

**25th Annual Conference of Central European Political Science Association  
“Challenges to Democracy: Political Processes in Central and Eastern Europe”**

**17-18-19 November 2021**

Organized by  
Central European Political Science Association

in cooperation with  
Polish Political Science Association  
University of Warmia and Mazury in Olsztyn, Institute of Political Science

with honorary patronage of Marshal of Warmia and Mazury Region

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## **Programme**

### **17 November (Wednesday)**

18:00-19.00 – Registration

18:00-19:00 – Business meetings/Research groups

### **18 November (Thursday)**

8:00-9:00 – Registration

9:00-9:15 – Welcoming remarks

9:15-10:15 Key note speaker

Anna Gwiazda (King's College London) – Women's representation and democracy in Central Europe

10:15-11:15 Key note speaker

Óscar García Luengo (University of Granada) – Setting the future of research in Political Science: algorithms and new techniques

11:15-11:45 Coffee break

11:45-13:30 Session I – panels 1-7

13:30-14:30 – Lunch break

14:30-15:30 CEPSA leadership meeting

15:30-17:15 Round Table on Political Science in Central Europe in the Time of Pandemic

15:30-17:15 – Session II – panels 8-13

17:15-18:45 – Session III – panels 14-19

19:00 – Dinner

### **19 November (Friday)**

9:00-10:45 – Session IV – panels 20-25

11:00-11:30 – Lunch break

11:30-13:00 Round Table on Political Science in Poland

13:15 – Closing remarks

## **Place**

University of Warmia and Mazury in Olsztyn

## **Key note speakers**

Anna Gwiazda (King's College London) – Women's representation and democracy in Central Europe

Óscar García Luengo (University of Granada) – Setting the future of research in Political Science: algorithms and new techniques

## **Round Table on Political Science in Central Europe in the Time of Pandemic**

- Poland – Arkadiusz Żukowski, Maciej Hartliński (University of Warmia and Mazury in Olsztyn)
- Slovenia – Miro Haček (University of Ljubljana)
- Austria – Karin Liebhart (University of Vienna)
- Slovakia – Juraj Marušiak (Slovak Academy of Sciences)
- Hungary – Boglárka Koller (National University of Public Service)

## **Round Table on Political Science in Poland (Polish/English)**

- Agnieszka Kasińska-Metryka (Jan Kochanowski University of Kielce)
- Teresa Sasińska-Klas (Jagiellonian University)
- Piotr Sula (University of Wrocław)
- Agnieszka Turska-Kawa (University of Silesia in Katowice)
- Arkadiusz Żukowski (University of Warmia and Mazury in Olsztyn)

## 18 November (Thursday)

8:00-9:00 – Registration	Library – Biblioteka Uniwersytecka Oczapowskiego 12b Room: 307 3rd floor	
9:00-9:15 – Welcoming remarks		
9:15-10:15 Key note speaker Anna Gwiazda (King’s College London)		
10:15-11:15 Key note speaker Óscar García Luengo (University of Granada)		
11:15-11:45 Coffee break		
11:45-13:30 Session I – panel 1	Stara Kotłownia, Prawocheńskiego 9; Room: 102	
11:45-13:30 Session I – panel 2	Stara Kotłownia, Prawocheńskiego 9; Room: 2a	
11:45-13:30 Session I – panel 3	Stara Kotłownia, Prawocheńskiego 9; Room: 2b	
11:45-13:30 Session I – panel 4	Stara Kotłownia, Prawocheńskiego 9; Room: 1	
11:45-13:30 Session I – panel 5	WNS Prawocheńskiego 13; Room 3	
11:45-13:30 Session I – panel 6	WNS Prawocheńskiego 13; Room 5	
11:45-13:30 Session I – panel 7	WNS Prawocheńskiego 13 Room 10	
13:30-14:30 – Lunch break	Kwadrans, Prawocheńskiego 4	
14:30-15:30 CEPSA leadership meeting	Stara Kotłownia, Prawocheńskiego 9; Room: 2a	

