

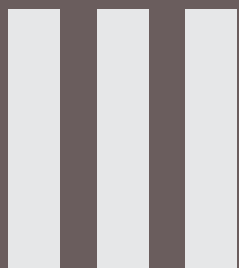
# DEMOCRATIC RESILIENCE IN CHALLENGING TIMES:

Insights from Political Science  
and Beyond

conference

May 29—30th 2025  
Podgorica, Montenegro

DAY 1		Thursday, May 29	
TIME			
8:30-9:00	Registration of participants		
9:00-9:30	Opening of the conference		
9:30-10:30	Keynote speech by Wolfgang Merkel		
10:30 Coffee Break			
TIME	SESSION	PANEL	ROOM
11:00-12:30	I	Panel I Comparative Politics: Backsliding	TBD
11:00-12:30		Panel II Comparative Politics: Resilience	TBD
11:00-12:30		Panel III International Politics	TBD
12:30 Lunch Break			
TIME	SESSION	PANEL	ROOM
13:30-15:00	II	Panel IV Party Politics and Elections	TBD
13:30-15:00		Panel V Politics and Communication	TBD
13:30-15:00		Panel VI Behaviour, Values and Attitudes	TBD
15:00 Coffee Break			

TIME	SESSION	PANEL	ROOM
15:15-16:45		<b>Panel VII</b> Online Panel	<i>TBD</i>
15:15-16:45		<b>Panel VIII</b> Behaviour and Gender	<i>TBD</i>
15:15-16:45		<b>Panel IX</b> Western Balkan Politics I	<i>TBD</i>
19:30 Reception Dinner			

## DAY 2

Friday, May 30

TIME	SESSION	PANEL	ROOM
9:00-10:00		Lecture by <b>Ruth Dassonneville</b>	TBD
10:00-11:30		<b>Panel X</b> Behaviour and Voting	TBD
10:00-11:30		<b>Panel XI</b> Western Balkan Politics II	TBD
11:30 Coffee Break			
12:00-13:00		Lecture by <b>Ian Zielonka</b>	TBD
Closing of the Conference			



**MoPSA**  
Montenegrin Political  
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# SESSION I

## PANEL I 11:00-12:30

## COMPARATIVE POLITICS: BACKSLIDING Panel chair: Ivan Vuković

The effects of the Russia-Ukraine war: The erosion of democracy in Georgia: a "return to the past"?

Sandro Tabatadze

Tbilisi State University

Alternatives to liberal democracies (ALDs) and their consolidation in Central Eastern Europe

Radoslaw Markowski

Polish Academy of Sciences, SWPS University of Social Sciences and Humanities

Populism and the Second Wave of Competitive Authoritarianism in the Balkans

Nebojša Vladislavljević

University of Belgrade

How Elections in 2024 Affected Democratic Resilience across the World and in the Western Balkans

Srđan Darmanović

University of Montenegro

Politics of Fear and the Rise of New Despotism

Milan Podunavac

University of Donja Gorica

## PANEL II 11:00-12:30

## COMPARATIVE POLITICS: DEMOCRATIC RESILIENCE Panel chair: Nemanja Stankov

Democratic Resilience in Armenia and Corruption

Harutyun Aleksanyan  
Marat Atovmyan

Yerevan State University

Can Deliberation Resolve Democratic Deficits in Divided Societies? The Case of the 2021 Mostar Citizens Assembly

Damir Kapidžić

University of Sarajevo



Building Resilience from Below:  
Evidence of Bottom-up  
Democracy Pleas in Two Protests  
Waves – Bosnia and  
Herzegovina (2014) and  
Macedonia (2016)

Ivan Stefanovski

University  
American College,  
Skopje

Who is willing to forgive  
undemocratic behaviour?  
Evidence from conjoint  
experiments in five European  
countries

Daphne Halikiopoulou  
Ludwig List  
Filip Milačić  
Sofia Vasilopoulou

University of York,  
Friedrich Ebert  
Stiftung, Central  
European  
University, Kings  
College

