



Victor monument  
Author: ToS

18. међународна годишња конференција  
Удружења за политичке науке Србије (УПНС)

# СУПЕР ИЗБОРНА 2024. ГОДИНА

18<sup>th</sup> Serbian Political Science Association (SPSA)  
International Annual Conference

## SUPER ELECTION YEAR 2024

University of Belgrade - Faculty of Political Science  
October 26-27, 2024

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WESTERN BALKANS



Република Србија  
МИНИСТАРСТВО НАУКЕ,  
ТЕХНОЛОШКОГ РАЗВОЈА И ИНОВАЦИЈА





# CONFERENCE PANELS

## Registration

Saturday, October 26, 8:30 – 9:00, Main Hall

## Session I

Saturday, October 26, 9:00 – 10:30

## Networking Event

Saturday, October 26, 18:30 – 20:00

## Session II

Saturday, October 26, 10:45 – 12:15

## Session V

Sunday, October 27, 9:00 – 10:30

## Welcome & Keynote Address

Saturday, October 26, 12:30 – 13:40

## Session VI

Sunday, October 27, 10:45 – 12:15

## Session III

Saturday, October 26, 15:00 – 16:30

## Keynote Address

Sunday, October 27, 12:30 – 13:30

## Session IV

Saturday, October 26, 16:45 – 18:15

## Session VII

Sunday, October 27, 15:00 – 16:30



## Udruženje za političke nauke Srbije (UPNS)

Udruženje za političke nauke Srbije (UPNS) je nezavisno, nevladino i neprofitno udruženje čiji su glavni ciljevi podsticanje i razvijanje naučnog i stručnog rada u području političkih nauka, promocija političkih nauka kao zasebne discipline unutar društvenih nauka, popularizacija politikoloških znanja te njihovo širenje i primena u obrazovanju, političkoj delatnosti, novinarstvu i javnosti uopšte, podsticanje i organizovanje naučnoistraživačkog rada na području političkih nauka, utvrđivanje i unapređivanje stručnih i naučnih standarda i profesionalne etike u delovanju diplomiranih politikologa, podsticanje razvoja nastave i drugih oblika obrazovanja iz područja političkih nauka, uspostavljanje i unapređivanje profesionalne komunikacije među politikolozima, naučnicima i istraživačima politikoloških struka, uspostavljanje saradnje i razmena znanja i iskustava sa drugim srodnim udruženjima u zemlji i svetu.

Sabor politikologa, redovna godišnja konferencija UPNS, okuplja politikologe iz zemlje, drugih balkanskih zemalja i istaknute autore iz drugih regiona, naročito iz bivših socijalističkih država, Zapadne Evrope i Severne Amerike.

Udruženje za političke nauke Srbije je kolektivni član Međunarodnog udruženja za političke nauke (International Political Science Association, IPSA), Evropske konfederacije udruženja za političke nauke (European Confederation of Political Science Associations, ECPSA) i Balkanskog udruženja za političke nauke (Balkan Political Science Association, BPSA).

## The Serbian Political Science Association (SPSA)

The Serbian Political Science Association (SPSA) is an independent, non-governmental and non-profit association which aims to promote and develop academic and professional work in political science, promote political science as a separate discipline of social science, popularise political knowledge and its application in education, political life, journalism and among wider public, promote and organise political science research, identify and improve academic and professional standards and ethics in the work of political science graduates, promote teaching in our discipline, establish and improve professional communication among academics, researchers and graduates in political science, establish cooperation and the exchange of knowledge and experience with relevant associations in Serbia and in other countries.

The Annual Conference of the Serbian Political Science Association gathers academics and researchers in political and social science from Serbia, other parts of the Balkans and influential authors from other regions, especially from post-communist states, Western Europe and North America.

The Serbian Political Science Association is a collective member of the International Political Science Association (IPSA), the European Confederation of Political Science Associations (ECPSA) and the Balkan Political Science Association (BPSA).

### The SPSA Assembly

**Presidency:** Marko Veković, Miloš Hrnjaz, Aleksandra Krstić,  
Biljana Đorđević, Ivan Stanojević.

**Supervisory Committee:** Jelena Lončar and Bojan Vranić.

**President:** Aleksandra Krstić



## Univerzitet u Beogradu - Fakultet političkih nauka

Univerzitet u Beogradu – Fakultet političkih nauka (FPN) predstavlja jednu od vodećih institucija u oblasti visokog obrazovanja u Republici Srbiji i regionu Jugoistočne Evrope. Osnovan je 1968. godine kao prva nastavno-naučna ustanova te vrste u tadašnjoj Jugoslaviji. Deo je Univerziteta u Beogradu, koji se nalazi u 300 najboljih univerziteta sveta, prema Šangajskoj listi za 2016. godinu. Jedina je državna visokoškolska ustanova matična za politikologiju u Srbiji, kao i alma mater osnivačima i predavačima na velikom broju fakulteta političkih nauka u regionu. Fakultet političkih nauka danas je moderna i otvorena škola demokratije i demokratske političke kulture, sposobna da aktivno učestvuje i unapređuje politički diskurs i odgovori na osnovne imperativne političke egzistencije našeg društva i njegovog međunarodnog okruženja.

