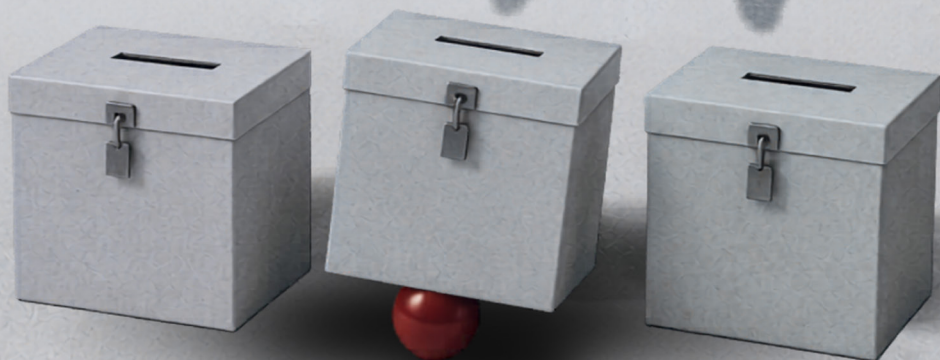


29. MART 2026.

LOKALNI IZBORI U ZAROBLJENOJ DRŽAVI

LOCAL ELECTIONS IN A CAPTURED STATE

MARCH 29, 2026



LOKALNI IZBORI U ZAROBLJENOJ DRŽAVI

29. mart 2026. godine



Lokalni izbori u zarobljenoj državi
29. mart 2026.

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S A D R Ź A J

LOKALNI IZBORI U ZAROBLJENOJ DRŽAVI.....	3
SADRŽAJ:.....	5
Uvodna reč.....	6
Opšte informacije.....	8
Izborne liste.....	9
Posmatračke misije.....	12
Funkcionerska kampanja.....	16
Predizborni pritisci.....	19
Izborni dan.....	22
Rezultati.....	26
Prigovori.....	30
Raspodela mandata.....	32
Izveštaji međunarodnih posmatračkih misija.....	35
Pritisci posle izbora.....	35
Zaključci o trendovima.....	37

Uvodna reč

Postoje izbori koji potvrđuju stanje stvari, i oni koji ga razotkrivaju. Lokalni izbori održani 29. marta 2026. godine u deset jedinica lokalne samouprave u Srbiji pripadaju ovoj drugoj vrsti. Oni nisu bili tek još jedan izborni ciklus u nizu, već svojevrsni presek političke realnosti u kojoj se formalni demokratski mehanizmi sve češće koriste kao kulisa za procese koji sa demokratijom imaju sve manje veze. Ovi izbori se ne mogu razumeti izolovano, kao lokalni događaj ograničen na Arandjelovac, Kulu ili Bor. Oni su se odvijali u kontinuitetu političke krize koja traje najmanje od talasa građanskih i studentskih protesta započetih 2024. godine, ali i u kontekstu dugotrajnog urušavanja institucionalnih mehanizama zaštite prava i sloboda. Izborni proces se tako ponovo našao između dve suprotstavljene dinamike: s jedne strane, sve izraženijih autoritarnih praksi vlasti, a sa druge, rastuće budnosti građana i građanki, koji pokušavaju da kroz ograničene institucionalne kanale povrate prostor političkog delovanja.

U takvom okviru, lokalni izbori prestaju da budu pitanje komunalne politike i postaju mesto političkog sukoba oko samih pravila igre. Funkcionerska kampanja, zloupotreba javnih resursa, pojavljivanje fantomskih lista i instrumentalizacija posmatračkih misija, nisu incidenti već simptomi sistema u kojem je granica između države i partije gotovo izbrisana. Istovremeno, nasilje na izborni dan i izostanak adekvatne institucionalne reakcije dodatno potvrđuju da izborni proces više nije zaštićen ni minimalnim standardima bezbednosti i jednakosti učesnika:ca.

Pa ipak, uprkos takvom ambijentu, ovi izbori otvaraju i drugačiju liniju tumačenja. Povećana izlaznost i značajan rezultat studentsko-građanskih lista ukazuju na to da politička apatija nije dominantno stanje društva. Naprotiv, čini se da upravo u uslovima suženog prostora za delovanje dolazi do njegovog redefinisavanja, kroz nove oblike organizovanja, savezništava i političke artikulacije na lokalnom nivou.

Ova analiza polazi od pretpostavke da lokalni izbori iz 2026. godine nisu samo indikator izbornog rezultata, već i važan pokazatelj transformacije političkog sistema u Srbiji. Njihova vrednost nije samo u brojkama, već u obrascima koje otkrivaju: u načinu na koji se vlast održava, u metodama kojima se prostor političke konkurencije sužava, ali i u strategijama kojima se taj prostor iznova osvaja. U tom kontekstu, pitanje koje ova analiza postavlja nije samo ko je pobedio na izborima već šta danas uopšte znači učestvovati na izborima u uslovima zarobljene države.

Dragoslava Barzut

Opšte informacije

Predsednica Narodne skupštine Ana Brnabić raspisala je 23. februara 2026. godine redovne lokalne izbore u devet jedinica lokalne samouprave: Aranđelovcu, Bajinoj Bašti, Kladovu, Knjaževcu, Kuli, Lučanima, Majdanpeku, Smederevskoj Palanci i gradu Boru za 29. mart 2026. godine. Izbori su takođe raspisani u gradskoj opštini Sevojno (Užice). Prethodni lokalni izbori u ovim mestima održani su 2022. godine. Pravo glasa na ovim lokalnim izborima imalo je ukupno 247.952 birača.

MESTO	BROJ GRAĐANA SA BIRAČKIM PRAVOM
SMEDEREVSKA PALANKA	38.933
BOR	38.511
ARANĐELOVAC	36.838
KULA	33.283
KNJAŽEVAC	22.255
BAJINA BAŠTA	21.458
KLADOVO	21.088
MAJDANPEK	15.413
LUČANI	14.629
SEVOJNO	5.544

Tabela 1. Ukupan broj građana sa biračkim pravom u mestima u kojima su održani lokalni izbori 29. marta 2026. godine (prema podacima dostupnim na sajtu Ministarstva državne uprave i lokalne samouprave)

Ovo su drugi lokalni izbori od početka građanskih i studentskih protesta 2024. godine. Prvi su održani 2025. godine u Zaječaru, Kosjeriću, Mionici, Negotinu i Sečnju. I ovogodišnji lokalni izbori odigrali su se u okolnostima otvorene represije vlasti u Srbiji prema građanima i građankama. Brojne domaće i međunarodne organizacije izvestile su o pogoršanju stanja osnovnih sloboda, sve većem i zabrinjavajućem broju napada na građane, aktiviste, novinare, neosnovanim hapšenjima, nelegalnim prisluškivanjima, pogoršanju stanja medijskih sloboda i potpunom odsustvu institucionalnih mehanizama zaštite.

Izborne liste

U svim mestima u kojima su izbori održani, vladajuća Srpska napredna stranka (SNS) je sa svojim koalicionim partnerima izašla sa listom koja je nosila naziv „Aleksandar Vučić - (naziv mesta), naša porodica!“. Iako Vučić nije bio kandidat na lokalnim izborima, njegovo ime u nazivu kampanje redovno se koristi u mobilizaciji birača SNS-a. Njegovo učešće kao nosioca liste, kao i učešće u funkcionerskoj kampanji, predstavlja kršenje temeljnih principa demokratije, fer i slobodnog izbornog procesa, kao i sukob interesa i zloupotrebu državnih resursa. SNS je na ovim izborima izašao u koaliciji sa Socijalističkom partijom Srbije (SPS), Srpskom radikalnom strankom (SRS), Partijom ujedinjenih penzionera, poljoprivrednika i proletera (PUPS), Srpskom strankom Zavetnici, Jedinstvenom Srbijom, u a u pojedinim mestima i sa Zdravom Srbijom Milana Stamatovića (Smederevska Palanka), Srpskom narodnom partijom Nenada Popovića (Bor, Bajina Bašta) i Savezom vojvođanskih Mađara (Kula).¹

1 Urađeno na osnovu rezultata koje je odradio RIK, procenat se računao u odnosu na važeće listiće. Na svim listama SNS je izašao u koaliciji sa strankama koalicionim partnerima: SPS, SRS, Stranka Zavetnici, PUPS, PS.

Referendumski karakter ovih izbora oslikan je u činjenici da su većinu glasova osvojili ili vladajuća stranka ili studentsko-građanske opcije. Studenti su na različite načine učestvovali u pomoći listama na lokalnim izborima, kao što je to bio slučaj i 2025. godine. Paralelno, pojavile su se i brojne fantomske liste² koje se u svojim imenima pozivaju na mlade i studente: Studenti Palanke, Zeleni front za studente - Dragačevo (Lučani), Grupa građana Mladi za Kulu. Ove stranke pojavile su se prvi put na lokalnim izborima i do sada nisu bile poznate javnosti, a njihov cilj je da unesu zabunu među birače. Liste tzv. Srpske liberalne stranke izašle su u 7 od 10 mesta, iako u većini nisu imali ni prostorije u trenutku kada su podneli listu. Ova stranka je u Kuli osvojila ukupno 74 glasa, što je 7 puta manje nego što im je bilo potrebno potpisa da kandiduju listu (500 potpisa), dok su u Sevojnu osvojili 29 glasova (neophodan broj potpisa za kandidovanje liste je 200). U više gradova zabeležene su i manjinske liste i koalicije za koje se osnovano sumnja da su instrumentalizovane od strane režima: Koalicija 381 - Ujedinjeni podržavamo mlade (Arandelovac; kandidovana kao bošnjačko-crnogorska lista), Ruska stranka - Za bolji Arandelovac, Rusinska lista (Kula). Broj lista u mestima varira - u Kladovu su se kandidovale tri izborne liste, dok ih je u Boru bilo sedam.

Opoziciona politička koalicija koju su činili Narodni pokret Srbije (Miroslav Aleksić), Novo lice Srbije (Miloš Parandilović), Novi DSS i Monarhisti, nastupila je samostalno u Smederevskoj Palanci. U Knjaževcu je zajedno uz ove stranke na izbore izašla i Stranka slobode i pravde na listi „Promene - dr Igor Milosavljević - Marko Ignjatović“. Novi DSS i Monarhisti nastupili su na samostalnoj listi u Lučanima i u Boru, ali nisu osvojili ni jedan mandat.

2 Zbirno je izračunat rezultat stranaka koje su 2026. izašle zajedno sa SNS-om u koaliciji na lokalnim izborima, a koje su 2022. nastupile samostalno.

Socijaldemokratska partija Srbije Rasima Ljajića, koalicionog partnera vladajuće stranke na republičkom nivou, nastupila je samostalno u: Lučanima (osvojili su 248 glasova i 0 mandata) i Bajinoj Bašti (357 glasova i 0 mandata). Zdrava Srbija Milana Stamatovića je u Bajinoj Bašti i Sevojnu nastupila samostalno, dok su u Smederevskoj Palanci izašli na izbore u koaliciji sa SNS-om i drugim partijama.

MESTO	STUDENSKO-GRAĐANSKE LISTE
SMEDEREVSKA PALANKA	5. Mladi za Palanku - Sami protiv svih
BOR	2. Bor, naša odgovornost
ARANĐELOVAC	3. Studenti za Aranđelovac - Mladost pobeđuje
KULA	3. Glas mladih opštine Kula
KNJAŽEVAC	4. Knjaževac uz studente - Čista lista
BAJINA BAŠTA	2. Ujedinjeni za Bajinu Baštu
KLADOVO	2. Kladovo ima nas - Vreme je za promene!
MAJDANPEK	4. Nu dau
LUČANI	5. Zvuk pravde - Zajedno za studente
SEVOJNO	3. Ujedinjeni - Sevojno

Tabela 2. Opozicione liste koje su podržali studenti

MESTO	LISTE SA SLIČNIM NAZIVOM KAO STUDENTSKE LISTE
ARANĐELOVAC	Koalicija 381 - ujedinjeni podržavamo mlade
KULA	Mladi za Kulu
LUČANI	Zeleni front za studente
SMEDEREVSKA PALANKA	Studenti Palanke

Tabela 3. Lažne liste sa rečima mladi ili studenti u nazivu.

Posmatračke misije

Od lokalnih izbora održanih 2025. godine, prisutan je trend registrovanja posmatračkih misija od strane fantomskih ili GONGO organizacija.³ Na ovim lokalnim izborima, broj prijavljenih posmatračkih misija je značajno porastao, a ovoga puta na terenu su bile prisutne i međunarodne para-posmatračke misije.

Ukupno je bila prijavljena 31 domaća posmatračka misija. Pored [posmatračke misije CRTE](#) koja godinama posmatra izbore na svim nivoima vlasti, lokalne izbore posmatrali su i iz pokreta Kreni-promeni i građanskog pokreta Bravo, ali i iz različitih udruženja. Među tim udruženjima, bilo je onih osnovanih od strane građana okupljenih u zborovima⁴ koji su želeli da doprinesu demokratskom toku izbornog procesa tokom izbornog dana. Međutim, prisutne su bile i misije organizacija povezanih sa vlastima, koje su

3 Posmatračke misije mogu prijaviti iste posmatrače u svim mestima ukoliko planiraju da tokom izbornog dana obilaze sve opštine u kojima se organizuju izbori.