15:30:-17:15 Round Table on Political Science in Central Europe in the Time of Pandemic	Stara Kotłownia, Prawocheńskiego 9; Room: 102	
15:30:-17:15 – Session II – panel 8	Stara Kotłownia, Prawocheńskiego 9; Room 2a	
15:30:-17:15 – Session II – panel 9	Stara Kotłownia, Prawocheńskiego 9; Room 2b	
15:30:-17:15 – Session II – panel 10	Stara Kotłownia, Prawocheńskiego 9; Room 1	
15:30:-17:15 – Session II – panel 11	WNS Prawocheńskiego 13; Room 3	
15:30:-17:15 – Session II – panel 12	WNS Prawocheńskiego 13; Room 5	
15:30:-17:15 – Session II – panel 13	WNS Prawocheńskiego 13; Room 10	
19:00 – Dinner		
Centrum Konferencyjne – Bufet akademicki. Street: Dybowskiego 11		

**19 November (Friday)**

9:00-10:45 – Session IV – panel 20	Stara Kotłownia, Prawocheńskiego 9; Room 102	
9:00-10:45 – Session IV – panel 21	Stara Kotłownia, Prawocheńskiego 9; Room 2a	
9:00-10:45 – Session IV – panel 22	Stara Kotłownia, Prawocheńskiego 9; Room 2 b	
9:00-10:45 – Session IV – panel 23	Stara Kotłownia, Prawocheńskiego 9; Room 1	
9:00-10:45 – Session IV – panel 24	WNS Prawocheńskiego 13; Room 3	
9:00-10:45 – Session IV – panel 25	WNS Prawocheńskiego 13; Room 5	
11:00-11:30 – Lunch break – Kwadrans, Prawocheńskiego 4		
11:30-13:00 Round Table on Political Science in Poland	Stara Kotłownia, Prawocheńskiego 9; Room: 102	
13:00-13:15 Coffee break	Stara Kotłownia, Prawocheńskiego 9; Room: 102	
13:15 Closing remarks	Stara Kotłownia, Prawocheńskiego 9; Room: 102	

## Thursday

### 11:45-13:30 Session I – panels 1-7

Panel 1	Paper	Author	University
Media and Communication in Central and Eastern Europe Chair: Karolina Tybuchowska-Hartlińska	Politicisation of the Public Space and Narrative Politics in Contemporary Hungary with Special Focus on the 2019 EP Elections	Boglárka Koller	National University of Public Service
	Alexey Navalny in the Russian and American media as a representation of political discourse	Dmitrii Alekseev Victoria Apalkova Ekaterina Donskikh Aleksandra Pozdnyakova	National Research University Higher School of Economics
	In between the European and national matters: Analysis of MEPS elected in Lithuania communication with voters in social media	Ingrida Unikaitė-Jakuntavičienė	Vytautas Magnus University
	Solidarity for development – Polish vision of communicating development aid between 2021 and 2030	Katarzyna Zalas-Kamińska	University of Wrocław

Panel 2	Paper	Author	University
Public discourse in Central and Eastern Europe Chair: Degefe Gemechu	Public discourse in presidential elections in Poland in 2020	Maria Giryn-Boudy	Politechnika Koszalińska
	The Rise of Geopolitical Populism in the Central-European public discourse	Tomasz Pawłuszko	University of Opole
	The semantic battle over reality in public discourse in Hungary: the case of the Covid pandemic and the Child Protection Law	Zsófia Tóth-Bíró	Danube Institute
	The ever-changing other in Hungarian populist discourse	Dániel Vékony	Corvinus University of Budapest
	The specificity of the local electoral discourse in Poland	Katarzyna Maciejewska-Mieszkowska Degefe Gemechu	University of Warmia and Mazury in Olsztyn

Panel 3	Paper	Author	University
Democracy in Central and Europe 1 Chair: Marianna Mrva	The neo-authoritarian challenges in the modern world	Jerzy J. Wiatr	Europejska Wyższa Szkoła Prawa i Administracji
	Central European countries' transition apart from main route democracy	Laura Gheorghiu	Karl Franzens University
	Marketization in Liberal Democracies: A Symptom of the Fall of a Hegemonic Political System?	Peter Wedekind	Charles University
	What path for Central European quality of democracy and government? A comparative study of the convergence and divergence of Hungary, Poland and Slovenia	Matevž Malčič Lars Johannsen	University of Ljubljana Aarhus University
	Political Rhetoric in Illiberal Democracies	Csendike Somogyvari	Corvinus University of Budapest