Fakultet se bavi obrazovanjem i istraživanjem u oblasti politikologije, međunarodnih studija, novinarstva i komunikologije, socijalne politike i socijalnog rada. Nastavno-naučni kadar čini više od 90 stalnih predavača, uz redovna gostovanja istaknutih inostranih i domaćih stručnjaka. Na poslediplomskim studijama, nastava se izvodi na srpskom i engleskom jeziku.

Fakultet je danas poznati i priznati svetski obrazovni, naučno-istraživački centar. Kroz realizaciju redovnih i periodičnih projekata, FPN ostvaruje saradnju sa najznačajnijim naučnim ustanovama iz zemlje i uglednim inostranim univerzitetskim centrima. U okviru Fakulteta deluju i brojni naučno-istraživački centri specijalizovani za pojedine oblasti istraživanja, a razvijena je i izdavačka delatnost iz matičnih naučnih oblasti.

## University of Belgrade - Faculty of Political Science

The University of Belgrade – Faculty of Political Science (FPS) is one of the leading institutions in the field of higher education in the Republic of Serbia and the Southeast European region. It was established in 1968 as the first educational and scientific institution of its kind in the former Yugoslavia. It is part of the University of Belgrade, which ranked among the top 300 universities in the world according to the 2016 Shanghai Ranking. It is the only state higher education institution in Serbia that is the primary institution for political science, as well as the alma mater for many founders and lecturers at numerous political science faculties in the region. Today, the Faculty of Political Science is a modern and open school of democracy and democratic political culture, capable of actively participating in and enhancing political discourse, while addressing the fundamental imperatives of the political existence of our society and its international environment.

The Faculty offers education and conducts research in the fields of political science, international studies, journalism and communication, social policy, and social work. The teaching staff consists of more than 90 permanent lecturers, alongside regular visits from prominent international and domestic experts. Postgraduate courses are conducted in both Serbian and English.

The Faculty is now a well-known and recognized global educational and scientific research center. Through regular and periodic projects, FPS collaborates with leading scientific institutions in the country and prestigious international university centers. Within the Faculty, numerous research centers specializing in specific areas of study operate, and a well-developed publishing activity is maintained in core scientific disciplines.



# INTERNATIONAL SELECTION COMMITTEE



Sopotnica Village, Prijepolje  
Author: Vladimir Živanović

**Daniel Bochsler** Central European University (Austria)

**Dušan Vučićević**, *University of Belgrade (Serbia)*

**Florian Bieber**, *University of Graz (Austria)*

**Laura Olson**, *Clemson University (USA)*

**Nebojša Vladislavljević**, *University of Belgrade (Serbia)*

**Olivera Komar**, *University of Montenegro (Montenegro)*

**Višeslav Raos**, *University of Zagreb (Croatia)*

**Marc Guinjoan**, *Universitat Autònoma de Barcelona (Spain)*

**Damir Kapidžić**, *University of Sarajevo (Bosnia and Herzegovina)*

**Marko Veković**, *University of Belgrade (Serbia)*

**Marek Kaminski**, *University of California Irvine (USA)*



# SSI: DIVIDED SOCIETIES AND ETHNIC VOTING



Gardoš tower, Zemun  
Author: Andrej Nihil

Saturday, October 26: Session I 9:00 – 10:30 (Room 1)

Chair: **Jelena Lončar** (U Belgrade)

Discussant: **Daniel Bochsler** (CEU & U Belgrade)

**Jasmin Hasanović & Samir Forić** (U Sarajevo)

*Ethnopolitical Resilience and Opposition  
Dynamics in Bosnia and Herzegovina*

**Damir Kapidžić** (U Sarajevo)

*Segmented Electoral Competition in Bosnia  
and Herzegovina. A Cautionary Tale on the  
Limits of Ethnic Vote Pooling*

**Zlatko Vujović & Marko Savić** (CEMI / U Montenegro)

*The Impact of Personalisation of the Electoral  
System on Personalisation of Political Parties:  
Experience from Kosovo\* and Bosnia and  
Herzegovina*

**Jon Fraenkel** (Victoria U Wellington)

*What is a Multi-Ethnic Party and Why You  
Need to Know How to Spot a Phony One*



# SS2: PERSONALISATION, POPULISM AND MEDIA IN SOUTH-EAST EUROPE AND BEYOND

Palić lake, Subotica  
Author: Andrej Nihil

Saturday, October 26: Session I 9:00 – 10:30 (Room 3)

Chair: **Aleksandra Krstić** (U Belgrade)

Discussant: **Marc Guinjoan** (U Autònoma de Barcelona)

**Ricardo Ribeiro Ferreira & Alexander Mesarovich**

(U Edinburgh / EUI)

*Speaking Power to the People: Serbian and  
Brazilian Media Systems in Populist Times*

**Katarina Bogićević & Nina Pavlović**

(U Belgrade)

*National Themes in Local Elections:  
Centralizing Personalization of Local Elections in Serbia*

**Andrei Gheorghiuță & Mircea Comșa**

(Lucian Blaga U Sibiu / U Babeş-Bolyai)