4 Uračunate su i duple posete pojedinih predstavnika izvršne vlasti.

javnosti poznate po targetiranju kritičkih glasova, a ovakve para-posmatračke misije služe kao paravan za sakrivanje svih zabeleženih nepravilnosti i za optuživanje opozicionih aktera za navodne manipulacije.

Među tim organizacijama nalaze se [Centar za evropske vrednosti](#) i [Institut za evropske slobode](#), registrovane mesec dana pred izbore održane 2025. godine. Prema podacima iz APR-a, obe organizacije bile su registrovane na istoj adresi: Dunavska 13 u Novom Sadu. Na ovoj adresi registrovano je i udruženje „Perspektiva mladih“ koje je takođe prijavilo posmatrače na ovim izborima.⁵ U februaru 2026. godine, Centar za evropske vrednosti promenio je sedište na adresu u Beogradu. Prošle godine, Centar za evropske vrednosti i Institut za evropske slobode registrovali su 400 posmatrača. Pregledom gotovo identičnih sajtova ove dve organizacije pronalaze se samo saopštenja u kojima se, upotrebom termina „blokaderi“, optužuju opozicija, studenti, i dugogodišnje posmatračke misije Crte za navodne ucene i pritiske na birače i za navodnu kupovinu glasova. Saopštenja ovih misija redovno su prenosili prorežimski mediji. Još jedno udruženje koje je registrovalo posmatrače na ovim lokalnim izborima - Udruženje Centar za unapređenje lokalnih i regionalnih politika - ima sedište na adresi Dunavska 12 u Novom Sadu, a zastupnik ovog udruženja je saradnik Centra za društvenu stabilnost, poznate GONGO organizacije koja pravi propagandne filmove kojima se targetiraju profesionalni novinari i organizacije civilnog društva.

5 Lažne ili fantomske izborne liste predstavljaju izborne liste koje formalno učestvuju na izborima ali bez stvarne političke organizacije, političkog programa i/ili kampanje. Obično se pojavljuju neposredno pred izbore tokom kojih se u javnosti predstavljaju kao opozicija, na samim izborima gotovo nikad ne prelaze cenzus, a posle izbora nestaju i njihovi članovi više nisu vidljivi na političkoj sceni. Njihova primarna svrha je uticaj na izborni proces u korist druge, po pravilu vladajuće političke opcije, najčešće kroz zbunjivanje birača, fragmentaciju glasova ili simuliranje političkog pluralizma.

BROJ DOMAĆIH POSMATRAČA PO OPŠTINAMA NA OSNOVU PODATAKA REPUBLIČKE IZBORNE KOMISIJE⁶:

- Kula: 18 posmatračkih misija, 1.597 (40 biračkih mesta)
- Bajina Bašta: 17 posmatračkih misija, 815 posmatrača (52 biračka mesta)
- Arandelovac: 12 posmatračkih misija prijavilo je ukupno 752 posmatrača (za ukupno 41 biračko mesto)
- Lučani: 10 posmatračkih misija, 716 posmatrača (43 biračka mesta)
- Smederevska Palanka: 10 posmatračkih misija, 553 posmatrača (49 biračkih mesta)
- Knjaževac: 9 posmatračkih misija, 495 posmatrača (65 biračkih mesta)
- Majdanpek: 8 posmatračkih misija prijavilo je ukupno 299 posmatrača (za ukupno 41 biračko mesto)
- Kladovo: 8 posmatračkih misija, 272 posmatrača (31 biračko mesto)

6 SPS, SRS, PUPS, JS i SNP su dugogodišnji koalicioni partneri vladajuće Srpske napredne stranke. Srpska stranka Zavetnici je do 2024. godine u javnosti nastupala kao otvoreni protivnik SNS-a, a predsednica ove stranke Milica Đurđević Stamenkovski odlučno je govorila da nikada neće sarađivati sa SNS-om. Međutim, već početkom 2024. godine, odbornici ove stranke ulaze u koaliciju sa SNS-om u brojnim jedinicama lokalne samouprave, a Đurđević Stamenkovski iste godine ulazi i u Vladu i od tada zauzima različite ministarske pozicije. Milan Stamatović, osnivač i predvodnik stranke Zdrava Srbija je od 2017. bio deo različitih opozicionih saveza i lista. Sve se menja 2023, kada Stamatović najavljuje da će se priključiti tzv. "Pokretu za narod i državu" čije osnivanje je SNS dugo najavljivao, a 2024. i zvanično nakon republičkih izbora Zdrava Srbija ulazi u koaliciju sa SNS-om kako bi bila formirana tesna većina u lokalnoj skupštini.

- Sevojno: podaci nisu dostupni na sajtu Republičke izborne komisije.
- Bor: podaci nisu dostupni na sajtu Republičke izborne komisije.

Pored domaćih posmatrača, lokalne izbore su posmatrali i strani posmatrači. U Srbiju je došla zvanična posmatračka misija [Kongresa lokalnih i regionalnih vlasti Saveta Evrope](#) sastavljena od 13 posmatrača. Pored njih, ove godine izbore su posmatrali i predstavnici više [američkih](#), konzervativnih organizacija, a nije poznato na čiji poziv i inicijativu su došli da posmatraju izbore. Reč je o organizacijama Mlada republikanska nacionalna federacija (Young Republican National Federation – YRNF), Republikanci za nacionalnu obnovu (Republicans for National Renewal – RNR), Institut za politiku „Amerika na prvom mestu“ (America First Policy Institute – AFPI), Međunarodna organizacija za porodicu (International Organisation for the Family). Oni su registrovali ukupno šest posmatrača. Zanimljivo je da je nekoliko dana posle izbora, AFPI demantovao u [odgovoru za BIRN](#) da je poslao posmatrača na lokalne izbore u Srbiji 29. marta, međutim, njihova članica Samanta Flanigan bila je zvanično registrovana kao posmatračica izbora i to u baš u ime AFPI. Prema Zakonu o izboru narodnih poslanika, strani posmatrači izbora mogu učestvovati isključivo u ime organizacije, a ne kao pojedinci. Kako ova organizacija tvrdi da nije poslala svog posmatrača na izbore, možemo da konstatujemo da je u tom slučaju prekršen zakon jer Samanta Flanigan nije mogla biti registrovana kao posmatrač pojedinac. Kao zvanični prevodioci ove posmatračke misije prijavljeni su članovi GONGO Centra za društvenu stabilnost. Para-posmatračke strane misije služe legitimizovanju izbora pred međunarodnom zajednicom.

Funkcionerska kampanja

Predsednik Srbije, premijer i članovi Vlade obilazili su lokalne samouprave gde se održavaju izbori i pre formalnog raspisivanja izbora. Tom prilikom obilazili su javne institucije, opštine, tužilaštva, škole, institute i okolna sela. Organizacija [Transparentnost Srbija](#) koja se bavi monitoringom potrošnje javnih sredstava navodi da su posete ovim mestima bile 50 puta učestalije u predizbornoj kampanji. [Biro za društvena istraživanja](#) (BIRODI) posebno je istakao da je Aleksandar Vučić zloupotrebio svoju funkciju i prekršio ODIHR preporuke kroz svoje obraćanje u Sivcu (Kula) i nastupe na televizijama zbog zloupotrebe javne funkcije u izbornom procesu jer nije obezbeđeno jasno razdvajanje između njegove državne funkcije i partijskih aktivnosti. Pri svojim posetama iznosio je direktive ministrima, a BIRODI dodatno upozorava da izborne liste koje u [nazivu](#) nose njegovo ime predstavljaju kršenje Ustava, Zakona o sprečavanju korupcije i preporuka ODIHR-a. Na adresu [Agencije za sprečavanje korupcije](#) stigla je i prijava Transparentnosti Srbija koja se ticala video-spota u kojem predsednik Srbije iz svog kabineta poziva glasače da glasaju za vladajuću koaliciju. Ukoliko se lice koje je funkcioner pojavljuje u ovakvom sadržaju, on sme da bude samo ispred zvaničnog objekta, ne i unutar njega. Međutim, iz Agencije su saopštili da ovde nema prekršaja, zbog kako navode okolnosti da: „predsednik države pripada krugu lica koja imaju pravo na bezbednosnu zaštitu koja nije uspostavljena radi kampanje, već radi zaštite funkcije i ličnosti predsednika.“

Tokom trajanja funkcionerske kampanje, ministri su najavljivali ulaganja, potpisivali ugovore i učestvovali u svečanim

otvaranjima rekonstruisanih objekata. U Boru su najavljene [nova bolnica](#), brze saobraćajnice i zapošljavanje žena. U Arandelovcu je pored asfaltiranja puteva, izgradnje protivgradnih raketa, najavljena i izgradnja Hotela Hilton kao i novog fudbalskog stadiona. Predsednica Narodne skupštine Ana Brnabić obišla je fabriku Atlas u Sevojnu koja će raditi i na projektima vezanim za specijalizovanu izložbu EXPO 2027. Funkcionerska kampanja nije zaobišla ni Bajinu Baštu koju je posetio i predsednik države koji je tom prilikom [obećao pomoć](#) u lečenju dečaka obolelog od teške bolesti. Svega četiri dana pred izbore u ovom mestu je svečano otvoren i [Muzej ćirilice](#). U Knjaževcu, pomoćnica ministra za energetska efikasnost i klimatske promene uručila je ugovore namenjene [subvencionisanju](#) energetskih sanacija za pojedinačna domaćinstva. Direktor PIO fonda, Relja Ognjenović, više puta je [obilazio](#) socijalno ugrožene građane i penzionere u ovim opštinama. Članovi [Olimpijskog komiteta Srbije](#), zajedno sa Agencijom za bezbednost saobraćaja, Auto-moto savezom Srbije, Crvenim krstom Srbije i Nacionalnom vozačkom akademijom takođe su obilazili gradove gde su se održali izbori. Agencija za sprečavanje korupcije [podsetila](#) je političke subjekte da je u kampanji zabranjeno finansiranje aktivnosti humanitarnog karaktera i korišćenje javnih resursa poput prostorija, vozila, sajtova i inventara. Ipak, Opštini Kula je [poklonjeno](#) novo vozilo hitne pomoći, [donirano](#) je i vozilo Javno komunalnom preduzeću, a najavljena je i bespovratna pomoć ženama za kupovinu nepokretnosti. Funkcionersku kampanju realizovali su i koalicioni partneri vladajuće stranke, pa je tako [Milan Krkobabić](#) iz stranke PUPS prisustvovao otvaranju obnovljenog Doma kulture u Lučanima. Ministar kulture [otvorio je](#) rekonstruisanu pozorišnu salu u Smederevskoj Palanci, a ministar za javna ulaganja Darko Glišić potpisao je sa predsednikom opštine [ugovor](#) o regulisanju prava i obaveza između Vlade Srbije i opštine

Smederevska Palanka za rekonstrukciju i dogradnju Palanačke gimnazije. Ovo su samo neke u nizu poseta koje su ministri i drugi javni funkcioneri sprovedi tokom predizborne kampanje u 10 mesta u kojima su izbori održani, a tokom kojih je potrošnja javnog novca instrumentalizovana u svrhu vođenja kampanje vladajuće stranke.

BROJ POSETA PREDSTAVNIKA IZVRŠNE VLASTI U MESTIMA U KOJIMA SE ODRŽAVAJU IZBORI U MESECIMA PRED IZBORE:⁷

Bajina Bašta: 25 (23. januar - 25. mart)
Lučani: 24 (23. januar - 25. mart)
Sevojno: 21 (u periodu od 28. januara do 23. marta)
Smederevska Palanka: 21 (od 24. februara do 22. marta)
Kladovo: 20 (od 20. februara do 23. marta)
Knjaževac: 18 (od 18. februara do 25. marta)
Arandjelovac: 18 (u periodu od 5. do 23. marta)
Bor: 18 (od 20. februara do 26. marta)
Kula: 17 (u periodu od 3. marta do 26. marta)
Majdanpek: 13 (20. februar - 26. mart)

7 Studentski protesti 2024/25 motivisali su lokalno stanovništvo u Srbiji da se aktivira kroz organizovanje zborova građana. Ovaj oblik organizovanja podrazumeva okupljanje građana radi neposrednog odlučivanja o nekom pitanju i rešavanja nekog zajedničkog problema koji ugrožava lokalnu zajednicu. Zbor građana u našem pravnom sistemu postoji kao jedan od zakonom predviđenih načina da građani lično i neposredno izraze svoje mišljenje i podnesu različite predloge i zahteve organima vlasti na lokalnom nivou (u skladu sa Zakonom o lokalnoj samoupravi). Opštinske vlasti su zatim dužne da reaguju na ove inicijative zborova građana u roku od najviše 60 dana. Više o organizovanju kroz zborove možete pročitati na: <https://www.gradjanske.org/zborovi/>.