Where Democratic Resilience  
withers: The Dynamics of Multi-  
level Governance and Actor-  
centric Exclusion in the Western  
Balkans

Ermelinda  
Muçaj

Independent  
researcher,  
European  
Movement

**PANEL III**  
11:00-12:30

**INTERNATIONAL POLITICS**  
Panel chair: Marko Savić

The Impact of EU Negotiations  
on Institutional Reforms and  
Democratic Governance in  
Türkiye

Burcu Miraç Diraor Aydin

Gedik University

The South Caucasus and the  
Western Balkans on the path to  
democratization: A comparative  
analysis

Roman Karapetyan

Yerevan State  
University

How the Citizens Voice can be  
(Over)Heard When Raised:  
Case of Serbia and Student  
Protests

Miljana Đurđević  
Cucić

University of  
Belgrade

Characteristics of the Georgian Orthodox Church's relations during the period of Soviet Union's collapse and the formation of an independent state in Georgia

Giorgi Pareshishvili

Caucasus International University

Democracy in Distress: The Psychological Consequences of Political Crises in Macedonia

Eleonora Serafimovska  
Marijana Markovikj  
Tea Koneska- Vasilevska

University Ss.Cyril and Methodius  
Institute for Sociological, Political and Juridical research

SESSION II

PANEL IV  
13:30-15:00

PARTY POLITICS AND ELECTIONS  
Panel chair: Slaven Živković

Democracy Without Borders?  
Electoral Barriers and the Political Exclusion of Foreign Residents

Katerina Basel  
Michal Pink

Masaryk University

A Redistributive Issue in the Tan-Gal Party System: Public Attitudes on the Real Estate Taxation in Croatia

Goran Čular

University of Zagreb

Party System Changes in Montenegro: Between Polarization and Fragmentation

Gianluca Passarelli  
Zlatko Vujović

Sapienza Università di Roma  
University of Montenegro

Leveling the Electoral Playing Field in Hybrid Regimes: The Case of Macedonia

Marko Krtolica

Ss. Cyril and Methodius University

Regulating Party Financing and Electoral Competition: A Comparative Perspective and the Western Balkans

Chiara Fiorelli

Sapienza Università di Roma



<div> <div> <b>PANEL V</b>  13:30-15:00 </div> <div> <b>POLITICS AND COMMUNICATION</b>  <b>Panel chair:</b> Sanja Orlandić </div> </div>		
Negative Campaign and Hate Speech in Bosnia and Herzegovina	Elma Huruz Memović Irena Praskač Salčin Selma Ćosić	University of Sarajevo
“For the Minds and Hearts”: Analysis of Media Narratives as a Soft Power Instrument of Non-Democratic States	Marko Savić	Montenegrin Political Science Association (MOPSA)
Displacement, not Obstruction: Why Insecure Leaders Need Not Fear Free Media	Afiq bin Oslan Ipek Ece Sener	Max Plank Institute, Harvard University
Harnessing Digital Technologies for Youth-Led Anti-Corruption Movements in the Balkans	Layla Weiss Agim Selami	Georgetown University, ZIP Institute
Geographical Comparison of Voter Turnout Representation in the Republic of Croatia During the Super Election Year of 2024	Kristina Vrbek	University of Zagreb
<div> <div> <b>PANEL VI</b>  13:30-15:00 </div> <div> <b>BEHAVIOUR, VALUES AND ATTITUDES</b>  <b>Panel chair:</b> Nemanja Batrićević </div> </div>		
The (Ill) Will of the People - Is there a Hidden Readiness to Subvert Liberal Democracy?	Åsa von Schoultz Jaakko Hillo Inga Saikkonen	University of Helsinki, Åbo Akademi University
The Effects of Need for Cognition (NFC) and Need for Affect (NFA) on Motivated Reasoning	Eunbin Chung Pavitra Govindan Anna O. Pechenkina	University of Utah, Utah State University
In Democracy we Trust, BUT... Disillusionment and Inconsistencies in Individuals' Democratic Commitments	Olga Gyarfasova	Comenius University Bratislava