Panel 4	Paper	Author	University
Democracy in Central and Europe 2 Chair: Łukasz Zamecki	The Unpleasant Look Back: Slovenian Democratic Decline after Accession to the EU	Miro Haček Simona Kukovič	University of Ljubljana
	Democratic resilience in Lithuania: institutional competition in the context of cultural war	Ieva Gajauskaitė	General Jonas Žemaitis Military Academy of Lithuania
	What cause a Democratic Backsliding in some Eastern-European-Countries?	Johannes Böhnlein	University of Wuerzburg
	Democratic Backsliding in Central and Eastern Europe. Analysis of Selected Cases	Adam Szymański	University of Warsaw
	Democracy in Poland from the point of view of Polish society	Anna Daszewska	University of Warmia and Mazury in Olsztyn
	The worsening conditions of the process of democratization in Poland and Hungary in the light of illiberal democracy	Sebastian Kubas	University of Silesia in Katowice



Panel 5	Paper	Author	University
Electoral processes in Central and Eastern Europe 1 Chair: Izabela Kapsa	The influence of profession and order of candidates on the number of preferential votes	Petr Dvořák	Masaryk University
	Who votes for the presidents? The comparative study of direct presidential elections in the Czech Republic, Slovakia, and Poland	Ondřej Sax	Masaryk University
	Slovakia after National Elections 2020: The End of the Era of Smer-SD?	Juraj Marušiak	Slovak Academy of Sciences
	Political rights beyond the border: voting in the Hungarian diaspora	Tamás Orbán	Danube Institute
	Mainstreamization of populist radical-right politics in Hungary. Disguise Parties	Attila Gökhun Dayıoğlu	University of Wrocław

Panel 6	Paper	Author	University
Electoral processes in Central and Eastern Europe 2 Chair: Tomasz Czapiewski	Sincere and strategic: Patterns of electoral behaviour in Polish presidential elections 2021	Piotr Sula Małgorzata Madej Kamil Błaszczński	University of Wrocław
	Local independent lists in Lithuania: independent citizen engagement or extension of party politics	Jogilė Ulinskaitė Miglė Palujanskaitė	Vilnius University
	Parallel realities – the image of the candidates for the President of the Republic of Poland (2015&2020)	Jakub Krupa	Jagiellonian University
	Against the Rise of the Unelected: Parliamentary Virtues and the Separation of Powers"	Pavel Dufek	Masaryk University

Panel 7	Paper	Author	University
Historical perspective of regimes and nations Europe 1 Chair: Jacek Wojnicki	Who controls the past controls the future. Who controls the present controls the past? How can the historical narrative serve political interest?	Andrea Schmidt	University of Pecs
	Strategy of the leadership of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia to gain a dominant influence on Czech society in the parliamentary elections in 1946	Jan Bureš	Metropolitan University Prague
	Four years republic... How much longer?" The Collapse of the Weimar Republic on the example of Kreis Lyck (Lyck County)	Stefan Marcinkiewicz	University of Warmia and Mazury in Olsztyn
	Limitations on public gatherings as measures of neo-militant democracies in Central and Eastern Europe	Maciej Skrzypek	Adam Mickiewicz University

**Thursday**  
**15:30:-17:15 – Session II – panel 8-13**

Panel 8	Paper	Author	University
Political parties Chair: Piotr Sula	The level of novelty in Polish political parties emerging since the collapse of communism. The framework for analysis	Beata Kosowska-Gąstoł Katarzyna Sobolewska-Myślik	Jagiellonian University Pedagogical University in Kraków
	Neo-institutionalist, Historical-Situation and Social Cleavage Theories of Joke Political Parties	Peter Szegedi	University of Pécs
	All different, yet all the same? The new parties in Lithuanian party system	Paulius Skirkevičius	Vilnius University
	To Cooperate or Not To Cooperate? The Perception and Acceptance of the People's Party Our Slovakia (ĽSNS)	Petr Just	Metropolitan University Prague
	Evolution and changes in left-wing political parties in V4 countries	Jacek Wojnicki	University of Warsaw