*Party Characteristics and Leader Effects in  
Central and Eastern European Democracies*

**Miloš Bešić** (U Belgrade)

*Constructing Subjective Well-Being and Voting  
for Ruling Parties in Serbia*

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# GS3: NAVIGATING POST-CONFLICT DYNAMICS: ETHNIC IDENTITY, MIGRATION, AND MIXEDNESS IN THE BALKANS

Saint Sava Temple, Belgrade  
Author: Andrej Nihil

Saturday, October 26: Session I 9:00 – 10:30 (Room 2)

Chair: **Karolina Lendák-Kabók** (ELTE Budapest)

Discussant: **Rodoljub Jovanović**  
(Institute of Philosophy and Social Theory, Belgrade)

**Denisa Kostovicova, Tolga Sinmazdemir &  
Sanja Vico**

(LSE / SOAS / U Exeter)

*The Cost of Dissent from War Crimes Denial:  
Can Family and Neighbours Help Individuals  
Address In-group Responsibility for Mass Atrocity?*

**Ivetta Délczegh &  
Karolina Lendák-Kabók**

(ELTE Budapest)

*Evolution of Balkan Social Dynamics Due to  
Russian and Ukrainian Migration*

**Karolina Lendák-Kabók**

(ELTE Budapest)

*Mixedness in Conflict: The impact of  
Yugoslav wars on intermarriages*



# GS4: IZBORI ZA EVROPSKI PARLAMENT



Confluence of Danube and Sava, Belgrade  
Author: Aleksandar Matic

Saturday, October 26: Session I 9:00 – 10:30 (Room 5)

Chair: **Maja Kovačević** (U Belgrade)

Discussant: **Ivana Radić-Milosavljević** (U Belgrade)

**Igor Miroslavljević** (U Belgrade)

*Uticaj evropskih izbora na pravce razvoja  
zajedničke spoljne i bezbednosne politike Evropske unije*

**Irina Milutinović & Milan Igrutinović**

(Institute for European Studies, Belgrade)

*Strateški narativi o politici proširenja u  
predizbornoj kampanji za Evropski parlament 2024*

**Zoran Stojiljković & Maja Bobić** (U Belgrade)

*Evropski izbori, kriza i preispitavanje na levici*

**David Tadić** (U Belgrade)

*Rekonfiguracija partijske kompeticije:  
centrifugalne tendencije partijskog sistema  
Evropske unije*



# SS5: AFFECTIVE POLARISATION, VAA, AND IDEOLOGIES

Trg Slobode Square, Novi Sad  
Author: Aleksandar Milutinović

Saturday, October 26: Session II 10:45 – 12:15 (Room 1)

Chair: **Diego Garzia** (U Lausanne)

Discussant: **Jonathan Wheatley** (Oxford Brookes)

**Višeslav Raos, Goran Čular & Kosta Bovan** (U Zagreb)  
*Voter-party Congruence and Propensity to Vote in Croatia*

**Marc Guinjoan, Toni Rodon, Nikandros Ioannidis,  
Fernando Mendez & Constantinos Djouvas**  
(U Autònoma de Barcelona / U Pompeu Fabra / U Zurich / Cyprus U of  
Technology)  
*Strategic Choices: How Tailored Information  
Influences Election Dynamics*

**A. Canalejo-Molero, L. Cicchi, F. Ferreira da Silva, D. Garzia,  
A. Reiljan & A.H. Trechsel** (U Lucerne / EUI / U Lausanne)  
*Reducing Affective Polarization with Voting  
Advice Applications: A Pan-European Experiment*

**Zsolt Enyedi, Bálint Mikola & Dean Schafer**  
(CEU Democracy Institute / Mississippi State U)  
*How Illiberals Oppose Liberal Democracy  
Measuring Illiberalism through*

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# SS6: ETHNOPOLITICAL MOBILIZATION IN AN INCREASINGLY STRAINED TRIADIC NEXUS. THE HUNGARIANS OF ROMANIA IN THE SUPER-ELECTION YEAR OF 2024



Petrovaradin fortress, Novi Sad  
Author: Aleksandar Milutinović

Saturday, October 26: Session II 10:45 – 12:15 (Room 3)

Chair: **Balázs Vizi** (Institute for Minority Studies, Budapest / National U of Public Service, Budapest)

Discussant: **Balázs Dobos** (Institute for Minority Studies, Budapest)

**Tibor Toró** (Sapientia U)

*Constructing a Conservative Christian minority.  
Mapping Changes in the Electoral Campaign  
Discourse of DAHR in Romania*

**István Gergő Székely** (Romanian Institute for Research on National Minorities)

*Maximizing the Gains from Both Sides in the Triadic Nexus.  
Some Implications of the Electoral Results of Romania's Hungarian  
Ethnic Parties at the 2024 local and European Elections*

**Tamás Kiss**

(Romanian Institute for Research on National Minorities)

*The Multi-dimensional Strategies of  
Democratic Alliance of Hungarians in Romania  
and the Political Values of Transylvanian Hungarians*



