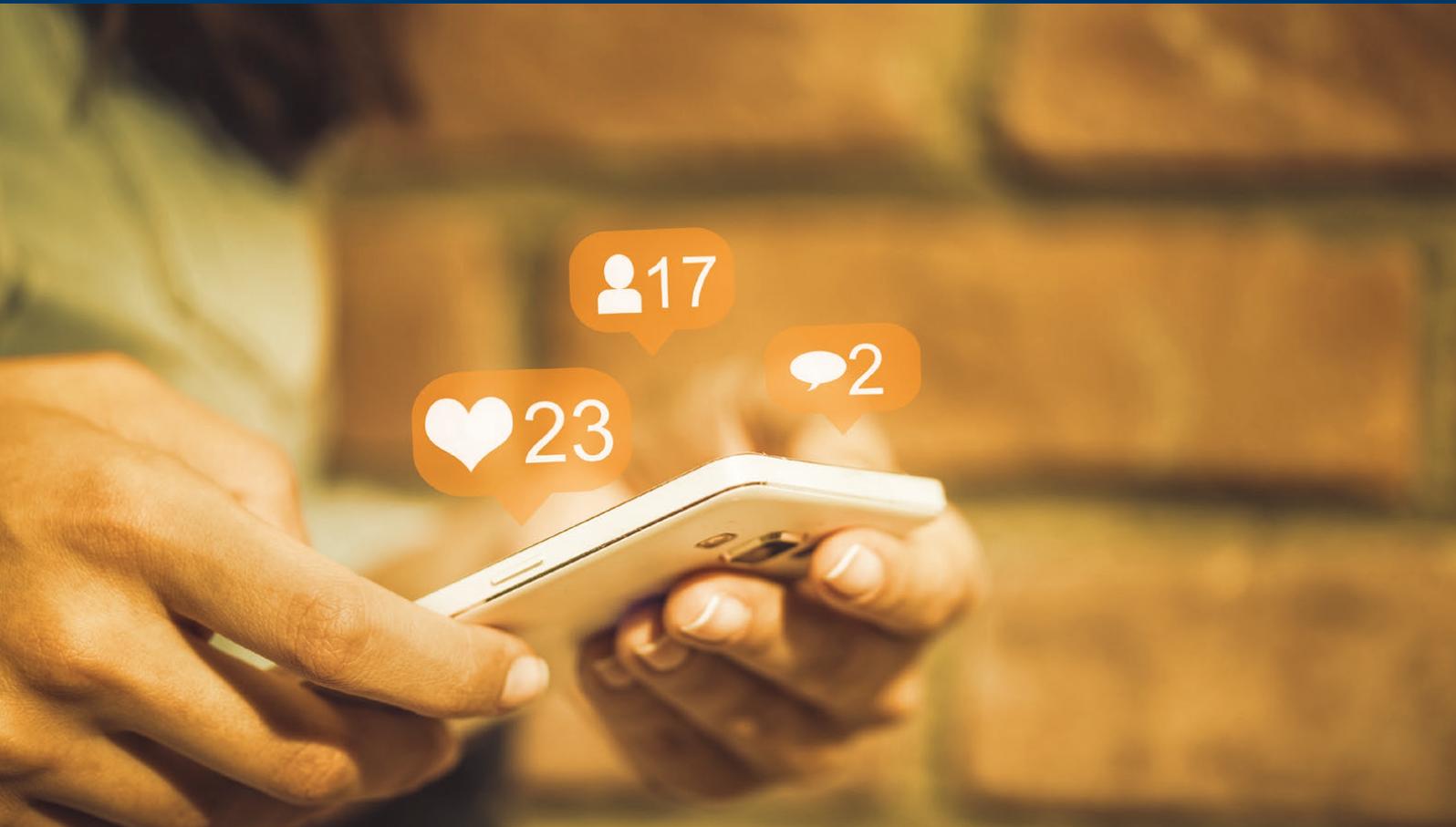


# Production and Distribution of Youth Oriented Content in Serbia

## Professional and Ethical Standards

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# Introduction

Do the youth media help young people participate in contemporary society and cope with the challenges of life in the digital environment? Do the youth media contribute to the development of citizens' ethos? What are the topics that engage the young audience the most? How are young people portrayed in youth media? Are young people given prominence and voice in youth media content? To what extent are young people represented in the youth media as primary definers? This research will try to answer these and other questions about media content created for youth and by youth by combining desk analysis, media monitoring, analysis of media discourse and focus groups with youth.

When discussing the media habits of young people in Serbia, we can draw conclusions from two recent research studies. Ninamedia conducted the first one for the needs of the Ministry of Youth and Sports of the Republic of Serbia (MOS) in 2020 (*Report on the Position and Needs of Young People*<sup>1</sup>). The second was conducted by the Serbian Youth Umbrella Organization (KOMS) in 2021 (*Alternative Report on the Position and Needs of Young People*<sup>2</sup>). The first involved 1500, and the other 1389 respondents, which can be considered a representative sample.

As "digital natives", youth feel more free and more natural in the digital world than in the world of traditional media. This is also reflected in the results of these research studies, according to which print media outlets are far less popular than the Internet and television among youth. Quality media content remains hidden because it is difficult to access, expensive or insufficiently interesting. Public broadcasters (RTS and RTV) are investing decent resources in content production for youth, but half of the younger population does not follow their programs at all.

The KOMS research included the assessment of trust in institutions. On a scale of 1 to 5, the media have a devastating score of 1.61, but this result should be interpreted in accordance with the broader picture, since no institution has an average grade above 3. Youth show the least trust in political parties, the media and political institutions, and most in the army (2.78). Most young people use the telephone as an information device (98.4%), followed by laptops (58.4%) and television (43.6%), but just 31% of respondents use news apps on their phones. The most popular TV stations are N1, RTS1 and Prva, while Blic is the most popular among daily newspapers. 72% of the respondents state that they often come across fake news, and 80% of them believe that they know how to recognize misinformation. Most respondents have accounts on Instagram (91.4%) and Facebook (86.9%). There is a slight decline in the use of Facebook, while Tiktok is getting more popular (from 23% in 2020 to 35% in 2021).

According to the MOS survey (2020), more than 50% of young people are not interested in news about social and political events in Serbia. One third of the respondents think that the image of youth in the media and the public is worse than it actually is, while about a quarter think that the image is embellished or realistic. 96,9% use the internet every day, and 43% of the respondents follow news in online media outlets on a daily basis.

In addition to the *Alternative Report on the Position and Needs of Young People*, KOMS, along with the Media Diversity Institute, also conducts research on the media image of youth. The last edition of the research (2020)<sup>3</sup> shows a decrease in thematic diversity when it comes to reporting on youth in the mainstream media, since young people appear as actors in the media most often if they are perpetrators or victims of a crime. The results also indicate that mainstream media still predominantly treat young people as a homogeneous group, without paying attention to their age, subcultures, local contexts and sensitive groups.

<sup>1</sup> Source: <https://www.mos.gov.rs/public/documents/upload/sport/inspekcija/Istrazivanje%20polozaja%20i%20potreba%20mladih%20u%20Srbiji%202020.pdf>

<sup>2</sup> Source: <https://koms.rs/wp-content/uploads/2021/08/Alternativni-izvestaj-o-polozaju-mladih-2021-4.pdf>

<sup>3</sup> Source: <https://koms.rs/wp-content/uploads/2021/03/Mladi-u-medijskom-ogledalu-2020-FINAL.pdf>

In addition to the question of young people's media habits, it is important to consider how young people understand the media content they consume, with a special focus on phenomena such as disinformation, political propaganda and hate speech. Due to the importance of this issue, various NGOs and state institutions have been involved in strengthening the media and information literacy (MIL) of youth in recent years.

The state administration has drafted important documents that recognise the importance of education reform in Serbia, as well as the importance of MIL. Reforms have been taking place since the school year 2018/2019 and the importance of MIL is also mentioned in the Strategy for the Development of the Public Information System and in the Strategy for Education Development in Serbia 2020<sup>4</sup>. In these documents, raising the level of MIL among children is set as one of the goals that should be accomplished by transforming libraries into media libraries, which would provide opportunities for acquiring new knowledge in the field of the media. According to this strategy, school librarians should be resource centers for raising media literacy, trained to use different sources of knowledge, and thus help teachers and students in the implementation of extracurricular activities in this field. The Law on Primary Education<sup>5</sup> (Article 50) stipulates that the task of the school library is, among other things, to enable students to use information from the media and in that sense to master the skills necessary for lifelong learning.

The Ministry of Culture and Information convened a national consultation in mid-2018 to bring together all actors dealing with media literacy in Serbia, with the ultimate goal of identifying good practice models that would be an integral part of the strategy for the systematic introduction of media literacy in primary and secondary schools.

Starting from the school year 2018/2019, education reforms have enabled the introduction of an elective course, "Language, Media and Culture", that students can choose in the first year of grammar school. The goal of the "Language, Media and Culture" program is to contribute to the improvement of communication skills, the development of a media culture and the adoption of cultural patterns that will enable the student to navigate the modern world, build an identity and develop professionally. The total number of classes during the school year is 37.

There is also a number of CSOs in Serbia dedicated to MIL issues. The Clio Publishing house started its „Library Plus“ project, with the intention of transforming school libraries, in order to become suitable places for MIL education. The Novi Sad School of Journalism (NSSJ) developed a seminar for teachers and professors ("Journalism Workshop – Media Literacy"), accredited by the Institute for Advancement of Education and Upbringing, Republic of Serbia. Through the "Creative Drive" program, supported by EU, NSSJ and Clio organized a number of MIL seminars, three summer MIL schools and study trips. The Social Margin Centre has launched its „School of Media Literacy“, with a two-semester MIL course for youth, while IREX Serbia has been successfully implementing its „Learn to Discern“ program since 2019. Through this program, which was previously implemented in the USA and Ukraine, several hundred young people in Serbia improved their MIL skills. The Media Diversity Institute runs the project MLADI: Media Literacy Alliance and Digital Importance, aiming to foster the civic participation of young people by improving their media and digital literacy competencies. This program reached hundreds of people across Serbia through various activities streams. This research covered hundreds of content units intended for youth: 945 hours of TV programs, 2,500 YouTube videos, 1,000 Tiktok videos, as well as a three-month production of nine youth portals. The findings of this extensive research will provide a deeper insight into the structure of media content for young people, with a special focus on the ethical aspects of media production. The results will also offer an opportunity to determine strategic goals in the further process of strengthening media literacy among young people - both among content creators and the young audience.

<sup>4</sup> Source: <http://www.mpn.gov.rs/wp-content/uploads/2015/08/STRATEGIJA-OBRAZOVANJA.pdf>

<sup>5</sup> Source: [https://www.paragraf.rs/propisi/zakon\\_o\\_osnovnom\\_obrazovanju\\_i\\_vaspitanju.html](https://www.paragraf.rs/propisi/zakon_o_osnovnom_obrazovanju_i_vaspitanju.html)

# Methodology

This research consists of three groups of activities: (1) desk analysis (mapping of the youth media), (2) content analysis of youth media, (3) focus groups. The aim of the research is to determine the frequency, diversity, quality and ethics of content intended for young people in Serbia, and for that purpose we applied the techniques of desk analysis, content analysis, media discourse analysis (qualitative and quantitative), as well as focus groups.

## Activity 1: Mapping the youth media

- 1.1. Analysis of the representation of programs for youth on TV stations with national coverage in Serbia during six months (October 2020 - March 2021). The research was retrospective, based on the available program schedules published in the daily „Večernje novosti“. During the observed period, a total of 56,715 minutes of content for young people was broadcast.
- 1.2. Mapping of youth online portals, student portals and youth podcasts through desk analysis, consultation with experts and young journalists and focus groups (activity 3).
- 1.3. Mapping of the 50 most popular YouTube channels in Serbia; The research is conducted by desk analysis, using the SocialBakers tool.
- 1.4. Mapping of the 40 most popular TikTok accounts in Serbia; The research is conducted by desk analysis, using the InBeat tool.

## Activity 2: Content analysis

- 2.1. Analysis of youth programs on TV stations with national coverage (RTS1, RTS2, RTV, Pink, Prva, Happy and B92).
- 2.2. Analysis of youth portals, registered in Serbia. The analysis included up to 50 of the most recent posts / texts / videos of each of the youth portals (June – August 2021) mapped within Activity 1.2. A total of 398 units were analyzed.
- 2.3. Analysis of up to ten videos on each of the 50 most popular YouTube channels: the last six videos (June 2021), two affirmative videos (charity actions, promotion of human rights, solidarity etc.) and two negative videos (YouTube dramas, rants). Two affirmative and two negative videos were sought in a sample of the last 50 videos on each channel. Total number of content units: 300 within the initial analysis and 2.200 within the expanded analysis.
- 2.4. Analysis of the 20 most recent clips on each of the 40 most popular TikTok accounts. An additional 10 accounts (5 positive + 5 negative) were analyzed according to suggestions given by the participants of the focus group (activity 3). Total number of content units: 1,000.

## Activity 3: Focus groups with youth

Two online focus groups with young people (3.1, 3.2) from different parts of Serbia and different educational backgrounds (2x10 participants), aged 15-25, were conducted in August 2021. This method contributed to understanding the habits and expectations of the audience when it comes to media content and content on social networks. Each focus group lasted 90 minutes, with the following schedule: Introduction (10 minutes), Media habits of the participants (20 minutes), Discussion about specific examples of content on the public broadcasting service, youth portals, YouTube and Tiktok (40 minutes), Discussion about ethical issues (15 minutes), Conclusions (5 minutes).

# Program schedules analysis

In order to gain an in-depth insight into the content for youth on TV channels in Serbia, an analysis of television program schedules with a national coverage was conducted. That includes a complete program offer in a six-month period (October 2020 - March 2021).

## Previous research

This type of research has so far been sporadically conducted by the Regulatory Body for Electronic Media (REM) and some NGOs. In its report for 2018<sup>6</sup>, REM followed radio and television content throughout the year, but did not consider the youth program as a special category. From related categories, it was determined that the children's program accounts for 0.32% of the total offer on RTS1, and the scientific-educational for 1.28%, while on the RTS2 the children's program accounts for 11.33%, and the scientific-educational for 8.43% of the total offer. Two years later<sup>7</sup>, the analysis of the work of public broadcasters showed an increase in the share of children's programs on RTS1 (0.67%), but also a significant decrease on RTS2 (5.45%). The share of scientific and educational programs decreased on RTS1 (1.1%), and increased on RTS2 (12.56%).

If we look at the Law on Public Media Services (2014)<sup>8</sup>, we will see that Article 7, paragraph 5, stipulates the obligation of RTS and RTV to meet the information needs of "all parts of society without discrimination, taking into account in particular socially vulnerable groups such as children, youth and the elderly, minority groups, persons with disabilities, socially and health endangered, etc." Therefore, there is an obligation to create a program for youth, but not a request to form a special youth newsroom to produce content for youth. Based on the research conducted so far, we can determine that the youth program is rarely created and analyzed as a separate program unit.

REM's reports for 2020 show a complete absence of children's and scientific-educational programs on commercial TV stations, except for B92, where children's programs make up 15.6% of the total offer, and scientific-educational programs 6.5%. Not a minute of scientific-educational programming was broadcast on TV Pink, TV Happy and TV Prva, while out of these three stations, only TV Prva broadcast certain content for children, but with minimal participation (0.12%).

So far, the participation of youth programs on public broadcasting and commercial TV stations has been continuously monitored in just one survey, within the research "Youth in the Media Mirror" (National Youth Council of Serbia, 2019)<sup>9</sup>. The results, based on a sample that covered 28 days, showed that the share of the youth program was the largest on TV O2 (now B92), where it was 4.26%. That was followed by RTS1 (3.93%) and RTS2 (2.5%), and then by TV Prva (2.28%) and RTV1 (1.36%). Not a minute of youth programming was broadcast on the two remaining commercial stations, TV Pink and TV Happy.

<sup>6</sup> Source: <http://www.rem.rs/uploads/files/izvestaji%20o%20nadzoru/RTS%20-%20izvestaj%20za%202018.pdf>

<sup>7</sup> Source: <http://www.rem.rs/uploads/files/izvestaji%20o%20nadzoru/izvestaj%20o%20nacinu%20ispunjavanja%20zakonskihi%20programskih%20obaveza%20JMU%20Radio%20televizija%20Srbije%20za%202020.godinu.pdf>

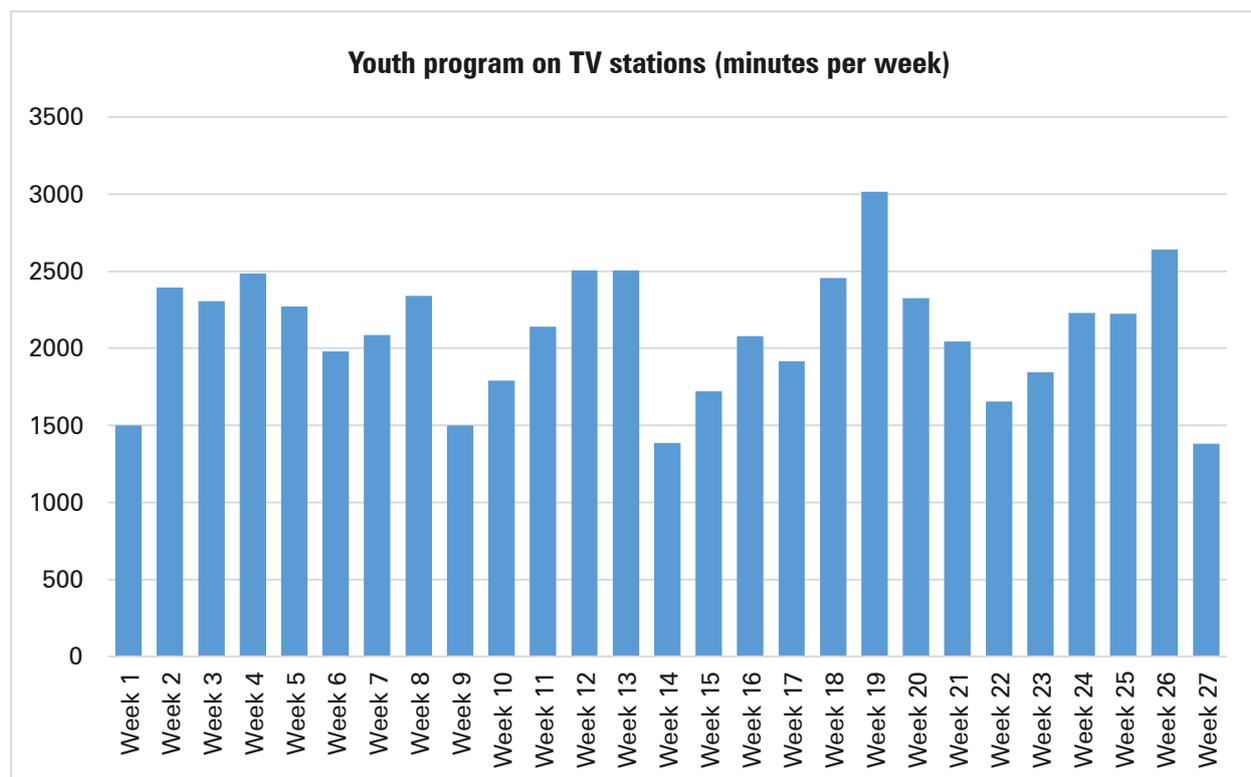
<sup>8</sup> Source: [https://www.paragraf.rs/propisi/zakon\\_o\\_javnim\\_medijskim\\_servisima.html#](https://www.paragraf.rs/propisi/zakon_o_javnim_medijskim_servisima.html#)

<sup>9</sup> Source: <https://koms.rs/wp-content/uploads/2020/01/Mladi-u-medijskom-ogledalu-FINAL-1.pdf>

## Analysis of the participation of youth programs (2020/21)

The analysis conducted within this research is the largest ever conducted of the participation of content for youth on TV stations in Serbia. It included the programs of public broadcasters (RTS1, RTS2, RTV1) and commercial TV stations (Pink, Happy, Prva, B92) during a period of six months, from October 1, 2020 to March 31, 2021. The analysis was conducted by following the program schedules published every Friday in the TV supplement to the daily "Večernje novosti". Although broadcasters have the right to change the program (announced in advance), it can be assumed that the aired content largely corresponded to the schedule that was announced in the newspapers. The analysis covered 182 days, i.e. 1,274 daily program units on seven observed television channels. The code list records the names of the shows for young people, as well as their duration.

A total of 27 weeks of the program was observed, with the first and last being partially observed.<sup>10</sup> The record was set in the 19th week (3,015 minutes), while the lowest share was recorded in the 14th week (1,385 minutes). On average, 2,100 minutes were broadcast every week, which makes 35 hours of content for young people on all observed television channels. During the observed period, a total of 56,715 minutes of content for young people was broadcast. That makes for 945 hours and 15 minutes, or 40 days.