Perceptions of an Ideal Society: Evidence from the ESS- CRONOS Panel	Vladimir Mentus	Institute for Social Sciences, Belgrade
Attitudes Towards Homosexuality in Europe: Examining the East- West Divide	Aneta Cekikj Jovan Bliznakovski	Ss. Cyril and Methodius University

SESSION III

<b>PANEL VII</b> 15:15-16:45	<b>ONLINE PANEL</b> Panel chair: Siniša Vuković	
Rethinking Democratic Defense - The Impact of Antidemocratic Actions in the Social Dimension	Peter Verpoorten	Central European University
The Not-So-Soft Power of Faith 2.0	Ljubomir Filipović	Arizona State University
<b>PANEL VIII</b> 15:15-16:45	<b>BEHAVIOUR AND GENDER</b> Panel chair: Zlatko Vujović	
Gender Gaps in Internal Political Efficacy Across Europe: A Comparative Exploration	Jovan Bliznakovski Aneta Cekikj	Ss. Cyril and Methodius University
Different Colors of the Same Rainbow? The Polarization of Gender Issues and its Campaign Potential	Melanie Dietz Sigrid Rossteutscher	Goethe University Frankfurt
Gender attitudes and Party Preferences in Serbia: The role of Individual Authoritarianism	Bojan Todosijević Jovana Zafirović Branka Matijević	Institute for Social Sciences, Belgrade
The Gender Affect Effect: Are Men More Susceptible to Affective Polarization?	Olivera Komar Nemanja Batrićević	University of Montenegro



PANEL IX 15:15-16:45	WESTERN BALKAN POLITICS I Panel chair: Gianluca Passarelli	
Antipolitical Revolution - Student Protest in Serbia	Dušan Spasojević	University of Belgrade
Short-term Gain, Long-Term Risks: Montenegro's Battle with Populist Fiscal Policies	Mladen Grgić	University of Montenegro
Beyond the Classroom: Student Protests and Political Transformation in Serbia	Jelena Riznić	Institute for Social Sciences, Belgrade
Fasting democracy	Nikola Radunović	Independent researcher
Democratic Backsliding from the Bottom-Up: How Perceived Corruption Shapes Justification of Undemocratic Practices in the Western Balkans	Nemanja Stankov	University of Montenegro

SESSION IV

PANEL X 10:00-11:30	BEHAVIOUR AND VOTING Panel chair: Katharina Blizner	
Citizen Election Sweepstakes: The Impact of Betting Inducements on Citizen Forecasts in the 2024 US Presidential Election	Stephen Quinlan Michael Lewis-Beck	GESIS institute, University of Iowa
Legacy of Class: the Role of Family Background in Polish Voting Behavior	Mikolaj Czesnik Oliwia Szczupska	SWPS University of Social Sciences and Humanities



Suburbanization and Political Polarization: Voting Behaviour in the Suburban Areas of the Czech Republic and Slovakia

František Reitter  
Michal Pink

Masaryk University

Is there Anything Beyond Cleavage Politics? Economic Voting Experimental Evidence from Montenegro

Slaven Živković

DeFacto Consultancy

Democratic Resilience from Below: Voter Profiles of New Opposition Parties in Serbia and Croatia

Valentina Petrović

University of Zurich

**PANEL XI**  
10:00-11:30

**WESTERN BALKAN POLITICS II**  
Panel chair: Srđan Darmanović

Montenegro "Lost" in Transition: Ethnonationalism Overshadows Europeanization

Sajma Ademović

University of Donja Gorica

Fighting Anti-Romaism Within the Integration Model and the Invisibility of Structural Discrimination - the Case of Montenegro

Danijela Vuković-Ćalasan

University of Montenegro

Social Policy and Democratic Resilience in Montenegro: Between Welfare Populism and Sustainable Development

Uglješa Janković

University of Montenegro

From Overt Demonization to Subtle Delegitimization: Discursive Strategies of Contesting Montenegrin Independence

Sanja Orlandić

Faculty for Montenegrin Language and Literature

‘Little Ukraine’ in the Balkans: Montenegro seen from Belgrade

Ivan Vuković

University of Montenegro