# GS7: PROTESTS, CAMPAIGNS AND ELECTIONS IN THE WESTERN BALKANS



Palace of Justice, Bečej  
Author: Aleksandar Milutinović

Saturday, October 26: Session II 10:45 – 12:15 (Room 5)

Chair: **Miloš Hrnjaz** (U Belgrade)

Discussant: **Dušan Spasojević** (U Belgrade)

**Marko Mustapić, Benjamin Perasović &  
Vanja Dergić**

(Institute of Social Sciences Ivo Pilar, Zagreb)  
*Croatian activists' relationship towards  
election processes in 2024: Totally  
different from the rest*

**Siniša Atlagić & Jelena Vujanović**

(U Belgrade / Institute for Political Studies, Belgrade)  
*Election Campaign Strategies In The Shadow  
Of Polarization*

**Alexander Mesarovich, Ester Sabatino &  
Arto Vaisanen**

(EUI / Institute for Strategic Studies, Berlin / U Oslo)  
*Learning to Stand on Its Own: Policy Learning  
in EU Civilian and Military Missions*



# GS8: AMERIČKI IZBORI 2024. GODINE



Golubac fortress  
Author: Oksana Skendžić

Saturday, October 26: Session II 10:45 – 12:15 (Room 2)

Chair: **Dragan R. Simić** (U Belgrade)

Discussant: **Vladimir Trapara**

(Institute for International Politics and Economics, Belgrade)

**Marko Dašić** (U Belgrade)

*Povratak Republikanaca u Belu kuću i potraga  
za spoljnopolitičkim konsenzusom*

**Stevan Nedeljković & Dragan Živojinović** (U Belgrade)

*In Search of the Axioms of American Politics: Why Economy is  
no longer Winning Presidential Elections in the U.S.?*

**Milan Krstić** (U Belgrade)

*The Foreign Policy Discourse of Candidates in  
2024 Presidential Election Campaign*

**Aleksandar Milošević** (U Belgrade)

*„Amerika pre svega” vs „Spoljna politika za srednju klasu”:  
koncepti američkog ekonomskog nacionalizma u 21. veku*





*Beton Hall, Kosančičev Venac, Belgrade  
Author: Zoran Spremo*

# Welcome & Keynote Address

Saturday, October 26: Welcome & Keynote Address  
12:30 – 13:40 (Room 1)

## **Aleksandra Krstić**

President of the Serbian Political Science  
Association

## **Darko Nadić**

Acting Dean of the Faculty of Political Science –  
University of Belgrade

## **Daniel Bochsler**

CEU & University of Belgrade



KEYNOTE ADDRESS

# Should Participative Theorists Be Grounded? For a Realistic Approach to Citizen Participation

Saturday, October 26: Keynote Address 12:30 – 13:40 (Room 1)



**Filip Kostelka** (EUI)

Moderator: **Daniel Bochsler** (CEU & U Belgrade)

**Filip Kostelka** holds the Chair in Political and Social Change at European University Institute, while on leave from the Department of Government at the University of Essex. Filip earned a Ph.D. in Political Science from Sciences Po, Paris and held predoctoral and postdoctoral appointments at the College of Europe, University of Montreal, and University of Barcelona. His research interests cover the fields of political behaviour, party politics, and regime change. Among other topics, he stud-

ies why and when citizens (don't) vote or protest, and how different political and contextual factors affect citizens' behaviour and attitudes. His research has been published in journals such as the *American Political Science Review*, *British Journal of Political Science*, *Comparative Political Studies*, and *World Politics*.

