Analysis

Who are the candidates for MPs in the 12th convocation of the Serbian Assembly?



The very end of the legally prescribed deadline was awaited for the constitution of the twelfth convocation of the National Assembly of the Republic of Serbia. Although this is not a novelty in the recent parliamentary history of Serbia, the uncertainty that accompanied the constitution of the new parliamentary convocation, after very clear election results, sent yet another in a series of negative messages about the importance and (in)capacity of the Assembly in extraordinary circumstances caused by the coronavirus pandemic and by citizens' ever-growing distrust of institutions.

The parliamentary elections held in June 2020 were the first parliamentary elections in Europe held in the midst of a pandemic caused by the coronavirus. They were also marked by a controversial boycott by a part of the opposition parties, the interruption of the election campaign due to the state of emergency, as well as changes in the rules of the game immediately before and in the course of the election campaign. These elections will be remembered for the largest number ever of electoral lists in the election race and the triumph of the ruling Serbian Progressive Party, which won as many as three quarters of the parliamentary seats. Despite the lowest threshold since the introduction of the proportional system for the election of deputies in Serbia of only three percent, out of 21 nominated electoral lists, only three won seats, with four electoral lists of minority parties subject to the so-called "natural threshold" rule (Chart 1). For the sake of comparison, 20 electoral lists participated in the previous elections, of which as many as 12 won parliamentary seats.

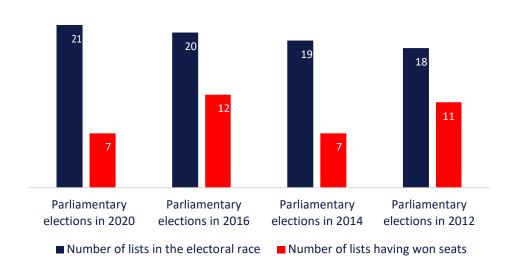


Chart 1. Participation of electoral lists in parliamentary elections in previous cycles

In the next four years, representatives from the electoral list "Aleksandar Vučić - for our children", the list of the Socialist Party of Serbia and United Serbia (SPS-JS), the Serbian Patriotic Alliance (SPAS), as well as representatives of national minorities of the Justice and Reconciliation Party, the Democratic Parties of Macedonians, the Party of Democratic Action of Sandžak (SDA), the Alliance of Vojvodina Hungarians (SVM) and the Albanian Democratic Alternative (ADA) will sit in the Parliament (Chart 2).

Electoral list Aleksandar Vučić - for our children

Ivica Dačić (SPS), Dragan Marković Palma (JS)

Aleksandar Šapić – Victory for Serbia

Alliance of Vojvodina Hungarians – István Pastor

Academician Muamer Zukorlić – Straight on (SPPDPM)

Party of Democratic Action of Sandžak – Sulejman Ugljanin

Albanian Democratic Alternative – United Valley

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Number of seats won

Chart 2. Electoral lists having passed the threshold in the 2020 parliamentary elections

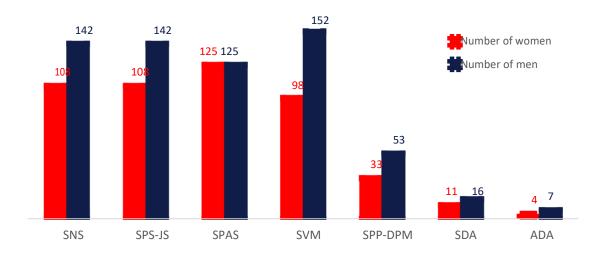
A total of 1,124 candidates for future MPs were on the seven electoral lists that won mandates, of which 250 MPs acquired the title of member of the parliament in the new 12th convocation, according to the number of won seats and the order on the electoral list.

The first three political parties or coalitions that won the most votes and passed the electoral threshold (SNS, SPS-JS, SPAS) used the opportunity to propose a maximum of 250 candidates on the electoral lists, while the other lists proposed a smaller number of potential MPs. The shortest electoral list of 11 nominees was submitted by the Albanian Democratic Alternative, which also entered the Parliament as representatives of national minorities.

Structure of electoral lists having passed the threshold

Along with the <u>reduction of the electoral threshold</u>, the amendments to the election law made in 2020, the so-called <u>"quota" for the representation of the underrepresented gender</u>, which had always been women, also increased. An obligation was introduced foreseeing that 40 percent of the seats on the electoral list, instead of the previous 30, had to be awarded to the underrepresented gender. In accordance with these changes, the average number of women candidates on the electoral lists that will form the 12th convocation is **42 percent**, and men **58 percent**. (Chart 3).

Chart 3. Gender structure of candidates for MPs nominated on electoral lists having passed the threshold



The SPAS list has the highest percentage of female candidates for MPs from the seven electoral lists that passed the threshold, but also in relation to all other lists in the election race. One half of the proposed SPAS list is made up of women. The list of Albanian Democratic Alternative (ADA) has the lowest percentage of proposed women - only one third. The electoral list "Aleksandar Vučić - for our children" and the electoral list SPS-JS have the same gender structure, which consists of 43 percent of female candidates and 57 percent of male candidates.

The twelfth convocation of the National Assembly will be **fairly young** in terms of age structure, as the average birth year of candidates from all seven electoral lists is 1976 (Chart 4). There are only **seven** of the youngest candidates for future MPs **born after 2000**, five of whom are from the SPAS list and one candidate from the list of the Alliance of Vojvodina Hungarians and the Party of Justice and Reconciliation - Democratic Party of Macedonians. Among the younger candidates, there are significantly more who **were born in the last decade of the 20th century** (1990-1999). Out of a **total of 181 candidates under the age of 30**, most of them are from the SPAS list (49) and the list of the Serbian Progressive Party (46). The **largest number of candidates were born between 1980 and 1989**. A total of **280** candidates for MPs, out of all 1124 nominated, belong to the generations born in the 1980s. The oldest candidate, Smilja Tišma, nominated on the SPS-JS list, was born in **1929** and is a jurist by profession. There are only three candidates for MPs born between 1930 and 1939, two of whom were nominated on the SPAS list and one on the Serbian Progressive Party list.