Panel 9	Paper	Author	University
Populism in Central and Eastern Europe Chair: Przemysław Piotrowski	Radical Populists on the Periphery? Spatial Analysis of populist radical right parties in the Czech Republic and Slovakia	Dominik Kevický	Masaryk University
	Elitization of liberal-democracy as a source of success for populists in Central Europe	Arkadiusz Lewandowski	Kazimierz Wielki University
	New Technologies, the World Order and Nature of Change: The Case of Global Rise of Right-Wing Populism	Sagheer Ahmad Khan	Bahauddin Zakariya University
	Populist strategy of Polish political parties	Natalia Stręk	Jagiellonian University
	Failed Mobilization of the Ukrainian Populist Parties to the War in Donbas	Martin Laryš	Charles University

Panel 10	Paper	Author	University
Politics and Pandemic Crisis Chair: Karolina Tybuchowska-Hartlińska	Visual Communication of the Austrian Government's Response to the Covid-19 Crisis	Karin Liebhart	University of Vienna
	Pandemic backsliding in Poland	Łukasz Zamecki	University of Warsaw
	Covid-19 pandemic and a scope of power of Viktor Orbán	Anna Czyż	University of Silesia in Katowice
	WHO's medicalizing? The sociology of medicine perspective in International Relations	Marta Hoffmann	Jagiellonian University
	Russia's and China's „vaccine diplomacy” in Central and Eastern Europe	Alla Atamanenko Natalia Konopka	National University of Ostroh Academy
	Trust and political participation in Slovakia before and during the pandemics	Marianna Mrva	Slovak Academy of Sciences

Panel 11	Paper	Author	University
Foreign Policy in Central Europe Chair: Ingrida Unikaitė-Jakuntavičienė	The Illusion of Autonomy and New Others: Role Conflict and Hungarian Foreign Policy after 2010	András Hettyey	National University of Public Service
	The role of foreign policy in maintaining an externally constrained hybrid regime – case of Hungary	Anita Szűcs	Corvinus University of Budapest
	Analysis of the eastern policy of the Republic of Poland towards the socio-political situation in the Republic of Belarus in 2020-2021	Karolina Pirianowicz	University of Warmia and Mazury in Olsztyn
	The rise of transnational actors in Polish-Lithuanian relations	Marijuš Antonovič	Vilnius University

Panel 12	Paper	Author	University
Central Europe and geopolitics issues Chair: Brucker Balázs	Chinese expansion in Central and Eastern Europe	Zoltán Vörös	University of Pécs
	China's Belt and Road Initiative: The Political Challenge for Central and Eastern Europe Countries	Thananan Khantee	University of Wrocław
	The Baltics as a Single Defence Geospatial Region: Problems, Challenges and Chances	Gintautas Razma	The General Jonas Žemaitis Military Academy Of Lithuania
	LNG Terminals in the Eastern Part of the EU – market developments and geopolitics	Péter Tamás Bózsó	University of Pécs

Panel 13	Paper	Author	University
Foreign Policy and Eastern Europe Chair: Adam Szymański	Democratization dynamics of the EU Eastern Partnership Initiative recipient countries	Olya Ivasechko Yaryna Turchyn Oleg Tsebenko Olexander Gorbach	Lviv Polytechnic National University
	Oligarchization in the Ukrainian policy and media context. Using TV channels by “media barons”.	Anzhelika Savchuk	University of Wrocław
	European Integration as a Factor in the Civiarchic Transformation of Armenia’s Statehood: Turbulence and the War against Democracy	Ashot Aleksanyan	Yerevan State University
	A Transformation Example in the Systemic International Political Structure: The Relationship between the US and Eastern European States	Ozdemir Akbal	Trakya University

**Thursday**  
**17:15-18:45 – Session III – panel 14-19**

Panel 14	Paper	Author	University
PANEL Visegrad Group as regional cooperation in the EU Chair: Edit Soós	Challenges of multilevel interventions in the Visegrád Group	Edit Soós	University of Szeged
	Representation of interests of the Visegrad Four's subnational actors in the European Parliament	Brucker Balázs	Institute of Regional Studies, CERS
	The Visegrad four and the European Union’s future after brexit	Anton Bebler	University of Ljubljana
	World Powers in Visegrad Region: Structural Constraints on and Potential Way-outs for Visegrad Countries	Kefeng XU	University of Szeged

