressure on youth athlete to achieve better results
- protection of children at work
- providing stimulants and other substances to young athletes
- reselling young athletes
- responsibility of parents
- Roma child labour
- sale and trafficking of children
- sale of children
- sale of sport talents
- selling young athletes
- sexual intercourse as precondition for selection in team
- sports transfers of children
- street child
- street work stopped
- trafficking in children
- unemployment of young people
- use of child to achieve sensationalism
- ways of children earning their allowance/pocket money
- work contract with minor
- work exploitation of children and trafficking in children
- work that can be performed by children
- young top models of both genders
- youth unemployment rate

ANNEX II: KLIPING - REFERENCE LIST OF MEDIA

1. Print media

DAILY EDITIONS	
24 sata + local editions	Alo! + local editions
Blic + local editions	Danas + local editions
Dnevnik - Novi Sad + local editions	Informer + local editions
Kurir + local editions	Narodne novine - Niš
Politika + local editions	Privredni pregled
Sport	Sportski žurnal
Srpski telegraf + local editions	Večernje novosti + local editions
Vesti - Frankfurt	

WEEKLY EDITIONS		
Akter	Afera	Blic Žena
Bravo	Gloria	Hello!
Ilustrovana politika	Paparazzo	Nedeljnik
Nin	Novi magazin	Pečat
Politikin Zabavnik	Prosvetni pregled	Puls
Scandal	Newsweek	Story
Svedok	Svet & style	Timočke
VIP Svet	Vreme	Zvezde i saveti
Ekskluziv	Desetka	Ekspres

BIWEEKLY EDITIONS	
Auto bild	Bazar
Belgrade Insight	Bilje i zdravlje
Cica	City magazine
Lekovito bilje	Mali politikin zabavnik
Odbrana	Poljoprivrednik
Pravoslavlje	SAT plus
Tabloid	

WEEKLY EDITIONS		
Agrobiznis	Auto magazin	Bestfood
BizLife	Biznis & Finansije	Brava Casa
Casa Viva	Cica kuvarica	CICA Trend
Cinema +	Connect	Cord

Cosmopolitan	Digital	Domaćin
Ekonometar	Elevate	Elle
EMS - Elektromreža Srbije	Esquire	FLY & Travel Magazine
Gde	Geopolitika	Gle
Gloria In	GM Business & Lifestyle	Grazia
Harpers BAZAAR	Hausbau	Hej!
In Store	Informator	Internet ogledalo
Istorija	IT Market	Joy
Kolubara	Kontakt	Kuća stil
Kulska komuna	Kurir MAGAZINE	EPS Energija
Lepota i zdravlje	Lilly Magazine	Magazin biznis
Magazin Realno	Mama	Mama & beba
Market Network	Men's Health	Mini Studio Magazin
Moj stan	National Geographic	Nautika
Nova ekonomija	Ona magazin	PC Press
Penzija	Playboy	Plezir
Popular Science	Poslovna žena	Pošalji recept
Poznati kuvaju	Profit	Progressive magazin
Refoto	Screen Fun	Sensa
Serije +	Svet kompjutera	Svet osiguranja
Urban Bug	Tech Lifestyle	Natural Living
The Best shop	The Men	Top speed
Top zdravlje	Torte i kolači	Travel magazin
Vrele gume	Živeti zdravije	Uradi sam
Nacionalna poslovna revija	Lisa lepa&srećna	Diplomacy&Commerce
Betty magazin	Ruski doktor	Hello - Fashion

PERIODICAL EDITIONS

AG magazin	Agronomska revija	AmCham Perspective
Arhitekton	Apoteka	Bel Guest
Bravo Girl	Build	CafeBar
City Gourmet	City Limited	Doživeti 100
DIS Glasnik	Industrija	Elle Decoration
Elle Men	Enterijer	Estetika hirurgija & kozmetika
Eko list	E2 magazin	Farmer
Fashion Avenue	Grazia Easy Shop	Hi-Files
Hotel Life	Hoteli & Restorani	Planeta
Jasmin	Jisa Info	Jugoistok
Korak	Kuvajmo s decom	Liceulice