X @Filip\_Kostelka

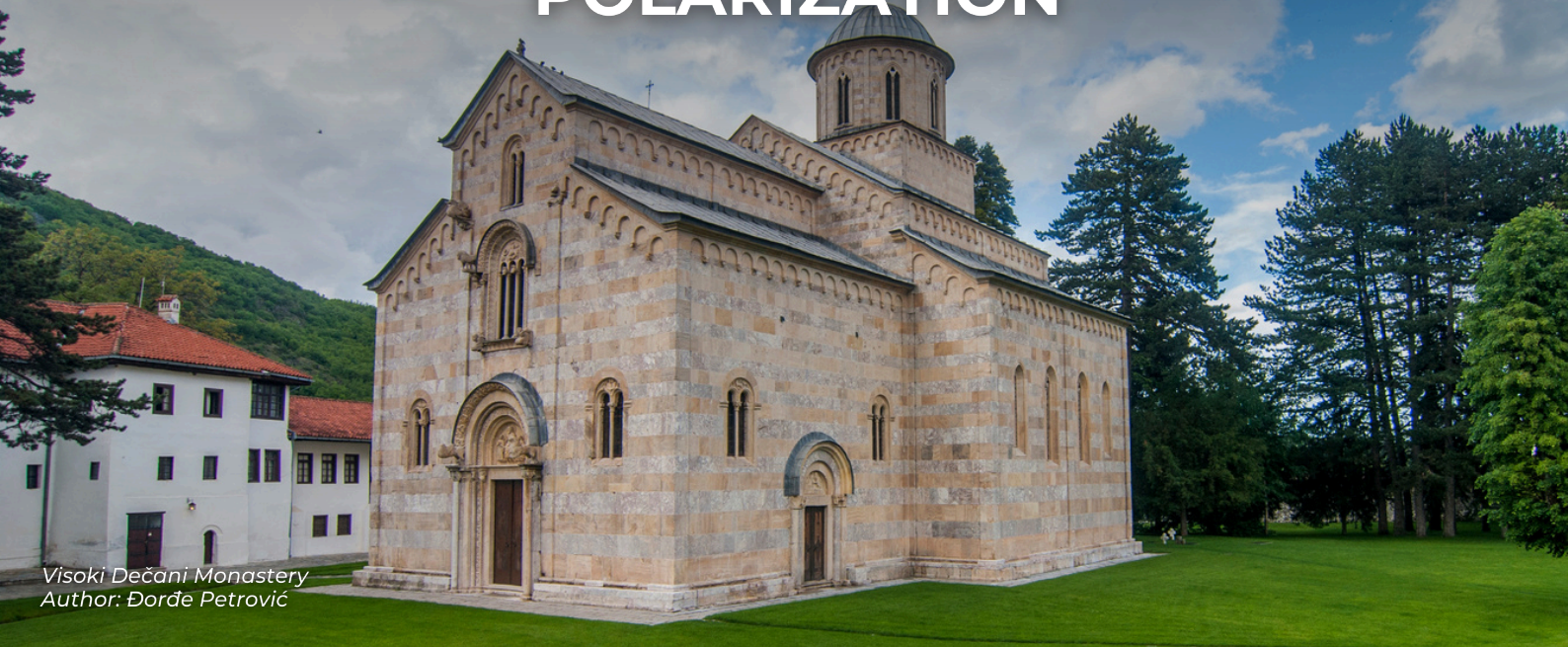
**Saturday, October 26: Lunch break 13:40 – 15:00**

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# SS9: US ELECTIONS AND RELIGIOUS POLARIZATION



Visoki Dečani Monastery  
Author: Đorđe Petrović

Saturday, October 26: Session III 15:00 – 16:30 (Room 3)

Chair: **Laura Olson** (Clemson U)

Discussant: **Marko Veković** (U Belgrade)

**Corwin E. Smidt**

(Calvin U)

*Christian Nationalism and American Elections:  
Re-Assessing the Concept and Measurement of  
Christian Nationalism within American Politics*

**Vedran Obućina**

(Center for Interreligious Dialogue, Croatia)

*How do non-Christians Vote? An Analysis of  
Non-Christian Communities' Influence on the  
US Politics*

**Laura Olson**

(Clemson U)

*Non-Christian Christian Nationalists in  
Contemporary U.S. Politics*



# SS10: WHO DRIVES SOCIAL CHANGE, REGIME CHANGE AND SECESSION: ELECTIONS OR THE STREETS?

Rtanj mountain  
Author: Stefan Kondić

Saturday, October 26: Session III 15:00 – 16:30 (Room 1)

Chair: **Valentina Petrović** (U Zurich)

Discussant: **Zsolt Enyedi** (CEU)

**Ada Selmanović & Amer Kurtović** (International Burch U)

*Protests in Bosnia and Herzegovina since 1996:*

*An Alternative to Electoral Participation in a Consociational System*

**Daniel Bochsler** (CEU & U Belgrade)

*The Secessionist voter? A Retrospective on the  
Unique Super election year in Former Yugoslavia,  
the Former Soviet Union, and Czechoslovakia, 1990*

**Venelin Bochev** (U Libre de Bruxelles)

*To Resist or to be Resilient: Navigating through the main concepts of  
the “opposition turn” in autocratization studies via the case studies  
of Bulgaria and North Macedonia*

**Biljana Đorđević** (U Belgrade)

*“The street as the only institution in the country that works?”  
On emergence and institutionalization of  
protests movements in Serbia*

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# GST1: PARTY COMPETITION IN EUROPE



Uvac river  
Author: Predrag Despotović

Saturday, October 26: Session III 15:00 – 16:30 (Room 2)

Chair: **Dušan Spasojević** (U Belgrade)

Discussant: **Dušan Pavlović** (U Belgrade)

**Jovan Bliznakovski & Aneta Cekikj** (U Skopje)

*Varieties of Political Party Mobilization*

*Strategies in the Western Balkans*

**Jarosław Flis, Michał Kotnarowski & Jakub Krupa**

(Jagiellonian U / Polish Academy of Sciences)

*Tug of War: a Tool for Analysing the Political Competition*

**Natalija Shikova** (International Balkan U)

*Change of the Political Setup: Will the New  
Political Actors Push Forward or Set Back the  
EU Integration of North Macedonia?*

**Nikola Ilić** (U Belgrade)

*Populism and Political (Un)Trust: Skepticism and Cynicism as a  
Reflection of Different Types of Populism*



# SS12: MIXED ELECTORAL SYSTEMS

Banjska stena viewpoint, Tara mountain  
Author: Branko Radičević

Saturday, October 26: Session IV 16:45 – 18:15 (Room 1)

Chair: **Jarosław Flis** (Jagiellonian U)

Discussant: **Chris Hannretty** (Royal Holloway U)

