FRIEDRICH NAUMANN FOUNDATION For Freedom.
Western Balkans

CRTA

ANALYSIS

ELECTIONS 25 OCTOBER 2026:

Early Parliamentary Elections in Serbia

Prepared on 30 October 2026.
All results are preliminary.

IMPRINT

Publisher:

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Date:

November, 2026

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KEY TAKEAWAYS

1. **The Student List won an absolute majority.** According to the REC's preliminary results, the Student List - Students Are Winning will have 140 of the 250 seats, enough to form a government on its own. United Serbia, led by the SNS, falls to 104 seats from 129 in 2023, and its coalition partner, the SPS, drops out of parliament. Apart from four minority lists with six seats between them, **only two lists will sit in the new National Assembly, for the first time since multi-party elections were introduced in 1990.** The results are preliminary: voting is repeated at 53 polling stations on 1 November, and the new National Assembly is expected to meet by 9 to 12 December.

2. **Turnout was the highest this century.** T**urnout reached 69.0 percent, about ten points more than in 2023**, with around 612,000 more citizens voting. United Serbia won almost as many votes as the SNS-led list in 2023, but its share fell by almost eight points because the additional voters went elsewhere.

3. **The country is divided between cities and the south-east. The Student List won Belgrade by 31 points and came first in 25 of the 27 cities and in three of the four regions.** United Serbia held on only in Southern and Eastern Serbia, in small southern municipalities and among voters from Kosovo. Voters abroad split in the same way: 88 percent for the Student List in most countries, 79 percent for United Serbia in Bosnia and Herzegovina.

4. **Minority representation was reshaped.** Four minority lists won six seats. The Albanian parties of the Preševo Valley ran on a single list, brokered by Kosovo's Prime Minister, and won two seats, up from one in 2023. The Alliance of Vojvodina Hungarians, a long-standing SNS partner, fell from six seats to two.

5. **The elections were held on an uneven playing field.** According to the CRTA Election Observation Mission, the campaign was marked by widespread misuse of public resources, heavily unbalanced media coverage, pressure on domestic observers and the absence of an audit of the Voter register. On election day, irregularities were frequent, but systemic manipulation at polling stations was largely prevented by the citizens who conducted and monitored the vote.

1. ELECTORAL LISTS

1.1. LISTS IN THE NEW NATIONAL ASSEMBLY

STUDENTSKA LISTA - STUDENTI POBEĐUJU / STUDENT LIST - STUDENTS ARE WINNING

The Student List grew out of the student-led protests that followed the collapse of the railway station canopy in Novi Sad in November 2024, which killed 16 people, and that became a nationwide movement against corruption and democratic backsliding. It is registered as a citizens' group and has no formal leader; the list is headed by Ilija Srdanović, a physician and university professor. Most of its 250 candidates, selected by student plenums, have no previous political experience. It is supported by opposition parties across the spectrum, including DS (associate member of the PES), ZLF (member of the European Green Party), NPS and PSG (member of ALDE). Its priorities are fighting corruption, restoring the independence of institutions and the rule of law. It supports cooperation with the EU, and one of its main goals is for Serbia to receive the Interim Benchmarks Assessment Report (IBAR) as soon as possible, but it favours a referendum on membership. It opposes sanctions against Russia, considers Kosovo part of Serbia and has no common position on NATO. European party family: none.

ALEKSANDAR VUČIĆ - UJEDINJENA SRBIJA / ALEKSANDAR VUČIĆ - UNITED SERBIA (SNS)

The Serbian Progressive Party (SNS) was founded in 2008 in a split from Vojislav Šešelj's far-right Serbian Radical Party (SRS) and has dominated Serbian politics since 2012. It is formally led by Miloš Vučević but remains dominated by President Aleksandar Vučić. Its voters are mainly pensioners, rural communities and smaller towns, reached through extensive local party networks and control of most municipal administrations. The SNS officially supports EU membership, but has made limited progress on accession reforms and increasingly uses Eurosceptic rhetoric. It balances between the EU, Russia and China, emphasises military neutrality, rejects Kosovo's independence and refuses to join EU sanctions against Russia. It has renewed electoral cooperation with the SRS, still led by Šešelj, who was convicted of crimes against humanity by the UN Mechanism for International Criminal Tribunals, the successor to the ICTY. European party family: associate member of the EPP since 2016. Its membership has been under scrutiny since September 2025, after the crackdown on anti-corruption protests; no decision is expected before the end of 2026.