Svih 10 izbornih mesta posetili su: predsednik Aleksandar Vučić, ministarka privrede Adrijana Mesarović, ministarka zaštite životne sredine Sara Pavkov, ministar za evropske integracije Nemanja Starović, ministar informisanja i telekomunikacija Boris Bratina i ministar za javna ulaganja Darko Glišić.

Predizborni pritisci

Uvrede i pretnje postale su nezaobilazni deo predizborne kampanje u Srbiji, ali i deo opšte političke atmosfere. Od poređenja studenata sa talibanima, preko tabloidnog targetiranja kandidata na studenstkim i opozicionim listama, do pretnji smrću i fizičkih napada - sve je to bilo sastavni deo ovogodišnje kampanje usmerene na potpunu diskreditaciju političkih protivnika i obesmišljavanje kampanje u kojoj se umesto političkih argumenata, vlast koristi uvredama. Pritisci i otežavanje opoziciji i studentima da učestvuju u izbornom procesu u okolnostima potpuno zarobljenih institucija bili su zabeleženi u svim mestima gde su raspisani lokalni izbori, međutim ti pritisci započeli su i pre samog predizbornog perioda. Oni su deo svakodnevne komunikacije javnih funkcionera koji pritisak, pretnje i zastrašivanje koriste kao sredstva političke borbe, a koji su se intenzivirali sa početkom studentskih protesta.

U periodu pre zvaničnog raspisivanja lokalnih izbora zabeleženo je mnoštvo napada na opoziciju, ali pre svega na studente i studentkinje koji su kroz akciju „Student u svakom selu” obilazili manja mesta (i mesta u kojima su raspisani izbori) kako bi razgovarali sa lokalnim stanovništvom o gorućim problemima u njihovim sredinama.

U Boru je, 10. januara, na ulici [napadnut odbornik grupe građana „Glasno za omladinu” Vladimir Stojičević](#). Njega je napala grupa mladih muškaraca, a jedan od njih je povezan sa SNS-om kako navodi Stojičević. Prema izjavi odbornika, napadači su ga udarali pesnicama i šutirali, uz povike „opozicija” i „udri političara”, jasno stavljajući do znanja da je motiv napada Stojičevićovo javno političko delovanje. Policija je odgovorila odborniku da tri kamere koje pokrivaju prostor na mestu incidenta navodno nisu radile u trenutku napada.

Aktivisti SNS-a [napali](#) su pripadnike pokreta „Mladi Kula” 1. februara 2026. godine. Njih su napala dvojica simpatizara SNS-a koji su polili crvenu farbu na štand „Mladih Kula”. Sukob je inicirao [simpatizer SNS-a Aleksandar Šulc](#), koji je javnosti poznat po ranijim napadima i provokacijama usmerenim na novinare, građane, studente.

[Poverenik stranke Srbija centar napadnut je](#) 19. februara u kafiću u Arandelovcu od strane dvojice muškaraca. Poverenik Milorad Savić je trebalo da se sastane sa stranim diplomatama koji će posmatrati lokalne izbore, ali su im dvojica huligana prišla i vređala su opozicionog političara, ometajući okupljene da razgovaraju o uslovima u kojima se izbori održavaju. Grupa huligana prethodno je (9. februara) pokušala da [nasilno upadne u prostorije ove stranke](#) u Arandelovcu. Napadači su pokušali da polome zaštitne rešetke i tom prilikom cepali su predizborne plakate ujedinjene arandelovačke opozicije. Podsećamo, kada su građani protestovali ispred prostorija SNS-a tokom leta 2025. zbog napada pristalica SNS-a na građane i policije koja na to nije reagovala, opštinski odbori vladajuće stranke su te događaje karakterisali kao „blokaderski terorizam” i „divljačke napade”, dok napade na kancelarije opozicionih aktera nisu osudili.

Ovo nije jedini zabeleženi napad u Arandjelovcu. Dvoje zaposlenih u Ambasadi Velike Britanije takođe je napadnuto u jednom kafiću dok su bili u rutinskoj diplomatskoj poseti ovom mestu u kojem će biti održani izbori. Predstavnici ambasade trebalo je da se sastanu i sa predstavnicima lokalne vlasti, kao i opozicije. U kafiću su im prišla dvojica muškaraca koji su ih snimali i vređali, a povodom ovog incidenta oglasila se i [ambasada](#). U saopštenju su, između ostalog, naveli i: „Duboko smo razočarani jer su im dvojica ljudi agresivno prišli, šikanirali ih i sprečili da rade svoj posao. Ovakve aktivnosti su neprihvatljive, podrivaju ugled Srbije i umanjuju mogućnost uzajamne saradnje na dobrobit obe države”.

Jedan od prvih napada na studente i studentkinje u akciji „Student u svakom selu” [zabeležen je u Darosavi](#), selu u opštini Arandjelovac. Napadači su pratili studente po selu, dobacivali im, i u više navrata pokušali fizički da nasrnu na njih. Napadači su stalno ponavljali „ko vas plaća” i „jel ovo od Picule sve”. Pozvana je i policija, međutim patrola koja je izašla na teren nije reagovala i nije udaljila nasilnu grupu. Među napadačima prepoznati su [javni funkcioneri SNS-a iz Lazarevca](#).

Prilikom akcije u Guči, naselju u opštini Lučani, 21. februara, nepoznata grupa muškaraca [pratila je i verbalno napala studente](#). Studenti su u saopštenju naveli da su nepoznati muškarci nosili crne jakne i kapuljače i da su nosili palice. Dodatno su naveli da su muškarci pratili jednu studentkinju do samog ulaza u zgradu u kojoj živi „samo zbog toga što je nosila bedževe”. Nakon objava na društvenim mrežama, građani Guče su se okupili u nameri da oteraju maskirane muškarce iz tog mesta. Dvojica aktivista SNS verbalno su [napali i studente u Lučanima](#) preteći da će im „polomiti glave”, kao i da će usledeti „pucanja u glave”.

U periodu pred zvaničnog raspisivanja izbora naročito targetirane su bile žene koje su bile kandidatkinje na studentsko-građanskim listama. Aktivistkinje iz Kule [bile su izložene](#) targetiranju kada su nepoznata lica objavila spisak sa njihovim imenima i pretnje da će objaviti njihove intimne fotografije na društvenim mrežama. Više od [20 organizacija](#) se oglasilo ovim povodom pružajući podršku aktivistkinjama. Ovakvo politički motivisano targetiranje žena ukazuje na duboko seksističku i patrijarhalnu političku kulturu koja na različite načine pokušava da isključi ženske glasove iz javnog prostora, pogotovo ukoliko su ti glasovi kritički.

Izborni dan

Tokom izbornog dana zabeležen je ogroman broj napada na novinare, aktiviste opozicionih lista i posmatrače. Atmosfera oko biračkih mesta bila je otvoreno nasilna i neprijateljska prema nezavisnim akterima. U svim mestima u kojima su izbori održani zabeleženo je veće prisustvo maskiranih grupa ljudi podržavalaca vladajuće stranke, ali i policije u opremi za razbijanje demonstracija.

Na 9 lokacija na kojima su održani izbori zabeleženi su incidenti, a najnasilnije scene viđene su u Boru, Bajinoj Bašti i Kuli. U Bajinoj Bašti došlo je do napada u centru grada kada je [velika grupa muškaraca](#), nakon što su primetili novinare, [potrčala za reporterima](#) Mašine i Blokade Info i građanima. Celokupan incident započeo je [napadom na 2 člana posmatračke misije](#) Zbora

Stari grad. Nepoznati muškarci prišli su posmatračima, a jednog od njih su šutirali i oduzeli su mu telefon. Posmatrači su došli u centar Bajine Bašte da vide zbog čega je ogroman broj vozila sa tablicama iz drugih gradova parkiran na centralnom parkingu. [Policija je odbila da reaguje](#) i pored molbi pretučenog posmatrača. Na lice mesta potom su došli i novinari, među kojima je bio i [novinar portala Zumer](#) Darko Gligorijević. I njemu je potom prišla grupa muškaraca koji su ga isprskali biber sprejom, a jedan od njih mu je [zadao više udaraca po glavi](#). Tada su došli novinari i drugih redakcija a ogroman broj nepoznatih muškaraca izleteo je iz objekta pored stadiona u centru Bajine Bašte i zaletio se prema novinarima, posmatračima i prisutnim građanima. Policija je grupu nasilnih muškaraca samo vratila u objekat iz kojeg su izašli, bez legitimisanja.

Tokom čitavog dana napeto je bilo i u Kuli, gde su građani identifikovali više lokacija (uglavnom lokalnih kafića) na kojima su se okupljali pripadnici vladajuće stranke. Sumnja se da se na ovim lokacijama obavljala kupovina glasova i da su odatle vođeni paralelni birački spiskovi. Na više tih lokacija građani i aktivisti su pokušali da uđu ali im lokalni funkcioneri SNS-a to nisu dozvoljavali, a na kraju su i pripadnici policije dolazili, okruživali te kafiće i branili građanima da uđu u objekte. U mestu Crvenka kod Kule građani su prijavili da se na jednoj lokaciji kupuju glasovi. Međutim, policija nije želela da uđe u objekat za koji se sumnja da se u njemu nalazio SNS call centar i [sprečavali su i građane](#) da uđu i snime šta se dešava. Tom prilikom je došlo do [guranja](#) između građana i policije. Policija je potom [obezbeđivala lokal](#) u kojem su se nalazili SNS aktivisti i nije postupala po prijavama građana. Kod još jednog kafića u Kuli, [policija je štitila lokal](#) u kojem su se prema tvrdnjama građana sprovodile izborne malverzacije.

Ovo je jedno od 5 mesta za koje su građani prijavili da su uočili veće grupe lica sa određenim papirima, ali [policija je odbila](#) da proveriti da li je reč o paralelnim spiskovima, nego je umesto toga obezbeđivala te lokale. [Funkcioneri SNS-a su zajedno sa policijom](#) sprečavali građane da vide šta se dešava unutar jednog restorana. [Kordon policije](#) formiran je i [ispred lokala](#) „Tvrdava“ u kojem su se zatvorili članovi SNS-a. Pojedini policajci su [nosili fantomke](#) i nisu imali oznake. Tenzije u Kuli su eksalirale tokom poslepodneva, kada je u centru [zabeležena tuča](#) nakon što su muškarci sa palicama [izleteli iz prostorija](#) kod stadiona i zaleteli se prema građanima. [Međutim, policija je reagovala samo prema](#) građanima, dok nije preduzela nikakve mere protiv maskiranih muškaraca sa palicama i šipkama. Muškarci su se potom zatvorili u jedan objekat a policija je napravila kordon oko objekta i štitila je nasilne muškarce. Nešto pre 18 časova policija je krenula i da [pretresa prostorije posmatračke misije](#) u Kuli. Tokom izbornog dana privedeno je više osoba.

U Boru su zabeleženi ozbiljni fizički napadi na posmatračke misije i novinare koji su rezultirali teškim telesnim povredama. U okolini Bora kod jednog biračkog mesta maskirani muškarci iz vozila marke Audi [napali su aktivistkinju Zoricu Popović](#). Tom prilikom oduzeli su joj kameru dok je pokušala da snimi potencijalnu kupovinu glasova. Tada joj je u pomoć prišao aktivista i novinar Ivan Bjelić ali su ga muškarci oborili na zemlju i počeli da ga tuku. Muškarci su potom krenuli da jure i studenta Lazara Dinića i lokalnog aktivistu Aleksandra Kulića koji su pokušali da sklone nasilnike od aktivista. Napadači su prema svedočenjima nosili sa sobom i sekire. Lazar Dinić je pokušao da pobegne od nasilnih muškarca preko reke. Međutim, u tome nije uspeo i nasilnici su ga uhvatili i nastavili da ga tuku. Sve su to snimali, a u više navrata

su vršili pritisak na Dinića da izgovori da je Vučić predsednik. Lazar Dinić, inače jedan od studenata iz novosadske grupe kojima se sudi za navodno rušenje ustavnog uređenja imao je [krvavo lice](#), a naknadno je utvrđeno da ima [prelom jagodične kosti](#). Zorica Popović je zbog napada imala bolove u predelu stomaka, a Kulić je zadobio povrede slične Dinićevim. Policija još uvek nije privela muškarce odgovorne za napad, iako su aktivisti uspeli da dođu do saznanja o identitetu nekih od napadača. U Boru je tokom dana zabeležen i incident kada je [napadnuta studentska mobilna misija](#) i advokat posmatračke misije CRTA. Na [snimcima](#) se mogla videti grupa muškaraca obučenih u crno kako tuku posmatrače ispred prostorija Fonda za penzijsko i invalidsko osiguranje. Na licu mesta bio je [prisutan policajac](#) ali to nije sprečilo muškarce da tuku posmatrače iz studentske posmatračke misije i misije CRTA. Troje studenata i dva člana posmatračke misije je prevezeno u bolnicu na [ušivanje](#). Još jedan napad desio se tokom dana ispred prostorija SNS-a, kada je grupa muškaraca izašla iz štaba vladajuće stranke i [napala studente](#) iz mobilnog posmatračkog tima koji su ispred prostorija pokušali da snime vozilo u kojem su primetili paralelne biračke spiskove. Jedan od napadnutih studenata je zadobio udarce u glavu nakon čega je osetio [obamrlost tela](#). Nakon zatvaranja biračkih mesta, policija za razbijanje demonstracija je bez ikakvog objašnjenja i najave bila raspoređena ispred prostorija opštinskih izbornih komisija u gotovo svim mestima na kojima su održani izbori 29. marta.