Moj android	Moja kosa	Moja lepa bašta
Moja planeta	Motori	PharmaNetwork
The Globe Magazine	Podovi	Republika - Beograd
See business travel&meetings	Sinergija	Srbija nacionalna revija
Story - Leto	Storycafe	Svet u 2014.
Taboo	Zdravlje	Ton
Trend	Trudnoća	TU!
Venčanje	Veliki točkovi	Vino & Fino
Vodič za život	WOMEN & the CITY	Wine style
Zdravo dete	Zdravstveni pregled	Digital camera magazin
Eko kuća	In Touch	

LOCAL EDITIONS - BELGRADE

Informator Opštine Stari Grad	Prave novine - Lazarevac	
-------------------------------	--------------------------	--

LOCAL EDITIONS - VOJVODINA

Bačkopalanacki nedeljnik	Bečejski mozaik	Gazdinstvo
Glas - Vrbas	Glas Komune - Apatin	Het Nap
Hlas l'udu	Hrvatska riječ	Kikindske
Kovin Ekspres	Libertatea	M novine
Magyar Szo	Naše novine - Temerin	Naše novine Odžaci
Nedeljne novine - B. Palanka	Nove Kikindske novine	Novi Glas Komune
Novosadski reporter	Pančevac	Pazovačka revija
Pazovačko ogledalo	Zrenjanin	Ruske slovo
Somborske novine	Sremska poljoprivreda - S.M.	Sremske novine - S. Mitrovica
Start 013	SU Nedeljnik	Subotičke novine
Vojvođanski magazin	Vršačka Kula - Vršac	Vršačke vesti

LOCAL EDITIONS - VOJVODINA

BB glas	Bilten opštine Arilje	Bilten opštine Paraćin
Bilten opštine Paraćin	Čačanske novine	Čačanski glas
Glas Podrinja - Šabac	Glas Tamnave - Ub	Grad - Kruševac
Ibarske novosti - Kraljevo	Kragujevačke - Kragujevac	Lozničke novosti
Napred - Valjevo	Naš glas - Smederevo	Novi Put
Palanačke - S. Palanka	Podrinske	Takovske novine - Gornji M.
Užička nedelja	Vesti - Užice	

LOCAL EDITIONS - VOJVODINA

Borski problem	Knjaževačke novine	Reč Naroda - Požarevac
Timok		

LOCAL EDITIONS – SOUTH-WEST SERBIA (SANDZAK)

Polimlje – Prijepolje	Zlatarske novosti Nova Varoš	
-----------------------	------------------------------	--

LOCAL EDITIONS – SOUTH-EAST SERBIA

Pirotske novine – Pirot	Sloboda – Pirot	Srpski venac
Topličke novine – Prokuplje	Vranjske	

2. TV**TV - PUBLIC****RTS 1**

Bg hronika [17.45], Mon-Fri	Svedok [21.00], every other Wed
Da možda ne [21.50], Thu	Ovo je Srbija [15.00], Mon-Fri
Dnevnik 1 [12.00], daily	Mira Adanja Polak i vi [14.00], Sat
Dnevnik 1 TV NS [17.00], Mon-Fri	Dnevnik 2 [19.30], daily
Jutarnji program [6.00], daily	Dnevnik 3 [00.00], Mon-Fri
SAT [15.00], Sun	Oko [18.30], Mon-Fri
Šta radite bre! [17.25], Mon-Fri	Žikina šarenica [09.00], Sat, Sun
Sport plus [12.20], Mon-Sun	Upitnik
Sportski dnevnik [23:35], Mon-Fri	Kulturni dnevnik [23:20], Mon-Fri
A sada Rada [17.00]	Mali dnevnik [18.20]
Tako stoje stvari	TV zabavnik

RTS 2

Svet sporta [23.00]	Metropolis [22.30], Thu
Beokult [20.00], Wed	Svet zdravlja [12.10], Sat
TV mreža	Profil i profit [11.00], Sat
E-TV [12.30], Sun	Znanje imanje [11.00], every other Sat
Kontekst 21 [21.55], Thu	U svetu [20.30], Wed
Ekonom i ja	Olimpijski krugovi
Potrošački savetnik	Koridori

RTV 1 - NOVI SAD

Jutarnji program [06.30], Mon-Fri	Folder kultura [22.30], Thu
Agrodnevnik [15.00]	Razglednice [18.00], Mon-Fri
Biznis monitor	Vojvodjanski dnevnik [22.00]
Radar	Brazde
Pres i ja	Pravi ugao