DR BÁLINT PÁSZTOR - SAVEZ VOJVOĐANSKIH MAĐARA / ALLIANCE OF VOJVODINA HUNGARIANS (SVM)

The Alliance of Vojvodina Hungarians (SVM), founded in 1994, is the largest Hungarian minority party, strongest in Subotica, Kanjiža, Senta, Ada and Bačka Topola. A partner of the SNS since 2014, it has strong influence in Vojvodina's institutions and the Hungarian National Council. Led by Bálint Pásztor, it has long had close ties with Viktor Orbán's Fidesz and benefited from Hungarian government funding. Fidesz's defeat in April 2026 and the new government of Péter Magyar, which has announced changes to that funding, have made both uncertain. The SVM strongly supports EU accession and close cooperation with Hungary. European party family: associate member of the EPP.

ALBANSKA KOALICIJA - KOALICIONI SHQIPTAR / ALBANIAN COALITION

The Albanian Coalition brings together eight Albanian parties from Preševo, Bujanovac and Medveđa, which agreed to run on a single list so as not to split the Albanian vote. The agreement was signed on 29 September 2026 in the office of Kosovo's Prime Minister Albin Kurti, who brokered it and is to be consulted on any disagreements under its terms; on election day he called on Albanians in the Preševo Valley to vote for the coalition. The list is headed by Šaip Kamberi of the Party for Democratic Action (PDD), the only Albanian MP in the outgoing parliament. Its priorities are representation in state institutions, the use of the Albanian language and symbols, economic development and emigration. In 2023 Albanian parties ran on two lists, which together won 16,736 votes and one seat. The coalition won 27,681 votes and, according to the REC's preliminary results, two seats. European party family: none for the coalition.

RASIM LJAJIĆ - LJUDSKI (SDP - CDP)

The Sandžak Democratic Party (SDP), founded by Rasim Ljajić in the 1990s, is one of the main Bosniak parties and has taken part in or supported most governments since 2000. It is formally led by Samir Lekić, the list is headed by Dženan Palamar, and it runs together with the Montenegrin Democratic Party (CDP). Ljajić's nationwide Social Democratic Party of Serbia (SDPS) runs separately, within the SPS-led coalition. The SDP's base is in Novi Pazar, Tutin, Sjenica and Prijepolje. It supports EU accession and regional cooperation, particularly with Bosnia and Herzegovina and Montenegro. European party family: none.

SDA SANDŽAKA - ČUVARI SANDŽAKA / SDA OF SANDŽAK - GUARDIANS OF SANDŽAK

The Party of Democratic Action of Sandžak (SDA Sandžaka), founded in 1990 by Sulejman Ugljanin, is one of the oldest Bosniak parties and has alternated between opposition and government since 2000. Led by Ugljanin, with Ahmedin Škrijelj heading the list, it campaigns for decentralisation, minority rights, anti-corruption measures, lustration and development in Sandžak. It supports EU accession and closer relations with Bosnia and Herzegovina. European party family: none.

1.2. LISTS THAT DID NOT ENTER THE NATIONAL ASSEMBLY

Twelve of the 18 lists on the ballot did not win seats. The most significant is the list of Ivica Dačić - A Factor of Stability!, led by the Socialist Party of Serbia (SPS), which won 2.1 percent. The SPS, the successor to the League of Communists of Serbia, governed under Slobodan Milošević in the 1990s and has been the SNS's coalition partner since 2012; it won 18 seats in 2023. Two minority lists that were represented in the outgoing parliament also fell short: Usame Zukorlić's Justice and Reconciliation Party (SPP), which has cooperated with SNS-led governments and won 0.3 percent, and the Russian Party, which promotes closer ties with Moscow and won 0.1 percent.

Among the lists running against the ruling majority, European Serbia, the coalition of the SSP, Serbia Centre (SRCE) and the Civic Movement Solidarity led by Dragan Đilas, Zdravko Ponoš and Marinika Tepić, won 0.3 percent, after its decision to run separately from the Student List divided the pro-democratic opposition. The SSP is an associate member of the PES. The Eurosceptic Authentic Right of Miloš Jovanović, a coalition of the New Democratic Party of Serbia (Novi DSS) and the Monarchists, won 0.9 percent. The People's Choice coalition of the People's Movement of Serbia (NPS), New Face of Serbia (NLS) and Ecological Uprising withdrew its list on 24 September to support the Student List. All other lists, including Bogoljub Karić's Movement Strength of Serbia (0.5 percent), won less than one percent each.

Vote shares: REC | 29 Oct 2026, 13:50 (preliminary). 8,338 of 8,392 polling stations processed.

2. ELECTION RESULTS

All results in this chapter are preliminary. Final results will be declared only after voting is repeated at 53 polling stations on 1 November (see chapter 5).