**Dušan Vučićević** (U Belgrade)

*Legacy of the Past: Pre-reform Party*

*Competition and Contamination of Single-Member Districts  
in Mixed-Member Systems*

**Fanni Tanács-Mandák & Attila Horváth**

(Ludovika U of Public Service)

*“Hacking” of a Mixed Electoral System – A case Study from Hungary*

**Alessandro Chiamonte & Aldo Paparo**

(U Florence)

*Majoritarian, but not Quite. Strategic  
Coordination in the 2018 and 2022 Italian  
General Elections Under the New Electoral System*

**Jarosław Flis** (Jagiellonian U)

*Balancing Change and Continuity – A Mixed  
Electoral System for Poland*

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# SS13: MONEY, MEDIA, AND OPPOSITIONS



Lepenski vir, Donji Milanovac  
Author: Oksana Skendžić

Saturday, October 26: Session IV 16:45 – 18:15 (Room 2)

Chair: : **István Gergő Székely** (Romanian Institute for  
Research on National Minorities)  
Discussant: **Kosta Bovan** (U Zagreb)

**Slaven Živković & Olivera Komar** (Defacto / U Montenegro)  
*Just give me money and let me be. Roots of EU  
support among Montenegrin citizens*

**Guido Panzano & Venelin Bochev** (U Libre de Bruxelles)  
*Electoral Resistance against Autocratization:  
Insights from Southeast Europe*

**Amer Kurtović & Adisa Omerbegović Arapović**  
(International Burch U)  
*Public Spending and Electoral Outcomes:  
Evidence from Bosnia and Herzegovina, 1996-2021*

**Anna Unger & Dejan Bursać** (ELTE Budapest /  
Institute for Philosophy Social Theory, Belgrade)  
*Opposition Strategies in Hybrid Regimes: A  
Comparative Perspective on Hungary and Serbia*



# GS14: ELECTIONS AND REPRESENTATION IN DIVERSE SOCIETIES

Zlatar lake  
Author: Vladimir Živanović

Saturday, October 26: Session IV 16:45 – 18:15 (Room 5)

Chair: **Vujo Ilić** (Institute of Philosophy and Social Theory, Belgrade)

Discussant: **Jelena Lončar** (U Belgrade)

**Vujo Ilić, Irena Fiket & Gazela Pudar Draško**

(Institute of Philosophy and Social Theory, Belgrade)

*Deliberation in an Anti-deliberative Environment: Attitudinal Evidence from Deliberative Mini-publics in Serbia*

**Nevena Mijatović**

(Institute of Philosophy and Social Theory, Belgrade)

*Deliberative Democracy to Intergroup Harmony: Testing Contact Hypotheses in Deliberative Mini-publics*

**Nemanja Anđelković & Tara Tepavac**

(Institute of Philosophy and Social Theory, Belgrade)

*Deliberative policy (sub)system: institutionalizing deliberative mini-publics within a policy process*

**Vujo Ilić, Tara Tepavac & Nemanja Anđelković**

(Institute for Philosophy and Social Theory, Belgrade)

*Democratic Innovations: A Realist Synthesis*

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# GS15: BALKAN POLITICAL SCIENCE ASSOCIATION ROUND TABLE

*Derdap gorge*  
Author: Branko Radičević

Saturday, October 26: Session IV 16:45 – 18:15 (Room 3)

Chair: **Milan Podunavac** (UDG Montenegro)

**Cirila Toplak** (U Ljubljana)  
*Desnica u Sloveniji*

**Milan Podunavac** (UDG Montenegro)  
*Režimi moći u post-jugoslovenskom prostoru*

**Duško Radosavljević** (VANU)  
*Vojvodina u post jugoslovenskoj zbilji*

**Alen Adrović** (UDG Montenegro)  
*Uloga Sociološkog centra Crne Gore u izgradnji  
istraživačke kulture u Crnoj Gori*

**Emil Mujević** (UDG Montenegro)  
*Valtazar Bogišić i Mihailo Konstantinović -  
čuvari južnoslovenske pravne kulture*

Saturday, October 26: **Networking Event** 18:30 – 20:00 (Venue TBA)

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# SS16: MUNICIPAL COUNCILORS IN EUROPE: INSTITUTIONAL CONTEXT, PROFILE, POLITICS, AND GOVERNMENT

*Suva planina, Trem peak  
Author: Miloš Milenković*

Sunday, October 27: Session V 9:00 – 10:30 (Room 3)

Chair: **Damir Kasum** (Palacky U Olomouc)

Discussant: **Indraneel Sircar** (U Collage London)

**Damir Kasum** (Palacky U Olomouc)

*Councillors in Post-Conflict Societies*

**Jakub Lysek** (Palacky U Olomouc)

*Mapping Trust and Democratic Values Among  
Municipal Councillors*

**Viktor Stamenković, Dušan Vučićević & Dejan Bursać**

(Institute for Political Studies, Belgrade / U Belgrade /  
Institute for Philosophy and Social Theory, Belgrade)

*Local Democracy in Hybrid Regimes:*

*The Effect of Opposition Boycott on Serbian Local Assemblies*

**Jurga Bučaitė-Vilkė, Jakub Lysek & Cristina Stănuș**

(Vytautas Magnus U / Palacký U Olomouc /  
Lucian Blaga U Sibiu)