TV - NATIONAL

TV B92

Vesti [10.00], Mon-Sun	Vesti [23.59], Mon-Sun
Vesti [16.00], Mon-Sun	Sportski pregled [16:45]
Vesti [20.00], Mon-Sun	Sportski pregled [00:45]
24 minuta sa Zoranom Kesićem [23:00]	Dobra zemlja
Kažiprst	

TV PINK

Jutarnji program [07.00]	Nacionalni dnevnik 13 [13.00]
Nacionalni dnevnik 19 [19.00]	Premijera [15:00]
Teška reč [21:00], Sun	

TV PRVA

Vesti [14.00]	Vesti [18.00]
150 minuta [14.00]	Noćni žurnal [00:00], Mon-Fri
Exploziv [18.30], Mon-Fri	Exkluziv [18.10], Mon-Fri
Top Speed [0:00], Sat, Sun	Veče sa Ivanom Ivanovićem [21.15], Fri
Praktična žena	

TV HAPPY

Dobro jutro Srbijo [05.30]	Telemaster [18.55]
Glamur [20:30], Mon-Fri	Ćirilica [20.00], Mon
Znanje na poklon	Još bolja zemlja [08.15], Sun
Vesti, Mon-Sun	

TV – LOCAL – BELGRADE

TV STUDIO B

Vesti u 19.00 [19.00], daily	Vesti u 22.00 [22.00], Mon-Sun
BG Dobro jutro [7.00], Mon-Sun	Svet novca [12.15], Fri
BG Dobar dan [16.00], Mon-Fri	Stil [19.35], Sat
Podne u Beogradu [12.00], Mon-Fri	7 BG dana [10.00], Sat
Beograd zdrav grad [10.30], Sat	Od petka do petka [21:00], Fri
Beograd za početnike [11.00], Sat	Zdravo jutro [11.20], Mon-Fri
Moja polisa [13.30], Sat	Od A do Š [21:00], Thu
Radim gradim [14:38], Sat	Vodič za roditelje
Beograd u 9 [09.00]	Skica
Privredni ugao	

TV – LOCAL – VOJVODINA

TV PANONIJA – NOVI SAD

Vojvođanske vesti [22.00]	Kroz Vojvodinu [08.00]
---------------------------	------------------------

TV MOST – NOVI SAD	
Akcenti [16.00], Mon-Fri	Akcenti dana [07.00]
TV SREMSKA	
Novosti [16.00]	
TV NOVOSADSKA	
Objektiv [19.00]	Novosadsko jutro [06:30], Mon-Fri
TV DELTA – NOVI SAD	
Sport puls [22.35]	Info puls [17.40]
TV K9 – NOVI SAD	
Info [17.00], Mon-Fri	
TV YU ECO – SUBOTICA	
Info blok [19.00], Mon-Sat	
TV BAP – BAČKA PALANKA	
Vesti [17.00], Mon-Fri	
TV CITY – SUBOTICA	
Kroz grad [18.15], Mon-Fri	
TV SREĆE – SOMBOR	
Vesti [19.00], Mon-Sun	
KTV – ZRENJANIN	
Objektiv [20.00], Mon-Sun	Jutarnji objektiv [08.00]

TV – LOCAL – WEST AND CENTRAL SERBIA

TV PALMA PLUS – JAGODINA	
I bi dan [20.00]	Jutarnji dnevnik [07.00]
TV KRALJEVAČKA	
Dnevnik 1 [16:55], Mon-Sun	Dnevnik 2 [18:55], Mon-Sun
TV TRSTENIK	
Dnevnik [19:00], Fri, Sat, Sun	
TV KRUŠEVAC	
Vesti [19:00]	
TV MARŠ – VALJEVO	
Vesti [18:00], Fri	

TV – LOCAL – EAST SERBIA

TV BEST – ZAJEČAR	
Rezime [20.30]	
TV BOR	
Dnevnik 2 [19.00], Mon-Sun	
TV DUGA – POŽAREVAC	
Flash Plus [20.00], Mon-Sun	

TV VIMINACIJUM – KOSTOLAC	
Centralne vesti [19.00]	

TV – LOCAL – SOUTH-WEST SERBIA (SANDZAK)	
TV REGIONALNA – NOVI PAZAR	
Dnevnik [19.00], Mon-Sun	
TV FORUM – PRIJEPOLJE	
Vesti [18:00], Fri	

