

Geographical-administrative distribution of MPs of the 13th convocation: does every place in Serbia have "its very own" MPs?

The electoral system of Serbia foresees that the whole of Serbia is one electoral unit and that **every member of parliament is a representative of all citizens of Serbia**. On the other hand, it is indisputable that the local problems and needs of citizens can best be understood and represented by members of parliament who come from their environment, which is why it is important to have at least one representative in the Assembly who will represent the interests of a particular local community.

A preliminary <u>analysis of the Serbian Assembly new convocation structure</u> showed an uneven distribution of parliamentary mandates in the 13th convocation, when it comes to geographical-administrative criteria. The highest percentage – 42 percent of MPs in the 13th convocation come from Belgrade, while 16 districts have less than 2 percent of MPs (Table 1).

| District | Number of MPs | Percentage | District | Number of MPs | Percentage |
|-------------------------|---------------|------------|--------------------------------|---------------|------------|
| Grad Beograd | 105 | 42.00% | Moravica district | 4 | 1.60% |
| South Bačka district | 30 | 12.00% | North Bačka district | 4 | 1.60% |
| Raška district | 13 | 5.20% | Central Bačka district | 4 | 1.60% |
| Nišava district | 10 | 4.00% | Braničevo district | 3 | 1.20% |
| Šumadija district | 10 | 4.00% | Zaječar district | 2 | 0.80% |
| Zlatibor district | 7 | 2.80% | Kolubara district | 2 | 0.80% |
| Pomoravlje district | 7 | 2.80% | Kosovska Mitrovica district | 2 | 0.80% |
| Srem district | 6 | 2.40% | Pirot district | 2 | 0.80% |
| Pčinja district | 6 | 2.40% | North Banat district | 2 | 0.80% |
| Mačva district | 5 | 2.00% | Bor district | 1 | 0.40% |
| Podunavlje district | 5 | 2.00% | Kosovo district | 1 | 0.40% |

| Rasina district | 5 | 2.00% | Peć district | 1 | 0.40% |
|-------------------------|---|-------|-------------------------------|---|-------|
| West Bačka district | 4 | 1.60% | Toplica district | 1 | 0.40% |
| Jablanica district | 4 | 1.60% | Kosovo Pomoravlje district | 0 | 0.00% |
| South Banat district | 4 | 1.60% | Prizren district | 0 | 0.00% |

Table 1: Total number of MPs by administrative areas of residence

The analysis, however, at the same indicated that given the number of residents of those districts, the first impression does not suffice for a fuller understanding of these data. If the data on the place of residence of MPs, whose mandate was confirmed at the constitutive sitting of the 13th convocation, is crossed with the number of inhabitants at different levels of administrative organisation, what is the ratio of representation of citizens in the National Assembly?

The division by region, based on the data of the Statistical Office of the Republic of Serbia, does not show any difference compared to the previously shown percentages (Table 2).

| Region | Number of MPs | Number of citizens ¹ | Number of citizens per MP | Number of MPs per citizen |
|----------------------------------------------|---------------|---------------------------------|---------------------------|------------------------------|
| Belgrade region | 105 | 1,694,480 | 16,137.90 | 0.0000620 |
| Vojvodina region | 54 | 1,840,852 | 34,089.85 | 0.0000293 |
| Šumadija and Western Serbia region | 53 | 1,810,941 | 34,168.70 | 0.0000293 |
| Region Southern and Eastern Serbia region | 34 | 1,552,853 | 45,672.15 | 0.0000219 |

Table 2: Total number of MPs and inhabitants by region

The Belgrade region has by far the most MPs per inhabitant, the region of Vojvodina and the region of Šumadija and Western Serbia are positioned approximately the same according to this criterion, while the region of Southern and Eastern Serbia has the fewest MPs per inhabitant.

The situation changes slightly with the transition to smaller administrative areas – districts (Table 3).

¹ The source for all data on the number of inhabitants is the estimate of the Statistical Office of the Republic of Serbia for the year 2020 https://publikacije.stat.gov.rs/G2021/Xls/G202113048.xlsx