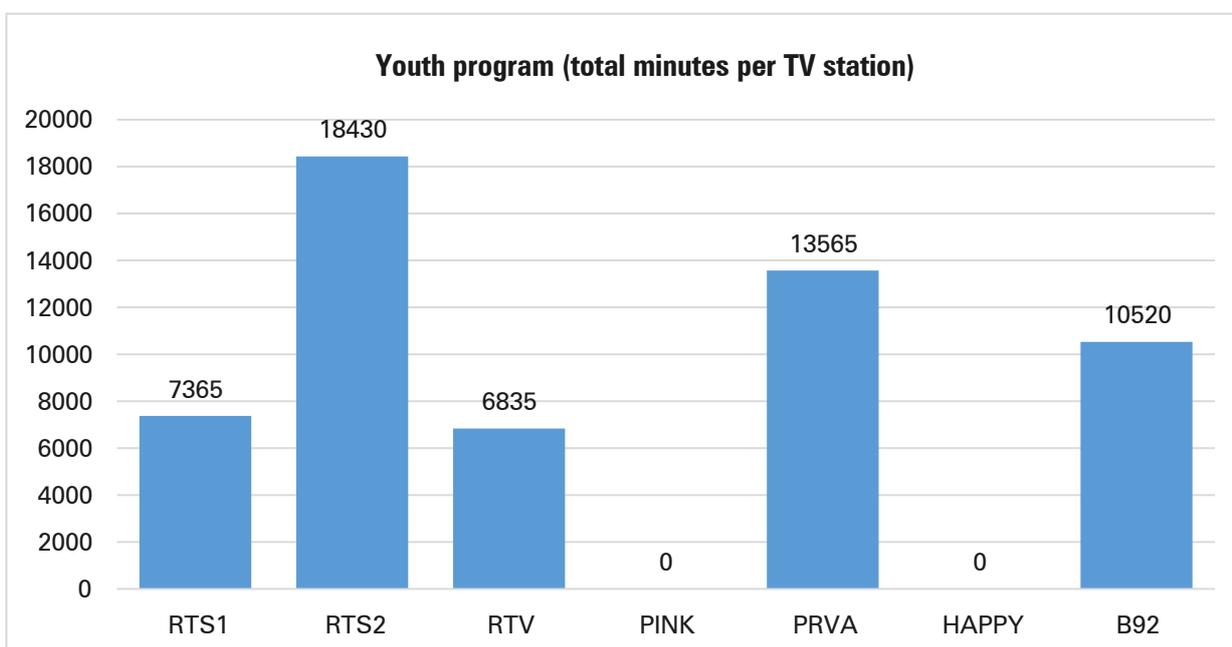


The largest share of programs for youth was recorded on RTS2 (18,430 minutes). The channel achieved this result primarily by broadcasting TV series for youth (the Russian series *Institute for Noble Maidens*), but a large number of original TV formats (in the Serbian language) was also noticed. The show "Promaja" is dedicated to a wide range of topics of importance for young people, such as activism, art and the philosophy of free time. The show „Ups! U problemu sam" (*Oops, I'm in Trouble*) combines TV drama and a documentary program, and it primarily covers education and career guidance. Apart from young people, experts in the field of pedagogy and psychology also appear as speakers in the show. The show "Književno blokče" (*Literary Notebook*), also produced

<sup>10</sup> Monitoring began on Thursday, October 1, 2020, and ended on Wednesday, March 31, 2021.

as an educational TV drama, is dedicated to mastering literary theory, while the show „Čitalište – čitate li išta“ (*ReadingRoom - Do you read anything*) promotes the culture of reading. The series „Rani kadrovi“ (*Early Shots*), dedicated to student film, presents young students of the Faculty of Dramatic Arts in Belgrade, majoring in Film and Television Directing, and their films made during the studies. The total share of youth programs on RTS2 is 7%.

Among commercial stations, TV Prva offers the most content for youth, with a total of 13,565 minutes in the observed period. The diversity of content on this television channel is still very modest, since the entire offer is based on movies and TV series, such as the Turkish teenage series „Erkenci Kuş“ (*Daydreamer*). The total share of youth programs on TV Prva is 5.2%.

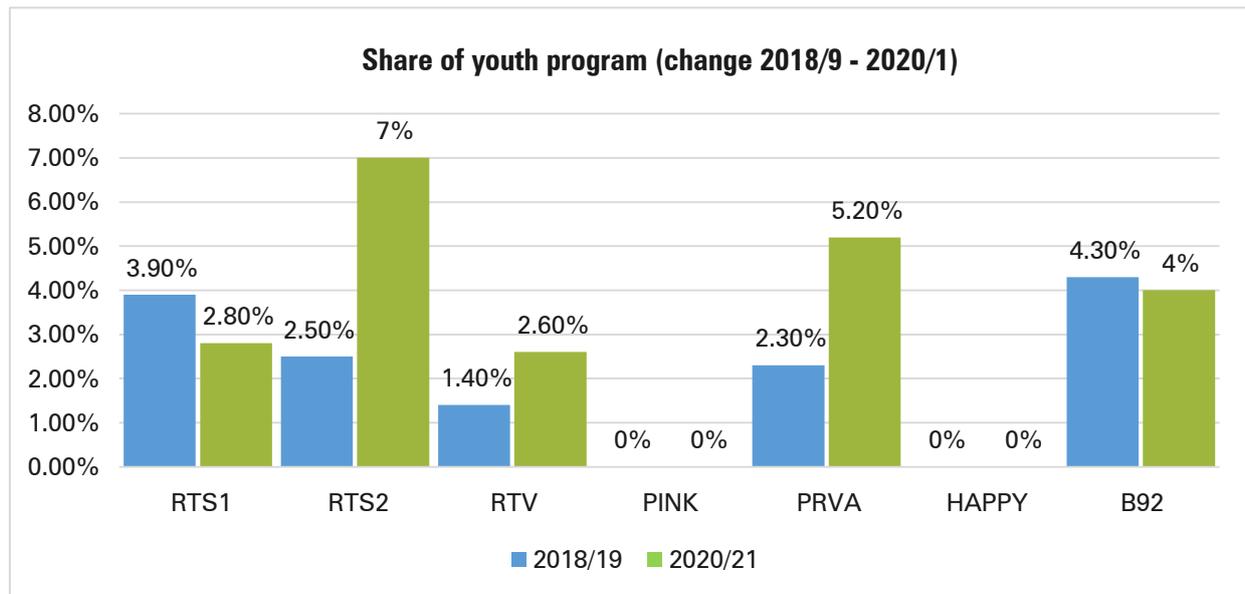


In third place in terms of the share of the youth program is TV B92, with a total of 10,520 minutes over six months. This score was achieved exclusively by broadcasting the documentary series “Vice” and “The Big Bang Theory” sitcom. The total share of youth programs on B92 is 5.2%.

RTS1 is ranked fourth. The First Program of the public broadcaster had 7,365 minutes of content for young people from October 2020 to March 2021. That offer almost completely consisted of domestic TV series and movies, such as „Vojna akademija“ (*Military Academy*), „Montevideo“, „Bićemo prvaci sveta“ (*We Will Be World Champions*), but there are also educational contents that are broadcast on RTS2 at the same time (e.g.: the show „Čitalište“). The total share of youth programs on RTS1 is 2.8%.

Finally, 6,835 minutes of youth programs were broadcast on RTV1. Although the provincial public broadcaster has the worst results among the observed TV stations (not counting Pink and Happy, which do not have a youth program at all), RTV1 shows a decent level of engagement in several original TV formats, where the debate show “Akademac” stands out. The rest of the content for youth consists of TV series and movies, and the total share of the youth program is 2.6%.

As in the KOMS survey from 2019, no content for young people was noticed on TV Pink and TV Happy. This finding should not be interpreted exclusively as neglecting young people, since these stations lack specialized programs for all specific (sensitive) groups. The format of these television stations has been established to address the widest possible population, primarily through reality programs (Zadruga on TV Pink and Parovi on TV Happy).



If we compare the findings of the previous research (KOMS 2019) and repeated, broader analyses, underlining that the observed periods are not equivalent (4 weeks in 2018/9 and 27 weeks in 2020/1), we can see positive trends on RTS 2 (+4.5 %), TV Prva (+ 2.9%) and RTV1 (+ 1.2%). Slight negative trends were observed on RTS1 (-1.1%) and B92 (-0.3%). With TV Pink and TV Happy the situation remained unchanged: not a minute of programming dedicated to young people was recorded.

The analysis shows the importance of public broadcasters, since they create a whole range of documentary, scientific and debate formats that, due to their non-commercial nature, could hardly be expected on private TV stations. Both RTS and RTV offer a wide variety of content, and their intention to get closer to a younger audience is visible: they promote and publish their contents on YouTube, and they also offer “video on demand” options on their websites. However, the question is how much such formats, regardless of the level of effort, reach a younger audience. Precise data on the ratings of shows for youth do not exist, and the results of the focus group (conducted within this research) indicate that the ratings could be extremely low.

# Youth websites

Within this segment of the research, youth portals and podcasts were mapped and then classified into four categories. The mapping was based on desk analysis, insight into previously published publications and databases, but also on focus groups with young people from Serbia, which are conducted as an integral part of this research.

YOUTH PORTALS			
N	Name	Address	Editorial office
1	Megafon	megafon.co	Niš
2	Mingl	mingl.rs	Belgrade
3	Noizz	noizz.rs	Belgrade
4	Omladinske novine	omladinskenovine.rs	Novi Sad
5	O Radio	oradio.rs	Novi Sad
6	Redakcija	redakcija.azbuki.net	Niš
7	Vice	vice.com/sr	Belgrade
8	Youth vibes	youthvibes.rs	Niš
9	Zoomer	zoomer.rs	Belgrade

STUDENT PORTALS			
N	Name	Address	Editorial office
1	Magazin Student	magazinstudent.rs	Belgrade
2	Studentski Dnevni List	studnel.com	Niš
3	Studentski život	studentskizivot.com	Belgrade
4	Univerzitetski odjek	univerzitetskiodjek.com	Novi Sad
5	Youth Now	youthnow.rs	Belgrade
6	Žurnalist	zurnalist.rs	Belgrade

INACTIVE PROJECTS			
N	Name	Address	Editorial office
1	Monopolist	novinarnica.net/novine/monopolist	Belgrade
2	Puls mladih	media.rtv.rs/ostalo/puls-mladih	Novi Sad
3	Tramvaj Čačak	tramvajcacak.rs	Čačak
4	Vugl	vugl.rs	Belgrade
5	Žurnalist	zurnalist.net	Novi Sad

PODCASTS		
N	Name	Address
1	Dobar biznis daleko se čuje	<a href="https://www.youtube.com/channel/UCO8g9IGSvQiLffnlqJLqzw">https://www.youtube.com/channel/UCO8g9IGSvQiLffnlqJLqzw</a>
2	EDIT	<a href="https://mixcloud.com/zoomer_rs/">mixcloud.com/zoomer_rs/</a>
3	Glasom mladih	<a href="https://podcast.rs/show/glasom-mladih/">podcast.rs/show/glasom-mladih/</a>
4	Ivan Kosogor	<a href="https://podcast.rs/show/ivan-kosogor-podcast/">podcast.rs/show/ivan-kosogor-podcast/</a>
5	Linčova šiška	<a href="https://podcast.rs/show/lincova-siska/">podcast.rs/show/lincova-siska/</a>
6	Mladost	<a href="https://mixcloud.com/zoomer_rs/">mixcloud.com/zoomer_rs/</a>
7	Multiradio Hajlajter	<a href="https://podcast.rs/show/multiradio-hajlajter/">podcast.rs/show/multiradio-hajlajter/</a>
8	Neobavezno	<a href="https://podcast.rs/show/neobavezno/">podcast.rs/show/neobavezno/</a>
9	Pančevox	<a href="https://podcast.rs/show/pancevox/">podcast.rs/show/pancevox/</a>
10	PicPod	<a href="https://podcast.rs/show/picpod/">podcast.rs/show/picpod/</a>
11	Podkast Digitalnog omladinskog centra	<a href="https://podcast.rs/show/digitalni-omladinski-centar/">podcast.rs/show/digitalni-omladinski-centar/</a>
12	Podmladina	<a href="https://podcast.rs/show/podmladina/">podcast.rs/show/podmladina/</a>
13	Reaguj	<a href="https://podcast.rs/show/reaguj/">podcast.rs/show/reaguj/</a>
14	Tetke	<a href="https://remarker.media/category/tetke/">remarker.media/category/tetke/</a>
15	The Polinet	<a href="https://podcast.rs/show/the-polinet/">podcast.rs/show/the-polinet/</a>
16	Žiška	<a href="https://ziska.rs/podkast">ziska.rs/podkast</a>

## Youth portals - general overview

The mapping showed that there are nine active youth portals in Serbia. Their content was observed in detail through content analysis and analysis of media discourse. Online outlets are classified in this category if they meet the following criteria: (1) activity in the observed period (summer 2021, June - August), (2) production of content that is dedicated to young people, but not exclusively to students. Student portals or portals for practical classes of journalism students are classified in a separate category. Nine portals met the mentioned requirements: Vice, Noizz, Megafon, Oradio, Youth Vibes, Redakcija, Mingl, Zoomer and Omladinske novine. No youth portal in minority languages, registered in Serbia, was noticed.

A sample of a maximum of 50 content units (articles, videos, podcasts) was collected on each of these portals, in a retroactive way for the period June - August 2021, starting from August 31. Due to the fact that some portals were not continuously active in the observed period, the total number of sampled units is smaller. Portals Vice, Noizz, Oradio, Mingl and Zoomer published more than 50 units during the observed period, while the rest of the portals had less: Redakcija had 45, Youth Vibes 43, Omladinske novine 36<sup>11</sup> and Megafon the least – 24. A total of 398 units were analyzed.

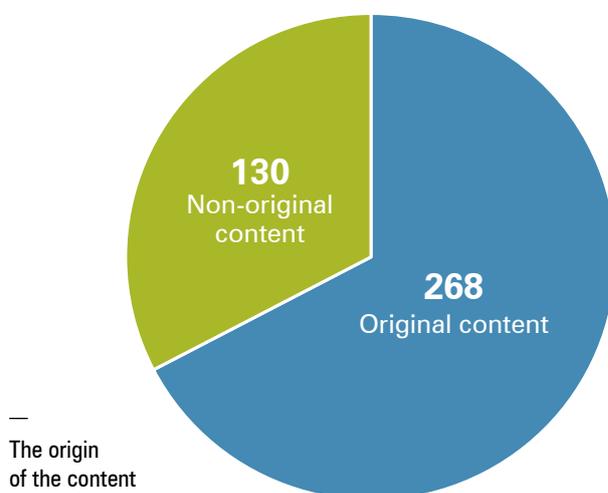
<sup>11</sup> Numerous job advertisements were left out of the analysis of Omladinske novine, since it was deemed that their inclusion in the sample would create a distorted image of the portal's content.

The code sheet for discourse analysis consisted of ten categories and 60 variables. For each of the content units, a basic set of data (title, date and code) was included, and then the following elements were analyzed: authorship, location, type of title, topic, key actors, gender of key actors and presence of vulnerable social groups.

After a general overview of the results, we will give the specific findings for each of the nine portals.

## Authorship

The first segment of the analysis was related to authorship, in order to determine whether certain content is original or republished from another outlet. The results show the level of journalistic engagement, so it is possible to conclude which portals were more active (productive) and which were passive (copy-paste journalism).



Out of a total of 398 analyzed units, 268, i.e. two thirds, were original. The remaining third of the texts (130) were most often based on press releases, or texts originally published in other media outlets. It is important to underline that, in the case of Vice, only the content written by the Serbian editorial team was marked as original, while translations of articles from other national editions of Vice were marked as non-original.

Overall, the final result (1:3) can be seen as a reflection of a good balance in editing. Oradio and Zoomer stand out in this category, as they almost exclusively publish original content, produced in their own newsrooms.

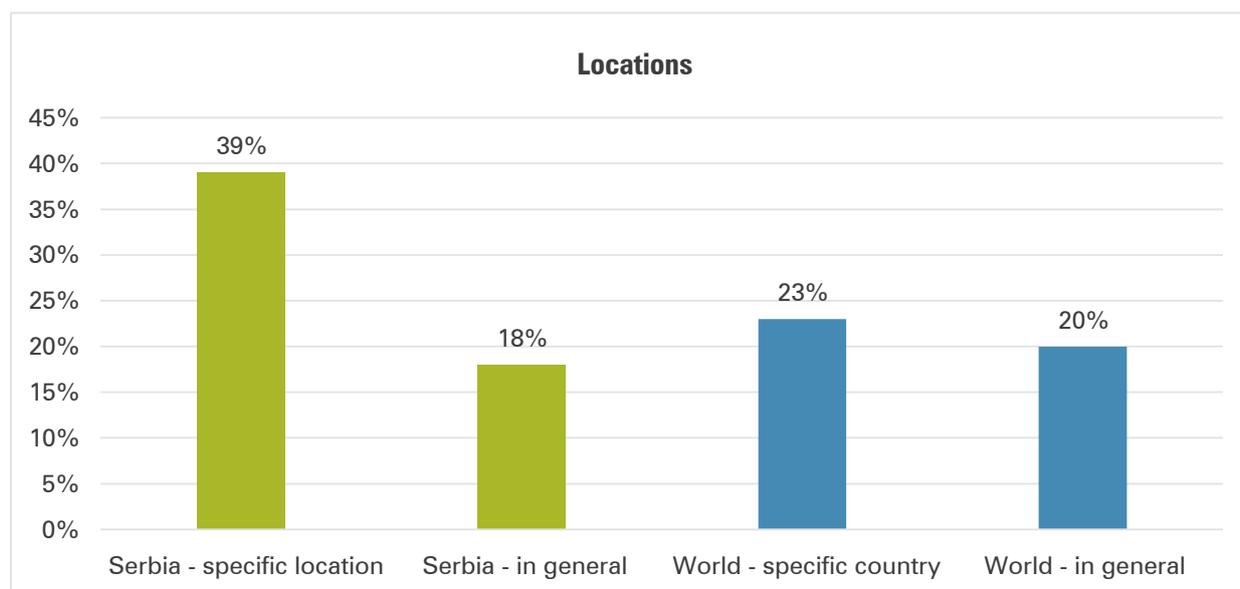
It is also important to underline that almost all observed portals clearly indicate if the content was republished. Exceptions can be noticed only on Noizz, where the source of the content was often unclear. Another questionable practice was noticed on this portal: if the journalist added a short, not too significant passage to the original text, the Noizz portal was indicated as a co-author of the text.

## Locations

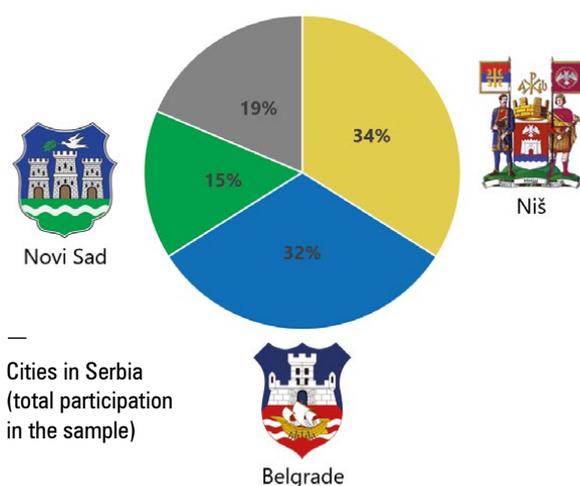
For each analyzed content unit, the location of the event was also noted. In this sense, there are four possible variables:

- (1) specific location in Serbia
- (2) Serbia in general
- (3) specific location abroad
- (4) the world in general

The aim of this element of the analysis was to determine the degree of diversity in reporting. Earlier research in this field (KOMS 2017, 2018, 2019, 2020) showed that the focus of reporting was most often on Belgrade, and on large western countries (USA, UK, Germany, France, Italy, Spain). This research has slightly different findings, caused primarily by the fact that one third of the observed media outlets is based in Niš.



Most of the content units (57%) were devoted to events in Serbia. Samples in which it was possible to determine the exact location of events are twice as common as those with Serbia being mentioned in general. In total, 21 different locations from Serbia were recorded, and first among them was Niš, which appeared 53 times, i.e. three times more than Belgrade (50), which was absolutely dominant in all previous research of this type. As already mentioned, such a change cannot be interpreted as being a consequence of increased media interest in events outside Belgrade, but rather should primarily be seen as a reflection of the fact that three youth portals (Megafon, Youth Vibes and Redakcija) are registered in Niš. For the same reason, Novi Sad ranked high, in third place, with 24 contents, primarily because this city is the seat of two youth media - Oradio and Omladinske novine. All other locations are present in the sample less than ten times - Subotica 5 (primarily because of the Palić Film Festival), Požarevac three times, and Bačka Palanka, Bajina Bašta and Vranje twice. One content unit is dedicated to Arilje, as well as to Bor, Čačak, Čajetina, Despotovac, Gornji Milanovac, Petrovac na Mlavi, Smederevo, Sombor, Svrlijig, Užice, Valjevo and Vrnjačka Banja.



The traditional over-representation of the capital (Belgrade) can, in this context, have two reasons: (a) the headquarters of the editorial offices of youth media outlets located in the city, (b) a large number of events of importance for young people that are concentrated in Belgrade. The over-representation of the large, powerful states (US and Western Europe) was also noticed.