THE STUDENT LIST WINS AN ABSOLUTE MAJORITY ON THE HIGHEST TURNOUT THIS CENTURY

The Student List - Students Are Winning won the elections with 53.0 percent of the vote according to the REC's preliminary results. United Serbia, the list led by the SNS, came second with 38.9 percent. On these results, the Student List will have 140 of the 250 seats, 14 more than the 126 needed for a majority, which allows it to form a government on its own. United Serbia will have 104 seats, down from 129 for the SNS-led list in 2023.

Only six lists will be represented in the new National Assembly: the two largest and four minority lists, which won six seats between them. The SPS, the SNS's coalition partner

since 2012, which won 18 seats in 2023, fell below the 3 percent threshold, as did Authentic Right and European Serbia. United Serbia won almost the same number of votes as the SNS-led list in 2023, about 57,000 fewer, but its share fell by almost eight points because around 612,000 more citizens voted. The Student List won around 623,000 more votes than United Serbia.

Table 2.1 Results by list

List	REC preliminary: vote share	REC preliminary: votes	Seats (REC preliminary results)
Student List - Students Are Winning	53.0	2,349,689	140
Aleksandar Vučić - United Serbia	38.9	1,726,375	104
Alliance of Vojvodina Hungarians - Dr Bálint Pásztor	0.8	35,004	2
Albanian Coalition	0.6	27,681	2
Rasim Ljajić - Ljudski (SDP - CDP)	0.5	20,415	1
SDA of Sandžak - Guardians of Sandžak	0.3	12,381	1
Usame Zukorlić (SPP) Movement for Unification	0.3	12,132	0
Ivica Dačić - A Factor of Stability! (SPS)	2.1	94,569	0
Authentic Right - Dr Miloš Jovanović	0.9	39,484	0
European Serbia - Marinika Tepić - Zdravko Ponoš	0.3	12,562	0
Bogoljub Karić - Movement Strength of Serbia	0.5	20,029	0
Seven other lists	0.5	23,594	0

Source: REC | 29 Oct 2026, 13:50 (preliminary). 8,338 of 8,392 polling stations processed. Vote shares in percent of voters who cast a ballot. Seat figures are based on the REC's preliminary results and are not the final allocation.

Table 2.2 Comparison with the December 2023 parliamentary elections

	2023: votes	2023: share	2023: seats	2026: votes (REC)	2026: share (REC)	2026: seats (REC)
SNS-led list	1,783,701	46.7	129	1,726,375	38.9	104
SPS-led list	249,916	6.5	18	94,569	2.1	0
Alliance of Vojvodina Hungarians	64,747	1.7	6	35,004	0.8	2

Sources: REC final report on the results of the 17 December 2023 elections; REC | 29 Oct 2026, 13:50 (preliminary). Shares in percent of voters who cast a ballot in both years. Only comparable contestants are compared.

TURNOUT

Turnout was 69.0 percent according to the REC, about ten points higher than in December 2023 (58.8 percent). 4,433,055 citizens voted, compared with 3,820,746 in 2023.

	2023 (REC)	2026 (REC)
Turnout	58.8	69.0
Voters who cast a ballot	3,820,746	4,433,055

Sources: REC final report on the 2023 elections; REC | 29 Oct 2026, 13:50 (preliminary), turnout at the 8,338 processed polling stations.

3. INTEGRITY OF THE ELECTORAL PROCESS AND THE CAMPAIGN

This chapter summarises the findings of the CRTA Election Observation Mission. The full findings are in the Mission's reports.

Issues that dominated the campaign. The campaign was polarised and marked by violence, intimidation and the discrediting of opponents, above all the Student List. CRTA documented 116 incidents of physical violence and verbal threats, along with allegations of voter pressure and vote buying. The police responded inconsistently and late to incidents involving Student List candidates and activists, while ruling coalition events were secured systematically, and opposition activists faced surveillance, searches and questioning. Confrontational rhetoric largely crowded out debate on programmes.

Misuse of public resources. CRTA recorded more than 1,500 campaign activities involving public officials and over 650 cases indicating possible misuse of public resources or office, more than 250 of which used jobs, contracts, social assistance or public services to win support. About a third of the ruling coalition's campaign activities involved such elements. The Agency for Prevention of Corruption interpreted misuse narrowly and, by the cut-off date, had decided 12 of the 37 complaints submitted by CRTA, finding no violation in more than half.

Media. Representatives of the authorities received almost three quarters of political airtime on national television, and more than 80 percent of coverage of the Student List was negative. The ruling coalition accounted for 93 percent of political advertising airtime on national broadcasters, and government representatives for 94 percent of political airtime in regular programming on the public broadcaster RTS. Pro-government online media increasingly portrayed opposition and independent actors as sources of violence, in at least 2,700 articles in the second part of the campaign, and nearly 300 articles invoked a "colour revolution". The Regulatory Authority for Electronic Media decided on practically none of the complaints it received during the campaign, including the 28 submitted by CRTA, because its Council is deadlocked.