| District/ Administrative area of residence ² | Number of MPs | Number of citizens | Number of citizens per MP | Number of MPs per citizen |
|---------------------------------------------------------|---------------|--------------------|---------------------------|---------------------------|
| Grad Beograd | 105 | 1694480 | 16,137.90 | 0.0000620 |
| South Bačka district | 30 | 618624 | 20,620.80 | 0.0000485 |
| Raška district | 13 | 303552 | 23,350.15 | 0.0000428 |
| Pomoravlje district | 7 | 194676 | 27,810.86 | 0.0000360 |
| Šumadija district | 10 | 278917 | 27,891.70 | 0.0000359 |
| Pčinja district | 6 | 182895 | 30,482.50 | 0.0000328 |
| Nišava district | 10 | 357920 | 35,792.00 | 0.0000279 |
| Zlatibor district | 7 | 262664 | 37,523.43 | 0.0000267 |
| Mačva district | 5 | 195041 | 39,008.20 | 0.0000256 |
| Pirot district | 2 | 82537 | 41,268.50 | 0.0000242 |
| West Bačka district | 4 | 168841 | 42,210.25 | 0.0000237 |
| Central Bačka district | 4 | 171988 | 42,997.00 | 0.0000233 |
| Rasina district | 5 | 219017 | 43,803.40 | 0.0000228 |
| North Bačka district | 4 | 177044 | 44,261.00 | 0.0000226 |
| Jablanica district | 4 | 196265 | 49,066.25 | 0.0000204 |
| Moravica district | 4 | 196516 | 49,129.00 | 0.0000204 |
| Srem district | 6 | 295132 | 49,188.67 | 0.0000203 |
| Zaječar district | 2 | 104352 | 52,176.00 | 0.0000192 |
| Braničevo district | 3 | 163058 | 54,352.67 | 0.0000184 |
| Podunavlje district | 5 | 274549 | 54,909.80 | 0.0000182 |
| North Banat district | 2 | 133934 | 66,967.00 | 0.0000149 |
| South Banat district | 4 | 275289 | 68,822.25 | 0.0000145 |
| Kolubara district | 2 | 160558 | 80,279.00 | 0.0000125 |
| Toplica district | 1 | 82067 | 82,067.00 | 0.0000122 |
| Bor district | 1 | 109210 | 109,210.00 | 0.0000092 |

Table 3: Total number of MPs and inhabitants by districts

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² In this analysis, there are no districts, municipalities and cities in the territory of Kosovo and Metohija, because the publication of the Statistical Office of the Republic of Serbia does not contain their data on the number of inhabitants, so it was not possible to process them.

The city of Belgrade still holds the first place when it comes to the number of MPs per inhabitant, but the difference compared to the South Banat district, which is in second place, is significantly smaller. In the last place is the Bor district, which has almost seven times fewer MPs per inhabitant than Belgrade, i.e., it has one MP per 109,210 inhabitants.

When we take into account the residence of MPs by district, Raška and Podunavlje districts are in the best position, as all cities and municipalities have at least one MP. The Jablanica district is in the most unfavourable position, with only one city with "its own" MPs and five municipalities without their representatives, and Braničevo district, with one city and one municipality represented and six municipalities without "their" representatives (Table 4).

| District/ Administrative area of residence | Number of cities/municipalities with MPs | Number of cities/municipalities with no MPs |
|--------------------------------------------|------------------------------------------|---------------------------------------------|
| Raška district | 5 | 0 |
| Podunavlje district | 3 | 0 |
| Srem district | 5 | 2 |
| Šumadija district | 5 | 2 |
| Pomoravlje district | 4 | 2 |
| Pčinja district | 4 | 3 |
| North Bačka district | 2 | 1 |
| South Bačka district | 6 | 6 |
| Rasina district | 3 | 3 |
| Zaječar district | 2 | 2 |
| West Bačka district | 2 | 2 |
| Kolubara district | 2 | 3 |
| Moravica district | 2 | 3 |
| Nišava district | 3 | 4 |
| Bor district | 1 | 3 |
| South Banat district | 3 | 5 |
| Mačva district | 3 | 5 |
| Pirot district | 1 | 3 |
| Toplica district | 1 | 3 |
| Zlatibor district | 4 | 6 |
| North Banat district | 2 | 4 |

| Central Banat district | 1 | 4 |
|------------------------|---|---|
| Braničevo district | 2 | 6 |
| Jablanica district | 1 | 5 |

Table 4: Municipalities and cities with and without MPs by district

A complete reversal in the analysis occurs when the number of MPs is considered in the light of the number of inhabitants in cities and municipalities. In Serbia, if we do not count urban municipalities, there are 145 cities and municipalities, in which the residences of 246 MPs are distributed. Four MPs have residences in the area of Kosovo and Metohija, which was not included in the analysis due to the lack of data on the number of inhabitants. These are the municipalities of Kosovska Mitrovica, Peć, Priština and Zubin potok.

If the number of MPs per inhabitant of municipalities and cities is considered, Belgrade is only in 14th place. In comparison to the first-ranked Priboj, it has nearly three times fewer MPs per inhabitant (Table 5).