In total, 29 other countries (not counting Serbia) were noticed in the sample. The United States had the largest participation (17 times), followed by Japan (11) and Afghanistan (10), whose high position in the sample can be explained by the importance of current events (sports and politics). No other country was mentioned more than ten times: contents from Bosnia and Herzegovina were observed eight times, followed by those from France (5), Greece (4), China (4), the United Kingdom (4) and Slovenia (3). The appearance of Montenegro, Croatia, Mexico, New Zealand, Russia and Turkey was registered twice. The total balance of the represented countries can be viewed on the following map:



The map shows that reporting primarily depends on major current events and the proximity of the cultural code, which is why the countries of the Balkans and the countries of North America and Western Europe are in the most favourable position. On the other hand, South America, Central Asia and especially Africa - which is represented in this sample with only two travel stories from Egypt and Tanzania - remain in the shadows. Both globally and locally, youth media should strive to achieve as much diversity as possible when reporting. This could be achieved at the local level by expanding the network of correspondents (especially outside large cities, such as Belgrade, Niš and Novi Sad), and at the global level with greater enthusiasm for underdeveloped countries and distant cultures.

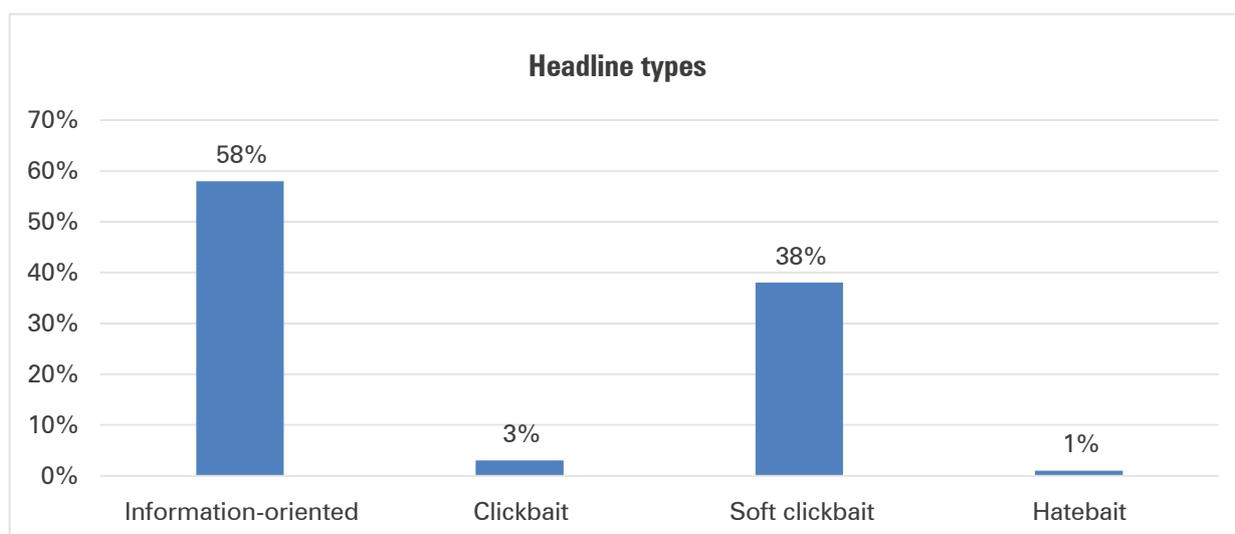
## Titles

Content titles have been analyzed within this research for two reasons: (1) to determine which methods youth portals use to attract the attention of their audiences and (2) to determine the level of ethics in that process. Four variables are listed within this category. The first refers to information-oriented headlines, i.e. classic newspaper headlines, and the second to clickbait headlines, which "are used to tempt visitors to click on a particular link either to monetize the landing page or to spread the false news for sensationalization"<sup>12</sup>. The third variable - soft clickbaits or softbaits - refers to titles that call to click without using sensationalism, most often in the form of a question, ranking list (Top 5, top 10...) or announcement. Finally, the variable hatebait covers clickbait headlines with toxic content, which are often found on YouTube and in the tabloid media. Examples:

<sup>12</sup> Source: Pujahari, A., & Sisodia, D. S. (2021). Clickbait detection using multiple categorisation techniques. *Journal of Information Science*, 47(1), 118-128.

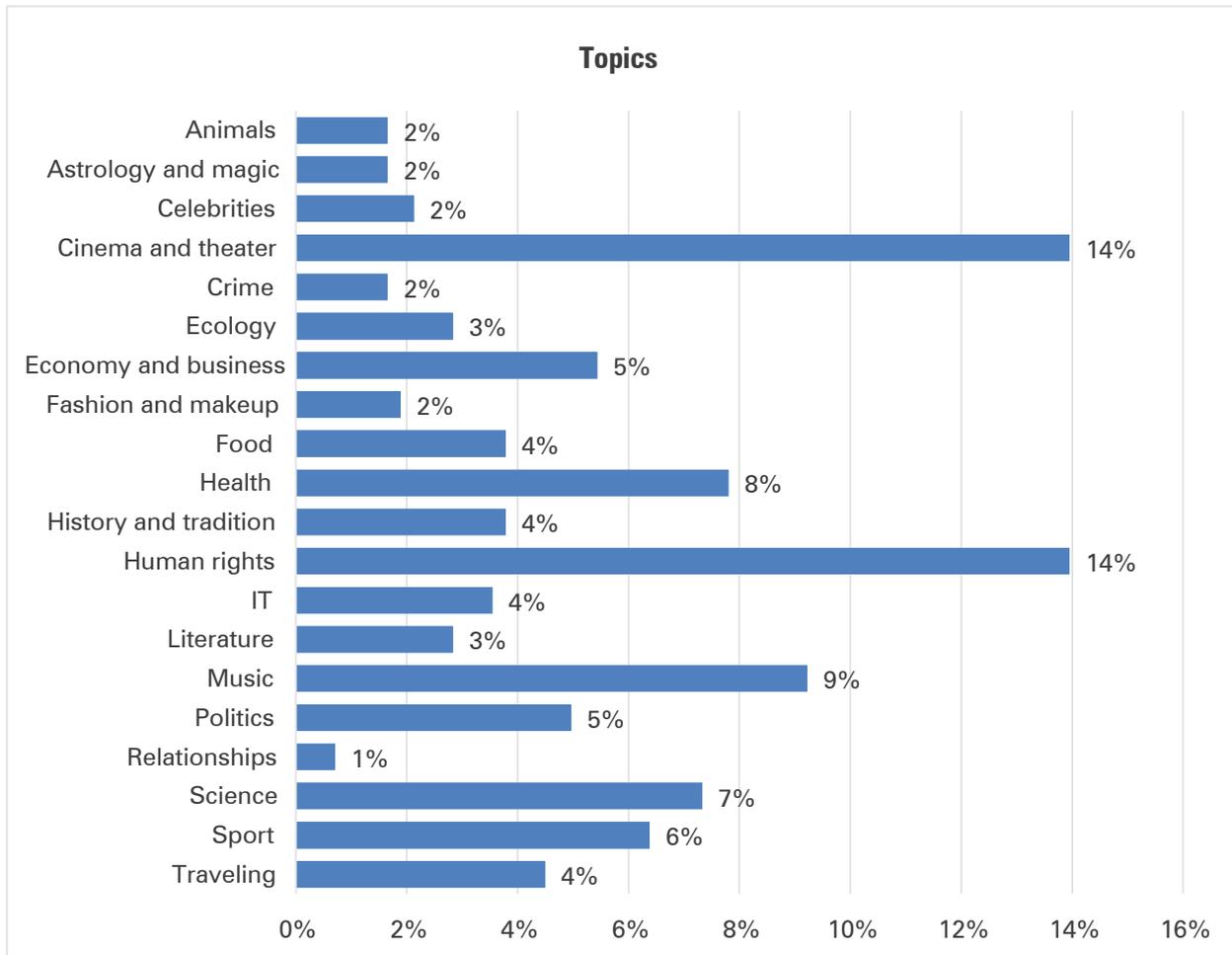
N	Headline type	Example
I	Information-oriented	„The number of vaccinated young people is growing in Vojvodina“ (Oradio)
II	Clickbait	„This woman had her own cartel in Mexico - and it didn't end happily“ (Vice)
III	Softbait	„Revenge Pornography: What if someone shares your pictures / videos without your consent?“ (Youth Vibes)
IV	Hatebait	„There's nothing worse than Courtney and her boyfriend kissing wherever they go - people don't stop trashing Kardashian“ (Noizz)

In the overall sample, the most common variables are information-oriented titles (58%), followed by soft clickbait (38%). This result can be considered encouraging, since none of the observed portals uses clickbait or hatebait as the main means of attracting the attention of the audience.



The structure of the most common titles, however, leaves room for improvement. Although the category of “information-oriented” headlines could be interpreted as the most professional, some headlines (especially on the Mingl and Omladinske novine) are very unattractive: for example, they contain only the name of the event (“Serbia Business Run”, Mingl) or are too general (“Gourmet curiosities”, Omladinske novine). On the other side, the Zoomer and Youth Vibes have a good format of attractive headlines that do not contain sensationalism.

Typical clickbait titles are mostly represented on Noizz, and to a lesser extent on Vice, while hatebait titles are observed only on Noizz.



## Topics

All content units are classified according to their thematic framework into 20 variables: Animals, Astrology and Magic, Celebrities, Cinema and Theater, Crime, Ecology, Economy and Business, Fashion and Makeup, Food, Health, History and Tradition, Human Rights, IT, Literature, Music, Politics, Relationships, Science, Sport and Travel.

As the chart shows, the two most common topics are human rights and cinema / theater, with 14% each. This result is also indicative when it comes to the value orientation of the observed portals. Although there are certain ethical shortcomings, especially in reporting on crime and on women, all analyzed portals promote the importance of human rights, not only when it comes to groups that are traditionally reported affirmatively (people with disabilities), but also when it comes to LGBT+ population, people with mental disorders, refugees and migrants, victims of abuse... The popularity of the topics Cinema / Theater and Music (9%) indicates a great interest in contemporary culture: youth portals publish reports from concerts and film and theater festivals, interviews with actors and musicians, as well as reviews of movies and TV series.

During the observed period, the topic of health (8%) was primarily focused on the pandemic and mental health. A previous survey (KOMMS, 2020) covered the reporting of six youth portals on the Covid-19 pandemic. The conclusion was that, despite some shortcomings, youth media reporting was mostly very professional, proactive

and creative during the first wave of the pandemic: youth media outlets showed „everything that was missing in the work of the mainstream media: linguistic creativity, multimedia content, openness to sensitive groups and genre diversity. In a period marked by a large amount of disinformation, all observed portals published content that opposed pseudo-scientific theories and general infodemia“<sup>13</sup>. A similar conclusion could be drawn after this research: all observed portals encouraged vaccination, respect for prevention measures and trust in science. Such an attitude, especially towards vaccination, is very important, since young people are considered to be the demographic group with the lowest percentage of vaccination in Serbia, and the average age of the vaccinated person - according to the data from July 2021 - was 57<sup>14</sup>. Another positive finding is a large number of articles on mental health: most youth portals published at least one text (in the observed period) emphasizing the importance of maintaining mental hygiene. The openness of media outlets to this topic is very important, because - as the Alternative Report (2021)<sup>15</sup> shows - young people rate their mental health noticeably lower than their physical health (average difference is 10%).

Reporting on science took up 7% of the sample and was mostly dedicated to the successes of young scientists from Serbia, with frequent reference to the gender perspective of the issue. The texts on sports mainly referred to the Olympic Games in Tokyo, but again with a broader context: less was said about specific results, and more about the topics of mental health and economic and media phenomena related to sports.

The topics of politics and economics were equally represented, with 5% each. In this thematic field, a very precise dividing line can be noticed: one group of outlets (led by Zoomer) actively deals with daily political and economic issues, while the other group of media visibly avoids any mention of this topic. Although such a passive attitude towards politics is a legitimate editorial concept, the creation of innovative formats that strengthen the level of political literacy among youth should be encouraged, and in this light the video-series „Da sam ja gradonačelnik“ (If I were mayor), produced and broadcast by Zoomer, stands out.

The topics of Food, History, IT and Travel accounted for 4% each. Food-related content mainly involved recipes, while the topic of Travel mostly covered travel stories. The remaining topics accounted for 3% or less in the overall sample, and some of these less common topics appeared almost exclusively on certain portals. Thus, for example, Noizz paid great attention to astrology, and Vice to crime. In neither case was a clear distancing observed: astrological predictions were taken for granted on Noizz, and criminal activities were portrayed with a degree of romanticization on Vice. Content dedicated to comics and graphic novels on Oradio can be singled out as a positive example of continuous reporting on less represented topics.

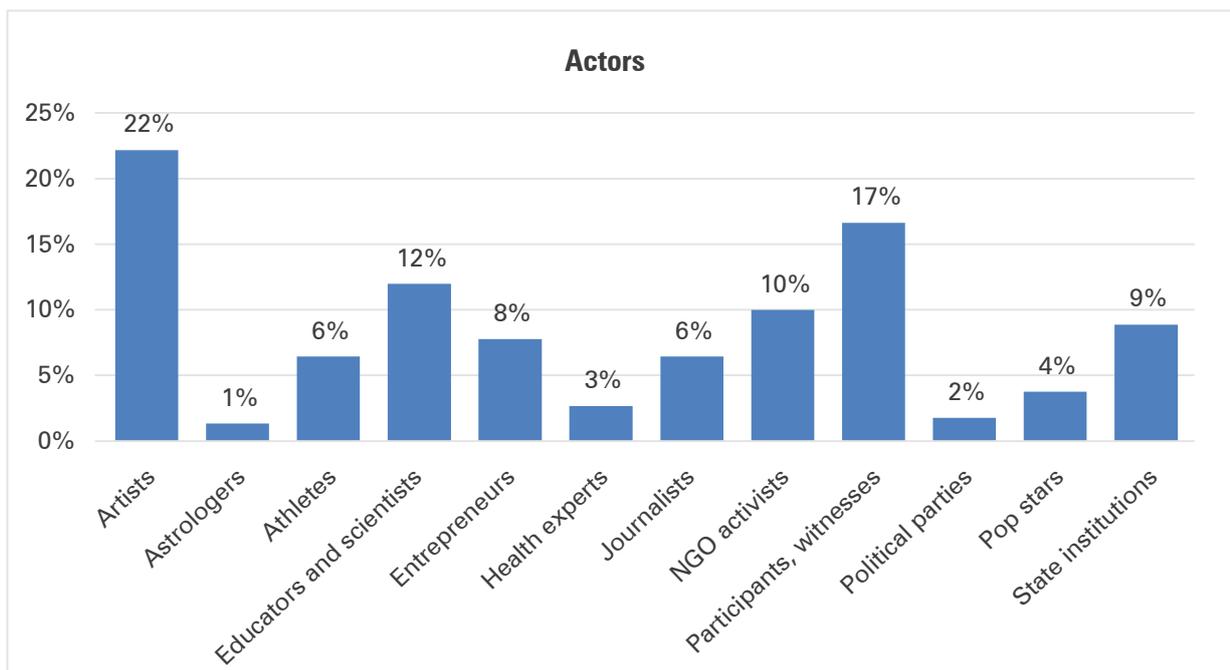
<sup>13</sup> Source: <https://koms.rs/wp-content/uploads/2021/03/Mladi-u-medijskom-ogledalu-2020-FINAL.pdf>

<sup>14</sup> Source: <https://www.cins.rs/broj-vakcinisanih-u-srbiji-gde-se-i-koliko-ljudi-vakcinisalo/>

<sup>15</sup> Source: <https://koms.rs/wp-content/uploads/2021/08/Alternativni-izvestaj-o-polozaju-mladih-2021-4.pdf>

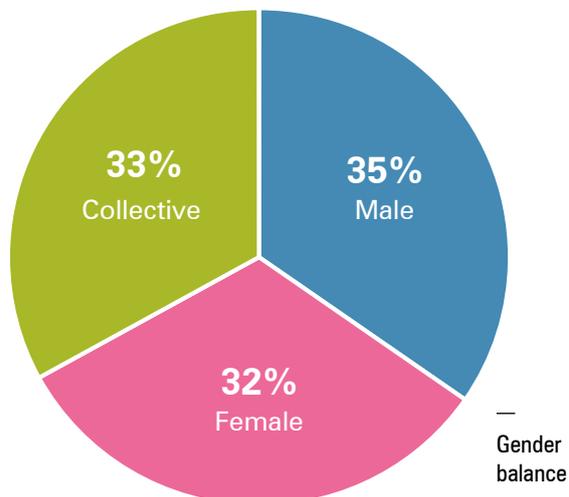
## Actors

For each analyzed content, key actors (witnesses of the event, interlocutors, reviewers, etc.) were selected, who were then classified by using 12 variables: Artists, Astrologers, Athletes, Educators and scientists, Entrepreneurs, Health experts, Journalists, NGO activists, Participants and witnesses, Political parties, Pop stars and State institutions. The results rely on previous findings related to the topics, so artists were the most represented group of actors (22%). However, pop stars, who include both YouTubers and Ticktockers, were rarely reported on (4%). The reasons for such an unexpectedly low representation should be clarified by special research, through a conversation with the editors of youth portals.

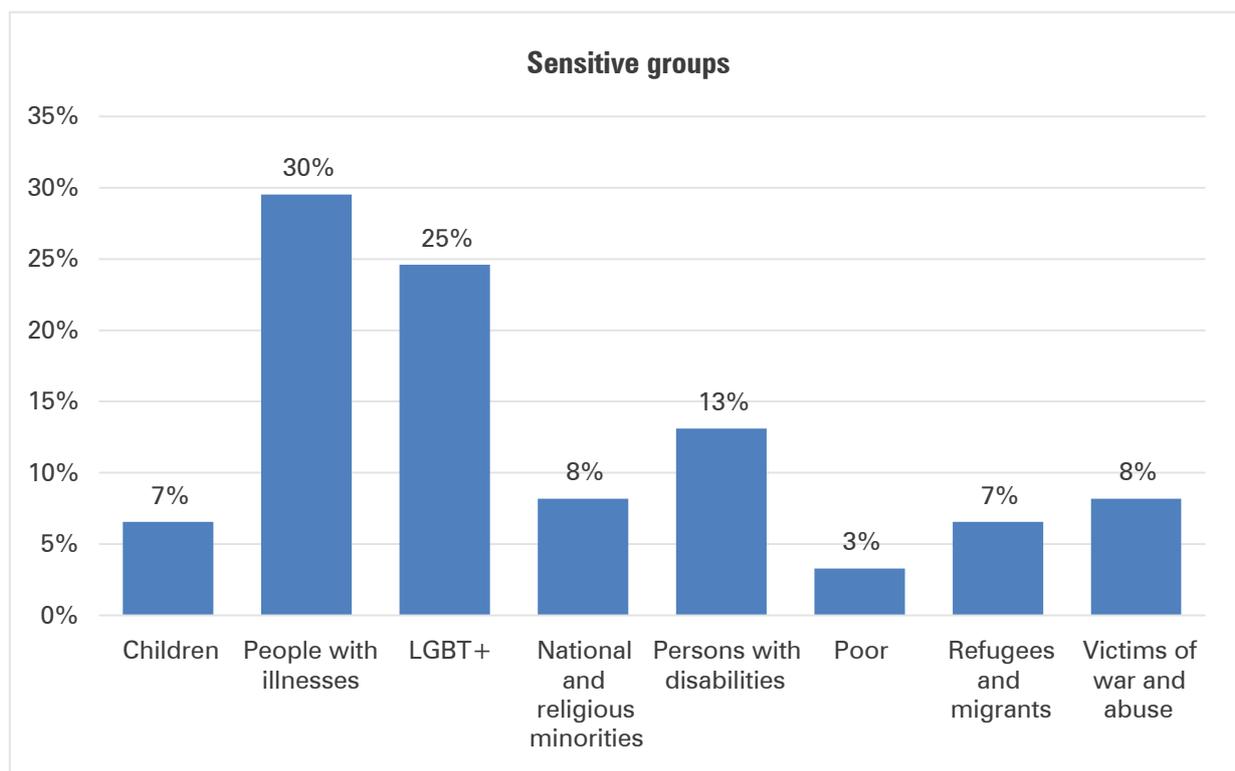


The second most represented group is participants and witnesses of certain events. They get media attention after an unusual experience they had, or because of an interesting life story. This form is mostly used by Vice. The results show that youth portals have good connections with non-governmental organizations, as well as that they cooperate on various projects. Journalists appear as actors in 6% of the cases, mostly when they have the role of a reporter or reviewer.

In order to get a more precise picture of gender balance in reporting, for each actor the gender is recorded – male or female, with an additional variable, “collective entity”, reserved for cases when a certain institution appears as an actor (Government of Serbia, ministry, NGO, sports club...). The results indicate a high level of gender balance, with slight differences among the outlets. Youth Vibes had a perfect gender balance (18M: 18F), while the largest imbalance was observed on Megafon (9M: 3F) and Vice (21M: 8F).



In addition to information on the occupation and gender of each actor, it is also noted whether the actor belongs to a certain vulnerable group. This information was taken into account only when that affiliation was a reason for reporting or when it was clearly indicated in the text. The total sample numbered 451 actors, 61 of them belonging to one of the vulnerable groups.