Voter register. The elections were held without the planned audit of the Voter register, closed on 9 October, because the authorities did not give the independent Audit Commission access to the source records. Working with partial data, the Commission found some 9,000 probable duplicate entries, questionable residence records and a mismatch between registered voters and the adult population, and confirmed organised registration ahead of the 2023 elections. It distanced itself from the government's claim of 98 percent

correspondence with administrative records. Its first report was due on 28 October, three days after the vote.

Voting abroad. Interest in voting abroad was unprecedented, but the number of polling stations rose by only 15 percent and was unevenly distributed: Bosnia and Herzegovina had 28 of the 93 polling stations for about 19,800 voters, Germany eight for more than 20,000. The REC required voting abroad to follow Belgrade time rather than local time. Two voters from Novi Sad were again registered to vote in Banja Luka without their consent, repeating a pattern from 2023, when criminal complaints produced no outcome.

Observers. Pressure on domestic observers intensified in the second half of the campaign, up to public calls for arrests, investigations into CRTA's finances and a ban on its work. Senior officials, including Aleksandar Vučić and Ana Brnabić, portrayed CRTA as part of an attempted "colour revolution". Between 1 and 18 October, 85 percent of the 274 articles mentioning CRTA in major pro-government online media were negative. The authorities also questioned the impartiality of international observers, and the invitation to the European Parliament was sent after the deadline.

Election day. CRTA observers recorded photographing of ballots at about half of polling stations, inconsistent verification of voter identity at 8 percent, inconsistent use of UV lamps and spray at 29 percent, and improperly prepared polling stations at 14 percent, as well as pressure on polling boards and violent incidents in several places. CRTA assessed that systemic manipulation at polling stations was largely prevented by trained representatives of the lists, observers and other citizens. No systematic manipulation of the Voter register comparable to 2023 was documented, but CRTA received reports of voters transferred without their consent to polling stations abroad.

Complaints and appeals. The REC generally met its deadlines, but its handling of some complaints, particularly on voting abroad, showed procedural shortcomings. Of the 38 complaints it had decided by the cut-off date, none submitted after the consolidated list of candidates was confirmed on 8 October was upheld. It adopted no uniform instructions on voting outside polling stations, and in Zaječar parties were allowed to submit lists of voters requesting home voting, although the law requires voters to apply themselves. After election day, the REC ordered voting to be repeated at 53 polling stations (see chapter 5).

4. VOTING BEHAVIOUR BY TERRITORY

All figures in this chapter are preliminary. They are based on the REC results by polling station as of 29 October 2026, 13:50, when 8,338 of the 8,392 polling stations had been processed. The 54 polling stations not yet processed have 25,835 registered voters, 0.4 percent of the total, and are not included in any figure, including turnout.

CITIES AND THE NORTH FOR THE STUDENT LIST, THE SOUTH-EAST FOR UNITED SERBIA

The Student List - Students Are Winning won 53.0 percent of the vote nationally and came first in three of Serbia's four regions. Its lead was largest in **Belgrade**, at 31 percentage points. In **Vojvodina** it led by 13 points and in **Šumadija** and **Western Serbia** by 11. **Southern and Eastern Serbia** was the only region where Aleksandar Vučić - United Serbia stayed ahead, by 1.3 points.

The regional totals hide a sharper divide inside each region. The Student List won the cities and towns: it came first in 25 of the 27 cities and in every one of Belgrade's 17 city municipalities. United Serbia held on in smaller municipalities, above all in the south-east, among voters from Kosovo and among voters in Bosnia and Herzegovina.

Turnout was 69.0 percent and varied less between regions than the vote did. It was close to 70 percent in Belgrade, Vojvodina, and Šumadija and Western Serbia, and 67.3 percent in Southern and Eastern Serbia. Turnout was markedly lower in municipalities where national minorities live and among voters from Kosovo. It was highest in penitentiary institutions and abroad.

Table 4.1 Results by region

Region	Turnout	Student List	United Serbia	SPS	Minority lists	Other lists	Student List lead (pp)
Belgrade	70.3	62.9	31.7	1.5	0.5	2.4	+31.2
Vojvodina	70.4	52.2	39.5	1.6	3.5	1.7	+12.7
Šumadija and Western Serbia	69.1	50.8	39.9	2.6	3.6	1.6	+10.9
Southern and Eastern Serbia	67.3	44.4	45.7	3.1	3.8	1.6	-1.3

Abroad	78.7	72.7	24.7	0.5	0.7	1.0	+48.0
Voters from Kosovo	35.5	20.6	72.0	3.3	0.3	1.4	-51.4
Penitentiary institutions	90.5	24.5	64.9	2.5	2.3	3.5	-40.4
Serbia, total	**69.0**	**53.0**	**38.9**	**2.1**	**2.8**	**1.8**	**+14.1**

Source: REC | 29 Oct 2026, 13:50 (preliminary). 8,338 of 8,392 polling stations processed. Vote shares in percent of voters who cast a ballot. Other lists include Authentic Right and European Serbia.