TV – LOCAL – SOUTH-EAST SERBIA	
TV Belle Amie – Niš	
Slike dana [15.45]	Slike dana [20.00]
Infobiz [20.30]	Popodne [16.30]
Agrovrt	Dijagnoza
TV K:CN 1 – Niš	
Jutro online [09.00], Mon-Fri	Sportski pregled
Srbija online [16.35], Mon-Fri	Suzanin izbor
Informer [15:30], Mon-Fri	Biznis Vesti [17.15], Mon-Fri
Informer [21.00], Mon-Fri	Polarotor [19.00], Wed
Stem 011 [21.00], Sun	MIC [17.45]
Naša kafa sa Đukom [10:45], Mon-Fri	ABS Show
KCN Matine	Prizma
TV Caribrod – Dimitrovgrad	
Vesti [19:00], Tue, Thu	
TV K1 PROTOKOL – LESKOVAC	
Vesti [19:00]	
TV Ritam – Vranje	
Agrodan [19:00]	
TV ZONA – NIŠ	
Dnevnik [22.00], Mon-Fri	

TV – LOCAL – SOUTH-EAST SERBIA	
TV Belle Amie – Niš	
Slike dana [15.45]	Slike dana [20.00]
Infobiz [20.30]	Popodne [16.30]
Agrovrt	Dijagnoza
Slike dana [15.45]	Slike dana [20.00]
Infobiz [20.30]	Popodne [16.30]
Agrovrt	Dijagnoza
TV Naša	
Uz jutarnju kafu [11:00], Mon-Fri	Za Beograd [16:00], Mon-Fri

Vesti 18 [18:30]	Vesti 22 [22:30]
Svet poljoprivrede	
TV Pink 2	
Biljana za Vas	City News
City Kids	Pink World vesti
Top Speed	
TV Pink 3	
Info Top	No1 Beograd
Hi Tech Zone	Info klinika
Pravac	
TV B92 Info	
VOA [22:00]	
SOS Kanal	
Sportski dnevnik [23.00]	Vesti [08.45], Mon-Fri

TV – CABLE

TV N1	
Novi dan [08:00]	Pressing [20:00], Mon-Thu
N1 Info [14:00]	Dnevnik 19 [19:00]
Dnevnik 22 [22:00]	Bit Daily
Crvena linija	Info Biz [18.15]
Insider	Scena [18.45]
Sport klub	Tri tačke
TV NAŠA	
Uz jutarnju kafu [11:00], Mon-Fri	Za Beograd [16:00], Mon-Fri
Vesti 18 [18:30]	Vesti 22 [22:30]
Svet poljoprivrede	
TV PINK 2	
Biljana za Vas	City News
City Kids	Pink World vesti
Top Speed	
TV PINK 3	
Info Top	No1 Beograd
Hi Tech Zone	Info klinika
Pravac	
TV B92 INFO	
VOA [22:00]	
SOS KANAL	
Sportski dnevnik [23.00]	Vesti [08.45], Mon-Fri

3. Web

EXPANDED PACKAGE	
B92.net	Benchmark.rs
Beta.rs	Bizlife.rs
Blic.rs	Economy.rs
Ekapija.com	Kurir.rs
Personalmag.rs	Rts.rs
Tanjug.rs	Telegraf.rs
Vibilia.rs	24sata.rs
Advertiser-serbia.com	Ntv.rs
Akter.co.rs	Nuns.rs
Alo.rs	Agropartner.rs
Arte.rs	Njuz.net
Atastars.rs	Ogledalce.co.rs
Auto.blog.rs	Ogledalo.rs
Automagazin.rs	Okradio.rs
Automatika.rs	Opera-17.com
Autonomija.info	Pcpres.rs
Autoportal.rs	Pecat.co.rs
Aviokarta.net	Pescanik.net
Balkanrock.com	Pharmanetwork.rs
Balkans.aljazeera.net	Plumrace.com
Balkans.com	Plusonline.rs
Bebac.com	Politika.rs
Belami.rs	Poslovnazena.com
Beograd.rs	Poslovnojutro.com
Beogradnocu.com	Pr.org.rs
Bestshopmagic.com	Pravda.rs
Betaoms.com	Pregled.com
Beta-video.tv	Pressonline.rs
Bif.rs	Pressserbia.com
Bktvnews.com	Probjave.com
Boom93.com	Progressivemagazin.rs
Bravo.rs	Prva.rs
Brendovi.net	Pulsonline.rs
Glasackakutija.com	Scandal.rs
Glassrbije.org	Seebiz.eu
Glaszapadnesrbije.rs	Seecult.org