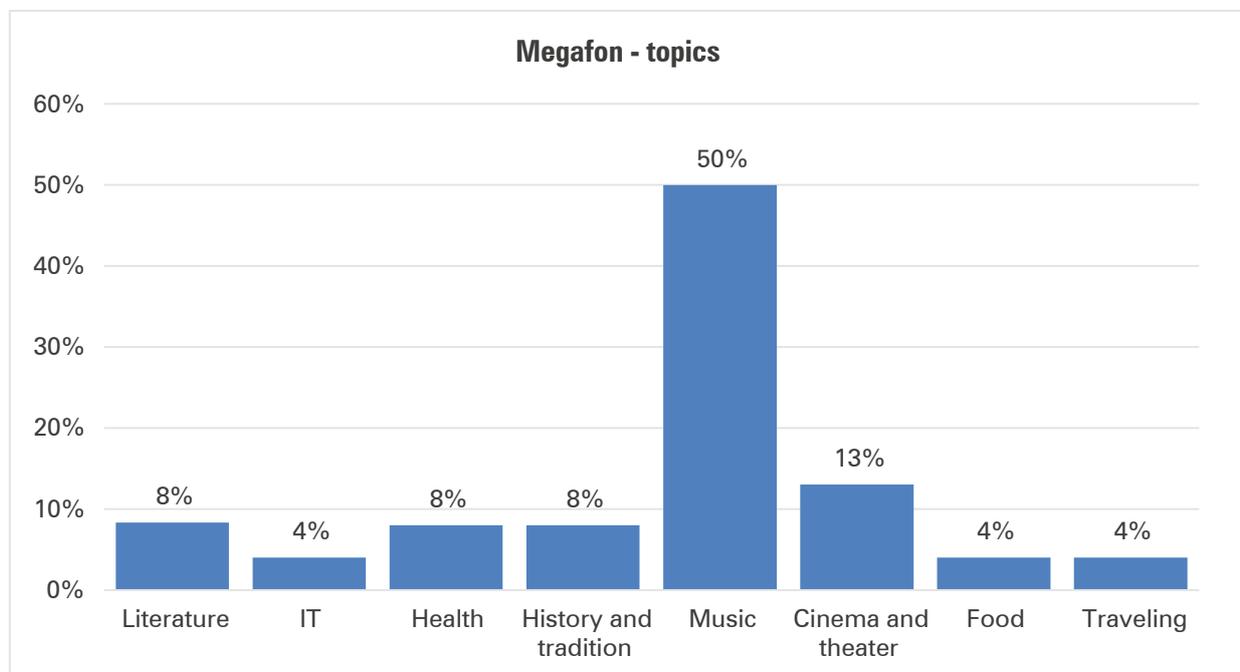
As the chart shows, the most reported vulnerable group are persons with illnesses (30%), while the LGBT+ population appears in a quarter of the content units of vulnerable groups. Sexual minorities are presented affirmatively in these units, without exception: the analyzed portals sharply oppose homophobia and transphobia, without any attempts at “false balancing”, by including toxic “other-side” narratives in the discussion of LGBT rights. A high level of empathy is also shown in articles about refugees and migrants (7%), especially in light of the events in Afghanistan. The narrative of distrust towards the victims of sexual abuse, which has been very common in the mainstream media in Serbia since the beginning of 2021, was not seen on youth portals. Noizz had certain negative elements when reporting on women (esp. celebrities), but when it comes to victims of violence, no unprofessional approach was noticed on any of the portals.

## Youth portals - separate reviews

### Megafon

Address		Editor in chief				
megafon.co		Sonja Urošević				
Editorial Office			Member of the Press Council			
Niš			No			
Alexa ranking (Serbia)			Registered (Serbian Business Registers Agency)			
/			Yes			
Followers	FB	3700	TW	400	IG	1300

Among the observed portals, Megafon showed the lowest level of productivity: only 24 content units were published in three months, and only eight of them were original. Most of the republished content was based on announcements of events, primarily those related to culture. Nevertheless, based on a modest sample of original content, it can be concluded that Megafon has a decent level of human resources and technical capacities. The video “What Niš looked like in 1737” included an interview with Dušan Andrejević, a historian at the Niš Historical Archive. The video is well produced and has fine dynamics, and it also contains subtitles. The article was created as part of the project called “Stories from the Archives”, for which Megafon received the support of the City of Niš. The column “Superego” is also worth mentioning: during the observed period, two texts by psychologist Zoran Bar were published.

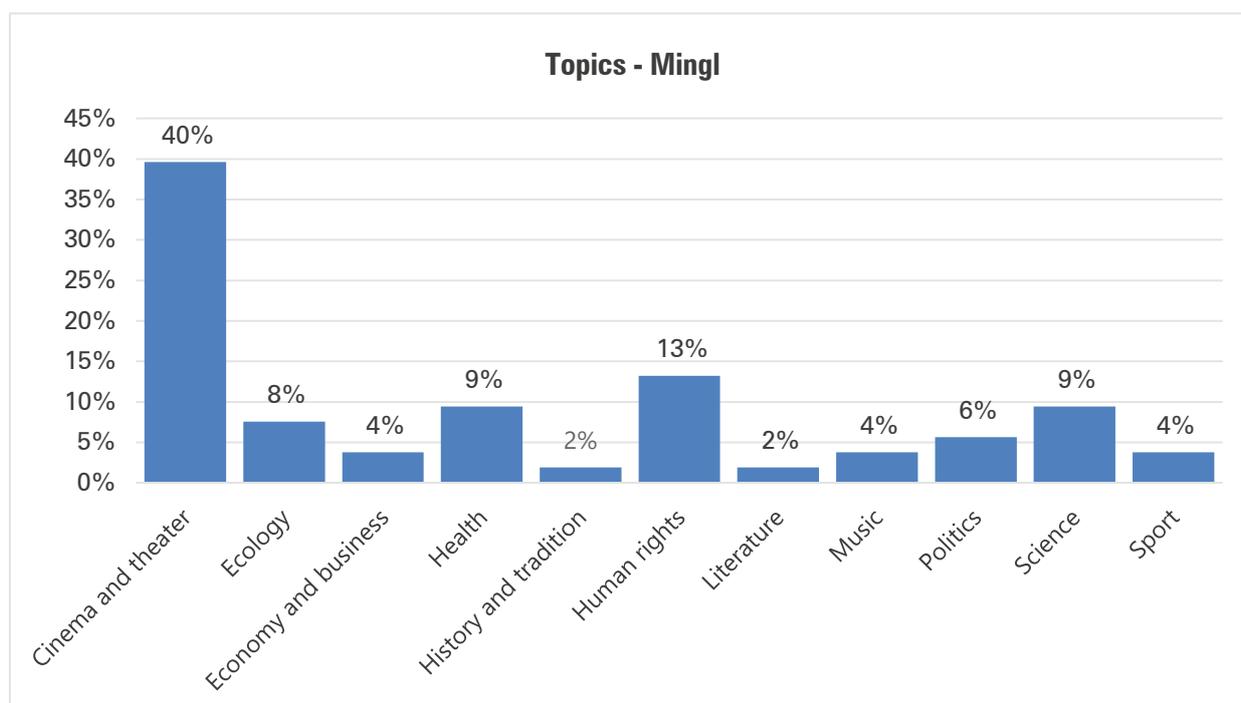


Half of Megafon’s content was related to music, primarily due to the announcements of music events in Niš. On the other hand, no content on politics, economics or human rights was noticed. The headlines were mostly information-oriented, with very rare attempts at announcing the content in a creative way. Three quarters of the actors were artists, and only one text from the entire sample spoke about sensitive social groups – the Roma. Overall, no violations of the Code of Journalists of Serbia were noticed.

## Mingl

Address		Editor in chief	
mingl.rs		Jovana Božičković	
Editorial Office		Member of the Press Council	
Belgrade		Yes	
Alexa ranking (Serbia)		Registered (Serbian Business Registers Agency)	
/		Yes	
Followers	FB	/	TW
			IG
			2,2K

Mingl was launched in 2007 by the non-governmental organization Belgrade Open School (BOŠ). The analyzed sample mostly consisted of long, original articles, without many multimedia elements. Some content units were of a promotional nature, and their goal was to present the activities of the organization that founded the portal. One of the key topics in the observed period was mental health: Mingl reported in a responsible and analytical way on the importance of psychotherapy, on coping with stress at work and the differences between physical and emotional hunger. One of the non-original units was produced by Erste Bank, which can be considered a soft variant of native advertising: the text was mainly dedicated to energy efficient household solutions, but also contained a paragraph dedicated to Erste Bank's green business policy.

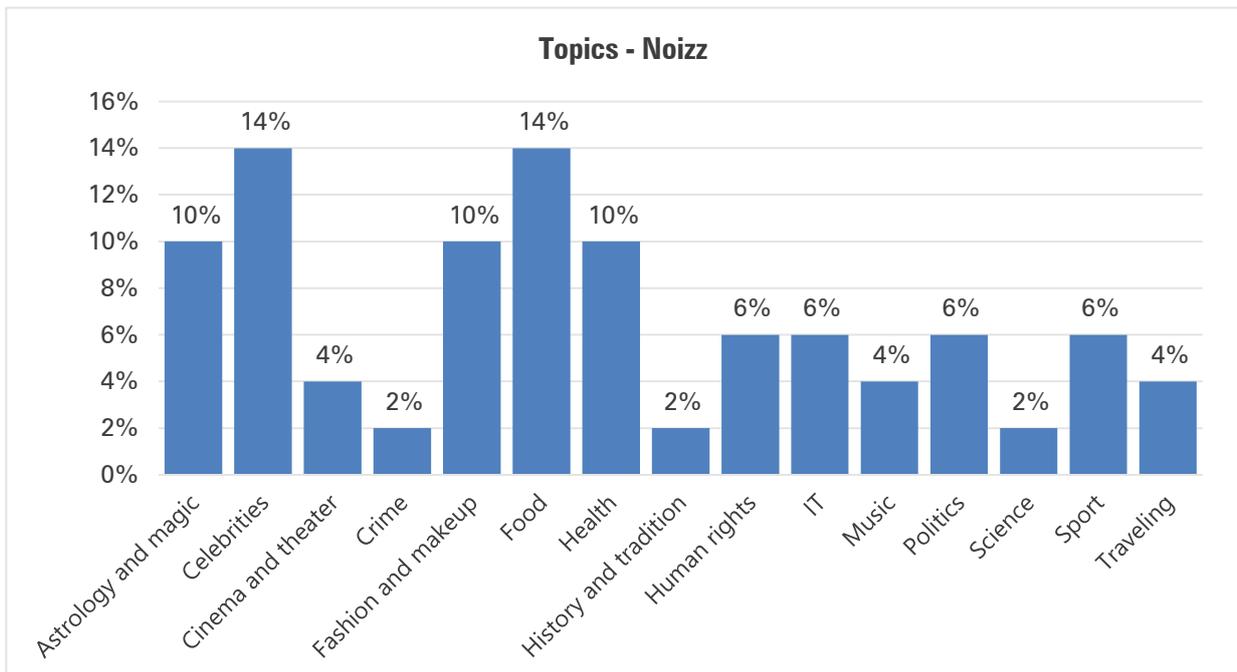


Overall, the portal mostly deals with visual arts. Classic clickbait titles were not noticed, and the ratio between male and female actors was very balanced. In this sample, Mingl devoted several texts to vulnerable groups, primarily people with mental health problems, but also people with disabilities, the LGBT + population and national minorities. No violations of the Code of Journalists of Serbia were noticed. Mingl, however, should consider potential changes in editorial policy, in order to make its content more attractive and compact, since the articles are often extremely long, without proper storytelling or illustration techniques that would retain the attention of younger audiences.

## Noizz

Address		Editor in chief				
noizz.rs		Ana Lađarević				
Editorial Office		Member of the Press Council				
Belgrade		Yes				
Alexa ranking (Serbia)		Registered (Serbian Business Registers Agency)				
#291		No				
Followers	FB	701K	TW	44,9K	IG	24,9K

Noizz is the most active youth media in Serbia: 50 content units, which was the sample limit in this research, were published in less than three days (August 29, 30 and 31). This portal was the only one among the observed outlets that published hatebait headlines. It happened four times, and on all four occasions the targets of such headlines were women (“The host of Central news talked about football and everyone laughed because of the slip she made”). The reporting was very often based on trivial or bizarre content from social networks, usually supplemented with a clickbait headline and accompanying text that did not bring anything new, but only broadly announced or describes embedded content from Twitter, Instagram or Tiktok.

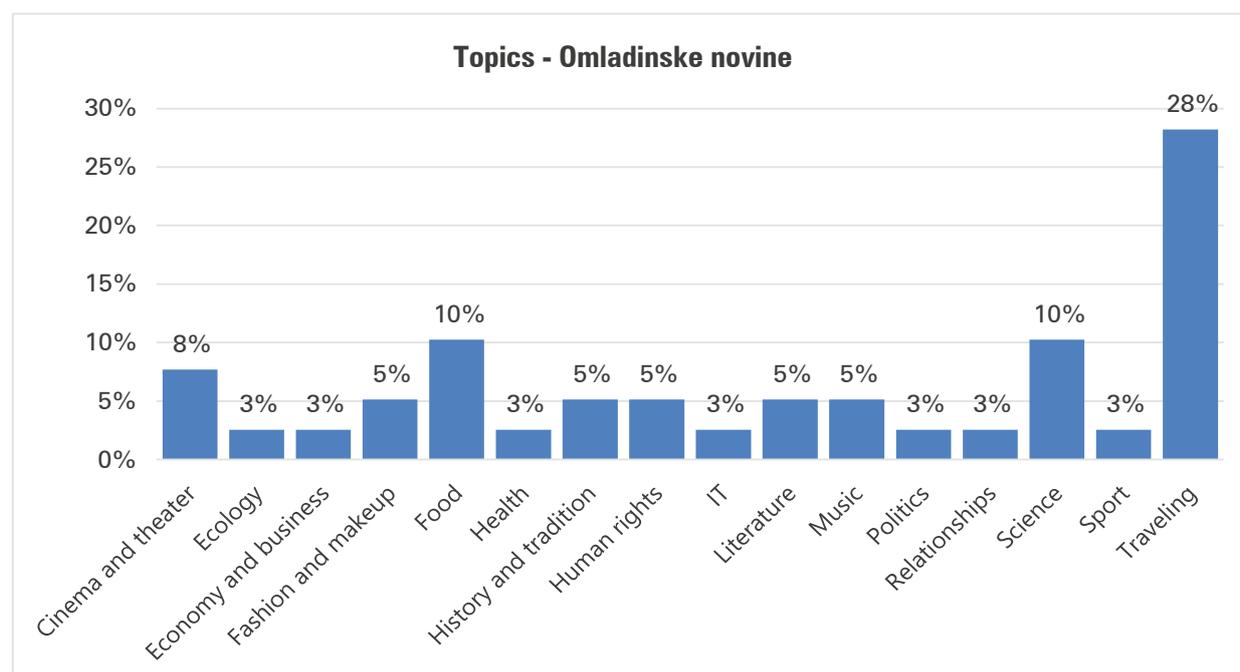


No examples of exceptional journalistic engagement or analytical genres were noticed on Noizz in the observed period, but this result should be discussed without hasty conclusions, because – due to the level of productivity – the sample for this portal covered no more than just two days. Noizz continuously publishes content related to astrology and is therefore unique among youth portals. There have been several examples of native advertising, both direct (text about the Galaxy smartwatch) and soft (“We found a model of a dress that Alexa Chung adores for much less money”). In addition to stories about celebrities, the most common topic was Food (14%), and the Crowdtangle application found that posts about food were shared not just on the official Noizz Facebook page, but also on its specialized Noizz food page. Several content units from the sample contained some kind of violation of the principle of Journalists’ Attention (Code of Journalists of Serbia).

## Omladinske novine

Address		Editor in chief				
omladinskenovine.rs		Sanja Đukić				
Editorial Office		Member of the Press Council				
Novi Sad		No				
Alexa ranking (Serbia)		Registered (Serbian Business Registers Agency)				
/		Yes				
Followers	FB	4300	TW	/	IG	800

The Omladinske novine portal was created as an online version of the “Click Click Boom” newspapers and it is the only youth portal that publishes its content in the Cyrillic alphabet. The share of original content was very high, but the level of engagement in those units was relatively low. The original content was mostly based on interesting facts, anecdotes and recipes which were already available online, with minimal additional editorial effort. However, Omladinske novine nurtures quality interviews, and one of them, dedicated to the organ restoration process, was accompanied by high-quality, original photographs.

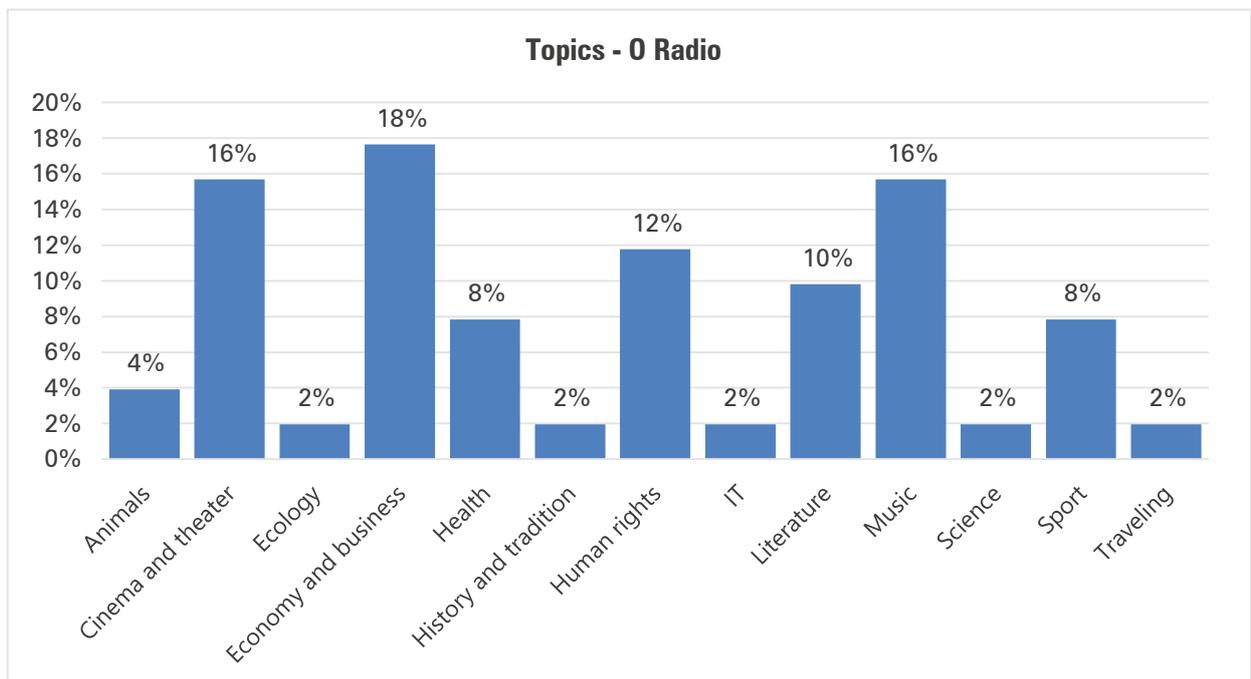


During the observed period, Omladinske novine had interruptions in the continuity of production: while the portal was relatively active in August, no articles were published in June, so the total number of analyzed content units is 36. Such inactivity should be avoided in the future, as it negatively affects the relationship with the audience. The most dominant topic on Omladinske novine was Travel, due to summer travel stories. The headlines were mostly information-oriented, and women were 50% more represented than men as subjects. This is also the only portal where no content devoted to vulnerable social groups was noticed.

## O Radio

Address		Editor in chief				
oradio.rs		Klara Kranjc				
Editorial Office		Member of the Press Council				
Novi Sad		No				
Alexa ranking (Serbia)		Registered (Serbian Business Registers Agency)				
/		Yes				
Followers	FB	10,5K	TW	4200	IG	1800

Oradio was established in 2014 by Radio-Television Vojvodina, a provincial public broadcaster. It is the only one among the observed outlets without non-original, republished content: all 50 analyzed units were produced by the editorial office. Information-oriented and softbait titles were used for the content, without any examples of hatebait or clickbait. Several excellent texts relied on the results of research on the position and needs of youth (KOMIS 2020). The level of ethics in reporting was high, especially when it comes to sensitive topics, such as the employment of people with disabilities or the childhood of transgender persons.