*The Whom and How of Local Political Representation in Europe:  
Preliminary Results from a Survey on Councillors*

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# SS17: SHAPES AND DEGREES OF ELECTORAL POLARIZATION IN THE BALKANS

Tupavica waterfall, Stara mountain  
Author: Oksana Skendžić

Sunday, October 27: Session V 9:00 – 10:30 (Room 2)

Chair: **Olivera Komar** (U Montenegro)

Discussant: **Dejan Bursać** (Institute for Philosophy  
Social Theory, Belgrade)

**Nikola Mladenović**

(Institute for Political Studies, Belgrade)

*Domestic Allies of Europeanization in the  
Western Balkans: Between a Rock and a Hard Place*

**Tamara Kunić & Luka Šikić**

(U Zagreb / Catholic U of Croatia)

*Polarization in reader comments on news  
about European and parliamentary elections  
in Croatia*

**Goran Tepšić**

(U Belgrade)

*Reciprocal Radicalisation in the Western  
Balkans: From Nationalism to Civilisationism*

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# GS18: DEMOCRACY AND DEMOCRATIZATION

Kopaonik mountain  
Author: Andrej Nihil

Sunday, October 27: Session V 9:00 – 10:30 (Room 1)

Chair: **Đorđe Pavićević** (U Belgrade)

Discussant: **Nikola Beljinac** (U Belgrade)

**Ana Matan & Tonči Kursar**

(U Zagreb)

*Postkonsenzusna demokracija i  
(ne)'jedinstvo svijeta'*

**Dušan Pavlović, Ivan Stanojević,**

**Dušan Vučićević & Nikola Jović**

(U Belgrade)

*How Do Hybrid Regimes Transition to Democracy?  
Lessons from Southeast Europe After 1990*

**Anna Krasteva & Emilia Zankina**

(New Bulgarian U / Temple U)

*New Parties, Populism and Post-Democracy:  
The Case of 2024 Elections in Bulgaria and SEEU*

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# SS19: ATTITUDES, VOTERS AND PARTIES



Synagogue, Subotica  
Author: Andrej Nihil

Sunday, October 27: Session VI 10:45 – 12:15 (Room 1)

Chair: **Filip Kostelka** (EUI)

Discussant: **Diego Garzia** (U Lausanne)

**Nahla Mansour** (EUI)

*Meeting the Demands:*

*The Electoral Consequences of Party Shifts*

**Valentina Petrović** (U Zurich)

*The Social Foundations of Illiberalism in Serbia –  
Understanding the Nexus of Clientelism, Attitudes, and  
Illiberal Party Support*

**Jelena Lončar** (U Belgrade)

*Gender and Ideology: Serbian political party positions  
on women's issues*

**Jonathan Wheatley**

(Oxford Brookes)

*Gender Gap in Voting*

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# GS20: FPS GRADUATE STUDENTS' PANEL



Studenica Monastery  
Author: Branko Radićević

Sunday, October 27: Session VI 10:45 – 12:15 (Room 3)

Chair: **Miloš Bešić** (U Belgrade)

Discussant: **Miloš Bešić** (U Belgrade)

**Sofija Ljubišić** (U Belgrade)

*The Impact of Media Consumption on Voting Behavior in Serbia:  
An Analysis of Television, Internet Portals,  
and Social Media*

**Milan Varda** (U Belgrade)

*CNN effects in hybrid regimes: the effect of the  
type of televised media on perception  
of the Russian Federation*

**Goran Novaković** (U Belgrade)

*Ka legitimnim predstavničkim institucijama:  
predlozi institucionalizacije nasumičnog  
odabira političkih predstavnika u Srbiji*

**Andrej Ševo** (U Belgrade)

*The effect of the low empathy and altruism  
on voting abstinence in Serbia*

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# GS21: KOJI IZBORNI SISTEM JE BOLJI?



National Parliament, Belgrade  
Author: Andrej Nihil

Sunday, October 27: Session VI 10:45 – 12:15 (Room 2)

Chair & moderator: **Milan Jovanović** (U Belgrade)

**Miloš Jovanović**  
(U Belgrade)

**Dušan Vučićević**  
(U Belgrade)

**Mladen Mrdalj**  
(Wenzhou-Kean U)

**Dejan Bursać**  
(Institute for Philosophy and Social Theory,  
Belgrade)



## KEYNOTE ADDRESS

# Why the ‘Year of Elections’ is Not a Good Thing for Democracy?

Sunday, October 27: Keynote Address 12:30 – 13:30 (Room 1)



**Nic Cheeseman** (U Birmingham)

Moderator: **Dušan Vučićević** (U Belgrade)

**Nic Cheeseman** is Professor of Democracy at the University of Birmingham, and the Director of the Centre for Elections, Democracy, Accountability and Representation (CEDAR). He was formerly the Director of the African Studies Centre at the University of Oxford. Dr. Cheeseman mainly works on democracy, elections and development, including a range of topics such as election rigging, political campaigning, corruption, “fake news” and presidential rule. The articles that he has published based on this research have won a number of prizes including the GIGA award for the best article in Comparative Area Studies (2013) and the Frank Cass Award for the best article in Democratization (2015). Dr. Cheeseman is also the

author or editor of more than ten books, including *How to Rig an Election* (2018) – selected as one of the books of the year by the Spectator magazine. In recognition of this academic and public contribution, the Political Studies Association of the United Kingdom awarded him the prestigious Joni Lovenduski Prize for outstanding professional achievement in 2019. In recent years he has also won the Celebrating Impact prize of the Economic and Social Research Council for “outstanding international impact” and the Josiah Mason Award for Academic Advancement.

