

Newness as a Project: Successful New Parties in the Baltic States*

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Paper prepared for the ECPR General Conference, Budapest, 8-10 September 2005

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Abstract. Previous studies have assumed that new parties either represent new or ignored cleavages or social issues, or emerge in order to cleanse an ideology deficiently represented by an existing party. Four recent cases of highly successful parties in the Baltic countries fail to comply with these assumptions. The paper shows that these parties have fought on the ideological territory of existing parties with no attempt to purify the ideology, but contesting elections on the ticket of newness. It will be argued that newness can potentially also be an appealing project for parties elsewhere and experiences from new democracies should be taken seriously even by those working on old democracies.

The beginning of the third millennium saw a rise of victorious new parties in all three Baltic countries. Even though the party systems had not been stable in any of them, there had been important differences in the patterns of instability. In Latvia, new parties had been more common than in Estonia and Lithuania (Sikk 2005).¹

In 1998, New Union (Social Liberals) was established in Lithuania around the nearly successful presidential candidate Arturas Paulauskas. It entered the parliament strongly in 2000, and Paulauskas became the chair of parliament. In 2002, New Era was established in Latvia around the former president of the Bank of Latvia, Einars Repse. The party won the elections the same year and Repse became the country's Prime Minister. In 2001, former political youth organization Res Publica was thoroughly reorganized into a political party, becoming one of the two largest parties in Estonian parliament following the 2003 elections. Its that time leader, Juhan Parts, became the Prime Minister of Estonia. In 2004,

* An earlier paper based on the research was presented at the ICEESS World Congress, Berlin, 25-30 July 2005. The author is grateful to the participants of the panel and Rein Taagepera for helpful comments. The research for this paper has been assisted by the Targeted Financing Grant 0182573s03 of the Estonian Science Foundation.

¹ For an overview of electoral results in Baltic countries, see Appendix A.

Lithuania saw the rise of an even more successful new party – the Labour Party became the largest party in Lithuanian parliament. The party was established and led by a wealthy ethnic Russian businessman Viktor Uspaskich, who became the minister of economic affairs following the formation of coalition cabinet.

These parties are different in several respects. In contrast to its southern counterparts, Res Publica has not been centred on its leader. Rather, it has faced difficulties in finding able and popular leaders. In contrast to others, the electoral campaign of New Era stood out as rather subdued regarding money spent on it. At the same time, the party has been able to retain its popularity, while Res Publica and New Union (Social Liberals) are struggling to stay at the political scene. Lately, the popularity of Labour Party has also seen a decline. New Union (Social Liberals) leader, Paulauskas has never left the post of parliamentary chair, while both Parts and Repse had to step down from premiership. In July 2005, Uspaskich had to give up the portfolio of minister of economic affairs (Seputyte 2005).² Following the crisis in government in April 2005, Parts also stepped down as the party chair. New Era returned to government ten months later in December 2004, with Repse becoming the minister of defence. The fact that New Era has been able to retain its popularity is surprising given the fact that its membership is around ten times smaller than that of the others. (A longer discussion of Res Publica, New Era and New Union (Social Liberals) is presented in Sikk 2004, while this paper concentrates narrowly on the issue of newness as their distinguishing feature.)

In face of these differences, the parties share a striking similarity in stressing *newness*. In case of New Era, “new” is included in its name. In Res Publica’s electoral campaign one of the main slogans was “new politics” (without much clarification). New Union (Social Liberals) was part of the “new politics” block – together with Liberal Union, under leadership of Rolandas Paksas – endorsed by that time president, Valdas Adamkus. In case of Lithuania’s Labour Party, the aspect of newness was stressed less.

Both qualitative and quantitative evaluation of party programs and positions leads one to conclude that the parties did not stand for much else than “new politics”. They stood for purification of country’s politics, for instance, from corruption, while at the same time being in the ideological mainstream and not anti-system. Analysis of expert survey data on

² At the time of writing his future in politics remains uncertain.

these parties' positions on major issues connected to the classic cleavages in Western Europe shows that the parties fail to differentiate from other major parties. The same applies to the analysis of population survey data on important problems mentioned by party supporters (from 2004 European Election Study). As it is difficult to connect the parties to any traditional socio-political issues, they are even harder to tie down to social cleavages.