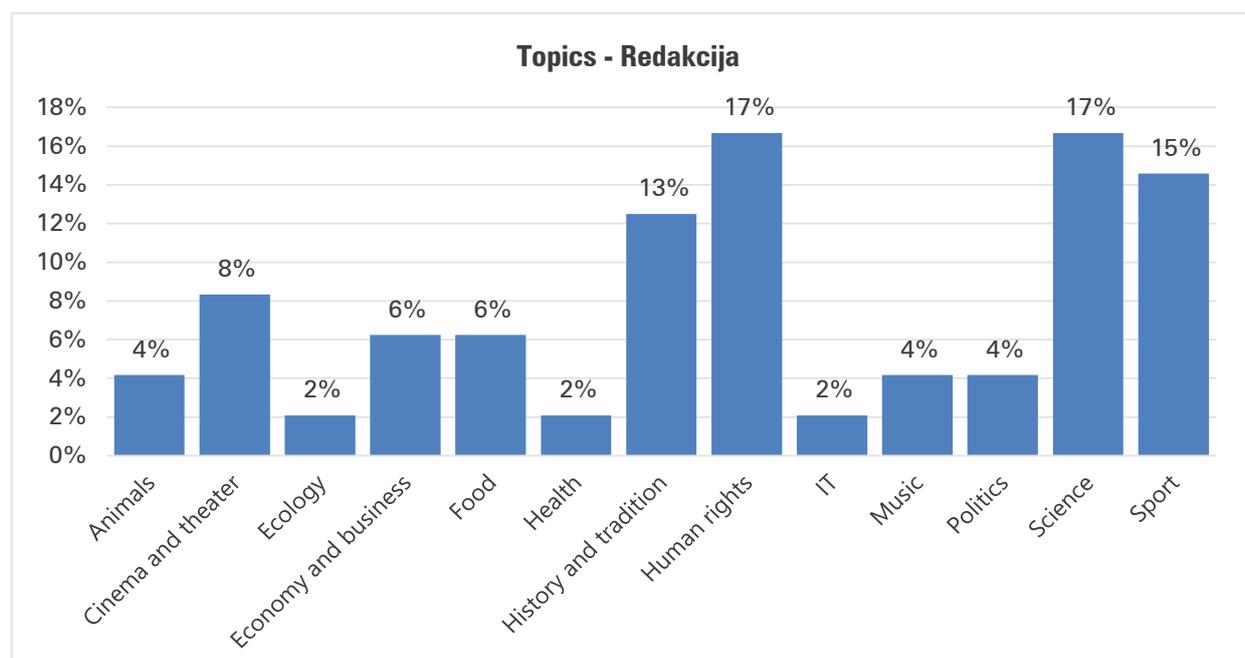


The most common topic at Oradio was the economy and business, with a focus on the problem of youth unemployment and potential solutions in this area. As has already been said, Oradio nurtures the culture of comics, both through texts and through the video podcast "Stripovedač". The most common subjects were artists, and the ratio between male and female subjects was balanced.

## Re(d)akcija

Address		Editor in chief				
redakcija.azbuki.net		/not defined/				
Editorial Office		Member of the Press Council				
Niš		No				
Alexa ranking (Serbia)		Registered (Serbian Business Registers Agency)				
/		No				
Followers	FB	150	TW	/	IG	500

Re(d)akcija does not have an editor-in-chief: the editorial office is run by a team of journalism students from Niš. During the three observed months (June - August), 45 content units were published, with an almost equal number of original and non-original units. Original content was often created by combining different already existing online contents, but the sources were always clearly listed, often by academic standards.

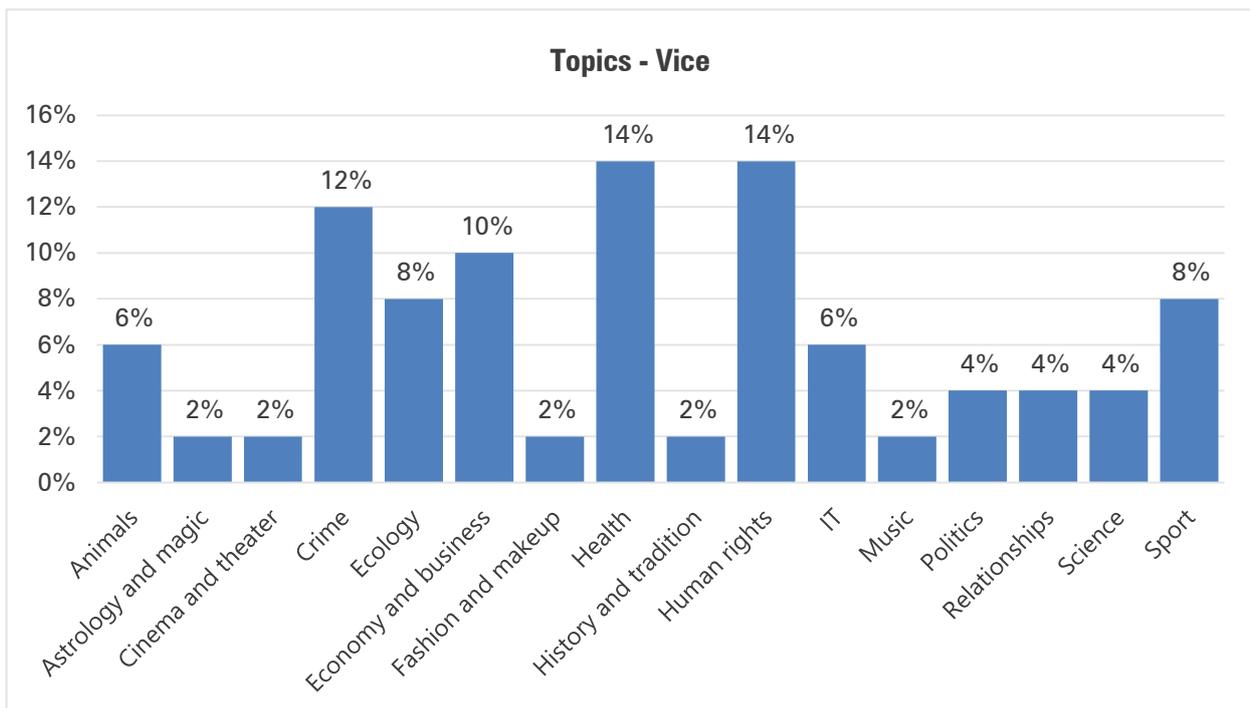


The two most represented topics were human rights and science, with a 17% share each, followed by sports and history. As much as 80% of the titles were information-oriented, and no hatebait or clickbait titles were noticed. The most common actors were scientists and educators (a quarter of the cases), while men were twice as represented as women. No texts were noticed that violated the Code of Journalists of Serbia, but there were also no examples of content in which a higher degree of journalistic engagement was invested.

## Vice

Address		Editor in chief				
vice.com/sr		Daniel Bukumirović				
Editorial Office		Member of the Press Council				
Belgrade		No				
Alexa ranking (Serbia)		Registered (Serbian Business Registers Agency)				
/		No				
Followers	FB	199K	TW	15,4K	IG	31,6K

The Serbian edition of Vice was launched in 2014, and has gained great popularity. The portal publishes content translated from other editions, but also original content in Serbian. The analysis shows that the ratio of these units in the observed period was 9:1 in favor of the translated texts. The original articles were dedicated to different issues: begging, pollution in Bor, photographs by Miloš Stošić, the disintegration of Yugoslavia and weddings in Zanzibar. The article on the dignity of beggars stood out for its approach.

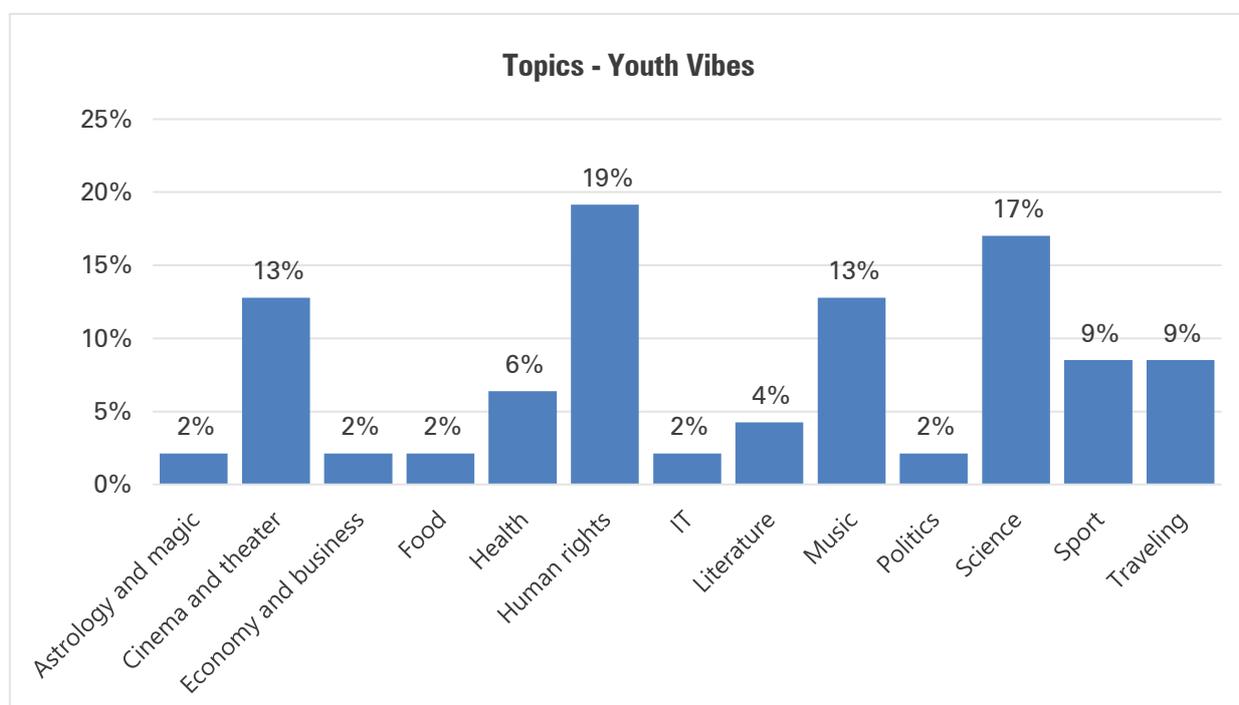


Most of the articles on Vice were related to health-issues and human rights. Previous research (KOMS 2017-19) has shown that Vice should be considered as an outlet that provides a wide space for minority issues and actors that belong to vulnerable groups. This time, texts about the LGBT+ population, refugees and migrants, as well as about beggars were present in the sample. There were 2.5 times more male than female subjects, and the titles were mostly information-oriented. No explicit violations of the Code of Journalists of Serbia were noticed, but a slight romanticization of criminal activities was noticeable in the texts on crime (12% of the sample).

## Youth vibes

Address		Editor in chief				
youthvibes.rs		Anđelija Stanimirović				
Editorial Office		Member of the Press Council				
Niš		No				
Alexa ranking (Serbia)		Registered (Serbian Business Registers Agency)				
/		No				
Followers	FB	850	TW	70	IG	1800

The Youth Vibes portal was launched by a group of youth from Niš. It was further developed with the support of the Deutsche Welle Academy, so today, in addition to journalists based in Niš, it has a wide network of correspondents from other cities. The portal is specific for its high share of original content, a proactive and multimedia approach, and language successfully adapted to the target group. The sample contains exceptional examples of journalistic engagement in the field of sensitive topics, such as revenge pornography, war crimes and sexual abuse. For instance, the text on sexual harassment in Petnica presented the views of several former participants of that school, but there was no room for relativization or distrust: it was stated that all interviewed participants trusted the victims.

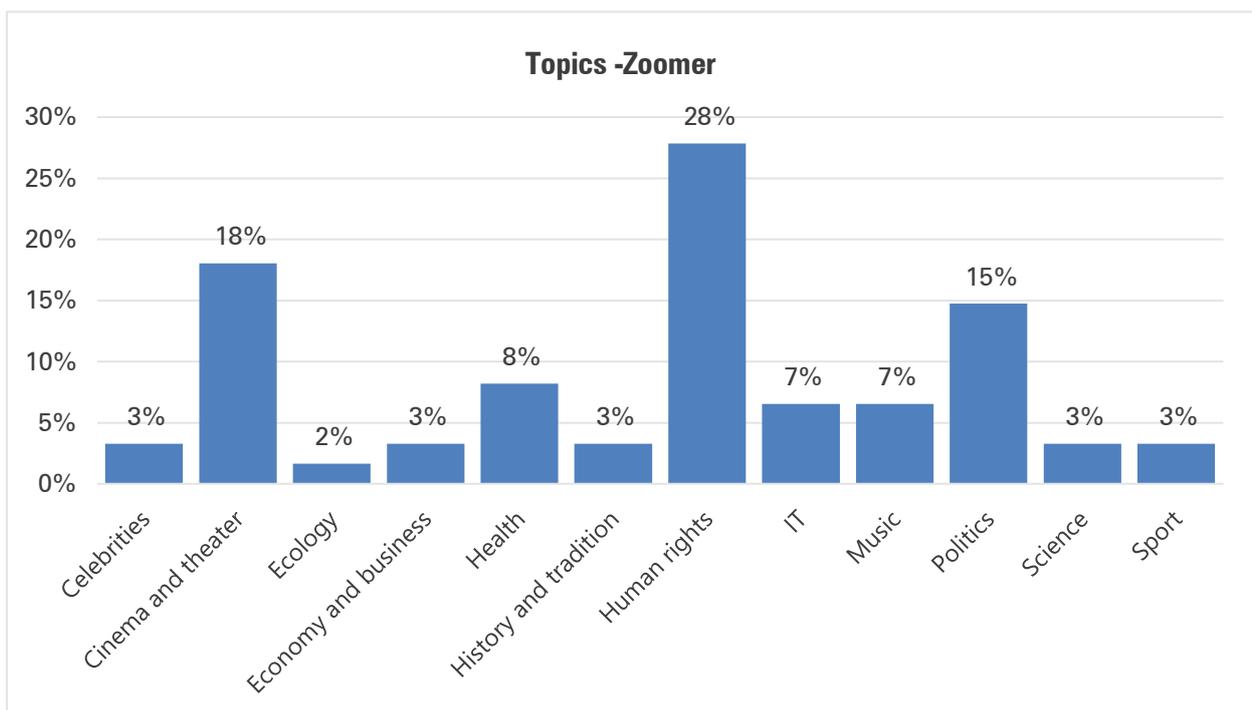


Human rights were the most common topic, which was reflected in the number of articles dedicated to vulnerable groups (persons with illnesses, persons with disabilities, LGBT +, victims of war crimes and sexual abuse). All these topics were reported professionally, with full respect for the Code of Journalists. The ratio of information-based and softbait titles was 60:40, while the ratio of male and female subjects was completely equal.

## Zoomer

Address		Editor in chief				
zoomer.rs		Nemanja Marinović				
Editorial Office		Member of the Press Council				
Belgrade		No				
Alexa ranking (Serbia)		Registered (Serbian Business Registers Agency)				
/		No				
Followers	FB	1.400	TW	400	IG	12K

Zoomer stood out for an exceptional level of multimedia content and did not avoid political topics, which distinguished it from all other analyzed outlets. Although certain technical shortcomings were noticeable, Zoomer successfully produced audio and video formats. The series “If I were the mayor” is the most successful example of Zoomer’s production: young politicians and activists from different cities of Serbia pretend to be the mayors of the cities they come from and answer questions about their plans and beliefs at a staged press conference.



As shown in the chart, the most common topic on Zoomer was human rights (28%), followed by content on the visual arts (18%) and politics (15%). Zoomer showed a special commitment to promoting the theater arts. In addition to the dominant information-oriented and softbait titles, one meta-clickbait title was noticed in the sample (“SHOCK! SCANDAL! Twitter annoyed Informer!”). Compared to other portals, Zoomer showed the most sensitivity regarding vulnerable groups: the position of persons with illnesses and the LGBT+ population was covered in six content units each. No violations of the Code of Journalists of Serbia were noticed.

## Student portals

**Within the mapping process, five websites were identified as student portals, since they are (a) intended for students or (b) initiated by media departments of different faculties, for the needs of practical classes.**

**Magazin Student** (magazinstudent.rs) was created as an online presentation of “Student” magazine, which has existed since 1937. The site is owned by the Belgrade Students’ Union, and is dedicated to student events, as well as topics related to social issues, science and sports. The archive of texts dates back to 2017, and the interface of the portal is very disorganized. Most of the texts do not have any accompanying photos, and some sections have been inactive for years.

**Studentski Dnevni List** (studnel.com) was founded in 2011 by a group of journalism students from the Faculty of Philosophy in Niš, in cooperation with other departments. It is dedicated to student and social issues, as well as culture, sports, entertainment and health. In addition to texts, video content is occasionally published.

**Studentski život** (studentskizivot.com), based in Belgrade, was founded by the CSO Evropski pokret Futuris. It is completely dedicated to student issues (service information, scholarships, competitions), without visible efforts in terms of journalistic engagement. It is, however, a very popular site, which has more than 50,000 followers on Facebook.

**Univerzitetski odjek** (univerzitetskiodjek.com) is a portal launched in 2011 by journalism students from the Faculty of Philosophy in Novi Sad, with the support of the US Embassy. The site deals with student topics, but also publishes content related to culture, human rights and sports. In addition to texts, video and audio formats can also be found on this website

**YouthNow** (youthnow.rs) is a portal registered in 2019, and its founder is EVENT MEDIA GROUP EMG d.o.o. from Belgrade. The portal deals with student topics and the career development of young people, and also publishes texts related to culture, health and sports. The “YN in English” section has also been launched, but it is inactive, judging by the available content.

**Žurnalist** (zurnalist.rs) is a portal created by journalism students from the Faculty of Political Sciences in Belgrade, and was launched in 2011 with the support of the US Embassy. It is largely dedicated to analytical genres, and special attention is paid to interviews.

These student portals are similar in format and structure, but differ in their degree of engagement and proactivity. Portals that were created with the aim of providing space for the training of journalism students (SDL, Univerzitetski odjek, Žurnalist) mostly offer better and more diverse content than portals whose main goal is to provide service information. Such endeavors by the first group of student portals should be strengthened, since they serve as a good space for developing journalistic skills.

## Inactive projects

Some projects intended for youth, which were more or less active in previous years, have meanwhile ceased to exist.

The magazine "**Monopolist**", created in 1997 and edited by students of the Faculty of Economics in Belgrade, was being published free of charge, in e-format, on the platform "Novinarnica". In addition to e-newspapers (its last was published at the end of 2019) there is also a website ([www.monopolist.rs](http://www.monopolist.rs)), where the most recent content was published in December 2020.

The show "**Puls mladih**", which was broadcast as a video podcast on the website of Radio Television Vojvodina, stood out as a show that gathered young journalists from different minority newsrooms in one place, and the content was created simultaneously in several languages. The show was supported by the Deutsche Welle Academy, and the last episode aired in September 2020.

The "**Tramvaj Čačak**" portal was created as an online version of the magazine of the same name, which ceased to exist in 2013. The portal was edited by high school and university students from Čačak, with the intention of covering topics related to youth activism, history, culture and art. The site was owned by the association "Alternativa za Čačak", but it is no longer possible to access it. The last posts on the Facebook page "Tramvaj Čačak" were published in the summer of 2019.

At the beginning of 2019, the "**Vugl**" portal was launched by the weekly "Vreme", with the intention of bringing topics of public interest closer to younger generations. The Vugl was edited by Jovana Gligorijević, and in addition to texts, audio podcasts were also published. The site functioned with fleeting dynamics, and in the summer of 2021, it was impossible to access it.

The online monthly "**Žurnalist**" was started in 2012 by a group of journalism students from the Faculty of Philosophy in Novi Sad, with a large number of associates from other cities and countries. The monthly was produced in the form of e-newspapers, which were available free of charge on the "Novinarnica" platform. The last issue was published in March 2018. This list cannot be considered final, for two reasons: some of the inactive projects have probably been omitted due to the limitations of the mapping process, and there is also a possibility that some of the listed inactive projects will be revived.

## Youth Podcasts

Through the mapping process, which included a review of the **Podcast.rs** network, as well as desk analysis and focus groups with young people, a total of 16 youth podcasts was identified. The list includes audio podcasts that deal with topics of importance to young people, or podcasts whose hosts are young persons.

The first group of podcasts, which are directly dedicated to youth topics, consists of six formats. The podcast **"Dobar biznis daleko se čuje"** was launched by the Association for the Affirmation of Culture with the idea of motivating young entrepreneurs. Topics are related to social entrepreneurship, entrepreneurship in culture, innovations in entrepreneurship and the like. The podcast **"Glasom mladih"** was launched by Radio Free Europe, trying to connect young people from the region in half-hour shows and provide them with space for discussion on topics such as unemployment, seasonal work, student vaccination, military service, participation in elections ... The podcast **"Mladost"** is one of the two audio podcasts produced by the Zoomer portal. It contains interviews with successful and interesting young people. **"Multiradio Hajlajter"** was launched in order to cover topics of importance to youth once a week. Judging by the available material, the project is in the initial phase. **"Pančevox"** is the only local youth podcast that has been mapped by desk analysis. Although it is generally dedicated to young people from Pančevo, it also covers topics of a more general nature, mostly related to cultural issues. Finally, the podcast **"Podmladina"** was created in the belief that "only by including young people in the discourse on public issues, can we find solutions that will really help everyone." Like "Multiradio Hajlajter", "Podmladina" is still in the development phase.

The second group consists of podcasts that are run by young people, but are not exclusively dedicated to youth issues. Some of these podcasts deal with a wider range of topics – these are **"Edit"**, produced by Zoomer (economy, science, human rights), **"Reaguj"** of the Independent Association of Journalists of Vojvodina (politics, economy, science, media, human rights), **"Neobavezno"** (psychology, aesthetics, human rights) and the channel **"Ivan Kosogor"** (popular psychology, life coaching, training, nutrition), while others are thematically precisely defined. The **"Linčova šiška"** podcast is dedicated to the art of film, and the **"Podkast digitalnog omladinskog centra"** to literature. Topics related to cultural issues are also in the focus of the podcast **"Žiška"**. Two podcasts (**"Tetke"** and **"PicPod"**) deal with LGBT+ topics, while **"The Polinet"**, which was initiated by three young people from Serbia and Bosnia and Herzegovina, deals with international relations (in English).