RESULTS IN CRTA'S SAMPLE, BY TYPE OF AREA

The more an area leaned towards the government, the lower the turnout and the larger United Serbia's share

CRTA's parallel vote tabulation is based on a representative sample of polling stations, grouped into strata by the political profile of the area. "Opposition-leaning" and "government-leaning" describe the areas, not an assessment of any list. The sample does not include polling stations abroad, for voters from Kosovo or in penitentiary institutions, so its totals (52.5 percent for the Student List, 39.2 for United Serbia and a turnout of 68.8 percent) differ slightly from the REC results in chapter 2. The difference comes mainly from voters abroad, who voted overwhelmingly for the Student List: without them, the REC results are 52.6 percent for the Student List and 39.2 for United Serbia, with a turnout of 68.8 percent.

The vote followed the profile of the areas closely. In the most opposition-leaning areas, the Student List won 71.0 percent and United Serbia 23.8. In the most government-leaning areas the picture was reversed, with United Serbia at 68.5 percent and the Student List at 22.4. The Student List won a majority in the two opposition-leaning strata and in the average stratum (54.1 percent). United Serbia led in all three government-leaning strata, but only narrowly in the first of them (48.2 against 45.8 percent).

Table 4.2 Results by stratum, CRTA sample

Stratum	Student List	United Serbia	Student List lead (pp)
Opposition-leaning ++	71.0	23.8	+47.2
Opposition-leaning +	63.6	31.1	+32.5
Average	54.1	40.2	+13.9
Government-leaning +	45.8	48.2	-2.4
Government-leaning ++	36.5	56.5	-20.0
Government-leaning +++	22.4	68.5	-46.1
Total	**52.5**	**39.2**	**+13.3**

Source: CRTA parallel vote tabulation | final projection, sample of 500 polling stations. Strata of areas where national minorities live are not shown.

Turnout was highest in opposition-leaning areas (74.4 percent in the Opposition-leaning + stratum) and lowest in the most government-leaning areas (62.7 percent), a gap of almost 12 points. In the other strata it stayed between 68 and 71 percent.

Table 4.3 Turnout by stratum, CRTA sample

Stratum	Turnout
Opposition-leaning ++	70.9
Opposition-leaning +	74.4
Average	71.1
Government-leaning +	68.9
Government-leaning ++	68.3
Government-leaning +++	62.7
Total	**68.8**

Source: CRTA parallel vote tabulation | final projection, sample of 500 polling stations. Strata of areas where national minorities live are not shown.

DISTRICTS: THE SOUTH-EAST IS THE ONLY PART OF THE COUNTRY UNITED SERBIA STILL HOLDS

The Student List came first in 19 of the 25 administrative districts, counting Belgrade as one. **United Serbia** led in six, all in Southern and Eastern Serbia: **Toplica District** (54.6 percent), **Jablanica District** (51.3), **Braničevo District** (50.4), **Bor District**, **Pirot District** and **Pčinja District**. In Pčinja District its 40.2 percent was enough to come first because the Albanian Coalition took a quarter of the vote. United Serbia won more than half of the vote in only three districts.

Outside Belgrade, the Student List was strongest in **Moravica District** (58.5 percent, around Čačak), **South Bačka District** (57.5, around Novi Sad), **Kolubara District** and **Šumadija District**. **Nišava District**, around Niš, gave it its largest lead in the south-east, 13 points. Six districts were decided by less than three points: Zaječar, Srem, Rasina, Pomoravlje, North Banat and Mačva Districts. Pomoravlje District, around Jagodina, is also where the SPS had its best result (5.3 percent, and 10.9 percent in the city of Jagodina).