What does the experience of these parties teach us about new party theory? The most important lesson is that new parties are not necessarily a product of social or value change and cannot at times be tied down to cleavages. "Newness" in itself can be a very viable project for a political party.

In most studies on new parties in Western Europe, the demand for new parties has mostly been estimated by the social heterogeneity or value change in a country (see Harmel & Robertson 1985, Hauss & Rayside 1978, Müller-Rommel 2002, Kitschelt 1988, 1995, Hug 2001). In one of the major volumes on new political parties, Simon Hug (2001) considers their emergence to be a sign that the old parties have failed to incorporate new issues. He even argues that new parties would never appear if the old parties were fully knowledgeable of the popularity of the new party / new issues, as they would always have incentives to incorporate the issues the new parties stand for.

Lucardie (2000) and Rochon (1985) explicitly consider the possibility that new parties may actually not be based on a new issue, but may enter the party political landscape on the territory already covered by other parties. The two authors stress that *challenger* or *purifier* parties arise to "cleanse" an ideology (Lucardie) or if the existing parties no longer properly represent the interests of their support base (Rochon).

The first of these approaches would not make good sense regarding the four cases. However good a predictive model one might have, one would have not detected the demand for these parties by looking at value change or social heterogeneity. That is simply way off the point. The issue these new parties have stood for – newness – is by definition impossible to incorporate by old parties. The fact that four such parties appeared and became so successful independently in three countries stresses the need to take a critical look at new party theory if we want to have one covering all multi-party systems, including older and newer democracies. For that, considering the possibility of challenger parties

provides a better starting point. However, as we will see, such new parties might not be concerned with purifying an ideology. They might not be different from old parties regarding policy positions. Fighting on the same territory can also occur when the new parties can convince the voters that they are better than the old ones in some other respects – for instance capability or integrity of their leaders.

The paper begins with the analysis of party policy positions based on the results of two surveys – public opinion polls conducted in Summer 2004 in the framework of European Election Study, and expert survey conducted by Kenneth Benoit and Michael Laver in late 2003 to early 2004. Thereafter, the results of these quantitative data are contrasted to qualitative analysis of the parties in question, mostly based on evidence collected from interviews with party representatives conducted in April 2005. The evidence supports the hypothesis that the parties have not been distinguished from established parties by much else than their newness. The paper concludes with a theoretical discussion on the feasibility of newness as a project for new political parties.

Quantitative Evaluation

One way to test the question of issues behind the new parties is to rely on population survey data. European Election Study surveys from the three countries provide a good comparative dataset, especially for Estonia and Latvia. The Lithuanian survey design was somewhat different and it was conducted three and the half years after New Union (Social Liberals) success. The party had become an established one and, more importantly, its support had vanished. There were only 32 respondents indicating their preference for the party, making a reliable analysis of the party difficult. Therefore, Labour Party is analysed there. Also, I have used the question on prospective electoral choice in Lithuania (as it was much closer to the survey than last parliamentary elections), while relying on the (recollection of) preference in last national elections in Estonia and Latvia.

The main message of Table 1 to Table 2 is that the problems mentioned by Res Publica voters in Estonia and New Era voters in Latvia are not very different from the ones mentioned by the rest of respondents. Res Publica's voters attributed relatively high salience to wage levels while the salience of issues of employment and pensions was

somewhat lower than among the rest. That may underline the party's programmatic leaning to the right-liberal wing (i.e. close to the Reform Party) or just be connected to the fact that the share of working people among its voters was above the average. The pattern that emerges in Latvia with New Era is quite similar – wages are more stressed and problems more related to the less well off (unemployment, pensions, poverty) are below the average saliency for the party's voters. However, even if there are slight discrepancies from the overall pattern of problems mentioned, the public opinion surveys do not indicate that the parties stood for any new issues.

In both cases, there is a slight indication of style of politics being the distinguishing issue. Res Publica's voters tended to mention the conflicts in party politics marginally more frequently than supporters of other parties, while New Era's supporters mentioned the government in general as a problem more often. However, the share of these parties' supporters mentioning the problems was very low.