These podcasts differ in technical capacity, continuity and innovation, but prove that with small investments it is possible to create space for storytelling and discussion, which is especially important in the field of topics of public importance and human rights issues. The structure of the podcast as a genre is a counterbalance to the leading tendencies in the field of media content, which require compactness and brevity. There is no precise systematic data on the popularity of youth podcasts, but it is certainly a format that will only develop and gain popularity.

# Youtube channels

## General analysis

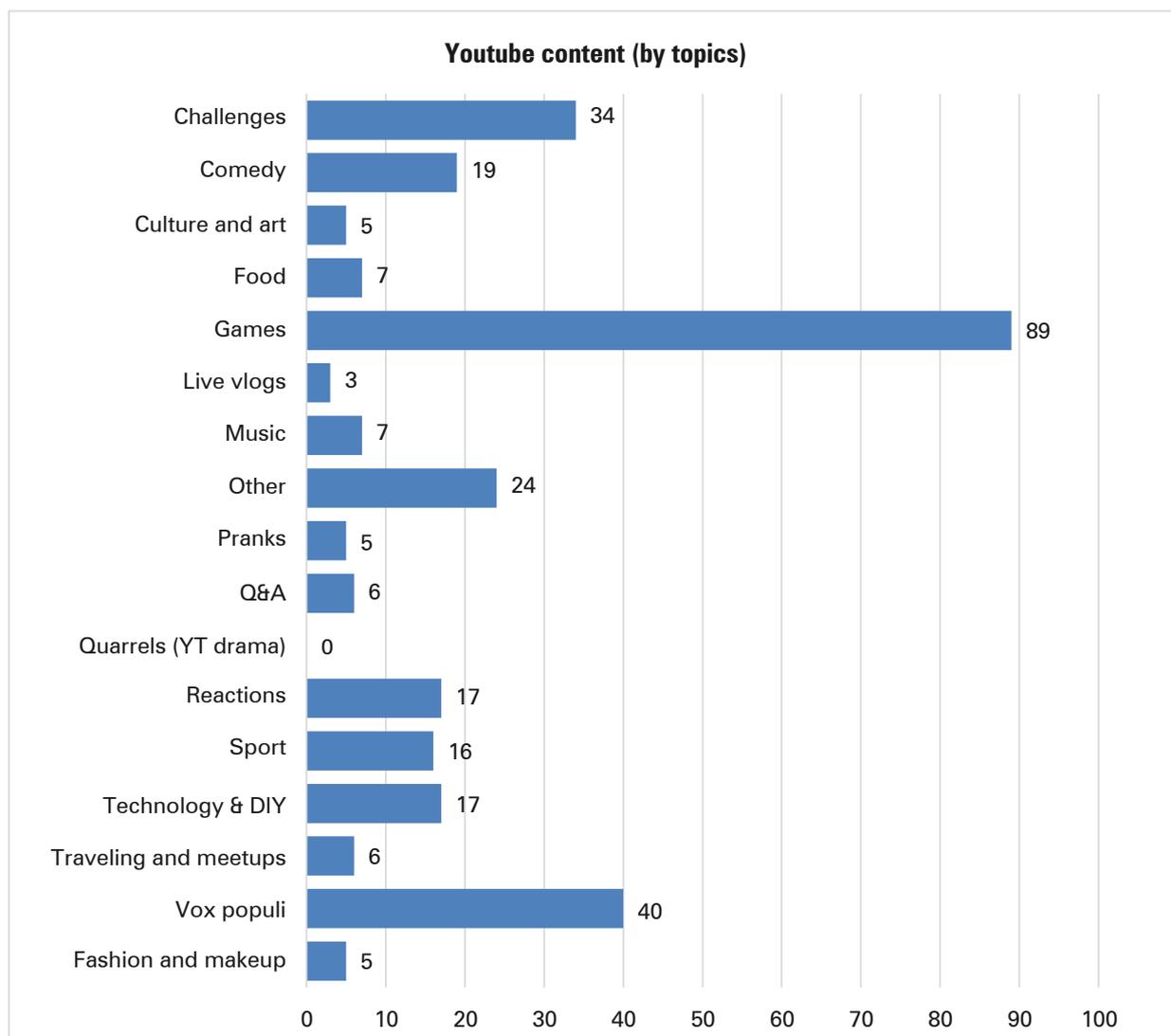
This segment of the research is an attempt to analyze the trends on the YouTube scene in Serbia with an emphasis on ethics in the production of content, by using a qualitative and quantitative method. 50 channels from Serbia with the largest number of followers (according to the ranking list of the *Social blade* platform<sup>16</sup> on July 1, 2021) were analyzed. Music channels and channels of TV stations are not taken into account, nor channels with cartoons and films.

For each of the 50 channels, the six most recent videos were analyzed (as of July 31, 2021), plus up to two affirmative and up to two negative (unethical) videos among the last 50 posts. The basic six videos from each channel (a total sample of 300 units) were classified into 17 thematic categories. The obtained results indicate key trends on the YouTube scene in Serbia and can be a good basis for further discussion and research on these popular formats and their impact on youth.

Among the 17 topics that were expected, one was not noticed at all: quarrels among YouTubers, or so-called "dramas". The research of the Novi Sad School of Journalism from 2020<sup>17</sup> included a case study of "rant" between Bogdan Ilić (Baka Prase) and Kristina Đurić (Kika), i.e. a series of 13 extremely popular videos and accompanying comments, which largely included sexist insults and calls for cyber violence. To understand the context in which „YouTube dramas“ are formed, it is important to underline that they do not take place only within clips, but are present (1) on other social networks, primarily Instagram and Tiktok, (2) in the comments sections on YouTube, where fans of one YouTuber insult the rival side, (3) in the section for the rating of the video, where mass "negative campaigns" (dislikes) are happening, (4) in the mainstream media, which often use such situations to portray all Youtubers as violent, (5) in the real life of Youtubers, since online insults and violence can very easily be reflected in reality. Although no YouTube "dramas" were observed in the initial sample of this research, an expanded analysis (up to 50 videos from each channel) revealed a "drama" between YouTuber Baka Prasa and Kimi regarding a Roma boy from Belgrade. Within this "drama", both authors relied on a series of unethical practices.

<sup>16</sup> The complete list can be found here: <https://socialblade.com/youtube/top/country/rs>. It should be underlined that the Social Blade list for Serbia ranks only those channels which indicated Serbia as the country of origin. If the channel owner hid this information, that channel is not included in the ranking list. Even though the list of analyzed channels does not fully reflect the 50 truly most popular channels from Serbia, it can be estimated that the deviations are not too significant.

<sup>17</sup> Source: <https://novinarska-skola.org.rs/sr/publication/govor-mrznje-na-portalima-i-drustvenim-mrezama-u-srbiji/>



The most common topic of the 300 observed units on 50 channels are video games, which make up almost a third of the total sample. The categories vox populi (13%) and challenges (11%) are also very popular, followed by comic content, reactions to other people's content, clips dedicated to technology and sports.

### Analysis of the 50 most popular channels

The key findings for each of the 50 channels will be presented in this section, with a focus on the level of ethics in content creation. It should be underlined that the limited sample affected the obtained image of the work of a certain YouTuber. Based on the sampled material, it will be indicated whether the units contained certain indecent content, according to the simplified YouTube classification<sup>18</sup>:

- A - Inappropriate language
- B - Violence
- C - Adult content
- D - Harmful or dangerous acts
- E - Hateful & derogatory content

<sup>18</sup> Source: <https://support.google.com/youtube/answer/6162278?hl=en>

N	Nickname	Subscribers	Violations				
1	<b>Baka Prase</b>	1.96M	A	B	C	D	E

In the video he recorded with his father (an orthodox priest) and his girlfriend, Baka Prase addresses them in an insulting way, while in the video with his friend Choda, he drives his car and behaves irresponsibly in traffic. In the description of the latter described video, the author invites his followers to like his content, and promises to post a nude picture of his girlfriend if he gets 5,000 likes. "I have changed, I have found a woman, I am madly in love. However, I am more in love with the number of views", he says in the same video. In a video titled "I HAVE NO MONEY TO REPAIR A FERRARI AFTER A COLLISION! \* I'm selling a Rolex \*" Baka Prase boasts of his fortune again. Within the extended analysis, other examples of inappropriate content were noticed. In his reactions to music videos of young performers Voyage and Breskvica, Baka Prase makes insulting comments, including sexist discourse. Through a rant with YouTuber Kimi, Baka Prase made several videos in which he abused the vulnerable position of a Roma boy from Belgrade. Four videos in which Baka Prase accuses Kimi of abusing the boy for his own popularity received 2.5 million views. Among the videos that could be described as positive, there are, again, elements of promoting Baka's wealth: in one clip, he gives his brother a car worth 30,000 euros (the price is stated in the title of the clip), and in another he gives YouTuber Nugat 1,500 euros.

2	<b>Muđa</b>	1.91M	A	B	C	D	E
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Five of the six videos from this channel were related to games. In the first observed clip, the only one that was not based on gaming, Muđa founded a football team that lost 7: 0 in the tournament. No particularly positive or particularly negative content was observed in the remaining clips.

3	<b>Dex Rock</b>	1.65M	A	B	C	D	E
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The DexRock channel is based on reactions to different types of online content. No insults or obscene vocabulary were recorded: the author mostly shows unusual things / events around the world, sets riddles and solves quizzes he finds on the Internet. The goal is to educate / entertain, and only he appears in the videos.

4	<b>Braco Gajić</b>	1.47M	A	B	C	D	E
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Six videos from this channel that have been analyzed contain experiments and challenges, with Braco, his mother, his friend and girlfriend as participants. Within the additional analysis, one affirmative and one negative video were noticed. In the first, sponsored video, Braco Gajić gives away an iPhone in the "Match Master" competition, while in the second video, with comic content, he shows models of pranking teachers, without a clear message that such a thing should not be done.

5	<b>Imperator FX</b>	1.39M	A	B	C	D	E
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The channel is primarily dedicated to video games and does not contain any specific affirmative or negative elements. Lately, the author has started recording content that is not focused on games, such as “10 funniest WOULD YOU RATHER questions”.

6	<b>SerbianGamesBL</b>	1.25M	A	B	C	D	E
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The channel is primarily dedicated to video games and does not contain any specific affirmative or negative elements. During the monitoring period (August 2021), the channel was inactive for five months. A review of the last 50 videos did not reveal any highly affirmative or negative content.

7	<b>Janko</b>	1.18M	A	B	C	D	E
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The “Janko” channel is specific for its unethical content. Four of the six initially observed videos contained aggressive and violent behavior, as well as profanity. In the video “This is why I wasn’t here”, a self-harm activity is noticed, as well as forcing the girl to participate in the video, although she runs away from the camera. Janko is rude and vulgar as he communicates with her. He also shows aggressive behavior in the video “I’m selling other people’s houses”, where he invades someone’s property and puts up a sign that the house is for sale, without permission. The video is set as a prank, but it is rude and aggressive: one man drives Janko off his property, but the Youtuber does not give up. In one of the videos, Janko cuts the hair of passersby on the street without permission. It is impossible to reliably conclude whether such pranks are fake, but regardless of the background, they could be assessed as unethical and disturbing. In the video “I invited a whore to an apartment to read me a book!” Janko humiliates a girl who is presented as a prostitute, while in the video “I teach a monkey to drive a car!” he walks a monkey on a leash through the city and abuses him. Among the last 50 videos, two have some sort of positive connotation: in one, Janko buys clothes, food and drinks for a 6-year-old Roma boy, and a similar format is repeated in the video where Janko buys for a random child in the street “everything he wants”. Although the context of these two videos is generally positive, the ethics of filming minors without parental permission is questionable, especially when it comes to a child who is presented as poor.

8	<b>DJOTAFREESTYLE</b>	1.13M	A	B	C	D	E
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This channel is primarily dedicated to sports. On rare occasions when he carries out pranks, Đota is not rude or violent. In one of the videos, Đota gives away his old car to one of his followers, while in the other he talks about his problems with alopecia. This video can be assessed as affirmative and empowering, since the author himself claims that it takes courage to talk about this topic, which is - as he says - “painful for a lot of men”.

9	<b>Stuberi</b>	1.11M	A	B	C	D	E
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Stuberi is a typical example of a family friendly channel, where various challenges, experiments and vlogs are made without any signs of violence or profanity. The channel shows an extremely caring attitude towards animals and nature in general: in one of the videos Stuberi say that “more than 2 billion tons of garbage is collected in the world every year, which is enough to fill 800,000 Olympic pools”, which led them to check how clean and tidy their city (Subotica) is.

10	<b>Čoda</b>	1.06M	A	B	C	D	E
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The observed content on the channel is mainly based on pranks and challenges, which are accompanied by clickbait titles. In one such video, Čoda pays a bill to people he has previously deliberately quarrelled with. In the video "Smash or pass - Balkans Tiktokers", Čoda comments on the girls from Tiktok and visits their Instagram profiles to evaluate their looks. The video is extremely sexist and vulgar. However, some affirmative formats are also noticed: in the last video from 2020, Čoda, dressed as Santa Claus, pays the bills of people (a total of 50,000 dinars),. At the same time, he respects pandemic measures – he wears a mask and keeps his distance from the other participants. In a similar video, which is probably sponsored, Čoda takes three children to the store and buys them everything they can grab as long as none of these things fall out on the way to the cash register.

11	<b>Kimi's Life</b>	939K	A	B	C	D	E
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Among the six initially analyzed videos, the one entitled "I read hate comments" stands out, where he responds to comments regarding the news that he spilled water from his pool on the sidewalk in front of the building. Additional analysis revealed several negative videos, primarily regarding the aforementioned rant that Kimi had with Baka Prase. Four videos on this topic on Kimi's channel received nearly 2.9 million views. That content can be assessed as negative, considering that both Youtubers revealed a number of sensitive, personal information about a Roma boy from Belgrade. There is also positive content on "Kimi's life". In that sense, the video "Your mental health" stands out. It was created after Kimi found a comment on his channel, written by a boy who complained that he had been depressed for a long time, which was why he lost his girlfriend and friends, so now he had no one to talk to about his problems. Kimi states that he felt the need to respond to that comment because he was aware of "how much the public scene builds a false image of a brilliant life, but also how much such an image can affect an ordinary person." Addressing the author of the comment, Kimi says: "I don't want you to feel that way. This is a reminder for you and for everyone who feels similarly, that not everything is as it is shown (as it is presented on social networks), everyone has their own internal struggle."

12	<b>Andjela&amp;Nadja</b>	939K	A	B	C	D	E
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The channel is primarily dedicated to girls: the videos are about healthy eating, going to the gynecologist, relationships with parents and sexuality. There is no obscene vocabulary or offensive content.

13	<b>Full Burazeri</b>	848K	A	B	C	D	E
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The channel was very inactive in the observed period. All the analyzed content units are related to games and additional analysis did not reveal any specific affirmative or inappropriate content.

14	<b>Andrija Jo</b>	819K	A	B	C	D	E
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Among the six initially analyzed videos, the one in which the author answers the questions of his followers stands out. When asked about his first sexual experience, Andrija Jo does not give a direct answer, but tells his followers that they should not feel pressure regarding this topic: "Don't feel pressure that you have to do something

because most of your peers did it before you, so you are now 'late'. Whenever you think it's the right time, it's the right time." When asked if he would be in a relationship with a person who is not of the Orthodox faith, his response was positive: "Of course I would be. I don't divide people that way: if I like someone as a person, nothing else really matters to me." The channel can be described as family friendly: no negative or offensive content was noticed.

15	<b>MECA</b>	810K	A	B	C	D	E
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This channel consists of skits, mostly humorous, lasting up to three minutes. Some of the content units have a socially responsible scenario: one video tells the story of a boy who got a bad grade in school, so his classmates made fun of him. However, they did not know that the boy was taking care of his sick mother and that was why he was not able to study. After the boy's story is revealed, the children apologize and offer help. The acting in these clips is modest, and the content is very often banal and pathetic, which does not exclude the possibility of a positive influence on the audience.

16	<b>Iggy Plejer</b>	785K	A	B	C	D	E
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The channel is dedicated exclusively to video games and does not contain any specific affirmative or negative content.

17	<b>Lea Stanković</b>	768K	A	B	C	D	E
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In the vlog in which she records preparations for the celebration of her mother's birthday, Lea Stanković gives advice to girls regarding make-up, with a special focus on girls who have problems with their skin: "Believe me, 99% of people don't notice it at all the way you do. We all analyze ourselves too much". She also looks back at the numerous toxic comments on Instagram and Tiktok and advises girls not to get upset about such comments. Other analyzed videos on this channel do not have specific positive or negative elements.

18	<b>Kika</b>	698K	A	B	C	D	E
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During the analysis period, the "Kika" channel was inactive for four months. The content units are mostly related to games, one of the exceptions being the video "Testing Mother's English" in which Kika tells her mother to translate several sentences into English which, due to the word game, have a funny or vulgar meaning in Serbian. In one of the videos, she explains how she earned a gift for her mother - a dishwasher - through streaming games. Within the expanded sample of 50 videos, there was also the above-mentioned rant with Baka Prase, which contains profanity and sensitive topics.

19	<b>Yasserstain</b>	633K	A	B	C	D	E
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Yasserstain is fully set up as an affirmative, family friendly channel. In the video that the author recorded with his girlfriend, he told his audience that in a relationship one should not idealize a partner, that one should not be afraid of breaking up and getting out of a bad relationship. There is also a video about cyber violence in which three

young people talk about their negative experiences with cyberbullying: “Unfortunately, that is a real danger. /.../ The Internet is not just a scary bedtime story, it is something that really affects us all. It is very difficult for anyone who consumes the Internet to get over it (*over violence*) if you do not have years, years, years of experience and until you learn how to exclude such people.”

20	<b>Dnevnjak</b>	627K	A	B	C	D	E
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The channel has been inactive for a long time. It was dedicated to humorous content that was often politically incorrect. In one of the videos, the Dnevnjak team made fun of violence against women in a vulgar way, while nationalist remarks and vulgar vocabulary were also present. The video “Floods” contains implicit criticism of the ruling party, and the video “How much is your outfit worth” is a parody of popular YouTube content. Although there are videos with correctly directed criticism (critique of pseudoscience and flat earth theory, critique of insufficient environmental awareness in Serbia), there are also those in which the LGBT population is shown in a negative way or those in which gambling is promoted.

21	<b>Nixa Zizu</b>	606K	A	B	C	D	E
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Nixa Zizu is recognized as a Youtuber with frequent sexist statements, but also as a Youtuber who promotes online frauds. In 2019 he invited his audience to invest money in the “Magic Unbox” platform, knowing that it is a fake game of chance and that they could not win any prize. The videos analyzed in this research are mostly related to technology and reviews. In one of the videos that could be rated as affirmative Nixa Zizu tells how he saved the life of an elderly man who got sick in the bathroom. Also, in another of the analyzed videos, Nixa Zizu talks about his struggle with depression. He advises people with suicidal thoughts to find things that make them happy and bring them pleasure and to do them for a time, and then, after a while, they will „realize that they actually no longer feel the need to commit suicide“. Although the intention behind this video is positive, it is questionable whether someone who is not an expert in the field of psychology should give that kind of advice and analysis. Negative examples of the video include the diss track on YouTuber Janko, as well as the justification of aggression in the video “Why did I beat the hater?”.

22	<b>Simi</b>	606K	A	B	C	D	E
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The Simi channel contains rude vocabulary and encourages illegal behavior in traffic. Affirmative videos were also recorded on the channel: Simi sells his belongings and then distributes his money to the poor; he helps a poor man by buying him various things; he takes a Roma boy for a haircut, buys him clothes and food. As in the previously mentioned cases of a similar format, the sincerity of the intention is questionable here: in the video in which he helps a Roma boy, Simi invites his followers to give him 35,000 likes: if they do so, he will help the same boy once a month.

23	<b>SON3</b>	549K	A	B	C	D	E
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The channel is dedicated exclusively to games. No specific positive or negative content was recorded.

24	<b>Sanee</b>	493K	A	B	C	D	E
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The channel is dedicated exclusively to games, usually to streamings that last for more than 90 minutes. No extremely positive or extremely negative content was noticed.

25	<b>MilosHD</b>	479K	A	B	C	D	E
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The channel is mostly dedicated to games and sports, and the content is sponsored. In the six initially analyzed videos, MilosHD spoke about sports, cars and games, promoting a healthy life, emphasizing that he is not a real coach or expert, but just someone who wants to show others how he managed to make so much progress after a car accident he had. It was impossible to conduct a wider analysis (50 units), because the author deleted more than 400 videos from the channel, since - as he says - they were not family friendly and because he was pretending to be "something he wasn't": "I'm not saying for myself that I'm bad or anything, but I'm just not that guy I used to play. I just want to show you my true face now. I want you to meet me, to see how I feel - I don't want to start each video with fake hype. "

26	<b>SupremeNexus</b>	465K	A	B	C	D	E
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The channel is dedicated exclusively to games. No specific positive or negative content was recorded.