Table 4.4 Results b y district

District	Region	Turnout	Student List	United Serbia	Lead (pp)
Belgrade	Belgrade	70.3	62.9	31.7	+31.2
South Bačka	Vojvodina	73.1	57.5	36.2	+21.3
South Banat	Vojvodina	69.6	54.8	39.5	+15.3
North Bačka	Vojvodina	62.7	47.5	34.9	+12.6
Central Banat	Vojvodina	70.5	51.0	41.7	+9.3
West Bačka	Vojvodina	70.0	49.5	43.4	+6.1
North Banat	Vojvodina	63.4	40.4	38.0	+2.4
Srem	Vojvodina	73.1	47.7	46.6	+1.1
Moravica	Šumadija and Western Serbia	76.4	58.5	36.3	+22.2
Šumadija	Šumadija and Western Serbia	72.4	55.3	38.2	+17.1
Kolubara	Šumadija and Western Serbia	74.9	55.6	38.9	+16.7
Zlatibor	Šumadija and Western Serbia	69.2	51.4	38.0	+13.4
Raška	Šumadija and Western Serbia	62.4	45.0	33.1	+11.9
Mačva	Šumadija and Western Serbia	68.4	48.1	45.5	+2.6
Pomoravlje	Šumadija and Western Serbia	62.4	46.5	44.5	+2.0

Rasina	Šumadija and Western Serbia	71.3	47.8	45.9	+1.9
Nišava	Southern and Eastern Serbia	72.6	53.9	40.6	+13.3
Podunavlje	Southern and Eastern Serbia	65.9	49.5	43.7	+5.8
Zaječar	Southern and Eastern Serbia	69.4	46.8	46.3	+0.5
Pirot	Southern and Eastern Serbia	75.8	44.8	48.8	-4.0
Bor	Southern and Eastern Serbia	62.9	44.8	49.2	-4.4
Braničevo	Southern and Eastern Serbia	60.7	43.0	50.4	-7.4
Jablanica	Southern and Eastern Serbia	71.3	41.3	51.3	-10.0
Pčinja	Southern and Eastern Serbia	59.9	26.4	40.2	-13.8
Toplica	Southern and Eastern Serbia	70.7	39.2	54.6	-15.4

Source: REC | 29 Oct 2026, 13:50 (preliminary). 8,338 of 8,392 polling stations processed. Districts ordered by region and by the Student List's lead.

At the level of municipalities, the Student List was the largest list in 90 of the 167 municipalities and city municipalities, and United Serbia in 73. Minority lists came first in four: the Albanian Coalition in Preševo and Bujanovac, the Alliance of Vojvodina Hungarians in Kanjiža and SDA of Sandžak in Tutin. In Southern and Eastern Serbia, United Serbia came first in 37 municipalities and the Student List in 13. United Serbia's highest results were all in small municipalities in the south: Trgovište (81.1 percent), Crna Trava (71.5), Bojnik (70.0) and Doljevac (68.0).

MAJOR CITIES: A NEAR-IDENTICAL RESULT IN BELGRADE, NOVI SAD, NIŠ AND KRAGUJEVAC

In the four largest cities the Student List won between 58 and 63 percent, with turnout above the national average. **Novi Sad** (63.0 percent) and **Belgrade** (62.9) gave it its best results among the cities. **Niš** (59.9) and **Kragujevac** (58.0) were close behind, which makes Niš the clearest exception to United Serbia's hold on the south.

The Student List came first in 25 of the 27 cities. The two exceptions are both in the south: **Leskovac** (United Serbia 48.3 percent, Student List 44.6) and **Vranje** (51.9 and 41.2). Two cities were practically tied: Loznica (a lead of 0.3 points) and Kikinda (0.4). After the four largest cities, the Student List's strongest results were in Čačak (61.4 percent), Valjevo (61.2) and Užice (60.8).

Table 4.5 Major cities

City	Registered voters	Turnout	Student List	United Serbia	Lead (pp)
Belgrade	1,581,367	70.3	62.9	31.7	+31.2
Novi Sad	336,807	73.5	63.0	31.7	+31.3
Niš	223,942	73.4	59.9	35.1	+24.8
Kragujevac	152,043	72.6	58.0	35.4	+22.6

Source: REC | 29 Oct 2026, 13:50 (preliminary). 8,338 of 8,392 polling stations processed. City areas as in the REC data: Belgrade includes all 17 city municipalities, Niš its five city municipalities.

Within **Belgrade**, the vote followed the distance from the centre. In the ten central city municipalities the Student List won 65.5 percent and United Serbia 29.1. In the seven outer municipalities the margin narrowed to 52.9 against 41.5, and Sopot (0.5 points) and Surčin (2.2) were nearly tied. The Student List's best results anywhere in the country were in **Stari Grad** (73.2 percent) and **Vračar** (72.3). Turnout was slightly higher in the outer municipalities (72.1 percent) than in the centre (69.9), with the highest in Lazarevac (78.9).

AREAS WHERE NATIONAL MINORITIES LIVE: LOWER TURNOUT AND SPLIT MINORITY VOTES

Turnout was markedly lower in the municipalities where the Hungarian, Bosniak and Albanian communities live: 61.3 percent in eight municipalities in the north of Vojvodina, 50.3 percent in four municipalities of Sandžak and 46.7 percent in three municipalities in the south of Serbia. Tutin (39.1 percent), Preševo (44.0) and Sjenica (45.1) had the lowest turnout of any municipality.