Table 1 What do you think are the most important problems in Estonia at present? (%)

	Voted in 2003 for		Total
	A previous parliamentary party	Res Publica	
Unemployment, jobs, employment	22.5	<i>16.2</i>	22.5
Wages and earnings	11.1	18.4	12.8
Welfare policy (social security, child benefits etc)	12.4	13.8	12.4
Other social conflicts, problems	11.0	<i>6.7</i>	9.4
Pensions, retirement policy, retirement options	6.9	<i>3.7</i>	5.7
Any other topic	3.3	<i>2.8</i>	4.0
Other topics from the area of economy or economic policy	3.2	4.6	3.2
Inter- and intraparty conflicts, disagreements, fights	3.2	4.3	3.2
Education (from elementary school to the university)	2.9	<i>2.4</i>	3.0
N	770	232	1606

Source: European Election Study 2004, Estonian Survey (N=1606)

Notes: Problems mentioned by at least 3 per cent of respondents. **Bold** indicates saliency above the average and *italics* below the average.

Table 2 What do you think are the most important problems in Latvia at present? (%)

	Voted in 2002 for		Total
	A previous parliamentary party	Jaunais laiks	
Unemployment, jobs, employment	24.1	20.2	24.5
Wages and earnings	9.5	12.5	10.9
Pensions, retirement policy, retirement options	8.6	6.3	7.7
Poverty	7.7	5.3	7.3
Education	4.9	4.8	5.7
Inflation	5.5	4.3	5.2
The government (general)	5.5	7.7	5.0
Welfare policy	3.3	5.8	3.2
The economy (general)	3.3	2.9	3.0
N	453	208	1000

Source: European Election Study 2004, Latvian Survey (N=1000)

Note: Problems mentioned by at least 3 per cent of respondents. **Bold** indicates salience above the average and *italics* below the average.

The Lithuanian Labour Party seems to be more distinct (Table 3). The overall impression from the data is that the voters of the party were much more clearly *materialist* in their orientations: the frequency of mentioning higher wages, less unemployment and lower prices is most striking, while questions of economic efficiency, corruption, crime and health care receive less attention than among the total population. The fact that the salience attributed to the above issues is coupled with clearly above average yearning for lower taxes indicates the *populist* leanings of the party.

Table 3 What do you think are the important problems in Lithuania at present? (%)

	Would vote in 2004 for		Total
	A previous parliamentary party	Darbo partija	
Decrease of unemployment	51.2	64.4	57.6
Higher wages and salaries	46.7	63.7	54.6
Efficiency of economy	58.7	50.0	52.5
Higher pensions	45.2	50.7	49.5
Lower taxes	42.2	56.2	48.2
Social justice	45.2	46.9	47.2
More attention to health care	49.7	46.9	46.5
Corruption	51.2	40.1	45.7
Lower consumer prices	34.3	52.4	43.9
Crime	47.9	40.8	43.2
Higher social guarantees	42.5	43.8	42.3
Average number of problems mentioned	7.87	7.65	7.66
N	332	292	1005

Source: European Election Study 2004, Lithuanian Survey (N=1005)

Note: Problems mentioned by at least 40 per cent of respondents. The survey design was different from Estonia and Latvia in that several problems could be indicated.