Detaljnije o svim zabeleženim incidentima tokom izbornog dana pročitajte u (ažuriranom) izveštaju na sledećem LINKU.

Rezultati

Ove godine zabeležena je veća izlaznost u odnosu na lokalne izbore 2022. godine. Najveća razlika u izlaznosti zabeležena je u Knjaževcu i ona iznosi 8,2%. Veća izlaznost na izborima ne iznenađuje nakon prošlogodišnje masovne mobilizacije građana tokom studentskih i građanskih protesta širom zemlje. Aktivnije učešće građana na lokalnu kroz učešće u protestima i kroz participaciju u zborovima građana dalo je doprinosa ovom povećanju izlaznosti.

MESTO	Izlaznost 2026.	Izlaznost 2022.
SMEDEREVSKA PALANKA	25.095 (64,46%)	23.485 (58,81%)
BOR	26.234 (68,15%)	24.858 (61,20%)
ARANĐELOVAC	25.999 (70,56%)	23.806 (64,6%)
KULA	23.839 (71,62%)	22.391 (65,4%)
KNJAŽEVAC	15.835 (71,1%)	14.862 (62,9%)
BAJINA BAŠTA	15.866 (74,82%)	14.778 (68%)
KLADOVO	11.401 (54%)	11.274 (52%)
MAJDANPEK	9.612 (62,37%)	9.744 (59,96%)
LUČANI	11.562 (79,02%)	11.135 (75,24%)
SEVOJNO	4.250 (76,64%)	3.984 (70,13%)

Tabela 4. Poređenje izlaznosti na lokalnim izborima 2022. i 2026. godine

U rezultatima je prepoznat značajan pad podrške Srpskoj naprednoj stranci i koalicionih partnera u odnosu na lokalne izbore 2022. godine. Važno je istaći da je SNS 2022. godine samostalno nastupio na lokalnim izborima.

U tabeli su rezultati SNS-a za 2022. predstavljeni zajedno sa rezultatima stranka koje su potom ušle u koaliciju sa vladajućom strankom, a koje su na tim izborima nastupile samostalno (Socijalistička partija Srbije, Srpska stranka Zavetnici, Srpska radikalna stranka i dr), a koje su 2026. nastupile u koaliciji sa SNS-om. Najveće razlike u ostvarenom rezultatu vladajuće stranke, oko 20%, zabeležene su u Smederevskoj Palanci, Arandjelovcu i Knjaževcu.

Studenti u blokadi i građanske liste koje su studenti podržali, ove godine su prvi put izašli na lokalne izbore, stoga nije moguće napraviti uporednu analizu u odnosu na rezultat koji su opozicione političke partije ostvarile na lokalnim izborima 2022. godine. Ove 2026. godine, predstavnici određenih opozicionih stranaka su u pojedinim mestima podržali studentske liste i nisu izašli sa svojim zasebnim listama (npr. u Kuli i Arandjelovcu); u Bajinoj Bašti su studenti i deo opozicije izašli u zajedničkom frontu; u Sevojnu su studenti i opozicija podržali građansku listu, dok su u Smederevskoj Palanci i Knjaževcu studenti i pojedini predstavnici opozicije (stranke desnog centra i desno orijentisane stranke) nastupili odvojeno.

8 Više o tome kako prepoznati GONGO i fantomske organizacije možete pročitati u priručniku: <https://www.gradjanske.org/prirucnik-za-prepoznavanje-i-pracenje-gongo-i-fantomskih-organizacija/>.

9 Nosilac ove liste je pre izbora vršio funkciju zamenika predsednice opštine Sevojno.

MESTO	Rezultati 2026.⁸	Rezultati 2022.⁹
SMEDEREVSKA PALANKA	14.181 (57,99%)	17.802 (79,5%) SNS + SPS + SRS + Zdrava Srbija
BOR	12.516 (49%)	11.787 (48,8%) SNS + SPS + SRS
ARANĐELOVAC	13.030 (50,12%)	16.750 (72,72%) SNS + SPS + ZAVETNICI
KULA	11.796 (50,4%)	13.539 (63,1%) SNS + SPS + SRS
KNJAŽEVAC	8.825 (57,1%)	11.651 (78,4%) SNS + SPS + SRS + SNP
BAJINA BAŠTA	8.309 (53,5%)	8.407 (59,2%) SNS + SPS
KLADOVO	8.043 (72%)	7.266 (67,5%) SNS + SPS + SRS
MAJDANPEK	6.079 (65,6%)	6.708 (71,6%) SNS + SPS + SRS
LUČANI	6.972 (61,5%)	7.537 (69,8%) SNS + SPS + SRS
SEVOJNO	2.108 (50,5%)	2.314 (59,5%) SNS + SRS + ZAVETNICI

Tabela 5. Poređenje rezultata koalicija oko SNS-a na izborima 2022. i 2026. godine

MESTO	IZBORNA LISTA	BROJ OSVOJENIH GLASOVA	BROJ POTPISA KOJI JE BIO NEOPHODAN ZA KANDIDOVANJE LISTE
KULA	Mladi za Kulu	144	500
KULA	Srpski liberali za zelenu Kulu	74	500
KULA	Rusinska lista	65	250
SMEDEREVSKA PALANKA	Studenti Palanke	443	500
LUČANI	Zeleni front za studente - Dragačevo	60	200
ARANĐELOVAC	Koalicija 381 - ujedinjeni podržavamo mlade	102	500
ARANĐELOVAC	Grupa građana srpski liberali za zeleni Arandelovac	151	500
ARANĐELOVAC	Ruska stranka - Za bolji Arandelovac	281	250
BAJINA BAŠTA	Izadi / Izbori se za Bajinu Baštu - Srpski liberali	69	300
MAJDANPEK	Srpski liberali za zeleni Majdanpek	161	200
KLADOVO	Grupa građana Srpski liberali za zeleno Kladovo	145	300

KNJAŽEVAC	Grupa građana Srpski liberali za zeleni Knjaževac	153	300
SEVOJNO	Srpski liberali za zeleno Sevojno	29	200

Tabela 6. Broj glasova koji su osvojile fantomske izborne liste kao i manjinske liste u poređenju sa neophodnim brojem potpisa koji je bilo potrebno predati prilikom kandidovanja liste. Ni jedna od ovih lista nije osvojila ni jedan mandat.

Prigovori

U zapisnicima o radu biračkih odbora najviše primedbi odnosi se na slikanje listića, korišćenje telefona na biračkom mestu i način na koji se sprovodi glasanje van biračkog mesta. Knjaževac je za sada jedino mesto za koje su objavljeni podaci o prigovorima na sajtu Republičke izborne komisije. Primedbe koje su članovi biračkog odbora u Smederevskoj Palanci, Bajinoj Bašti (na biračkom mestu 15) i u Kladovu (biračko mesto 17) unosili u zapisnike o radu biračkih odbora nisu evidentirani prilikom objavljivanja zapisnika (zbog nedostatka prostora na papiru, ove primedbe su evidentirane na dodatnim papirima, međutim u objavljenim zapisnicima su ti prigovori izostavljeni).

U Kuli je obrazovana posebna Komisija za kontrolu zapisnika o radu biračkih odbora, a njena uloga je bila da izvrši kontrolu zapisnika i izbornih materijala. Za uzorak su određena dva biračka mesta i kontatovano je da ne postoji odstupanje između sadržine zapisnika i sadržine izbornog materijala. Slično je urađeno u Majdanpeku gde je, posle provere, uočena razlika u odnosu na broj važećih i nevažećih listića, ali je utvrđeno da odstupanje

nije veće od 10%. U Kladovu su odbijena dva zahteva za uvid u izborni materijal, kao i više primedbi i prigovora koje je podnela opoziciona lista.

U Bajinoj Bašti, na biračkom mestu 36 [poništeno je glasanje](#) jer je broj glasačkih listića bio veći od broja izašlih birača. Rezultat ponovljenog glasanja obezbedio je vladajućoj koaliciji [još jedan mandat](#).

U Arandjelovcu je poslednjeg dana podnošenja prigovora u poslednjih [sat vremena](#) stiglo čak šest prigovora. Na osnovu određenih prigovora Opštinska izborna komisija usvojila je zahtev da se ponište izbori na biračkom mestu broj 1 gde je opoziciona lista Studenti za Arandjelovac ostvarila 101 glas više od Srpske napredne stranke. U okolini navedenog biračkog mesta nalazio se i call centar vladajuće stranke koji je otkriven u toku izbornog dana, i gde su viđeni muškarci sa motkama koji štite to mesto. Grupa građana okupljena oko liste Studenti za Arandjelovac podnela je žalbe Višem sudu u Kragujevcu na rešenje Opštinske izborne komisije i navode da do dana objave, predstavnicima Opštinske izborne komisije koji nisu iz Srpske napredne stranke nije omogućen uvid u podnete prigovore, niti u dokumentaciju koja se odnosi na njihov prijem i evidentiranje. Izostalo je i svako razjašnjenje okolnosti pod kojima su primljeni pomenuti prigovori pristigli pred istek roka. Viši sud u Kragujevcu uvažio je žalbu 9. aprila, stoga glasanje na ovom biračkom mestu neće biti ponovljeno. Nakon ove odluke, Informer je počeo da [targetira sudije](#) koji su doneli ovu odluku objavljujući njihove fotografije uz tvrdnju da „pomažu blokaderima u izornoj krađi i nameštanju izbornih rezultata“.

Gradska izborna komisija (GIK) [odbila je prigovor](#) grupe građana „Vreme je da se Bor пита“, koja je podnosilac liste „Bor, naša odgovornost“, protiv ukupnog izveštaja o rezultatima izbora za odbornike Skupštine Bora. Iz grupe građana naveli su da su prigovor podneli jer su uvidom u izborni materijal sa više biračkih mesta u prostorijama GIK-a utvrdili ozbiljno neslaganje između izbornog materijala i zvaničnog zapisnika o radu biračkog odbora. Oni su utvrdili razliku od 17 birača između onoga što su zatekli u izbornom materijalu i onoga što je Zapisnik zabeležio, a čak 22 glasačka listića manje nego što je evidentirano birača (na biračkom mestu broj 8). Najavili su da će podneti žalbu nadležnom organu.

Jedini formalno dostupni podaci o prigovorima su na sajtu Republičke izborne komisije uneti za Knjaževac. U tom mestu nije usvojen ni jedan od 7 prigovora koliko je podnela lista „Knjaževac uz studente - Čista lista“.

Raspodela mandata

U Arandelovcu je 21 mandat pripao listi okupljenoj oko vladajuće stranke, a 20 mandata listi Studenti za Arandelovac. U Skupštini opštine Arandelovac postoji ukupno 41 odborničko mesto, te bi, ukoliko se rezultati izbora na jednom od biračkih mesta ne ponište, ova skupština praktično bila dvopartijska. Slična situacija je u Lučanima, Bajinoj Bašti i Kladovu gde su mandate dobile samo dve liste.

Koalicija „Aleksandar Vučić - Lučani naša porodica“ ostvarila 23 mandata, a opoziciona lista „Zvuk pravde - Zajedno za studente“ 12. U Bajinoj Bašti taj odnos je posle ponavljanja glasanja na jednom biračkom mestu 26-19 u korist vladajuće koalicije.

U Kuli je 19 mandata pripalo koaliciji okupljenoj oko SNS-a, a 18 mandata listi „Glas mladih opštine Kula”. U Kuli ima ukupno 37 odborničkih mesta, te će i ova lokalna skupština funkcionisati kroz dve političke opcije. Protiv prvog na listi Srpske napredne stranke Dragana Kapičića vodi se postupak za [utaju poreza](#).