Gloria.rs	Serbiancafe.com
Gloriamagazin.com	Serbiaring.com
Gmbusiness.biz	Slobodnaevropa.org
Gonzaracing.com	Smedia.rs
Gradjanske.org	Sml.rs
Gradjevinarstvo.rs	Snoma.co.rs
Gradskimagazin.rs	Soinfo.org
Grazia.rs	Sopika.rs
Hellomagazin.rs	Soskanal.net
Hotsport.rs	Sport.blic.rs
lkragujevac.com	Sportal.rs
Infogo.biz	Sportexpress.rs
Inserbia.info	Sportklub.rs
Instore.rs	Sportnetwork.rs
Itnetwork.rs	Sportskacentrala.com
Itresenja.com	Sportske.net
Itsvet.com	Sportskisavezbeograda.org.rs
Itvesti.info	Srbija.gov.rs
Jugmedia.info	Srbijadanas.com
Jugpress.com	Srbijadanas.net
Juznasrbija.info	Srbijasport.net
Juznevesti.com	Srbini.info
Kamatica.com	Sremska.tv
Kapital.rs	Srpskadijaspورا.rs
Kolumnista.com	Story.rs
Kragujevaonline.rs	Studiob.rs
Krediti.rs	Style.rs
Krstarica.com	Subotica.com
Kudaukupovinu.rs	Sumadijapress.com
Lepoizdravo.com	Sumedija.rs
Lepotaizdravlje.rs	Svet.rs
Lisa.rs	Svetestrade.com
Livetv.rs	Svetplus.com
Lovesensa.rs	Svetpoljoprivrede.com
Luxlife.rs	Tanjugbiz.rs
Magazinauto.com	Teleprompter.rs
Magazin-tabloid.com	Totalcar.rs
Marketingitd.com	Tracara.com
Marketingmreza.rs	Tvbest.rs

Marketnetwork.rs	Tvl.rs
Mazalice.blogspot.com	Tvlaser.info
Mcleskovac.com	Tvpirot.rs
Media-marketing.com	Uns.org.rs
Medio.rs	Uporediustedi.rs
Mjuznews.com	Urbanbug.net
Modnivrisak.com	Urbanstandard.rs
Mojenterijer.rs	Vaseljenska.com
Mojodmor.rs	Vazdan.com
Mojsvetbrzine.rs	Vesti.krstarica.com
Mondo.rs	Vesti.mojauto.rs
Moto.rs	Vesti.pozarevac.rs
Mozzartsport.com	Vesti-online.com
Mrezakreativnihljudi.com	Vice.com
Muskimagazin.rs	Vojvodina.gov.rs
Nacionalnaklasa.com	Vranje.org.rs
Nadlanu.com	Vrelegume.rs
Naxi.rs	Vreme.com
Ncmagazin.rs	Vrsacplus.com
Newbalkan.com	Wannabemagazine.com
Nin.co.rs	Webtv.rs
Novaekonomija.rs	Yu-build.rs
Novimagazin.rs	Yueco.rs
Novinenovosadske.rs	Yumama.com
Noviput.rs	Zajavnost.info
Novisad.rs	Zelenasrbija.rs
Novosadska.tv	Zena.blic.rs
Novosti.rs	Zenskimagazin.rs
Nspm.rs	Zurnal.rs
Kikindske.rs	021.rs [Radio 021]
Vojvodjanskenovine.rs	025info.rs
Newsweek.rs	

**Fundamental Principles and Rights
at Work Branch (FUNDAMENTALS)**

International Labour Organization
4 route des Morillons
CH-1211 Geneva 22 – Switzerland
Tel.: +41 (0) 22 799 61 11
Fax: +41 (0) 22 798 86 95

childlabour@ilo.org
www.ilo.org/childlabour

 **@ILO_Childlabour**

ISBN 978-92-2-132173-6



9 789221 321736