Hungarian community. In the eight municipalities with a large Hungarian community, the Alliance of Vojvodina Hungarians won 16.2 percent, and these municipalities gave it 71 percent of all its votes. It came first only in **Kanjiža** (38.8 percent). In Senta it came second, 13.5 points behind the Student List, and in Ada and Bačka Topola third, behind both large lists. Across the eight municipalities, the Student List led United Serbia by 43.7 to 34.7 percent.

Bosniak community. In Novi Pazar, Tutin, Sjenica and Prijepolje the vote was split between three Bosniak lists: Rasim Ljajić - Ljudski (14.5 percent), SDA of Sandžak (12.3) and Usame Zukorlić's SPP (8.6). The Student List came first overall, with 35.0 percent, and was the largest list in **Novi Pazar** (38.7). SDA of Sandžak won **Tutin** (35.4 percent), where the Bosniak lists together took more than 60 percent.

Albanian community. The Albanian Coalition won 61.2 percent in Preševo, Bujanovac and Medveđa, and 98 percent of its votes came from these three municipalities. It won 77.7 percent in **Preševo** and 54.4 in **Bujanovac**. United Serbia won 21.1 percent in the three municipalities and the Student List 7.7.

Table 4.6 Municipalities where national minorities live

Municipalities	Turnout	Student List	United Serbia	Largest minority list
Hungarian community (8)	61.3	43.7	34.7	Alliance of Vojvodina Hungarians 16.2
Bosniak community (4)	50.3	35.0	23.4	Rasim Ljajić - Ljudski 14.5
Albanian community (3)	46.7	7.7	21.1	Albanian Coalition 61.2
Serbia, total	**69.0**	**53.0**	**38.9**	

Source: REC | 29 Oct 2026, 13:50 (preliminary). 8,338 of 8,392 polling stations processed. Hungarian community: Subotica, Kanjiža, Senta, Ada, Bačka Topola, Mali Iđoš, Čoka, Bečej. Bosniak community: Novi Pazar, Tutin, Sjenica, Prijepolje. Albanian community: Preševo, Bujanovac, Medveđa.

VOTERS ABROAD: TWO DIASPORAS

The Student List won 72.7 percent abroad, at the 92 processed polling stations with 100,748 registered voters and a turnout of 78.7 percent. That total combines two electorates that voted in opposite directions.

At the 28 polling stations in **Bosnia and Herzegovina**, 24 of them in Republika Srpska, United Serbia won 78.6 percent and the Student List 17.8. The two polling stations in **North Macedonia** voted the same way (United Serbia 81.5 percent). Everywhere else, the Student List won 88.1 percent and United Serbia 9.5. In **Germany**, which had 20,107 registered voters at eight polling stations, more than in Bosnia and Herzegovina, the Student List won 90.1 percent. Among countries with more than 1,000 registered voters, its lowest result outside Bosnia and Herzegovina and North Macedonia was in Austria (73.9 percent).

Table 4.7 Voters abroad

Country or group	Polling stations	Registered voters	Turnout	Student List	United Serbia
Bosnia and Herzegovina	28	19,800	81.5	17.8	78.6
North Macedonia	2	1,438	84.9	16.4	81.5
All other countries	62	79,510	77.9	88.1	9.5
of which Germany	8	20,107	80.1	90.1	6.7
of which Austria	6	10,484	64.3	73.9	24.4
of which United States	4	5,750	77.4	94.4	4.3
of which Italy	3	4,901	73.1	82.7	15.0
of which Switzerland	2	4,585	76.6	87.5	10.3
of which Slovenia	2	3,878	87.8	94.7	4.2
of which France	2	3,023	77.8	86.4	11.0
of which Canada	2	2,752	68.4	89.2	8.7
of which Sweden	2	2,465	86.7	92.1	6.0
of which Norway	1	2,352	75.9	96.7	2.3
of which United Kingdom	1	2,204	86.5	95.2	2.4
of which Netherlands	1	1,934	92.9	96.5	2.4
of which Spain	2	1,882	77.6	95.4	3.2
of which Montenegro	2	1,473	73.7	74.2	23.1
of which Malta	1	1,375	91.3	90.3	8.4
of which Croatia	2	1,230	82.6	76.9	20.9
of which Czechia	1	1,177	93.5	91.7	5.9
of which Australia	2	1,014	66.1	88.5	9.7
Abroad, total	**92**	**100,748**	**78.7**	**72.7**	**24.7**

Source: REC | 29 Oct 2026, 13:50 (preliminary). 8,338 of 8,392 polling stations processed. Countries assigned from the polling-station addresses. Countries with at least 1,000 registered voters are shown individually. Polling stations: processed only; one polling station in Montenegro had not been processed.