U Sevojnu raspodela mandata iznosi 9 za koaliciju oko SNS-a, 9 za opozicionu listu „Ujedinjeni - Sevojno” i 1 za listu „Milan Stamatović - Avram Ilić predsednik GO Sevojno Zdrava Srbija - Zdravo da pobedi”. Ko će formirati vlast u Sevojnu zavisilo je upravo od Zdrave Srbije, koja je osvojila ukupno 131 glas na izborima. Ova stranka prešla je cenzus sa 3,08% i u toku kampanje su se predstavljali [kao opozicija](#) iako su u Užicu nakon republičkih izbora 2024. godine ušli u koaliciju sa SNS-om time formirajući tesnu vlast u lokalnoj skupštini.¹⁰ Zdrava Srbija je na ovim lokalnim izborima u Smederevskoj Palanci nastupila u okviru koalicije okupljene oko SNS-a. Mediji su svojevremeno, tokom ranijih izbornih ciklusa, objavili i snimak na kojem se Milan Stamatović čuje kako članovima svoje stranke objašnjava da moraju da skupljaju kapilarne glasove za SNS. Milan Stamatović je 15. aprila zvanično saopštio da će u Sevojnu [formirati vlast sa vladajućom strankom](#), iako je nosilac liste Zdrave Srbije u Sevojnu prethodno rekao da neće ulaziti u koaliciju sa SNS-om.

U Smederevskoj Palanci ukupno 49 odborničkih mandata biće podeljeno na tri opcije. Koalicija okupljena oko SNS-a osvojila je 30 mandata, lista „Mladi za Palanku” osvojila je 15 mandata, a opoziciona lista koju čine NPS, NLS, novi DSS i Monarhisti osvojila je 4 mandata.

10 Zastupnik ovog udruženja je Luka Žarić od koga su se studenti u blokadi Filozofskog fakulteta u Novom Sadu javno ogradili nakon što je učestvovao na sastanku sa premijerom u decembru 2024.

Posle izbora u Boru raspodela mandata iznosi 19 mandata za koaliciju oko SNS-a, 15 mandata za listu „Bor, naša odgovornost” i jedan mandat za listu Vlačke narodne stranke.

U Majdanpeku su na izborima učestvovalе četiri liste, od kojih su tri ostvarile dovoljno glasova da bi dobile odbornička mesta. Najveći broj mandata ima koalicija oko Srpske napredne stranke - 21. Lista „Mi odlučujemo” dobila je 4 mandata, a Nu Dau 6 - ove dve liste su osnovale grupe građana. Nu Dau je grupa od ranije aktivna na lokalnu, dok je Lista Mi odlučujemo osnovana pred same lokalne izbore, ali su u javnim nastupima naglašavali da će sarađivati sa opozicionim opcijama.

Skupština opštine Knjaževac ima 40 mesta. Koalicija oko SNS-a u narednom periodu imaće 24 odbornička mandata, opoziciona lista „Knjaževac uz studente - Čista lista” 13 i lista grupe opozicionih partija „Promene” 3 mandata.

[Kladovo](#) je jedno od dva mesta na kojem je vladajuća stranka ostvarila bolji rezultat nego 2022. godine (kada se uračunaju i glasovi drugih partnerskih stranaka vlasti koje su nastupile samostalno 2022), te će raspodelom mandata 21 mesto pripasti koaliciji oko SNS-a, a 7 mandata grupi građana „Kladovo ima nas - vreme je za promene”.

Izveštaji međunarodnih posmatračkih misija

Posmatračka misija Saveta Evrope na dan izbora imala je šest timova u sedam od 10 jedinica lokalne samouprave. Kongres lokalnih i regionalnih vlasti, u svom [preliminarnom izveštaju](#), posebno ističe situaciju van biračkih mesta koju su obeležili nasilje, posebno u Arandelovcu, kao i prisustvo maskiranih lica i napade na domaće posmatrače. Beleže da su uslovi u predizbornoj kampanji bili još više nejednaki nego što je to bilo 2022. godine. Takođe je primećeno da su lokalne teme pale u drugi plan u odnosu na nacionalne. U pogledu domaćih posmatrača, u izveštaju se postavlja pitanje o njihovim organizacijama, metodologiji i uticaju na biračke odbore, pa i samom broju od 6500 prijavljenih posmatrača.

Svoj komentar o lokalnim izborima u Srbiji dao je i predstavnik jedne strane para-posmatračke misije. Brajan Braun koji je došao kao posmatrač u ime Međunarodne organizacije za porodicu (IOF), [ocenio je](#) da su izbori prošli kako treba, ističući da SAD mogu mnogo da nauče od Srbije kada je reč o bezbednosti izbora. Jedina „zabrinutost“ koju je naveo bila je prisutnost opozicionih aktivista u blizini biračkih mesta, uz ocenu da bi se neki birači mogli osećati „zastrašeno“.

Pritisci posle izbora

U nedelji posle izbora glavna tema nisu bili rezultati već povećana represija. Par dana nakon lokalnih izbora rastu pritisci na građane i studente. Pripadnici Uprave kriminalističke policije ušli su u [Rektorat](#) Univerziteta u Beogradu po nalogu Višeg javnog tužilaštva

u Beogradu povodom istrage o preminuloj studentkinji¹¹. Studenti koji su bili u zgradi nisu mogli da je napuste nekoliko sati, a oni koji su želeli da uđu kako bi prisustvovali predavanjima morali su da pokažu indekse ili lične karte, koje su pripadnici policije [fotografisali](#). Ispred same zgrade gde su se okupljali građani došlo je do intervencije policije. Prilikom potiskivanja građana od strane policije, zabeleženo je više fizičkih [napada](#) na građane. Kako navode studenti u blokadi na društvenim mrežama, rektoru i zaposlenima bila je ograničena sloboda kretanja tako da nisu mogli da odu ni do toaleta. Danima posle protesta, više studenata je pozvano u policiju radi davanja izjava. Advokati studenata navode da je prilikom davanja izjava policiju više interesovala situacija vezana za blokade fakulteta nego sam tragičan događaj povodom kojeg se navodno čitava istraga vodi. Prilikom upada na Rektorat zaplenjena je i [dokumentacija](#) studenata u blokadi, a prva stvar koju je policija uradila prilikom pretresa bila je skidanje transparenta podrške studentskom protestu koji se mesecima nalazio na prozorima zgrade.

11 Na platou ispred Filozofskog fakulteta, 26. marta, posle 22 sata, preminula je studentkinja ovog fakulteta od posledica povreda nastalih padom sa visine. U inicijalnim izjavama pojedinih zvaničnika smrt je povezana sa paljenjem petardi i pirotehničkih sredstava. Započeta je i istraga, ali i pritisci na dekana i zaposlene na Filozofskom fakultetu i Rektoratu Univerziteta u Beogradu. Uprava kriminalističke policije je više puta ulazila u zgradu Filozofskog fakulteta, pa i u zgradu Rektorata beogradskog Univerziteta. Tom prilikom zaplenjena je dokumentacija studenata u blokadi i nije jasno na koji način je ova dokumentacija relevantna za istragu. Pripadnici kriminalističke policije su u zgradu Rektorata ušli po nalogu Posebnog odeljenja za suzbijanje korupcije Višeg javnog tužilaštva u Beogradu na čijem je čelu Nenad Stefanović, blizak Srpskoj naprednoj stranci.

Pritisci nad učesnicima izbornog procesa nastavili su se i nakon izbora. Kriminalistička policija je 6. aprila izvršila pretres nekoliko stanova pripadnika Zborova Novi Sad koji su bili posmatrači tokom izbora u Kuli, a pretresene su i prostorije samog zbora. Četvoro aktivista i jedan advokat su privedeni, a dvojici aktivista je određen [pritvor od 30 dana](#) zbog sumnje na navodno ugrožavanje sigurnosti oštećenjem tuđe imovine.

Zaključci o trendovima

Lokalne izbore 2026. obeležili su brojni pritisci koji su primenjivani i pre početka izborne kampanje. Naročito zabrinjavaju zabeleženi fizički napadi i zastrašivanje birača, studenata, građana i novinara na sam dan izbora 29. marta. Nezavisna posmatračka misija CRTE izvestila je i o izbornim nepravilnostima poput slikanja glasaških listića, tzv. „bugarskog voza“, a zbog nasilja tokom izbornog dana zaključili su da se „ovo teško može nazvati izborima“. Ukoliko uzmemo u obzir i pritiske na građane zaposlene u javnim institucijama, zatim zloupotrebu javnih resursa i nikad intenzivniju funkcionersku kampanju tokom koje su gotovo svi ministri bili u posetama u 10 mesta na kojima su izbori održani, i uz zarobljenu instituciju policije i medijski prostor kojim dominira narativ vladajuće stranke, lokalni izbori su još jednom pokazali da autoritarne tendencije vlasti onemogućavaju demokratičan tok izbora. Sa druge strane, povećanje izlaznosti i uspeh koje su građansko-studentske-opozicione liste ostvarile ukazuju na postojanje značajnog dela populacije koji želi promene u svojim lokalnim sredinama.

LOCAL ELECTIONS IN A CAPTURED STATE

March 29, 2026



Authors

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TABLE OF CONTENTS

LOCAL ELECTIONS IN A CAPTURED STATE.....	39
Foreword.....	42
General information.....	44
Election lists.....	45
Election observation missions.....	48
Public officials in the election campaign.....	52
Pre-election pressures.....	55
Election day.....	58
Results.....	62
Objections.....	66
Distribution of mandates.....	68
Reports of international observation missions.....	71
Post-election pressures.....	71
Conclusions on trends.....	73

Foreword

There are elections that confirm the state of affairs, and those that expose it. The local elections held on March 29, 2026, in ten units of local self-government in Serbia belong to the latter category. They were not merely another electoral cycle in a sequence, but rather a kind of cross-section of a political reality in which formal democratic mechanisms are increasingly used as a façade for processes that have less and less to do with democracy.

In this sense, these elections cannot be understood in isolation, as a local event limited to Arandjelovac, Kula, or Bor. They unfolded within the continuity of a political crisis that has lasted at least since the wave of civic and student protests that began in 2024, but also within the context of a long-term erosion of institutional mechanisms for the protection of rights and freedoms. The electoral process thus once again found itself between two opposing dynamics: on the one hand, the increasingly pronounced authoritarian practices of those in power, and on the other, the growing vigilance of citizens, who are attempting to reclaim the space for political action through limited institutional channels.

Within such a framework, local elections cease to be a matter of municipal policy and become a site of political struggle over the very rules of the game. The use of public office in campaigns, the misuse of public resources, the emergence of phantom lists, and the instrumentalization of observer missions are not isolated incidents but symptoms of a system in which the boundary between the state and the ruling party has been almost erased. At the same

time, violence on election day and the absence of an adequate institutional response further confirm that the electoral process is no longer protected even by minimal standards of safety and equality among participants.

And yet, despite such an environment, these elections also open another line of interpretation. Increased voter turnout and the significant results of student-civic lists indicate that political apathy is not the dominant state of society. On the contrary, it seems that precisely under conditions of a narrowed space for action, that space is being redefined through new forms of organizing, alliances, and political articulation at the local level.

This analysis starts from the assumption that the local elections of 2026 are not merely an indicator of electoral results, but also an important sign of the transformation of the political system in Serbia. Their value lies not only in the numbers, but in the patterns they reveal: in the ways power is maintained, in the methods by which the space for political competition is narrowed, and in the strategies through which that space is reclaimed. In this context, the question this analysis raises is not only who won the elections, but what it means today to participate in elections under the conditions of a captured state.

Dragoslava Barzut

General information

On February 23, 2026, the President of the National Assembly, Ana Brnabić, announced regular local elections in nine local government units: Arandjelovac, Bajina Bašta, Kladovo, Knjaževac, Kula, Lučani, Majdanpek, Smederevska Palanka and the city of Bor for March 29, 2026. Elections were also announced in the city municipality of Sevojno (Užice). The previous local elections in these places were held in 2022. A total of 247,952 voters had the right to vote in these local elections.

LOCATION	NUMBER OF CITIZENS WITH THE RIGHT TO VOTER
SMEDEREVSKA PALANKA	38.933
BOR	38.511
ARANĐELOVAC	36.838
KULA	33.283
KNJAŽEVAC	22.255
BAJINA BAŠTA	21.458
KLADOVO	21.088
MAJDANPEK	15.413
LUČANI	14.629
SEVOJNO	5.544

Table 1. Total number of citizens with voting rights in places where local elections were held on March 29, 2026 (according to data available on the website of the Ministry of State Administration and Local Self-Government).

These are the second local elections since the beginning of civil and student protests in 2024. The first ones were held in 2025 in Zaječar, Kosjerić, Mionica, Negotin and Sečanj. This year's local elections also took place in circumstances of open repression by the authorities in Serbia towards the citizens. Numerous domestic and international organizations have reported on the deterioration of the basic freedoms of citizens, the increasing and worrying number of attacks on citizens, activists, journalists, unfounded arrests, illegal wiretapping, the deterioration of the state of media freedoms and the complete absence of institutional protection mechanisms.