Chart 4. Age structure of candidates for MPs nominated on electoral lists having passed the threshold by year of birth

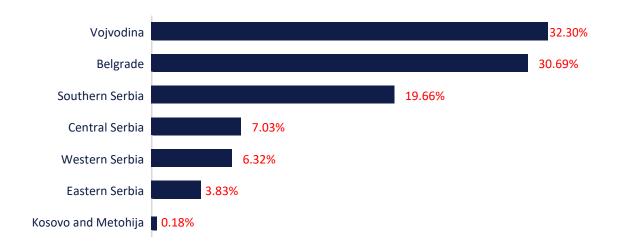


When it comes to the decentralisation of electoral lists, according to the places of residence of the proposed candidates registered with the Republic Electoral Commission in the moment of submission of electoral lists, the largest number of candidates for MPs come from the Autonomous Province (AP) of Vojvodina and Belgrade (Chart 5). There are significantly fewer candidates for MPs from central, western and eastern Serbia, while the smallest number of proposed candidates comes from Kosovo*, i.e. two candidates from the SPS-JS list.

Most candidates from Vojvodina were proposed on the list of the Alliance of Vojvodina Hungarians - 244 of them, with only six candidates residing in Belgrade. Thanks to this electoral list of the Hungarian national minority, the largest percentage of the total number of proposed candidates for MPs - 32 percent, comes from the AP Vojvodina. In addition to the candidates from the list of the Alliance of Vojvodina Hungarians, a significant number of candidates residing in Vojvodina were proposed on the list of the Serbian Progressive Party (57), as well as on the SPS-JS list (48). 31 percent of all candidates for MPs come from the capital of the Republic of Serbia, among which the largest number of candidates (183) were proposed on the SPAS list. The list of the Party of Democratic Action of Sandžak and the list of the Albanian Democratic Alternative do not have a single representative on the list whose place of residence is the city of Belgrade.

A large number of candidates also come from Southern Serbia, as many as 221 candidates, i.e. nearly 20 percent of candidates from all electoral lists that passed the threshold. Most candidates from Southern Serbia were proposed on the list of the Party of Justice and Reconciliation - Democratic Party of Macedonians (80). The lists of the Party of Democratic Action of Sandžak and the Albanian Democratic Alternative not only do not have any of their representatives from the municipality of Belgrade, but all their proposed candidates only come from the area of Southern Serbia.

Graph 5. Geographical distribution of candidates for MPs nominated on the electoral lists having passed the threshold



In order to best answer the question of who the future MPs are, we should look at their professions and occupations. The largest number of proposed candidates from the electoral lists that make up the 12th convocation are economists (181), among whom the most (54) were nominated on the SPS-JS and on the Serbian Progressive Party list (53), and the least on the Albanian Democratic Alternative (ADA) list with one economist. In addition to economics, the most represented professions of candidates for MPs are education and legal sciences. A total of 134 professors, teachers and educators as well as educational experts were nominated on all seven electoral lists, the largest number being proposed on the SVM list (30). The Serbian Progressive Party list has the most jurists and attorneys among candidates (41), out of a total of 115 candidates in the legal profession from all seven electoral lists entering the Parliament. This list also includes the largest number of engineers (28), out of a total of 99 candidates for MPs in this profession. The least number of candidates for MPs comes from the field of art. Out of a total of five artists, one candidate has been nominated on the SPS list while four candidates are on the SPS-JS.

Among the candidates for MPs, there are 44 students, most of whom are nominated on the SPAS list (17). A total of 57 retired persons have been proposed, most of whom are SVM candidates (28). Among the candidates for MPs there are also two unemployed persons proposed on the SVM list.

Will the most active MPs from the previous convocation remain in the Parliament's benches?

Judging by the composition of the lists that won seats in the 12th convocation, the activity of the MPs in the previous convocation did not have a decisive impact upon the order of the proposed candidates.

When we talk about the most active MPs during the previous four years, three Serbian Progressive Party MPs, among the five MPs with **the most addresses in the plenum**, were on the new electoral list: Aleksandar Martinović (Serbian Progressive Party) is on the 20th place, Vladimir Orlić (Serbian Progressive Party) on the 31st and Marijan Rističević (Serbian Progressive Party) in 46th place on this electoral list.

Among the MPs who most often used the mechanism of asking parliamentary questions in the previous convocation, most of them were those who either boycotted the elections or participated in the lists that did not pass the threshold. Thus, MPs Đorđe Vukadinović, Boško Obradović (DVERI movement), Vojislav Šešelj (Serbian Radical Party) and Miroslav Aleksić (People's Party), will not enter the new Assembly. Out of five deputies who most often asked parliamentary questions, only MP Marijan Rističević is on the list that won seats.

On the other hand, out of the five deputies who **most often voted "yes" in the Assembly plenum** of the 11th convocation, three are on the list of candidates whose mandates have been approved. These are actually the MPs of the Serbian Progressive Party: MP Dragana Barišić on the 79th place on the list of the Serbian Progressive Party, MP Ljiljana Malušić on the 89th place and MP Milanka Jevtović Vukojičić on the 110th place on the list of the ruling party. Former MP Blaža Knežević and MP Borka Grubor were not on the list of the Serbian Progressive Party this time in the race for seats in the new convocation.