**X** @fromagehomme

**Sunday, October 27: Lunch break 13:30 – 15:00**

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# SS22: DILEMMAS OF ETHNOPOLITICAL MOBILIZATION AND REPRESENTATION

Sopoćani Monastery, Novi Pazar  
Author: Branko Radičević

Sunday, October 27: Session VII 15:00 – 16:30 (Room 1)

Chair: **Balázs Dobos**

(Institute for Minority Studies, Budapest)

Discussant: **István Gergő Székely**

(Romanian Institute for Research on National Minorities)

**Katinka Beretka**

(Union U)

*Detection of Minority Specific Issues in  
Parliamentary Debates in Serbia (2020-2023)*

**Balázs Dobos**

(Institute for Minority Studies, Budapest)

*Electoral mobilization in minority council and  
parliamentary elections in Central and South  
Eastern Europe*

**Balázs Vizi**

(Institute for Minority Studies, Budapest)

*Parliamentary Representation and Linguistic  
Minorities in Italy – Effective form of participation?*

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# GS23: LOKALNI IZBORI I LOKALNA SAMOUPRAVA

Golija mountain  
Author: Branko Radičević

Sunday, October 27: Session VII 15:00 – 16:30 (Room 2)

Chair: **Milan Jovanović** (U Belgrade)

Discussant: **Dušan Vučićević** (U Belgrade)

**Aleksandar Kovačević** (U Belgrade)

*Model neposredno biranog gradonačelnika  
i odnos predstavničkog i izvršnog organa vlasti:  
uporedna analiza Republike Hrvatske i BiH i  
potencijalna primena u Republici Srbiji*

**Petar Matić & Marko Mijatović**

(Institute for Political Studies, Belgrade)

*Nacionalne manjine na lokalnim izborima u  
Srbiji 17. decembra i 2. juna*

**Veran Stančetić** (U Belgrade)

*Neposredno birani gradonačelnik –  
evropska iskustva i mogućnosti primene u Srbiji*

**Lidija Mirkov & Dobrivoje Stanojević**

(U Belgrade)

*Diskurs nacionalnih pitanja u kampanji za  
lokalne izbore u Srbiji*

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# GS24: BOOK TALK, STRUCTURAL ORIGINS OF POST-YUGOSLAV REGIMES. ELITES, CIVIL SOCIETY AND THE STATE (ROUTLEDGE, 2025)

Sunday, October 27: Session VII 15:00 – 16:30 (Room 3)

Moderator:

**Nebojša Vladislavljević**

(U Belgrade)

Participants:

**Valentina Petrović,**

author (U Zurich)

**Daniel Bochsler**

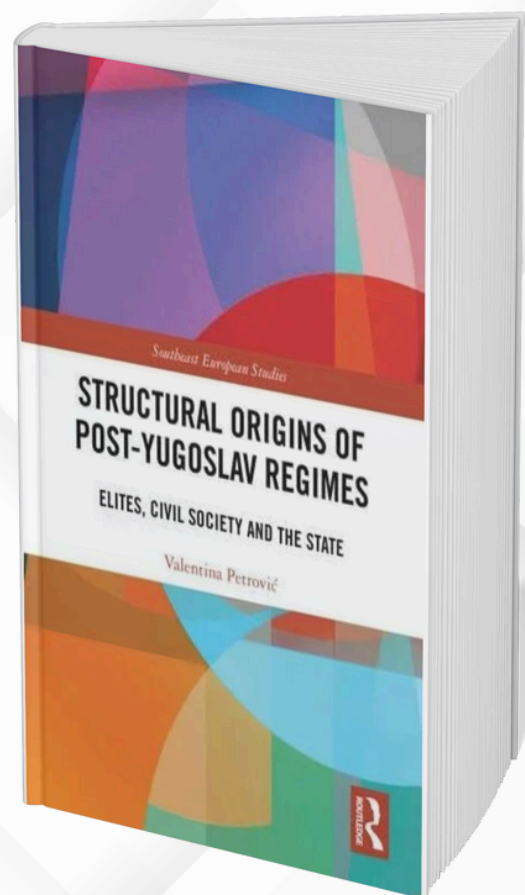
(CEU & U Belgrade)

**Nebojša Vladislavljević**

(U Belgrade)

**Dušan Spasojević**

(U Belgrade)



*This book talk is co-organized with the 'EMBRACE' Horizon Europe project at the University of Belgrade.*

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Šargan Eight, Mokra Gora  
Author: Oksana Skendžić

*We would like to thank the Tourist Organization of Serbia for the photos.*

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