VOTERS FROM KOSOVO AND IN PENITENTIARY INSTITUTIONS

At the 60 polling stations for voters from Kosovo, turnout was 35.5 percent, about half the national average. United Serbia won 72.0 percent and the Student List 20.6. The Student List's best result was among voters from the Kosovska Mitrovica District (29.9 percent), and the SPS won 27.2 percent among the small number of voters from the Peć District.

At the 29 polling stations in **penitentiary institutions**, turnout was 90.5 percent and United Serbia won 64.9 percent.

Together, voters abroad, from Kosovo and in penitentiary institutions cast 122,482 ballots, 2.8 percent of the total.

5. WHAT COMES NEXT

Voting will be repeated at 53 polling stations in 24 municipalities on 1 November. At 31 of them the results could not be established, mostly because the records were signed by fewer than three polling board members; at 22 the vote was annulled, for reasons including more ballots in the box than voters, missing control sheets and voting by persons not on the register. Final results can be declared, seats allocated and the National Assembly convened only after the re-vote. According to the REC's preliminary results, the Student List will have 140 seats, United Serbia 104 and minority lists 6. A majority is 126, so the Student List alone can open the first session and elect the Speaker.

Legal timeline, with all deadlines used in full

Date	Step
1 Nov	Re-vote at 53 polling stations, with newly appointed polling boards. All later deadlines count from the closing of the last polling station.
4 Nov	Deadline for requests to annul the re-vote.
9 Nov	Final results at the latest. Objections possible until 12 Nov, then appeals to the Administrative Court.
around 19 Nov	Seats allocated and certificates issued by the REC.
27 Nov	Last day to call the presidential election, which must be held 30 to 60 days after it is called.
9 to 12 Dec	Latest date for the first session of the new National Assembly, convened by the Speaker of the outgoing parliament.
27 Dec	Three months of the acting presidency expire.
+90 days	The Government must be elected within 90 days of the Assembly being constituted, or the Assembly is dissolved.

When will the Assembly be constituted? In the baseline scenario, the first session would be held between 9 and 12 December. If institutions act early, it could be on 5 or 6 December, or possibly at the end of November. Objections and appeals would push it to 18 to 21 December, and another round of repeated voting to 23 to 26 December. Only repeated annulments, as in Veliki Trnovac in 2022, would push it into January 2027 or later. The single biggest variable is the date of the first session, which the outgoing Speaker, Ana Brnabić, chooses within the 30-day window.

Who acts as president? President Vučić resigned on 27 September, and the Speaker, Ana Brnabić, has been acting president since 28 September. She remains acting president until the new Assembly is constituted, and must call the presidential election by 27 November. Her mandate ends when 167 mandates are confirmed, and no one is formally designated to act as president until the new Speaker is elected, which is why the new Speaker should be elected at the same session. The new Speaker then acts as president until a president takes office, in the middle of the presidential campaign.

Sources: Constitution of the Republic of Serbia, Law on the Election of Members of Parliament, Law on the President of the Republic, Rules of Procedure of the National Assembly, REC decisions of 28 October 2026. Dates after 1 November are legal maximums in the baseline scenario.

METHODOLOGY AND SOURCES

Official results. Results for 2026 are the preliminary results of the Republic Electoral Commission (REC) by polling station, as of 29 October 2026 at 13:50, when 8,338 of the 8,392 polling stations had been processed. The 54 unprocessed polling stations, 53 of them where voting is repeated on 1 November, are not included in any figure. Seat figures for 2026 are based on the REC's preliminary results. Results for 2023 are from the REC's final report on the 17 December 2023 elections.

CRTA projection. CRTA's projection of vote shares and the results by type of area come from CRTA's parallel vote tabulation (PVT), based on the official results protocols from a representative sample of 500 polling stations, collected by CRTA observers. The sample does not include polling stations abroad, for voters from Kosovo or in penitentiary institutions.

Calculations. Vote shares are given in percent of voters who cast a ballot, as in REC reporting, and turnout in percent of registered voters at processed polling stations. The lead is the difference between the Student List and United Serbia in percentage points. Regions follow the statistical regions used in the REC data, and cities and districts the REC's grouping of municipalities. Countries abroad are assigned from the polling-station addresses. Figures are rounded to one decimal place.

Campaign and election day. Chapter 3 summarises the findings of the CRTA Election Observation Mission, published in its reports. Chapter 5 is based on the Constitution, the Law on the Election of Members of Parliament, the Law on the President of the Republic, the Rules of Procedure of the National Assembly and the REC decisions of 28 October 2026.



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