27	<b>Goldenito</b>	463K	A	B	C	D	E
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No specific affirmative or negative content was noticed within the initial analysis and such units were recorded only by an expanded analysis. Positive examples include a video in which the author expresses his readiness to help the lesser-known YouTuber Kele to fix his dental problem, as well as a video in which he warns his followers about the harmfulness of the excessive consumption of energy drinks, after his younger brother ended up in hospital. On the other hand, the video "I hit a seat in the middle of the video", promotes irresponsible behavior in traffic, such as driving a car without a driver's license.

28	<b>MAGIČNIVIDEO</b>	445K	A	B	C	D	E
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The six initially analyzed videos are dedicated to games and streaming. An extended analysis revealed a video in which Magični Video talks about a teenager who allegedly stalked him for years, followed him around the city, wrote to him on Instagram, Facebook and via e-mail, and then committed suicide. In connection with this case, the author tells his followers that they should not have Youtube idols: "Don't have idols. There is a thin line and these are the nuances between the fan and the lunatic, the spy. Whatever problem you have, tell someone. Whether it's a psychological problem, emotional, anything - it's not a shame to seek help." In one of the videos, Magic Video talks about how he once picked up a transgender hitchhiker. Although he emphasized that he has nothing against the LGBT+ population, the way he spoke about the trans woman (trying to give the whole story a humorous character) is offensive.

29	<b>Brkic Nadja</b>	430K	A	B	C	D	E
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The content on this channel is family friendly: the author announces her music projects and poses various challenges, but without any offensive content.

30	<b>Cone</b>	430K	A	B	C	D	E
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The content of this channel is mostly based on reactions to other people's videos. Cone does this in a socially responsible spirit, criticizing negative phenomena such as gossip, stalking public figures, manipulative alteration of photos. In addition, Cone points out that the audience should not imitate influencers, but rather should look for role models in public figures like Novak Đokovic. In additionally analyzed positive examples, Cone urges his followers to be careful in traffic, as well as to leave bowls of water in front of buildings so that stray dogs and cats do not go thirsty.

31	<b>Marija Žeželj</b>	413K	A	B	C	D	E
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The author is a model and her content is mostly dedicated to fashion, make-up and training. However, units of a different character were also noticed: those in which she recommends books, speaks about a healthy diet and records details from her life in New York. In one of the videos, Marija gives financial advice to young people in their twenties, saying that she is not an expert on the issue, but she wants, based on her experience, to share tricks for saving and investing money in the right direction.

32	<b>Totemia</b>	406K	A	B	C	D	E
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The channel was inactive for months during the monitoring period. Five of the last six videos were reactions to other people's content. The author comments on reality shows such as „Brak na nevideno” and „DNK”. In one such video, Totemia shows footage of a guy who is extremely obese. Her first comments were positive, but after that she changed her narrative and started insulting the guy, calling him a “fat pig” and saying that he obviously can't take care of himself. On the other hand, there are examples in which Totemia shows empathy and understanding towards members of vulnerable groups (Roma, LGBT +).

33	<b>G-Bros</b>	394K	A	B	C	D	E
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The channel is mostly dedicated to games or reactions to light content from the Internet, such as “5 minute crafts”, and the videos are often sponsored. No particularly affirmative or negative content was noticed.

34	<b>Vesic</b>	369K	A	B	C	D	E
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The channel is outstandingly affirmative and completely family friendly. The author is an electrician, and his videos are mostly dedicated to tips for home appliance repairs and reviews of different gadgets. The content is educational and motivating, since it may serve as an online place where youth can acquire knowledge and skills.

35	<b>zZzOBRA</b>	364K	A	B	C	D	E
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The channel is dedicated exclusively to games. No specific positive or negative content was recorded.

36	<b>Rajke</b>	362K	A	B	C	D	E
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The channel is based on challenges and comic content, in which offensive, sexist and politically incorrect discourse is often present. In one of the videos, Rajke donates money to one of his followers, but leads him to fulfill various challenges, some of which are humiliating. In the video "Crazy in OMETV 18+!" Rajke insults Youtuber Muđa, but also girls in general. The video was accompanied by nationalist comments. In the video "Urke f\*cks a girl! 18+" the author releases an alleged porn movie of Youtuber Urke, insulting him and his girlfriend. A similar narrative is noticed in the clip in which he talks about his first sexual experience.

37	<b>Idzo</b>	352K	A	B	C	D	E
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This channel is mostly related to sports - the author either comments on sports events or sports memes or plays sports games. Among the last 50 videos, only one is not dedicated to sports. In that video, Idzo talked about his ear cosmetic surgery, which he had because of his problem with self-confidence. His videos are sponsored in many cases.

38	<b>TheStelaj</b>	322K	A	B	C	D	E
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Almost every video on this channel is set up as a short film, comical or socially responsible. There is no particularly negative content on the channel.

39	<b>Sara Stankovic</b>	319K	A	B	C	D	E
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No content observed on the channel could be assessed as negative or offensive. Sara gives advice to her followers related to self-confidence: she says that she often doubts herself and her qualities, but that it is normal and that it usually passes after a short time. In one of the videos, she negatively comments on the mentality of people from the Balkans, condemning the fact that they are not ready to accept differences and that they lightly condemn others. In the video "Suicide challenge", Sara criticizes the challenge that appeared on Tiktok, which, according to her, more and more children are trying to perform. Sara warns her followers that such challenges should not be accepted, but she also talks about how parents do not pay enough attention to the content that their children watch online. Also, Sara states that no social network has made so many "sick, threatening challenges" as has TikTok..

40	<b>TheTricky10</b>	305K	A	B	C	D	E
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The channel is dedicated to sports, mostly basketball: the author records his games, talks to sport legends (Boban Marjanović, Miloš Teodosić, Stefan Birčević) and gives advice to his followers who play sports. In the video "Very important", the author talks about suicide prevention, after the suicide of a young basketball player. In the video "Why I never played basketball professionally", Tricky10 talks about the shortcomings of making comparisons with others, but also about the misconception that money brings happiness: "Money is not a measure of success. Trust me. And remember that. Because you will learn it through life. /.../ My heart told me what to do and where to go". No negative videos were noticed.

41	<b>Cale official</b>	288K	A	B	C	D	E
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The videos on the Cale official channel are mostly comical. There is a parody of everyday life situations, through which attention is occasionally drawn to problematic relationships in modern society, for example to poor communication between people due to the excessive use of mobile phones. No obscene content was noticed.

42	<b>Milica Kanic</b>	282K	A	B	C	D	E
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The Milica Kanic channel is based on family friendly content. The author records most of the videos with her younger brother and sister, with occasional pranks and challenges that do not contain violent or vulgar elements.

43	<b>Ozbiljne teme</b>	282K	A	B	C	D	E
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The "Ozbiljne teme" channel is dedicated to educational content, primarily in the field of the social sciences (history and political geography). The author talks in a humorous way about "serious topics", in the form of a short lecture or by solving various quizzes on the Internet. This Youtuber encourages learning about other countries and cultures: "But, Igor, you ask me, why would I know that? They haven't heard of my country, let alone Belgrade or Pčinja? But we have to know that, because we are educated, interested, because the shortcomings of others are not excuses for us to be ignorant". None of the videos contains negative statements about other states or nations: the author approaches each of the topics with respect. No negative elements were noticed on this channel.

44	<b>Va Vana</b>	271K	A	B	C	D	E
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Among the six initially analyzed videos there were vlogs about Va Vana's pet and Instagram, but also a video called "talk with Mom / abortion, LGBT, pregnancy before 18 ..". In this video, Va Vana talks to her mother about "taboo topics". When asked what she thinks about gays, her mother answers: "I don't make a difference. I see people as good or bad. And I'm not interested in anyone's religion, nationality, sexual orientation, education, whatever. That's it. I don't like public appearances, like Pride and so on." The mother then says that she would support the rights of same-sex communities to adopt children, but also that she wouldn't support abortion. In the

video "Q&A | boyfriend, weight loss, motivation, college, back to yt ..." Va Vana promotes irresponsible behavior related to covid-19 measures, saying that she wears a mask only so that she can enter the shopping mall: „No one wears a mask to be protected, because it's a piece of cloth, it can't do literally anything to protect us. That's how I see it."

45	<b>Cofi</b>	267K	A	B	C	D	E
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The channel is dedicated exclusively to games. No specific positive or negative content was recorded.

46	<b>KovalskA</b>	257K	A	B	C	D	E
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New content is rarely published on the KovalskA channel. The analyzed videos were focused on games and IT reviews. In the video entitled "Will I change the car, negativity in people, apartment renovation" Kovalska talks about how she noticed that people have changed, that they are much more negative in all spheres of life: in traffic, on the Internet, in the store, on Youtube, where „previously 80% of the comments were positive, and now this has turned in favor of negative comments". No particularly positive or particularly negative content was noticed on the channel.

47	<b>Ruža Rupić</b>	248K	A	B	C	D	E
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The Ruža Rupić channel is dedicated to lifestyle, make-up, clothes and music, most often in vlog form. The author also posts recordings of her show "Impressive with RR", where she interviews famous young people. Extended analysis did not show any videos that could be singled out in a positive or negative light.

48	<b>Stuber family</b>	248K	A	B	C	D	E
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The channel is run by the same team who has the "Stuberi" channel: it is primarily dedicated to games and sometimes to IT topics. There is no content that is specifically positive or negative.

49	<b>NikolaDZ</b>	228K	A	B	C	D	E
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The channel is dedicated exclusively to games and was inactive for four months during the monitoring period. No specific positive or negative content was recorded.

50	<b>KUKURUZNA TREŠNJA</b>	225K	A	B	C	D	E
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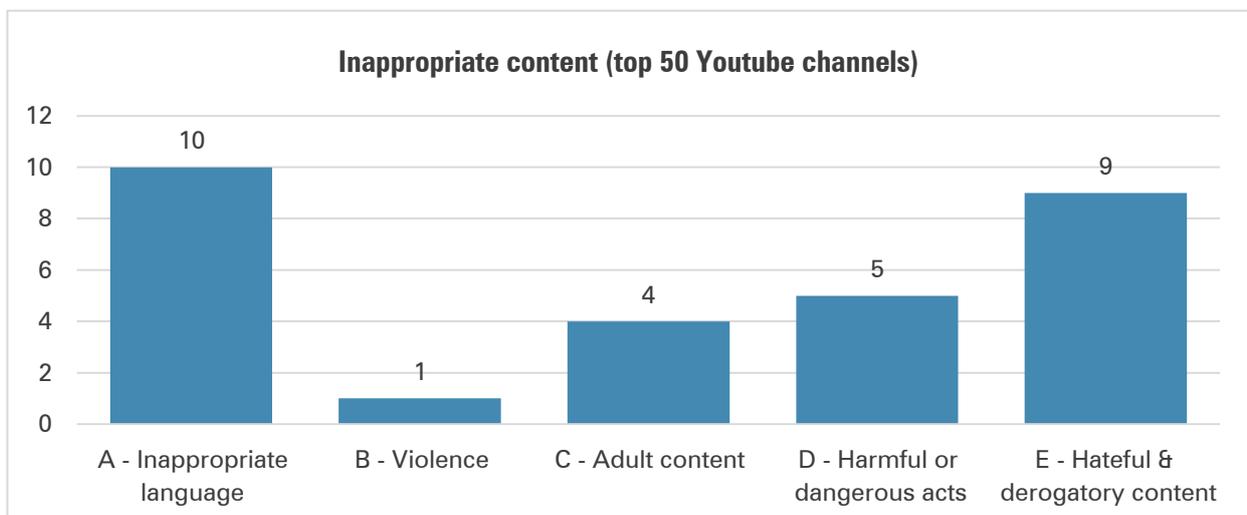
All six initially analyzed videos are dedicated to food, mostly through the challenges that the author performs in his kitchen: he prepares a homemade version of fast food and compares the quality and price. The extended analysis, which included 50 videos, shows no specific positive or negative content.

## Ethical framework

YouTube has very strict guidelines<sup>19</sup> regarding content creation, and non-compliance with these guidelines can result in reduced channel visibility, blocking content monetization, suspension, and even deleting the channel. In addition to respecting copyright, authors are expected to refrain from the following activities:

1. Spam & deceptive practices (fake engagement, impersonation, spam, scams and deceptive practices)
2. Publishing of sensitive content (nudity and sexual content, suicide and self-injury, vulgar language)
3. Violent or dangerous content (harassment and cyberbullying, harmful or dangerous content, hate speech, violent criminal organizations)
4. Sale of illegal or regulated goods or services policies (alcohol, bank account passwords, controlled narcotics and other drugs, explosives, organs, firearms and certain firearms accessories, sex or escort services etc).
5. Misinformation.

It has been noticed, however, that some of the prohibited content can be found in the analyzed video clips. A total of 29 violations were observed on 50 channels, among which the most common was inappropriate language, which was used in 1/5 channels.



There is no reliable data on how many administrators / moderators are employed by Youtube in our language area. Also, it is not possible to check whether authors who violate community standards, and who are – at least when it comes to the 50 most popular channels – a visible, vocal minority, bear certain consequences due to their actions (suspension, suspension of monetization, reduced visibility, etc.). However, the analysis shows that companies choose to sponsor family-friendly content rather than content that is extremely popular (with millions of reviews) but violent or vulgar, and this could be assessed as a good stimulus for creators who respect ethical standards.

<sup>19</sup> Source: <https://creatoracademy.youtube.com/page/lesson/copyright-guidelines#strategies-zippy-link-4>

# TikTok

The sample for the analysis of Tiktok videos was determined by combining data on the popularity of Tiktok channels available on platforms such as the InBeat tool. In that way, a list of 40 channels with the largest number of followers was determined, while another 10 channels were included in the analysis following the focus groups with youth from Serbia: five positive and five negative channels were pointed out by participants. The 20 most recent videos from each of these 50 channels were analyzed, so the total sample consists of 1,000 content units.

It should be underlined that the scope of content analysis on this network is very limited, as the platform provides very little metadata, and does not allow simple operations such as sorting videos by number of views. Consequently, the conducted analysis is primarily qualitative: for each of the 50 channels, key topics will be listed, as well as possible positive and negative findings.

## Tiktok content overview - 40 most popular channels

N	CHANNEL	FOLLOWERS	LIKES	REMARKS
1	mimiermakeup	8.3M	334M	The channel is dedicated to make-up, and the content is in English.
2	barbiafrika	3.3M	83M	The description of the account states that Barbiafrika is the first Tiktoker from Serbia. The channel is mainly based on comic content. Sponsored content: ice cream.
3	saratkd7_	2.2M	32M	The channel is mainly focused on sports, and 6/20 of the analyzed units contain some kind of advertisement. Sponsored content: betting, energy drink, cosmetics, pizzeria.
4	ukiqukiq	1.2M	126M	In most videos, the author does lip synching.
5	sergejpajicc	997K	103M	18/20 units are related to music, i.e. lip synching.
6	vukaleksandra	788K	53M	The channel is focused on humorous content and advertisements. Sponsored content: supermarket, school equipment store, mobile phone equipment store.
7	bojancee	753K	67M	The videos are mostly humorous, and the topics are related to everyday life (mother-son relationship, married couple relationship).
8	vicostein	710K	29M	The channel is mostly based on comic content, without profanity or aggression. Sponsored content: restaurant.

9	bondisimo	708K	33M	Bondisimo's videos are based on acting and the author alternately plays a father (šćale) and a son. The author continuously uses jargon, but without profanity.
10	sandipego	659K	48M	The channel is run by a married couple, and the content is based on comic situations and pranks. Sponsored content: jewelry store, mobile phone, energy drink.
11	arsaovde	648K	49M	The author shoots humorous videos, often in the company of his girlfriend. No inappropriate content was detected.
12	annalazarevic	632K	11M	The channel is mostly dedicated to music, and contains a large number of commercials. Sponsored content: iced tea, school equipment store, pet store.
13	osamrastadevet	611K	38M	The content is mostly comical, with no negative elements. Sponsored content: shoe store.
14	belma.bucaj	603K	27M	19/20 units contain lip syncing.
15	lamon.leonardo	599K	44M	The channel is based on humorous and educational content. For example, Leonardo answers the question of what would happen if the Earth ran out of oxygen for five seconds.
16	ismael_iso	592K	29M	The channel mostly features skits and jokes, which are sometimes rude, but are not directed against any sensitive group.
17	elena.stojcevski	592K	42M	In one of the videos, Elena explains how influencers should behave, saying that one of the basic characteristics should be "positive impact on the environment", primarily in the field of ecology. She invites her followers to participate in charity actions.
18	wajwai	573K	44M	The channel is humorous. Other Tiktokers often appear as guests in the videos. A milder form of profanity was noticed.
19	maalavestica	564K	32M	Most of the observed content concerns important topics: the author initiates a conversation about life choices, cyber violence, the role of influencers, bulimia and anorexia, as well as sexual violence.
20	nikola.adamovic	558K	19M	The channel is humorous. No negative elements were noticed.
21	mirsad.kadic	556K	30M	The channel is mostly humorous, dedicated to family relationships. Sponsored content: electronic cigarettes, chocolates, fashion house.
22	andrijajo	550K	16M	The channel is dedicated to music and skits, without any negative elements. Sponsored content: iced tea, mobile phone.

23	dariomarcac	543K	30M	9/20 videos are dedicated to sports. In the observed period, the author started a 60-day challenge in order to get in shape, but also to motivate his followers to do sports. Sponsored content: clothing sales site, IT company, tea.
24	alexandarm	537K	27M	Most of the content is designed as a reaction to someone else's content, with occasional curiosity-videos.
25	nikolinaa.ly	534K	17M	9/20 videos were promotional, and the rest of the content mostly contains lip syncing. Sponsored content: shopping mall.
26	stefan_jankovic	530K	14M	The content is based on jokes and skits and is very violent; the author swears, hits things around, punches a hole in the door. Sponsored content: mobile phone.
27	tararistic4	522K	8M	The channel mainly contains pranks the author does with her family members. As a result, there are quarrels between the father and daughter that contain inappropriate language.
28	lastankovic	461K	18M	The channel consists of vlogs about everyday life, with a series of videos about cooking.
29	xstojak	457K	22M	Several thematic categories are represented: pranks in public, lip syncing, skits and jokes (dark humor). Participants of the focus group pointed out that xstojak releases inappropriate content, but such content was not present in the analyzed sample.
30	ivantokic_official	448K	17M	The channel is mainly based on promotional content, skits and pranks. Sponsored content: playroom.
31	branko.jovanovic	441K	14M	Most of the videos are pranks and skits, made in collaboration with other influencers (Gastoz, Bondisimo, Sergej Pajić, xStojak, Sanja Vučić, Barbie Africa). Two videos were labeled "sensitive content." Sponsored content: ice cream.
32	rafthechild	441K	23M	The channel mainly consists of skits. No inappropriate content was detected.
33	habiibi.12	439K	2M	The author primarily advertises her erotic content, which she charges through the OnlyFans platform. The videos are comical and vulgar.
34	skrimex_	438K	12M	The channel is based on imitations, skits and lip syncing.
35	twinsfilvaki	434K	4M	The channel is run by twin brothers, and most of the content is dedicated to lip syncing.
36	ancicka	430K	17M	The channel offers innovative entertaining content, with pranks and skits that do not contain elements of profanity.

37	edin.cufurovic	429K	18M	Most of the content is about curiosities and life hacks. Edin started a series in which he calls his fans to a video chat, and then pays them money on Paypal if they manage to make him laugh.
38	milovanstijovic	429K	8M	The author most often addresses the audience through storytime - he talks about different situations from his life, about going to the therapist, about education and friendship.
39	zivicmarta	420K	14M	The channel is mostly dedicated to music and cooking. Sponsored content: meat industry, mobile phone.
40	anjatkd	418K	17M	The channel is based on pranks and playback music performances. Sponsored content: online sale of bed linen.

## Positive content

As part of the focus group, conducted within this research, participants singled out five affirmative Tiktok channels which were not among the TOP 40 in popularity: **anjatkd**, **babyg988**, **ssladdiic**, **alexisplastic** and **drcosmicray**. For each of them, as in the previous cases, the last 20 videos were analyzed.

The **anjatkd** channel has 39,000 followers and 711,000 likes. It is led by a doctor of astrophysics. She uses her channel to answer followers' questions related to science. Some of the questions are: How does gravity affect helium? If gravity can affect light, does that mean that gravity is faster than light? What does the birth of a black hole look like? How exactly do you "break" the sound barrier? What would happen if a black hole swallowed another? How does the North Star help us in orientation? The channel is also dedicated to countering pseudoscience.

The **astro.alex** channel has 160,000 followers and 4.5 million likes. It is similar to the previous one: it is run by a young woman who has a degree in astrophysics. In the observed sample, she answered the following questions posed by her followers: Why don't we send a camera to the black hole to see what it looks like? Why is Pluto not a planet? How did they put out the fire in the Gulf of Mexico? The author also shows an experiment, and in one of them she explains the process of osmosis using the example of gummy candies.

The **babyg988** channel has 174,000 followers and 13 million likes. The approach to the topics is socially responsible, and the content concerns media literacy, the fight against misinformation, body shaming and hate speech.

The **ssladdiic** channel has 31,000 followers and 574,000 likes. It is run by a 16-year-old girl who is of Roma origin and lives in a foster family. Ssladdiic seeks to counter stereotypes about Roma and strengthen a culture of dialogue and understanding. In the observed period, the author also spoke affirmatively about the LGBT + population.