Panel 15	Paper	Author	University
PANEL “Baltic-Black Sea Region at the Time after Pandemic. Old Problems and New Challenges”  Chair: Tomasz Brańka, Łukasz Donaj, Jarosław Jańczak	“Russian World” in the Black Sea Region: The Case of Ukraine	Olga Brusylowska	Odessa I. I. Mechnikov National University
	(Re)Bordering and Debordering in pre- and post-Pandemic Baltic–Black Sea Region	Tomasz Brańka Łukasz Donaj Jarosław Jańczak	Adam Mickiewicz University
	The geo-political and geo-economic antecedents of the Crimean crisis	Zoltán Lechner	University of Pécs

Panel 16	Paper	Author	University
Society and Public Values Chair: Katarzyna Zalas-Kamińska	Society 5.0 – a Polish point of view	Tomasz Gajowniczek	University of Warmia and Mazury in Olsztyn
	Divorce with Catholic Church: empirical research on polish young people	Agnieszka Kasińska-Metryka	Jan Kochanowski University of Kielce
	Protecting the right to freedom of thought, conscience and religion under international law and in Poland	Teresa Astramowicz-Leyk Aleksandra Kordonska Roman Kordonski	University of Warmia and Mazury in Olsztyn
	Societal expectations do influence the future of bovine meat and milk sector economy	Philippe Burny	University of Liege

Panel 17	Paper	Author	University
Panel: East Central Europe as a “role-model” of integration? Chair: Christopher Walsch	V4, the EU, and the WB: Can ECE still count as a role-model of successful transformation and integration?	Christopher Walsch	Corvinus University Budapest
	Orbán's leadership: An honest promotor of EU enlargement?	Christina Griessler	Andrássy University of Budapest
	Permanent structured cooperation within the Common Security and Defence Policy of the EU - selected Central European Member States perspective	Michał Piechowicz	Nicolaus Copernicus University in Torun
	Hybrid regimes integrating successfully into European structures – the case of Hungary and Serbia	Fanni Elek	Andrássy University of Budapest

Panel 18	Paper	Author	University
Panel: Public policies in the time of COVID-19 Chair: Agnieszka Turska-Kawa	Slovakia and the Slovak local governments response to COVID-19 challenges	Peter Csanyi	University of Economics in Bratislava
	Elections during COVID-19: the case of Poland 2020	Waldemar Wojtasik	University of Silesia in Katowice
	Religious authorities and the acceptance of restrictions during the COVID-19 pandemic	Agnieszka Turska-Kawa Natalia Galica Irena Pilch	University of Silesia in Katowice
	Tasks and role of local self-government in the organisation of general elections during Covid-19 pandemonium - the case of the 2020 elections in Poland	Tomasz Czapiewski	University of Szczecin
	The impacts of cognitive biases and heuristics on COVID-19 preventive behaviours	Mehmet Sevgin	University of Wrocław

Panel 19	Paper	Author	University
Government and opposition Chair: Przemysław Piotrowski	Oppositional Unity in Competitive Authoritarian Regimes: A Comparison of Turkey and Hungary	Pelin Ayan Musil	Anglo-American University
	The Relations Between the Legislative and the Executive Branches of the Visegrad Group States	Dominika Liszkowska	Politechnika Koszalińska
	The government legislative process as proof of the fictitious division of powers in Poland	Robert Radek	Silesia University in Katowice
	Divided government in Polish municipalities – causes and scale	Martyna Zawadzka	University of Warsaw
	Political narratives and influence on organised interest-representation: the institutional change of the Hungarian chambers	Péter Krisztián Zachar	National University of Public Service

**Friday**  
**9:00-10:45 – Session IV – panel 20**

Panel 20	Paper	Author	University
Political leadership in Central and Eastern Europe Chair: Beata Kosowska-Gąstoł	The Concept of Control in the Context of Legitimate Political Authority	Jana Kokešová	Masaryk University
	Authorities in crisis: polish case study	Rafał Dudała	Jan Kochanowski University of Kielce
	The form of totalitarianism Russia leadership needs	Daivis Petraitis	Lithuanian Military Academy
	Political leaders in Poland on the COVID-19	Jakub Klepański	University of Warmia and Mazury in Olsztyn
	Who really choose political leaders in Poland	Maciej Hartliński	University of Warmia and Mazury in Olsztyn



