

DEMOCRATIC RESILIENCE IN CHALLENGING TIMES:

Insights from Political Science
and Beyond

CONFERENCE

May 29—30th 2025
Podgorica, Montenegro
Naučno tehnološki park

DAY 1

Thursday, May 29

TIME

8:30-9:00

Registration of participants

Opening of the conference

9:00-9:30

Prof. dr. **Olivera Komar**, president of MoPSA
Mr. **Marko Vukašinić**, Director General, Directorate for
International Cooperation, European Integration and EU
Funds, Ministry of Education, Science and Innovation
Ms. **Kirsten Schönefeld**, director of FES regional office for
Montenegro and Serbia
Dr. **Slaven Živković**, executive director of DeFacto
Consultancy

9:30-10:30

Keynote speech by Prof. Dr. Wolfgang Merkel
Wissenschaftszentrum Berlin für Sozialforschung - WZB
& Democracy Institute, CEU Budapest
**What is Democratic Resilience and How to
Strengthen It?**

10:30 Coffee Break

TIME	SESSION	PANEL	ROOM
11:00-12:30	I	Panel I Comparative Politics: Backsliding	201
11:00-12:30		Panel II Comparative Politics: Resilience	202
11:00-12:30		Panel III International Politics	203

12:30 Lunch Break

TIME	SESSION	PANEL	ROOM
13:30-15:00	II	Panel IV Party Politics and Elections	201
13:30-15:00		Panel V Politics and Communication	202
13:30-15:00		Panel VI Behaviour, Values and Attitudes	203

15:00 Coffee Break

TIME	SESSION	PANEL	ROOM
15:15-16:45	III	Panel VII Online Panel	201
15:15-16:45		Panel VIII Behaviour and Gender	202
15:15-16:45		Panel IX Western Balkans Politics I	203

19:30 Reception Dinner

DAY 2

Friday, May 30

TIME	SESSION	PANEL	ROOM
9:00-10:00		Lecture by Prof. Dr. Ruth Dassonneville Faculty of Social Sciences at KU Leuven Recent Changes in Political Behavior	202
10:00-11:30		Panel X Behaviour and Voting	201
10:00-11:30		Panel XI Western Balkans Politics II	202
11:30 Coffee Break			
12:00-13:00		Lecture by Prof. Dr. Jan Zielonka University of Oxford, University of Venice, Ca Foscari Democratic Resilience, Erosion, or Muddling Through?	202
Closing of the Conference			



MoPSA
Montenegrin Political
Science Association

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Ebert** 
Stiftung

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FAKULTET
POLITIČKIH
N A U K A
PODGORICA

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 Aydın

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 Tangal 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

PANEL V
13:30-15:00

POLITICS AND COMMUNICATION

Panel chair: Sanja Orlandić

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

Occupational variation in protest participation: The case of Serbias prodemocracy protests 2024/2025

Marko Žilović

University of Belgrade

PANEL VI
13:30-15:00

BEHAVIOUR, VALUES AND ATTITUDES

Panel chair: Nemanja Batrićević

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

Democratic Backsliding from the Bottom-Up: How Perceived Corruption Shapes Justification of Undemocratic Practices in the Western Balkans

Nemanja Stankov

University of Montenegro

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

PANEL VII
15:15-16:45

ONLINE PANEL
Panel chair: Nemanja Stankov

The Emerging Polycentric Global
Order

Siniša Vuković
Giovanna Maria Dora Dore

Johns Hopkins:
School of Advanced
International Studies,
Johns Hopkins:
Krieger School of
Arts and Sciences

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

Geographical Comparison of
Voter Turnout Representation in
the Republic of Croatia During
the Super Election Year of 2024

Kristina
Vrbek

University of
Zagreb

PANEL VIII
15:15-16:45

BEHAVIOUR AND GENDER
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 BALKANS 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 Resilience in North Macedonia: Challenges, Reform and Future Prospects	Sofija Georgievska Dimitar Kovachevski Nataša Stanojkovska-Trajkovska Elena Kovacevska	Faculty of Philosophy, UKIM Skopje

SESSION IV

PANEL X 10:00-11:30	BEHAVIOUR AND VOTING Panel chair: Katharina Blinzler	
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
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 BALKANS 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