Election lists

In all places where the elections were held, the ruling Serbian Progressive Party (SNS) and its coalition partners came out with a list called "Aleksandar Vučić - (name of the location), our family!". Although Vučić was not a candidate in the local elections, his name in the campaign is regularly used in the mobilization of SNS voters. His participation as a list holder, as well as his participation in the official campaign, represents a violation of the fundamental principles of democracy, a fair and free electoral process, as well as a conflict of interests and abuse of state resources. In these elections, the SNS ran in a coalition with the Socialist Party of Serbia (SPS), the Serbian Radical Party (SRS), the Party of United Pensioners, Farmers and Proletarians (PUPS), the Serbian Party Oathkeepers (Zavetnici), and United Serbia (JS), and in some places also with Milan Stamatović's Healthy Serbia (Smederevska Palanka), Nenad Popović's Serbian People's Party (Bor, Bajina Bašta), and the Alliance of Vojvodina Hungarians (Kula).¹²

¹² SPS, SRS, PUPS, JS and SNP are long-standing coalition partners of the ruling Serbian Progressive Party. Until 2024, the Serbian party Zavetnici

The referendum character of these elections is reflected in the fact that the majority of votes were won either by the ruling party or the student-citizen options. Students participated in various ways in helping lists in local elections, as was the case in 2025. In parallel, a number of phantom lists¹³ have appeared that refer to young people and students in their names: Palanka Students, Green Front for Students - Dragačevo (Lučani), Citizens' Group Youth for Kula. These parties appeared for the first time in local elections and were not known to the public until now, and their goal is to cause confusion among voters. Lists of so-called Serbian liberal parties came out in eight out of 10 places, although in most of them they didn't even have premises at the time they submitted their lists. This party won a total of 74 votes

appeared in public as an open opponent of the SNS, and the president of this party, Milica Đurđević Stamenkovski, firmly stated that she would never cooperate with the SNS. However, already at the beginning of 2024, the councilors of this party entered into a coalition with the SNS in numerous local self-government units, and Đurđević Stamenkovski entered the Government in the same year and since then has occupied various ministerial positions. Milan Stamatović, the founder and leader of the Zdrava Srbija party, has been part of various opposition alliances and lists since 2017. Everything changes in 2023, when Stamatović announces that he will join the so-called The "Movement for the People and the State", the establishment of which was announced by SNS for a long time, and in 2024 after the republican elections, Zdrava Srbija enters into a coalition with SNS in order to form a narrow majority in the local assembly.

13 Fake or phantom electoral lists represent electoral lists that formally participate in elections but without a real political organization, political program and/or campaign. They usually appear right before the elections during which they present themselves to the public as the opposition, they almost never pass the census, and after the elections they disappear and their members are no longer visible on the political scene. Their primary purpose is to influence the electoral process in favor of another, as a rule, ruling political option, most often through confusing voters, fragmenting votes or simulating political pluralism.

in Kula, which is 7 times less than the number of signatures they needed to candidate the list (500 signatures). Minority lists and coalitions suspected of being instrumentalized by the regime were also recorded in several cities: Coalition 381 - United support the youth (Arandjelovac; nominated as a Bosniak–Montenegrin list), Ruthenian list (Kula). The number of lists in localities varies, in Kladovo three election lists ran, while in Bor there were seven. The opposition political coalition composed of the People's Movement of Serbia (Miroslav Aleksić), the New Face of Serbia (Miloš Parandilović), the New DSS, and the Monarchists ran independently in Smederevska Palanka. In Knjaževac, along with these parties, the Party of Freedom and Justice (SSP) also participated in the elections on the list "Changes - Dr. Igor Milosavljević - Marko Ignjatović." The New DSS and the Monarchists ran on an independent list in Lučani and Bor, but did not win any seats. The Social Democratic Party of Serbia led by Rasim Ljajić, a coalition partner of the ruling party at the national level, ran independently in: Lučani (winning 248 votes and 0 seats) and Bajina Bašta (357 votes and 0 seats). Healthy Serbia, led by Milan Stamatović, ran independently in Bajina Bašta and Sevojno, while in Smederevska Palanka they participated in the elections in a coalition with the SNS and other parties.

LOCATION	STUDENT-CITIZENS' LISTS
SMEDEREVSKA PALANKA	5. Mladi za Palanku - Sami protiv svih (Youth for Palanka - Alone against all)
BOR	2. Bor, naša odgovornost (Bor, our responsibility)
ARANĐELOVAC	3. Studenti za Arandjelovac - Mladost pobeđuje (Students for Arandjelovac - Youth wins)
KULA	3. Glas mladih opštine Kula (Voice of the youth of Kula municipality)

KNJAŽEVAC	4. Knjaževac uz studente - Čista lista (Knjaževac with students - Clean list)
BAJINA BAŠTA	2. Ujedinjeni za Bajinu Baštu (United for Bajina Bašta)
KLADOVO	2. Kladovo ima nas - Vreme je za promene! (Kladovo has us - It's time for changes!)
MAJDANPEK	4. Nu dau
LUČANI	5. Zvuk pravde - Zajedno za studente (The Sound of Justice - Together for Students)
SEVOJNO	3. Ujedinjeni - Sevojno (United - Sevojno)

Table 2. Opposition lists supported by students

LOCATION	LISTS WITH SIMILAR NAMES AS STUDENT LISTS
ARANĐELOVAC	Koalicija 381 - ujedinjeni podržavamo mlade (Come out / Vote for Bajana Bašta - Serbian liberals)
KULA	Mladi za Kulu (Youth for Kula)
LUČANI	Zeleni front za studente (Green front for students)
SMEDEREVSKA PALANKA	Studenti Palanke (Students of Palanka)

Table 3. Fake lists with the words young or students in the title

Election observation missions

Since the local elections held in 2025, there has been a trend of registration of observation missions by phantom or GONGO organizations.¹⁴ In these local elections, the number of reported observation missions increased significantly, and this time,

¹⁴ Observation missions can register the same observers in all places if they plan to visit all municipalities where elections are organized during election day.

international para-observation missions were also present on the ground.

A total of 31 domestic observation missions were reported. In addition to the [CRTA observation mission](#), which has been observing elections at all levels of government for years, the local elections were also observed by the Kreni-promeni movement and the Bravo civic movement, as well as by various associations. Among those associations were those founded by citizens gathered in citizens' assemblies (zborovi)¹⁵ who wanted to contribute to the democratic flow of the election process on election day. However, there were also missions of organizations connected to the authorities, which are known to the public for targeting critical voices. Such para-observation missions serve as a cover for hiding all recorded irregularities and for accusing opposition actors of alleged manipulations.

Among those organizations are: the [Center for European Values](#) and the [Institute for European Freedoms](#), registered one month before the elections held in 2025. Both organizations were registered at the same address: Dunavska 13 in Novi Sad. The Youth Perspective association is also registered at this address, and they also registered observers in these elections (the representative of this association is Luka Žarić, from whom the students in the blockade of the Faculty of Philosophy in Novi Sad publicly distanced themselves after he participated in the meeting with the Prime Minister in December 2024). In February 2026, the Center for European Values changed its headquarters to an address in Belgrade. Last year, the Center for European Values and the Institute for European Freedoms registered 400 observers. A review of the almost identical websites of these two organizations reveals only statements in which, using the term "blockades", the

15 Double visits by certain representatives of the executive branch are also included.

opposition, students, and the long-standing observation mission of CRTA are accused of alleged blackmail and pressure on voters and of alleged vote buying. Announcements from these missions were regularly broadcast by pro-regime media. Another association that registered observers at these local elections - the Association Center for the Improvement of Local and Regional Policies has its headquarters at Dunavska 12 in Novi Sad, and the representative of this association is an associate of the Center for Social Stability, a well-known GONGO organization that makes propaganda films targeting professional journalists and civil society organizations.

NUMBER OF DOMESTIC OBSERVERS BY MUNICIPALITY¹⁶:

- Kula: 18 observation missions, 1,597 (40 polling stations)
- Bajina Bašta: 17 observation missions, 815 observers (52 polling stations)
- Arandelovac: 12 observation missions reported a total of 752 observers (for a total of 41 polling stations)
- Lučani: 10 observation missions, 716 observers (43 polling stations)
- Smederevska Palanka: 10 observation missions, 553 observers (49 polling stations)
- Knjaževac: 9 observation missions, 495 observers (65 polling stations)
- Majdanpek: 8 observation missions reported a total of 299 observers (for a total of 41 polling stations)
- Kladovo: 8 observation missions, 272 observers (31 polling stations)

¹⁶ Done on the basis of the results done by the Republic Electoral Commission, the percentage was calculated in relation to the valid ballots. On all the lists, the SNS came out in a coalition with coalition partner parties: SPS, SRS, Zavetnici Party, PUPS, PS.

- Sevojno: data is not available on the website of the Republic Election Commission.
- Bor: data is not available on the website of the Republic Election Commission.

In addition to domestic observers, local elections were also observed by foreign observers. The official observation mission of the Congress of Local and Regional Authorities of the Council of Europe, composed of 13 observers, came to Serbia. In addition to them, this year the elections were observed by representatives of several American conservative organizations, although it is not known at whose invitation and initiative they came to observe the elections. These organizations include Young Republican National Federation (YRNF), Republicans for National Renewal (RNR), America First Policy Institute (AFPI), and International Organization for the Family. They registered a total of six observers. It is interesting that a few days after the elections, AFPI denied in its [response to BIRN](#) that it had sent an observer to the local elections in Serbia on March 29; however, their member Samantha Flanigan was officially registered as an election observer in the name of AFPI. According to the Law on the Election of Members of Parliament, foreign election observers can only participate in the name of an organization and not as individuals. As this organization claims that it did not send its observer to the elections, we can conclude that, in that case, the law was violated because Samantha Flanigan could not be registered as an individual observer. Members of the GONGO Center for Social Stability were registered as official translators of this observation mission. Para-observation of foreign missions serves to legitimize the elections before the international community.

Public officials in the election campaign

The President of Serbia, the Prime Minister, and members of the Government visited the locations where the elections are held, even before the formal announcement of the elections. On that occasion, they visited public institutions, municipalities, prosecutor's offices, schools, institutes, and surrounding villages. The organization [Transparency Serbia](#), which monitors the use of public funds, states that visits to these places were 50 times more frequent during the election campaign. The Bureau of Social Research (BIRODI) particularly pointed out that Aleksandar Vučić abused his position and violated ODIHR recommendations through his public appearance in Sivac (Kula) and television appearances due to abuse of public office in the election process, because a clear separation between his state function and party activities was not ensured. During his visits, he issued directives to the ministers, and BIRODI additionally warned that electoral lists bearing his name represent a violation of the Constitution, the Law on Prevention of Corruption, and the recommendations of the ODIHR. The [Agency for the Prevention of Corruption](#) also received a report from Transparency Serbia regarding a video in which the President of Serbia from his cabinet calls on voters to vote for the ruling coalition. If a person who is an official appears in this type of content, it may only be in front of the official building, not inside it. However, the Agency announced that there was no violation here, because, according to the circumstances, "the president of the country belongs to the group of persons who have the right to security protection, which was not established for the sake of the campaign, but to protect the function and personality of the president."

During the incumbency campaign, ministers announced investments, signed contracts, and participated in ceremonial openings of reconstructed facilities. A new hospital, expressways, and employment of women were announced in Bor. In Arandelovac, in addition to the asphaltting of roads and the construction of anti-hail missiles, the construction of the Hilton Hotel and a new football stadium were also announced. The President of the National Assembly, Ana Brnabić, visited the Atlas factory in Sevojno, which will also work on projects related to the specialized exhibition EXPO 2027. The official campaign did not bypass the Bajina Bašta, which was also visited by the President, who, on that occasion, promised help in the treatment of a boy suffering from a serious illness. Just four days before the elections, the Cyrillic Museum was officially opened there. In Knjaževac, the Assistant Minister for Energy Efficiency and Climate Change handed over contracts intended to subsidize energy rehabilitation for individual households. The director of the Republic Pension and Disability Insurance Fund, Relja Ognjenović, visited socially vulnerable citizens and pensioners in these municipalities several times. Members of the Olympic Committee of Serbia also participated in these visits, and they donated basketballs to an elementary school in Bor.

The Agency for the Prevention of Corruption reminded political subjects that the financing of activities of a humanitarian nature and the use of public resources, such as premises, vehicles, websites, and inventories, are prohibited in the campaign. However, a new ambulance vehicle was presented to the Municipality of Kula, a vehicle was donated to the Public Utility Company, and non-reimbursed assistance was announced for women to purchase real estate. The official campaign was also implemented by the ruling

party's coalition partners, so Milan Krkobabić from the Party of United Pensioners of Serbia (PUPS) attended the opening of the renovated House of Culture in Lučani. The Minister of Culture visited the reconstructed theater hall in Smederevska Palanka, and the Minister of Public Investments, Darko Glišić, signed an agreement with the mayor of Smederevska Palanka on the regulation of rights and obligations between the Government of Serbia and the municipality of Smederevska Palanka for the reconstruction and extension of the local Gymnasium. These are just a few in a series of visits that ministers and other public officials made during the pre-election campaign in 10 places where the elections were held, during which the distribution of public money was instrumentalized for the purpose of running the campaign of the ruling party.