| No. | City/ Municipality | District/ Administrative area of residence | Number of MPs | Number of citizens | Number of citizens per MP | Number of MPs per citizen |
|-----|-----------------------|--------------------------------------------|------------------|--------------------------|---------------------------|---------------------------------|
| 1 | Priboj | Zlatibor district | 23373 | 4 | 5843.25 | 0.0001711 |
| 2 | Gadžin Han | Nišava district | 6480 | 1 | 6,480.00 | 0.0001543 |
| 3 | Sremski Karlovci | South Bačka district | 8265 | 1 | 8,265.00 | 0.0001210 |
| 4 | Rača | Šumadija district | 10226 | 1 | 10,226.00 | 0.0000978 |
| 5 | Koceljeva | Mačva district | 11469 | 1 | 11,469.00 | 0.0000872 |
| 6 | Svrljig | Nišava district | 12098 | 1 | 12,098.00 | 0.0000827 |
| 7 | Knić | Šumadia district | 12595 | 1 | 12,595.00 | 0.0000794 |
| 8 | Sokobanja | Zaječar district | 13760 | 1 | 13,760.00 | 0.0000727 |
| 9 | Temerin | South Bačka district | 27629 | 2 | 13,814.50 | 0.0000724 |
| 10 | Brus | Rasina district | 14343 | 1 | 14,343.00 | 0.0000697 |
| 11 | Novi Sad | South Bačka district | 362675 | 24 | 15,111.46 | 0.0000662 |
| 12 | Majdanpek | Bor district | 15893 | 1 | 15,893.00 | 0.0000629 |
| 13 | Tutin | Raška district | 32010 | 2 | 16,005.00 | 0.0000625 |
| 14 | Beograd | City of Belgrade | 1694480 | 105 | 16,137.90 | 0.0000620 |
| 15 | Jagodina | Pomoravlje district | 68378 | 4 | 17,094.50 | 0.0000585 |

| 16 | Surdulica | Pčinja district | 18311 | 1 | 18,311.00 | 0.0000546 |
|----|--------------|---------------------|-------|---|-----------|-----------|
| 17 | Vladičin Han | Pčinja district | 18472 | 1 | 18,472.00 | 0.0000541 |
| 18 | Velika Plana | Podunavlje district | 37222 | 2 | 18,611.00 | 0.0000537 |
| 19 | Despotovac | Pomoravlje district | 19792 | 1 | 19,792.00 | 0.0000505 |
| 20 | Topola | Šumadija district | 19858 | 1 | 19,858.00 | 0.0000504 |

Table 5: Top 20 municipalities and cities by the number of MPs per inhabitant

Smederevo, which has 17 times fewer MPs per inhabitant than the first-ranked Priboj, is in last place on the list of cities and municipalities where MPs reside.

Another important piece of information revealed by this analysis is that out of a total of 145 cities and municipalities, as many as 77 municipalities do not have a representative residing in their territory. If these municipalities are further considered, it can be seen that the number of inhabitants is not the only decisive factor for a municipality to be on the list of those that have "their own" representative. On the first place in the list of municipalities without MPs is Paraćin, which has twice as many inhabitants as Priboj, where four MPs reside. Moreover, Paraćin also has more inhabitants than the top ten cities and municipalities when it comes to the number of MPs per inhabitant. Paraćin, however, is not unique, in the top 20 there are more municipalities whose population is significantly higher than many municipalities that have MPs (Table 6).

| No. | City/ Municipality | District/ Administrative area of residence | Number of inhabitants |
|-----|-----------------------|--------------------------------------------|-----------------------|
| 1 | Paraćin | Pomoravlje district | 49596 |
| 2 | Aleksinac | Nišava district | 46541 |
| 3 | Bor | Bor district | 43983 |
| 4 | Gornji Milanovac | Moravica district | 40749 |
| 5 | Kula | West Bačka district | 38630 |
| 6 | Negotin | Bor district | 31332 |
| 7 | Preševo | Pčinja district | 30172 |
| 8 | Vlasotince | Jablanica district | 27101 |
| 9 | Knjaževac | Zaječar district | 27005 |
| 10 | Apatin | West Bačka district | 26041 |
| 11 | Bogatić | Mačva district | 26024 |
| 12 | Sjenica | Zlatibor district | 25560 |
| 13 | Žabalj | South Bačka district | 24852 |

| 14 | Bajina Bašta | Zlatibor district | 23859 |
|----|---------------|------------------------|-------|
| 15 | Aleksandrovac | Rasina district | 23551 |
| 16 | Kovačica | South Banat district | 23489 |
| 17 | Novi Bečej | Central Banat district | 22139 |
| 18 | Senta | North Banat district | 21376 |
| 19 | Lebane | Jablanica district | 19124 |
| 20 | Pećinci | Srem district | 19095 |

Table 5: The top 20 municipalities without MPs per inhabitant

What conclusions can be drawn based on the data presented so far? The dominance of Belgrade in the number of MPs is not as prominent as it may seem at first glance, and residents of different municipalities and cities are not evenly represented in the Assembly. This uneven representation may contribute to the neglect of the problems of those local communities in the National Assembly. In other words, the problem is not that the Assembly does not faithfully portray the whole of Serbia. On the contrary, the current composition of the Assembly points to the problems that Serbia is facing. On the one hand, smaller areas are not only left without a population, which gravitates towards larger urban centres, but, as a consequence, they are also left without those who can represent local problems at the highest level. On the other hand, regardless of the number of inhabitants, certain local communities are more represented in the Parliament. Many different factors economic, social, territorial, etc. may be the reason for that.