The **alexisplastic** channel has 1,960 followers and 44,000 likes. It is run by a drag queen who promotes the rights of the LGBT+ population, including free online conversation with a psychologist, provided by the CSO „Da se zna“. In one video, Alexisplastic explains that LGB teenagers are 4 times more likely to commit suicide than their straight peers, and trans teenagers as much as 6 times more likely to commit suicide. He points out that this is because they do not have the support of family members and friends.

## Negative content

Focus group participants singled out five Tiktok channels with negative content, which were not among the TOP 40 in popularity. Again, the 20 most recent videos from each channel were analyzed. The exception is the **stekiii1** account, which has been deleted. According to media reports, this channel, among other things, broadcast a video where a group of young men “attacked migrants, pushed them and shouted at them, but also smashed cars that were alleged hiding places for migrants”<sup>20</sup>.

Channel **aleksandarstt** has 14,600 followers and 328K likes. Although one participant of the focus group singled it out for its sexist content, no such content was noticed among the 20 videos observed. The author records comic clips and skits, describing himself as a “hick from Leskovac”. The findings are similar for the channel **marko.filipovic87**, which two participants described as extremely sexist. No inappropriate content was noted: the author most often shows members of his family, as well as footage from his sister’s wedding.

The **macamegazvezda** channel has 131,000 followers and 1.8 million likes. It is led by Maca Diskrecija, who primarily uses her Tiktok account to promote her erotic content on the Onlyfans platform. She is half-naked in every video, and addresses the audience with vulgar messages, exclusively related to sex. In one of the videos, she points out that “it is better to masturbate on camera 24 hours a day for good money than to have a rich husband who is just 17cm”.

Finally, the **ludibratt** channel has 384,000 followers and 10 million likes, and it is specific for violent challenges and aggressive pranks. A large number of mainstream media wrote about Ludibratt, after videos in which he disturbs a street cleaner and a giraffe in the Belgrade Zoo. The analyzed clips include violent challenges: stealing hats from random people on the street, stealing a backpack from a store, kissing a random girl on the street, pouring juice on someone’s head, eating a cactus, drinking another boy’s saliva and the like. In one clip, he was filmed jumping on a pile of stacked toilet paper packages in the store and tearing it down. The author tries to gain positive publicity through various charity actions: he donates money to a man in a wheelchair, and buys sweets for two Roma boys. Of the 20 videos observed, 19 could be described as negative, aggressive and violent.

<sup>20</sup> Source: <https://www.blic.rs/vesti/drustvo/ovo-mora-da-se-spreci-opasan-i-skandalozan-izazov-na-tiktoku-lomimo-kola-u-kojima/lgxmyq0>

# Focus groups

Within the research, two focus groups were conducted, with ten participants from different parts of Serbia, aged 18 to 25. Focus groups were organized on August 28, 2021, lasting an hour and a half, and due to the epidemiological situation, they were held via Zoom. The focus group was organized with the aim of better understanding the media needs of young people, but also their views on popular media content.

Participants are listed in the following table with abbreviated personal identification, as some of them spoke about personal (unpleasant) experiences in the online sphere. The views and conclusions noted during the two focus groups will be presented together in the report that follows.

FOCUS GROUP 1		FOCUS GROUP 2	
1.	Dimitrije Ž. (male)	1.	Tamara M. (female)
2.	Jovana V. (female)	2.	Nikolina B. (female)
3.	Andrija C. (male)	3.	Dušanka T. (female)
4.	Aleksandra P. (female)	4.	Lana Z. (female)
5.	Jelena G. (female)	5.	Anja A. (female)
6.	Aleksa D. (male)	6.	Andela D. (female)
7.	Mihajlo Đ. (male)	7.	Jovana P. (female)
8.	Kristina N. (female)	8.	Milana K. (female)
9.	Milena L. (female)	9.	Miloš L. (male)
10.	Jelena L. (female)	10.	Đurđina G. (female)

## Traditional media and portals

Out of 20 participants, only three buy newspapers. Milena L. says that, as a young journalist, “she buys different types of newspapers: trash, Blic, Politika and sports newspapers”. Anja A, also a journalism student, buys weeklies (NIN, Vreme), and Miloš L. buys “Politikin zabavnik” Other participants follow the news exclusively through online media. When it comes to youth portals, participants mostly follow Vice, Noizz and Zoomer.

None of the 20 participants follows youth content on public broadcasting channels (RTS and RTV). Milos. L. states that he watched a youth show on RTS, but he did not like it: “I think that this form, this approach, is completely outdated and no one is interested in it.” *Brainz* is the only TV format that Tamara M. follows: it is dedicated to the popularization of science among young people.

## Youtube

Participants generally do not follow specific channels (through subscribing), but watch the content that appears on their feed. "I watch what comes out on the front page, what catches my attention visually. I don't have a list of channels" (Milena L.)

As a leading example of negative content on YouTube, several participants single out the Baka Prase channel. "The value-system has been totally disrupted," says Milana K, commenting on this channel: "Children think it's okay to have three or four girlfriends, and they also think they have to buy the latest iPhone, because Baka Prase has it. Sexism is present in huge quantities in his videos." Anja A. states that there are too many channels on YouTube that contain hate speech, sexism and nationalism: "Their performance is extremely loud and violent, and this is especially the case with male Youtubers. That spills over into comments: if any ethnicity is mentioned in the content, the comments will be full of nationalism."

On the other hand, the channel "Ozbiljne teme", whose author deals with geography and history, was singled out as a positive example of YouTube content. Anja states that she "grew up on YouTube", which was her favorite website until she started high school. "I think that YouTube content in Serbia is aimed at the younger population, up to the age of 16, and in that context, Yasserstein can be assessed as a positive example. That content was very interesting and educational". Đurđina G. singles out the channel "To the Lighthouse", dedicated to literature, as well as the "Diary of an Anxious Girl", dedicated to social issues, as positive examples of YouTube content.

Milana K. says that she still follows YouTube because of the younger members of her family, but that she could not single out any positive content: "Mostly it's hard arrogance and lack of education."

Participants notice that the creators of negative content from time to time publish charity videos in order to gain positive publicity: Dimitrije Ž. states that such contents do not seem sincere to him, and Aleksandra perceives them as "an attempt to clean up their online reputation from negative things that are constantly being published on those channels". "There is no humanity here, it is the simplest form of marketing," says Miloš L. Milana K. says that she followed charity live streams on the Muđa channel, when help was collected for children without parental care or children suffering from rare illnesses. She says that, unlike similar content on other channels, Muđa's charity actions seemed sincere to her.

## Tiktok

Several participants point out that Tiktok has the best algorithm of all social networks, since it quickly and efficiently recognizes users' interests, and accordingly recommends clips on the "For you" page. On the other hand, opinions on the quality of Tiktok content are divided. Alexandra P. believes that Tiktok has become even worse than YouTube. "I couldn't single out any specific positive channel on Tiktok," says Milena L: "In general, boys talk about money, and girls show make-up and clothes. Compared to foreign Tiktokers, ours mostly have cheap content. I see that Pink TV recently opened a Red channel where Tiktok influencers are promoted."

Jovana V. states that the idolization of Tiktokers sometimes has negative consequences, such as the so-called „Unizam" religion, named after Tiktoker Una. "Children began to burn icons, saying that they no longer believe in God, but in Una, that Una is their goddess. The children started to glorify her *en masse*". Jovana explains

that Una did not explicitly support this idea, and added that Tiktokers should discourage such inappropriate glorification. Participants also mentioned a number of dangerous challenges on Tiktok, including those with deliberate strangulation and swallowing laundry tablets.

Jovana P. says that she regularly follows Tiktok: "I think that young people have been given the opportunity to express themselves. Tiktok can be very useful, especially when it comes to information about topics of public interest, or human rights. The algorithm shows me such contents". She adds that there are no big differences between the domestic and international Tiktok scene, because the trends that are emerging in other countries are spilling over to Serbia very quickly. Anja A. says that she also has a positive attitude towards Tiktok, which she has been using for two years: "Tiktok has a great algorithm, so it is easy to avoid content that does not suit you. Aleksandra P. says she "sometimes watches Tiktok videos just to see how far stupidity goes", while Anja A. adds that rejecting unwanted content is easiest on Tiktok, because after the first tagging, the algorithm removes unwanted videos from the recommendations.

Most participants share the impression that Tiktok helped vulnerable groups to reach a wider audience, and Milena L. points out that this social network primarily helped the visibility of the LGBT + population. Jelena G. states that some Tiktok videos helped her to better understand transgender people. "I didn't fully understand them before, but after a few videos I got rid of all the prejudices that I had." On the other hand, Andrija C. thinks that LGBT activists on Tiktok are too intrusive and "pop up like spam".

### Reactions to inappropriate content and cyberbullying

Participants were asked if they usually give feedback on content they did not like. Jelena G. and Tamara M. said that they never comment on such content, because they believe it is useless. Jovana P. says that she often wrote comments before, but then gave up: "I realized that I wasted hours on people you can't convince and then I stopped doing it. I tried last year to change someone's opinion about the genocide in Srebrenica, and it ended horribly." Milana K. says that she only enters into discussions with close people, if she thinks that they have published something inappropriate. Lana Z. said: "I don't have the energy to argue with people who are unknown to me, there is no point in that. However, I am ready to praise someone if he does something good. For example, Voyage (singer) posted something about gender equality and I wrote him Bravo, Voyage! He never saw it, but it doesn't matter (laugh)".

Participants were also asked whether they reported content to social networks that violated community standards, or content that was in any way aggressive or harassing. Most participants state that they use the option of reporting content, and Milana K, who claims that she often reports hate speech, says that she is satisfied with the reactions of social networks to her reports, since the reported videos are mostly removed. Anja A, on the other hand, has had a bad experience, because - as she says - social networks often do not accept her reports, which are - in her opinion - completely well-founded. Tamara M. says that the last content she reported was a video showing animal abuse.

Several participants were victims of cyberbullying, which included sharing of private content, threats and insults from fake profiles and the like, and those who did not have personal experience of that type know someone who did. Milana K. says that after she and a group of young people started a campaign to support LGBT + people in Tiktok, her colleague received a large number of hate comments and calls for violence and threats. According to her, his video on Tiktok had 3-4 thousand views and more than 400 comments.

# Conclusions

This comprehensive research was conducted by combining several research techniques, with the aim of determining the frequency, diversity, quality and ethics of content intended for young people in Serbia. The digital revolution has led to the media landscape in which young people (*digital natives*) are less likely to follow mainstream media outlets: as an audience, they are primarily focused on content produced and shared by their peers on YouTube, Tiktok, Instagram and portals. That is why it is important to pay attention to young people both as content creators and as an audience. Following the completion of the research, the following conclusions can be drawn:

## TV programs

1. A diversity of genres in youth programs is provided only by public broadcasters (RTS and RTV). Content for young people on commercial TV stations TV Prva and B92 consists exclusively of films and series, while debates, educational shows and original TV dramas for young people can only be found on RTS and RTV.
2. RTS and RTV are trying to get closer to the younger audience by activating the channel on YouTube and enabling the option of *video-on-demand*. However, focus groups - despite a very limited sample - suggest that the ratings of such programs could be very low. Possible directions for the development of the program would include organizing public consultations with youth, in order to increase the quality and visibility of the content; cooperation of public services with influencers who create family friendly content; creating special content for young people that would be uploaded directly to YouTube, but also to other social networks.
3. TV Happy and TV Pink did not publish a minute of content for young people in the observed period, and the findings from this research overlap with the conclusions of REM, which previously found out that these two stations also do not broadcast children's or educational programs. Given that the national frequency is a limited public good, and that these two televisions have committed to "providing general media services" and a "diverse program" in their official program plans (2006), REM should severely sanction non-compliance with these obligations.

## Youth portals, student portals and youth podcasts

1. Youth portals have content that is, with minor exceptions, specific for its high level of professionalism and ethics. These portals report on topics of public importance, publish educational content, advocate for the strengthening of human rights and strive to create multimedia content.
2. The ways in which youth portals attract the attention of the public are generally professional, although certain violations of the rules on journalists' attention can be noticed at Noizz. On the other hand, several portals

show a low level of innovation, and their content is characterized by unattractive titles and over-long textual elements (paragraphs). In order to find the right balance between the professional and the attractive approach, youth media could organize focus groups. In this way, quality feedback would be provided and it could help portals to improve their content or their promotion.

3. Content analysis showed extremely good results in terms of gender balance and representation of vulnerable groups. On the other hand, the geographical diversity is quite low, so the contents are mostly related to Belgrade or to the places where the editorial office is located. Youth portals could expand their network of correspondents to attract a wider audience. They could also launch some form of intermedia collaboration that would contribute to the visibility of the content.
4. Certain topics of public importance, such as mental health, are getting a lot of space on youth portals. This is a good indicator, since in this way the media successfully fight taboos regarding mental disorders and psychotherapy. On the other hand, it was noticed that the majority of youth portals avoid political topics in the narrow sense. Although this pattern could be assessed as a legitimate editorial policy, it is necessary to emphasize the efforts of portals like Zoomer, that have shown a certain degree of courage and a desire to increase the level of political literacy of youth in Serbia.
5. Student portals have a good offer of service information for students (scholarships, open calls, cultural and sport events etc), but they are also a place where journalism students are free to practice their professional skills. It is necessary to ensure continuity in the work of such portals, in order to prevent occasional passivity (especially during the summer), or complete deactivation, which was noticed in a number of student media that had worked successfully in previous years.
6. Although it is difficult to assess the level of listenership and popularity of youth podcasts, their thematic structure and innovative approach deserve the attention of audiences and media content researchers. Podcasts dedicated to culture and human rights stand out in particular.

## Youtube

1. Most of the popular content on YouTube could be rated as positive or harmless. Negative YouTube content is mostly created by a loud minority.
2. Analysis of popular Youtube channels showed that a large number of young influencers take their privileged position very responsibly. They are often in direct communication with followers, through vlogs about mental health or about failures and ways to fight them. It was noticed that most young influencers encourage playing sports, adhering to corona protection measures, a healthy diet, saving and learning. The channels "Serious Topics" and "Vesic" can be singled out as extremely positive examples, which teach young people about history / geography and home appliance repairs.
3. Profanity is noticed in one-fifth of the most popular Youtube channels, while violent behavior or harmful / dangerous acts have been recorded on three channels. Particularly dangerous are "dramas" (rants) among YouTubers, because they include sexism, the disclosure of personal data, threats, revenge pornography and insults on national or religious grounds.

4. The analysis shows that companies choose to sponsor family-friendly content rather than content that is extremely popular but violent or vulgar, and this could be assessed as a good stimulus for creators who respect ethical standards.
5. Although YouTube has clear guidelines regarding content production and broadcasting, it is unknown how often it imposes sanctions on Youtubers who violate those rules and what those sanctions are. Also, it is unknown how many moderators from this language area are employed on YouTube. As a high-revenue platform with an absolute monopoly in the field of video streaming, YouTube should be more open to the public and researchers, in order to enable a better understanding of its internal protocols, but also in order to encourage countering unethical and violent behavior.

## Tiktok

1. Tiktok is a relatively new platform which is insufficiently researched, since thorough analysis of its content and business model is very rare at the moment. Participants of the focus group repeatedly highlighted the quality of the Tiktok algorithm, stating that it “learns very quickly” and recognizes with great success the content that might be interesting for the user.
2. An analysis of the content on Tiktok showed that most popular channels create harmless clips that usually contain skits or lip syncing. It is also noticeable that a large number of Tiktok influencers publish sponsored content. Such videos are often on the verge of reviews and advertising, which can be especially confusing for a younger audience. Tiktok should require full transparency in this sense, as has already been introduced on YouTube, with the label “this video contains a paid promotion”.
3. Tiktok provided wide space for minority groups, such as the LGBT+, to talk about their position and emphasize the importance of human rights. This advantage of Tiktok was pointed out by several participants in the focus group. In addition, analysis of the proposed affirmative channels shows that Tiktok is also used to popularize science, media literacy and the fight against disinformation.
4. As on YouTube, the negative content on Tiktok is mostly the product of a vocal minority. Violent pranks, profanity, but also promotion of the erotic and pornographic were recorded. Although participants in the focus group stated that dangerous challenges are often launched on Tiktok, they were not noticed in the sample of this research. The structure of this social network enables the very fast development of trends, which can spread from one end of the world to another in an instant. Therefore, it is necessary to react quickly to all potentially dangerous trends and challenges, by alerting Tiktok, the media and parents, especially as TikTok as a platform has shown an interest in cooperating with CSOs at least. It is not known yet whether they would do the same with state institutions, but that kind of cooperation would be necessary to prevent the abuse of this network.

# Recommendations

## Public Service Broadcasters

- The production of specialized content for young people, one that is difficult to find in commercial media, should be continued. This especially applies to TV and radio shows related to culture and science.
- Public service broadcasters should consider introducing a News section for youth and/or TV News that addresses young people but covers general youth-related topics in an engaging manner and involving young interlocutors. Several different examples can be found across Europe (e.g. CBBC in the UK or Jeugdjournaal in the Netherlands).
- Public broadcasters should organize focus groups with young people, with the aim of adapting the content, language, design and content broadcasting models to the needs of youth from different backgrounds from across the country.
- Public broadcasters should aim to communicate with the audience by other means using social media to get feedback (short surveys, questionnaires)
- Content for youth, produced by RTS and RTV, should be re-aired / reposted on their YouTube channels, but also on video-on-demand sections of their websites.
- Content for youth should be promoted through social networks, in cooperation with young influencers and in as interactive ways as possible.
- Both public broadcasters should produce more content for youth in minority languages.
- Public broadcasters should include young journalists and journalism students in the youth content production teams.
- Public broadcasters should include young journalists and journalism students in any of their production teams in an attempt to attract a younger audience.
- Public broadcasters should offer segments of their online platforms, YouTube Channel in particular, to young journalists and journalism students to practice their skills and bring innovative, creative, appealing content to young audiences.
- Public broadcasters should explore ever-growing possibilities to partner with media development CSOs, local or international, in the aim of exploring potential funding for specifically online production by and for the youth.

## Commercial TV stations

- Pink and Happy: respecting the proposed program schedule (2006), which, among other things, includes content for youth
- Prva and B92: increasing the share of original content
- General recommendation: increasing diversity of genres; development of innovative media forms for youth; creation and promotion of the content in cooperation with youth

- All commercial broadcasters should explore possibilities for increasing the buying of high quality content by/for youth from foreign small production companies which have already made a major profit by selling their programs to major information media outlets
- All commercial broadcasters should explore their flag formats - reality shows - as a means to promote education, knowledge, culture. 'I am European, get me out of here' / 'Serbia's got talent' type of shows where contestants demonstrate their knowledge of certain issues should be explored

### **Regulatory Body for Electronic Media (REM)**

- Strict monitoring of compliance of the program with the proposed schedules (2006) and imposition of measures in case of breach of contractual obligations by commercial TV stations
- Continuous monitoring of the participation of youth programs (as separate program unit) on public broadcasting and commercial TV stations
- Conducting a qualitative content analysis
- Imposing measures in the case of instrumentalization of youth for political or commercial purposes, as well as in reality shows
- Making sure that the percentage of content by/for youth reflects national demographics

### **Youth and student portal**

- Increasing genre and geographical diversity
- Establishing a correspondent network that would include journalists from different parts of Serbia, and potentially associates from abroad (for example, youth from the diaspora)
- Strengthening the capacity for the production of multimedia content
- Maintaining continuous content production, without pauses caused by vacations
- Establishing internal editorial guidelines, which would contain concise provisions of the Code of Journalists of Serbia, but also instructions concerning the style of text and graphics, in order to ensure the absence of sensationalism, hatebaits etc.
- Training in the field of media ethics and storytelling through various systems of informal education
- Frequent communication with the audience to get feedback (short surveys, questionnaires, focus groups)
- Recognition of jurisdiction of the Press Council
- Registration in the Media Register (Business Registers Agency), which, in addition to transparency, would enable participation in media competitions announced by state, provincial and local authorities and thus bring more sustainability

### Youtube and Tiktok creators

- Creating ethical and responsible content
- Respect for the privacy of other citizens, especially in clips concerning vulnerable groups (children, Roma, LGBT)
- Clear designation of sponsored clips
- Active participation in stopping dangerous challenges that can endanger the physical and mental health of young people
- Creating clips that strengthen media literacy and resistance to disinformation

### Youtube and Tiktok

- Greater transparency regarding the content control process
- Establishing a rapid response system to content that violates community standards, especially if the clips contain violence, self-harm, calls for dangerous challenges, or hate speech
- Benefits in terms of increased visibility and easier monetization for creators who respect community standards and create useful content
- Cooperation with state institutions in cases of cyberbullying, revenge pornography, etc.
- Cooperation with non-governmental organizations on programs to strengthen the media literacy of content creators, but also the audience
- Offer trusted partner status to local and international media development organizations operating in Serbia to speed up the removal of inappropriate content
- Strengthen their regional team in the aim of coping with the growing amount of inappropriate content which historically could even contribute to arm conflicts

### Civil Society Organizations

- Quality control of media content for youth
- Supervision of institutions in charge of monitoring media content for youth (REM and the Press Council)
- Educating young journalists and content creators in the field of media literacy and resilience to disinformation and hate speech
- Educating the audience (youth, but also parents and educators) in the field of media literacy and resilience to disinformation and hate speech
- Request trusted partner status from IT companies in the aim of becoming better equipped to deal with unappreciated online content