THE NUMBER OF VISITS BY REPRESENTATIVES OF THE EXECUTIVE BRANCH TO PLACES WHERE ELECTIONS WERE HELD IN THE MONTHS BEFORE THE ELECTIONS¹⁷:

Bajina Bašta: 25 (January 23 - March 25)

Lučani: 24 (January 23 - March 25)

Sevojno: 21 (in the period from January 28 to March 23)

Smederevska Palanka: 21 (from February 24 to March 22)

Kladovo: 20 (from February 20 to March 23)

Knjaževac: 18 (from February 18 to March 25)

Arandjelovac: 18 (in the period from March 5 to 23)

Bor: 18 (from February 20 to March 26)

Kula: 17 (in the period from March 3 to March 26)

Majdanpek: 13 (February 20 - March 26)

17 The result of the parties that came together with the SNS in a coalition in the local elections in 2026, and which appeared independently in 2022, was calculated collectively.

The following officials visited all 10 places where the elections were held: President Aleksandar Vučić, Minister of Economy Adrijana Mesarović, Minister of Environmental Protection Sara Pavkov, Minister for European Integration Nemanja Starović, Minister of Information and Telecommunications Boris Bratina, and Minister for Public Investments Darko Glišić.

Pre-election pressures

Insults and threats have become an unavoidable part of the pre-election campaign in Serbia, as well as part of the broader political atmosphere. From comparing students to the Taliban, through tabloid targeting of candidates on student and opposition lists, to death threats and physical attacks - all of this has been an integral part of this year's campaign aimed at the complete discrediting of political opponents and the undermining of a campaign in which, instead of political arguments, those in power resort to insults. Pressure and obstruction of the opposition and students from participating in the electoral process, in circumstances of completely captured institutions, were recorded in all places where local elections were called; however, these pressures had begun even before the official pre-election period. They are part of the everyday communication of public officials who use pressure, threats, and intimidation as tools of political struggle, and which intensified with the beginning of the student protests. In the period prior to the official calling of local elections, numerous attacks on the opposition were recorded, but primarily on students who, through the action "A Student in Every Village," visited smaller towns (including those where elections were called) in

order to speak with local residents about pressing issues in their communities.

In Bor, on January 10, city councilor of the citizens' group "Glasno za omladinu" (Loud for Youth), Vladimir Stojičević, [was attacked in the street](#). He was assaulted by a group of younger men, one of whom, according to Stojičević, is connected to the SNS. According to his statement, the attackers punched and kicked him while shouting "opposition" and "hit the politician," clearly indicating that the motive for the attack was his public political engagement. The police informed the councilor that the three cameras covering the area of the incident were allegedly not functioning at the time of the attack.

SNS activists attacked members of the "Mladi Kula" (Young Kula) movement on February 1, 2026. They [were attacked by two SNS sympathizers](#) who poured red paint over the "Mladi Kula" stand. The conflict was initiated by [SNS sympathizer Aleksandar Šulc](#), who is known to the public for previous attacks and provocations directed at journalists, citizens, and students.

The commissioner of the Srbija centar party [was attacked](#) on February 19 in a café in Arandelovac by two men. Commissioner Milorad Savić was supposed to meet with foreign diplomats who would observe the 2026 local elections, but two hooligans approached them, insulted the opposition politician, and disrupted the gathering, preventing discussion about the conditions under which the elections are being held. A group of hooligans had previously (on February 9) attempted to [forcibly enter the party's premises](#) in Arandelovac. The attackers tried to break the protective bars and, in the process, tore down campaign posters of the united Arandelovac opposition. It should be recalled that when citizens protested in front of SNS offices during the summer of 2025 due to attacks by SNS supporters on citizens and the

police's failure to respond, local committees of the ruling party characterized those events as "blockader terrorism" and "savage attacks," while failing to condemn attacks on opposition offices. This is not the only recorded attack in Arandjelovac. Two employees of the British Embassy were also attacked in a café while on a routine diplomatic visit to this town where elections will be held. Representatives of the British Embassy were scheduled to meet with both local authorities and opposition representatives. In the café, two men approached them, filmed them, and insulted them, prompting a response from the Embassy. In its statement, the [Embassy noted](#), among other things: "We are deeply disappointed that two individuals aggressively approached them, harassed them, and prevented them from carrying out their work. Such activities are unacceptable, undermine Serbia's reputation, and reduce the possibility of mutual cooperation for the benefit of both countries."

One of the [first attacks on students](#) involved in the "A Student in Every Village" action was recorded in Darosava, a village in the municipality of Arandjelovac. The attackers followed students through the village, shouted at them, and on several occasions attempted physical assault. They repeatedly asked, "who is paying you" and "is this all from Picula." The police were called, but the patrol that arrived did not react or remove the violent group. Among the attackers, [public officials from the SNS](#) from Lazarevac were identified.

During an action in Guča, a settlement in the municipality of Lučani, on February 21, an unidentified group of men [followed and verbally attacked](#) students. In a statement, the students said the men wore black jackets and hoods and carried batons. They also stated that the men followed a female student all the way to the entrance of her building "simply because she was wearing

badges.” After posts on social media, residents of Guča gathered with the intention of driving the masked men out of the town. Two SNS activists also [verbally attacked students](#) in Lučani, threatening to “break their heads” and that there would be “shots to the head.”

In the period before the official calling of elections, women on student-civic electoral lists were particularly targeted. Activists from Kula were subjected to targeting when unknown individuals published a list with their names along with [threats that their intimate photos would be released](#) on social media. More than [20 organizations](#) issued statements in support of the activists. This type of politically motivated targeting of women points to a deeply sexist and patriarchal political culture that seeks, in various ways, to exclude women's voices from the public sphere, especially when those voices are critical.

Election day

During the election day, a large number of attacks on journalists, activists of opposition newspapers, and observers were recorded. The atmosphere around the polling stations was openly violent and hostile to independent actors. In all places where the elections were held, there was a greater presence of masked groups of supporters of the ruling party, as well as police in equipment to break up demonstrations.

Incidents were recorded at 9 locations where the elections were held, and the most violent scenes were seen in Bor, Bajina Bašta, and Kula. In Bajina Bašta, there was an attack in the city center when a [large group of men](#), after noticing the journalists, [ran after reporters of](#) Mašina and Blokade Info citizens. The whole incident started with [an attack on 2 members of the observation mission](#) of the Stari grad citizens' assembly. Unknown men approached the observers, and one of them was kicked, and his phone was taken away. Observers came to the center of Bajina Bašta to see why a huge number of vehicles with license plates from other cities were parked in the central parking lot. [The police refused to react](#) despite the pleas of the beaten observer. Journalists also came to the scene, among them Darko Gligorijević, a [journalist from the Zumer portal](#). He was also then approached by a group of men who sprayed him with pepper spray, and one of them [hit him several times on the head](#). Then journalists from other newsrooms came, and a huge number of unknown men came out of the building next to the stadium in the center of Bajina Bašta and rushed towards the journalists, observers, and citizens present. The police only returned the group of violent men to the facility from which they had come, without identification.

During the whole day, it was also tense in Kula, where citizens identified several locations (mainly local cafes) where members of the ruling party gathered. It is suspected that vote buying was conducted at these locations and that parallel voter lists were kept from there. In several of those locations, citizens and activists tried to enter, but local SNS officials did not allow them to do so, and in the end, members of the police also came, surrounded those cafes, and prevented citizens from entering the facilities. In Crvenka near Kula, citizens reported that votes were being bought at one location. However, the police did not want

to enter the facility, which is suspected of being the SNS call center, and they also [prevented citizens from entering](#) and filming what was happening. On that occasion, there was a [push](#) between the citizens and the police. The police then [secured the premises](#) where the SNS activists were and did not act on complaints from citizens. At another coffee shop in Kula, the [police protected the premises](#) where, according to citizens' claims, election fraud was carried out. This is one of the 5 places where citizens reported seeing large groups of people with certain papers, but the [police refused to check](#) if it was parallel voter lists, and instead secured those places. [SNS officials, together with the police](#), prevented citizens from seeing what was happening inside a restaurant. A [police cordon](#) was also formed [in front of](#) the "Tvrdava" bar, where members of the SNS were. Some police officers [wore phantoms](#) and had no identification plates. Tensions in Kula escalated during the afternoon, when [a fight was recorded](#) in the center after men with bats [ran out](#) of the premises near the city stadium and rushed towards the citizens. [However](#), the police reacted only towards the citizens, while they did not take any measures against the masked men with batons. The men then locked themselves in a building, and the police created a cordon around the building and protected the violent men. A little before 18:00, the police started to [search the premises of the observation mission](#) in Kula. Several people were detained on election day.

Serious physical attacks on observation missions and journalists were recorded in Bor, which resulted in serious physical injuries. In the village near Bor, at a polling station, masked men from Audi vehicles [attacked activist and photojournalist Zorica Popović](#). On that occasion, they took away her camera while she tried to record potential vote-buying. Then the activist and journalist Ivan Bjelić came to help her, but the men knocked him to the ground and

started beating him. The men then started chasing the student Lazar Dinić and the local activist Aleksandar Kulić, who tried to get the thugs away from the activists. According to testimonies, the attackers also carried axes with them. Lazar Dinić tried to escape from the violent men across the river. However, he did not succeed, and the thugs caught him and continued to beat him. They filmed it all, and on several occasions, they pressured Dinić to say that Vučić was the president. Lazar Dinić, one of the students from the group from Novi Sad who are on trial for allegedly preparing an act against the constitutional order, had a [bloody face](#), and it was later determined that he had a [fractured cheekbone](#). Zorica Popović had stomach pains due to the attack, and Kulić suffered injuries similar to Dinić's. Police have not yet arrested the men responsible for the attack, although activists have managed to learn the identity of some of the attackers. An incident was also recorded in Bor during the day when the [student mobile mission](#) and the lawyer of the CRTA observation mission were attacked. In the [videos](#), a group of men dressed in black could be seen beating observers in front of the premises of the PIO fund (Fund for pension and disability insurance). A [policeman was present](#) at the scene, but that did not stop the men from beating the observers from the student observation mission and the NGO CRTA mission. Three students and two members of the observation mission were transported to the hospital for [stitches](#). Another attack took place during the day in front of the premises of SNS, when a group of men came out of the headquarters of the ruling party and [attacked students](#) from the mobile observation team who tried to film a vehicle in front of the premises, in which they noticed parallel voter lists. One of the attacked students received blows to the head, after which he felt [numbness in his body](#).

After the closing of the polling stations, the police in riot gear were deployed without any explanation or announcement in front of the premises of the municipal election commissions in almost all the places where the elections were held on March 29.

Read more about all recorded incidents during election day in the (updated) report on the following [LINK](#).

Results

This year, a higher turnout was recorded compared to the local elections in 2022. The biggest difference in turnout was recorded in Knjaževac, 8,2%. The higher turnout in the elections is not surprising after last year's mass mobilization of citizens during student and civic protests across the country. The more active participation of citizens at the local level through participation in protests and through participation in citizens' assemblies contributed to this increase in turnout.

LOCATION	Turnout 2026	Turnout 2022
SMEDEREVSKA PALANKA	25.095 (64,46%)	23.485 (58,81%)
BOR	26.234 (68,15%)	24.858 (61,20%)
ARANĐELOVAC	25.999 (70,56%)	23.806 (64,6%)
KULA	23.839 (71,62%)	22.391 (65,4%)
KNJAŽEVAC	15.835 (71,1%)	14.862 (62,9%)
BAJINA BAŠTA	15.866 (74,82%)	14.778 (68%)
KLADOVO	11.401 (54%)	11.274 (52%)
MAJDANPEK	9.612 (62,37%)	9.744 (59,96%)

LUČANI	11.562 (79,02%)	11.135 (75,24%)
SEVOJNO	4.250 (76,64%)	3.984 (70,13%)

Table 4. Comparison of turnout in local elections in 2022 and 2026

In the results, a significant decline of the Serbian Progressive Party (SNS) and coalition partners was recognized in relation to the local elections in 2022. It is important to point out that in 2022, the SNS ran independently in the local elections.

In the table, the results of the SNS for 2022 are presented together with the results of the parties that later joined the coalition with the ruling party, and which ran independently in those elections (Socialist Party of Serbia, Serbian Pledge Party, Serbian Radical Party, etc.), and which ran in coalition with the SNS in 2026. The biggest differences in the achieved result of the ruling party, around 20%, were recorded in Smederevska Palanka, Arandelovac, and Knjaževac.

Students in blockade and civic lists supported by students ran in local elections for the first time this year, so it is not possible to conduct a comparative analysis with the results achieved by opposition political parties in the 2022 local elections. In 2026, representatives of certain opposition parties in some municipalities supported student-backed lists and did not run their own separate lists (e.g., in Kula and Arandelovac); in Bajina Bašta, students and part of the opposition ran together in a joint front; in Sevojno, students and the opposition supported a civic list, while in Smederevska Palanka and Knjaževac, students and some opposition representatives (center-right parties and right wing parties) ran separately.