Panel 21	Paper	Author	University
Panel: Coalition governance in Central Europe 2009-2019 Chair: Irmina Matonyte	What does coalition mean? Prime Ministerial and Political Government after 2010 in Hungary	Éva Ványi and Gabriella Ilonszki	Corvinus University of Budapest
	Does party politics affect coalition governance: the case of Latvia	Jānis Ikstens	University of Latvia
	The President vis-a-vis the Cabinet in Lithuania: a notary, an innovator, an executioner or an operetta singer	Ieva Gajauskaite and Irmina Matonyte	Military Academy of Lithuania

Panel 22	Paper	Author	University
Historical perspective of regimes and nations Europe 2 Chair: Przemysław Piotrowski	Conflicting anniversaries. The international context of Polish memory policy on the example of anniversary resolutions of the Sejm and Senate of the Polish Republic after 1989	Bartłomiej Secler	Adam Mickiewicz University
	Populists and Sarmatians. The political heritage of the First Republic of Poland in the light of contemporary disputes over the demoliberal consensus	Przemysław Piotrowski	University of Warmia and Mazury in Olsztyn
	Roman Dmowski on relations with Russia at the turn of the 19th and 20th centuries and in the interwar period. "Historia magistra vitae est" - what could be learned from that history lesson?	Benon Gaziński	University of Warmia and Mazury in Olsztyn
	Historical narratives of anti-establishment actors and their relation with past dictatorships	Bartłomiej Różycki	Mazovian State University in Płock
	Defending (neo-traditionalist) Polishness. The fantasy behind the term	Francesco Melito	Jagiellonian University

Panel 23	Paper	Author	University
Political participation Chair: Simona Kukovič	Trust/distrust of citizens towards the main actors on the public stage in Poland- responsiveness dilemmas	Teresa Sasińska-Klas	Jagiellonian Univeristy
	Political Participation in the Visegrád Countries: A Comparative Analysis on Modes and Degrees of Participation	Giacomo Salvarani	Università di Urbino Carlo Bo
	Conceptualizing Citizenship: Eastern European Inputs to the Contemporary Debates	Alexandra Holle Éva Ványi	Corvinus University Budapest
	Political participation at local level in Poland	Karolina Tybuchowska- Hartlińska	University of Warmia and Mazury in Olsztyn
	Analytical framework for researching citizen participation in the era of e-democracy	Izabela Kapsa	Kazimierz Wielki University
	Civic legislative initiative in Poland- proposed changes	Marta Michalczuk- Wlizło, Małgorzata Podolak	UMCS

Panel 24	Paper	Author	University
PANEL Cross-border cooperation with Russia: experience of CEE states Chair: Krzysztof Żęgota	The Kaliningrad region of the Russian Federation as a factor of security of Central and Eastern Europe	Krzysztof Żęgota	University of Warmia and Mazury in Olsztyn
	Norwegian-Russian cross-border cooperation	Bjarge Schwenke Fors	The Barents Institute
	Kaliningrad region in Polish foreign policy after 1989	Marcin Chełminiak	University of Warmia and Mazury in Olsztyn
	The waterway through the Vistula split and the prospects for cross-border cooperation	Waldemar Tomaszewski	University of Warmia and Mazury in Olsztyn
	Cross-border cooperation with the Kaliningrad Region on the example of the Poland-Russia Cross-border Cooperation Program 2014-2020	Wojciech Kotowicz	University of Warmia and Mazury in Olsztyn

Panel 25	Paper	Author	University
<p>PANEL Russia in contemporary international order: perspective of CEE states chair: Krzysztof Żęgota</p>	<p>Global Politics and its Local Practice: The Case of Relations between the Kaliningrad Region and the Warmia and Mazury Region</p>	<p>Arkadiusz Żukowski</p>	<p>University of Warmia and Mazury in Olsztyn</p>
	<p>Risk Mitigation Strategies in Russian Foreign Policy</p>	<p>Piotr Dutkiewicz</p>	<p>Carleton University</p>
	<p>Russia (Soviet Union's Successor), foreign policy towards Sub Saharan Africa: The shift of the Cold War-era Relations and Present Interests</p>	<p>Degefe Gemechu</p>	<p>University of Warmia and Mazury in Olsztyn</p>