LOCATION	Results 2026 ⁸	Results 2022 ⁹
SMEDEREVSKA PALANKA	14.181 (57,99%)	17.802 (79,5%) SNS + SPS + SRS + Zdrava Srbija
BOR	12.516 (49%)	11.787 (48,8%) SNS + SPS + SRS
ARANĐELOVAC	13.030 (50,12%)	16.750 (72,72%) SNS + SPS + ZAVETNICI
KULA	11.796 (50,4%)	13.539 (63,1%) SNS + SPS + SRS
KNJAŽEVAC	8.825 (57,1%)	11.651 (78,4%) SNS + SPS + SRS + SNP
BAJINA BAŠTA	8.309 (53,5%)	8.407 (59,2%) SNS + SPS
KLADOVO	8.043 (72%)	7.266 (67,5%) SNS + SPS + SRS
MAJDANPEK	6.079 (65,6%)	6.708 (71,6%) SNS + SPS + SRS
LUČANI	6.972 (61,5%)	7.537 (69,8%) SNS + SPS + SRS
SEVOJNO	2.108 (50,5%)	2.314 (59,5%) SNS + SRS + ZAVETNICI

Table 5. Comparison of the results of coalitions around SNS in the 2022 and 2026 elections

LOCATION	LIST	NUMBER OF VOTES WON	THE NECESSARY NUMBER OF SIGNATURES FOR THE CANDIDATION OF THE LIST
KULA	Youth for Kula	144	500
KULA	Serbian liberals for the green Kula	74	500
KULA	Rusyn's list	65	250
SMEDEREVSKA PALANKA	Students of Palanka	443	500
LUČANI	Green front for students	60	200
ARANĐELOVAC	Coalition 381 - united we support young people	102	500
ARANĐELOVAC	Citizen group Serbian liberals for green Arandelovac	151	500
ARANĐELOVAC	Russian Party - For a better Arandelovac	281	250
BAJINA BAŠTA	Come out / Vote for Bajana Bašta - Serbian liberals	69	300
MAJDANPEK	Serbian liberals for green Majdanpek	161	200
KLADOVO	Citizens' group Serbian Liberals for Green Kladovo	145	300

KNJAŽEVAC	Citizens' group Serbian Liberals for Green Knjaževac	153	300
SEVOJNO	Serbian Liberals for Green Sevojno	29	200

Table 6. The number of votes won by phantom lists, as well as minority lists, is compared to the required number of signatures needed to run a list. None of these lists won a single mandate.

Objections

In the records of the work of the electoral board, most of the objections refer to the taking of pictures of the ballots, the use of telephones at the polling station, and the way in which voting is carried out outside the polling station. For now, Knjaževac is the only place for which data on objections has been published on the website of the Republic Election Commission. Remarks that members of the polling committee in Smederevska Palanka, Bajina Bašta (at polling station 15) and in Kladovo (BM 17) made in the records of the work of the polling committees were not published (due to the lack of space on paper, these remarks were recorded on additional papers, however, these objections were omitted in the published minutes).

In Kula, a special Commission for the control of minutes on the work of election committees was established, and its role was to control the minutes and election materials. Two polling stations were determined for the sample, and it was confirmed that there is no discrepancy between the content of the minutes and the content of the election material. The same was done in Majdanpek, where, after checking, a difference was observed in relation to the

number of valid and invalid ballots, but it was determined that the deviation was not greater than 10%. In Kladovo, two requests for inspection of election materials were rejected, as well as several remarks and objections submitted by the opposition list.

In Bajina Bašta, at polling station 36, the vote [was invalidated](#) because the number of ballots was higher than the number of voters. The result of the repeated vote provided the ruling coalition with [another mandate](#).

In Arandelovac, on the last day of filing complaints, as many as 6 complaints were received in the last hour. Based on certain complaints, the Municipal Election Commission (MEC) adopted a request to annul the elections at polling station number 1, where the opposition list Students for Arandelovac obtained 101 votes more than the Serbian Progressive Party. In the vicinity of the mentioned polling station, there was also a call center of the ruling party, which was discovered during election day, and where men with batons were seen protecting the place. A group of citizens gathered around the list Students for Arandelovac filed an appeal with the Higher Court in Kragujevac against the MEC's decision and state that until the day of the announcement, representatives of the Municipal Election Commission who are not from the Serbian Progressive Party were not provided with access to the submitted complaints, nor to the documentation related to their reception and recording. There was also no clarification of the circumstances under which the aforementioned objections were received just before the deadline expired. The Higher Court in Kragujevac upheld the appeal on April 9, therefore voting at this polling station will not be repeated. Following this decision, Informer began [targeting the judges](#) who made it by publishing their photographs alongside claims that they are "helping the blockaders in election fraud and the rigging of election results."

The City Election Commission (GIK) [rejected an objection](#) filed by the citizens' group "It's Time for Bor to Have a Say," which submitted the list "Bor, Our Responsibility," against the Overall Report on the results of the elections for councilors of the Bor Municipal Assembly. The citizens' group stated that they filed the objection after inspecting election materials from several polling stations at the GIK premises and finding serious discrepancies between the election materials and the official Record of the work of the polling board. They identified a difference of 17 voters between what they found in the election materials and what was recorded in the official Record, as well as as many as 22 fewer ballot papers than the number of voters registered (at election poll number 8). They announced that they will file an appeal with the competent authority.

The only formally available data on complaints is for Knjaževac on the website of the Republic Election Commission. In that place, none of the 7 complaints filed by the Knjaževac uz studente – Čista lista list were accepted.

Distribution of mandates

In Arandjelovac, 21 mandates went to the list gathered around the ruling party, and 20 mandates to the list Students for Arandjelovac. There are a total of 41 councilor seats in the Arandjelovac Municipality Assembly, so if the election results in one of the polling stations are not annulled, this assembly would practically be two-party. The situation is similar in Lučani, Bajina Bašta, and Kladovo, where only two lists received mandates.

The coalition Aleksandar Vučić - Lučani, our family achieved 23 mandates, and the opposition list "Zvuk pravde - Zajedo za

studente” (The Sound of Justice - Together for Students) 12. In Bajina Bašta, that ratio, after repeat voting at one polling station, stood at 26–19 in favor of the ruling coalition.

In Kula, 19 mandates went to the coalition gathered around SNS, and 18 mandates to the list Glas mladih (Voice of the youth). There are a total of 37 council seats in Kula, so this local assembly will function through two political options. After the elections the public was informed that the first on the list of the Serbian Progressive Party, Dragan Kapičić, is being prosecuted for [tax evasion](#).

In Sevojno, the distribution of mandates is 9 for the coalition around the SNS, 9 for the opposition list “United – Sevojno,” and 1 for the list “Milan Stamatović – Avram Ilić, President of the Sevojno City Municipality, Healthy Serbia – For Health to Win.” Who would form the government in Sevojno depended precisely on Healthy Serbia, which won a total of 131 votes in the elections. This party passed the electoral threshold with 3.08% and, during the campaign, [presented itself as part of the opposition](#), even though in Užice, after the 2024 parliamentary elections, it entered into a coalition with the SNS, thereby forming a narrow majority in the local assembly.¹⁸ In these local elections in Smederevska Palanka, Healthy Serbia ran as part of the coalition gathered around the SNS. During the previous elections the media published a recording in which Milan Stamatović can be heard explaining to members of his party that they must collect so-called “capillary votes” for the SNS. On April 15, Milan Stamatović officially announced that [he would form a government in Sevojno with the ruling party](#), even though the holder of the Healthy Serbia list in Sevojno had previously stated that they would not enter into a coalition with the SNS.

18 The head of this list held the position of Deputy President of the Municipality Sevojno prior to the elections.

In Smederevska Palanka, a total of 49 council mandates will be divided into three options. The coalition gathered around SNS won 30 mandates, the Youth for Palanka list won 15 mandates, and the opposition list consisting of NPS, NLS, new DSS, and the Monarchists won 4 mandates.

After the elections in Bor, the distribution of mandates amounts to 19 mandates for the SNS coalition, 15 mandates for the list Bor, our responsibility, and one mandate for the list of the Vlach National Party.

In Majdanpek, four lists participated in the elections, three of which received enough votes to get council seats. The coalition around the Serbian Progressive Party has the largest number of mandates - 21. The We Decide list got 4 mandates, and Nu Dau got 6 - these two lists were founded by groups of citizens. Nu Dau is a group that has been active locally, while the List We Decide was founded before the local elections, but in their public appearances, they emphasized that they would cooperate with the opposition options.

The Knjaževac Municipal Assembly has 40 seats. In the coming period, the coalition around SNS will have 24 council mandates, the opposition list Knjaževac with students - Clean List 13, and the list of the group of opposition parties Change 3 mandates.

[Kladovo](#) is one of the two places where the ruling party achieved a better result than in 2022 (when the votes of other partner parties of the government that ran independently in 2022 are also taken into account), and with the distribution of mandates, 21 seats will go to the coalition around the SNS, and 7 seats to the group of Kladovo has us - It's time for changes.

Reports of international observation missions

The Council of Europe Election Observation Mission had six teams deployed on election day across seven of the 10 local self-government units. In its [preliminary report](#), the Congress of Local and Regional Authorities particularly highlights the situation outside polling stations, which was marked by violence (especially in Arandelovac) as well as the presence of masked individuals and attacks on domestic observers. They note that the conditions during the pre-election campaign were even more unequal than in 2022. It was also observed that local issues were overshadowed by national ones. Regarding domestic observers, the report raises questions about their organizations, methodology, and influence on polling boards, as well as the total number of 6,500 registered observers.

A representative of a foreign para-observation mission also commented on the local elections in Serbia. Brian Brown, who came as an observer on behalf of the International Organization for the Family (IOF), assessed that the elections were conducted properly, emphasizing that the United States could learn a lot from Serbia when it comes to election security. The only “concern” he mentioned was the presence of opposition activists near polling stations, noting that some voters might feel “intimidated.”

Post-election pressures

In the week after the elections, the main topic was not the results but increased repression. A few days after the local elections, the pressure on citizens and students is increasing. Members of the

Criminal Police Directorate broke into the Rectorate of the University of Belgrade on the order of the Higher Public Prosecutor's Office regarding the investigation into the deceased female student.¹⁹ Students who were in the building could not leave it for several hours, and those who wanted to enter to attend lectures had to show their IDs or student cards, which were photographed by the police. In front of the very building where the citizens were gathering, the police intervened. During the suppression of citizens by the police, several physical attacks on citizens were recorded. According to the students in the blockade, the rector and employees had limited freedom of movement so that they could not even go to the toilet. For days after the protest, several students were summoned to the police to give statements. The students' lawyers state that when giving statements, the police were more interested in the situation related to the blockades of the faculty than the tragic event itself, about which the entire investigation is allegedly being conducted. During the raid on the rector's office, the documentation of the students in the blockade was seized, and the first thing the police did when entering the Rectorate building was to remove the banner supporting the student protest that had been on the windows of the building for months.

19 On March 26, after 10 p.m. on the plateau in front of the Faculty of Philosophy, a student of this faculty died as a result of injuries caused by a fall from a height. In the initial statements of certain officials, the death was connected to the lighting of firecrackers and pyrotechnic devices. An investigation was also started, as well as pressure on the dean and employees of the Faculty of Philosophy and the Rectorate of the University of Belgrade. The criminal police administration entered the building of the Faculty of Philosophy several times, as well as the building of the Rectorate of the University of Belgrade. On that occasion, the documentation of the blocked students was confiscated, and it is not clear how this documentation is relevant to the investigation. Members of the criminal police entered the Rectorate building on the order of the Special Department for Combating Corruption of the Higher Public Prosecutor's Office in Belgrade, which is headed by Nenad Stefanović, who is close to the Serbian Progressive Party.

The pressure on the participants of the electoral process also continued after the election. On April 6, the criminal police searched several apartments of members of the Novi Sad citizens' assembly who were observers during the elections in Kula, and the premises of this assembly were also searched as well. Four activists and one lawyer were taken into custody, and two activists were detained for [30 days](#) on suspicion of allegedly endangering security by damaging other people's property.

Conclusions on trends

The 2026 local elections were marked by numerous pressures that were present even before the start of the campaign. Particularly concerning were the recorded physical attacks and intimidation of voters, students, citizens, and journalists on election day. The independent observation mission CRTA also reported electoral irregularities such as photographing ballots and the so-called "Bulgarian train," and due to the violence during election day, concluded that "this can hardly be called an election."

If we also take into account the pressure on citizens employed in public institutions, the misuse of public resources, and the most intense use of incumbency campaigning to date during which nearly all ministers visited the 10 municipalities where elections were held, along with a captured police institution and a media space dominated by the ruling party's narrative, the local elections once again demonstrated that the government's authoritarian

tendencies prevent a democratic electoral process. On the other hand, increased voter turnout and the success achieved by civic, student, and opposition lists indicate that a significant portion of the population seeks change in their local communities.