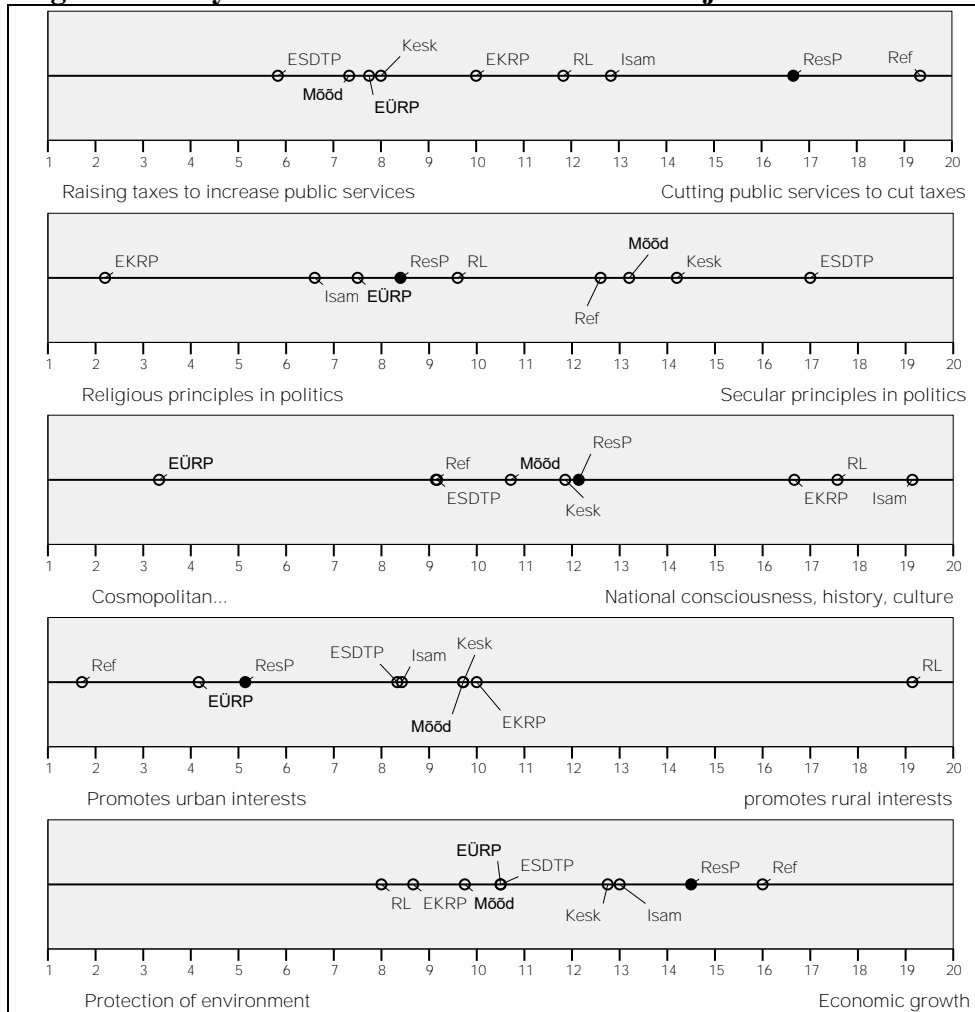
An alternative test of the question of issues is based on Benoit & Laver (2005) expert survey data, which was gathered in late 2003 and early 2004. Expert surveys have their shortcomings – for instance, expert judgements are not based on strictly standardized criteria, it is unclear whether they measure party preferences (in programs or manifestoes) or actual behaviour (in government) and the time point the judgements refer to is open (see Budge 2001: 75). In our cases, the sample of surveyed experts was quite small: ranging from 4 to 7 in Estonia, 6 to 8 in Latvia, and 17 to 19 in Lithuania, depending on the issue and party. However, it is the best comparative data collection on party policy positions at hand covering that time period. Also, it is possible to contrast the results of the expert survey with the results of independently conducted population survey presented above. If the results do not contradict each other, the arguments will be strengthened.

Figures 1 to 3 present the Baltic parties in standard issue dimensions that come closest to traditional cleavages. In none of these do the new parties differentiate clearly, indicated by the fact that the parties are never placed on the edges of the spectra. In most cases the parties lie close to parties that they could be argued to fight on the same electoral ground with. Res Publica tends to be close to the right-liberal Reform Party (Ref), at least relative to other Estonian parties. In Latvia, the proximity of New Era to the People's Party (TP) is even more evident. New Union (Social Liberals) tends to be close to the Social Democratic Party (LSDP) of Algirdas Brazauskas.

The expert survey included some other issue dimensions (for a full list, see Appendix B), and in some of these the new parties were at the extremes. Res Publica had the most extreme position regarding decentralization, but was still very close to the Reform Party. However, the issue has not been particularly important for the party. New Era had the most extreme positions regarding media freedom and decentralization, and both are very clear. Especially the position on media freedom could be indicative of its resolute stance on fighting corruption. However, it is difficult to tie that dimension down to wider social issues or cleavages. New Union (Social Liberals) fails to differentiate clearly from other

major Lithuanian parties on any issue. It is very close to the Social Democratic party virtually in all issues.³

Figure 1 Policy Positions of Estonian Parties – Major Social Issues



Note: Filled dot indicates Res Publica. Source: Benoit & Laver 2005.

ESDTP: Social Democratic Labour Party (no 25 in Table 4 in Appendix A)

EÜRP: United People's Party (14)

Isam: Pro Patria (2)

Kesk: Centre Party (4)

Mõõd: Moderates (5)

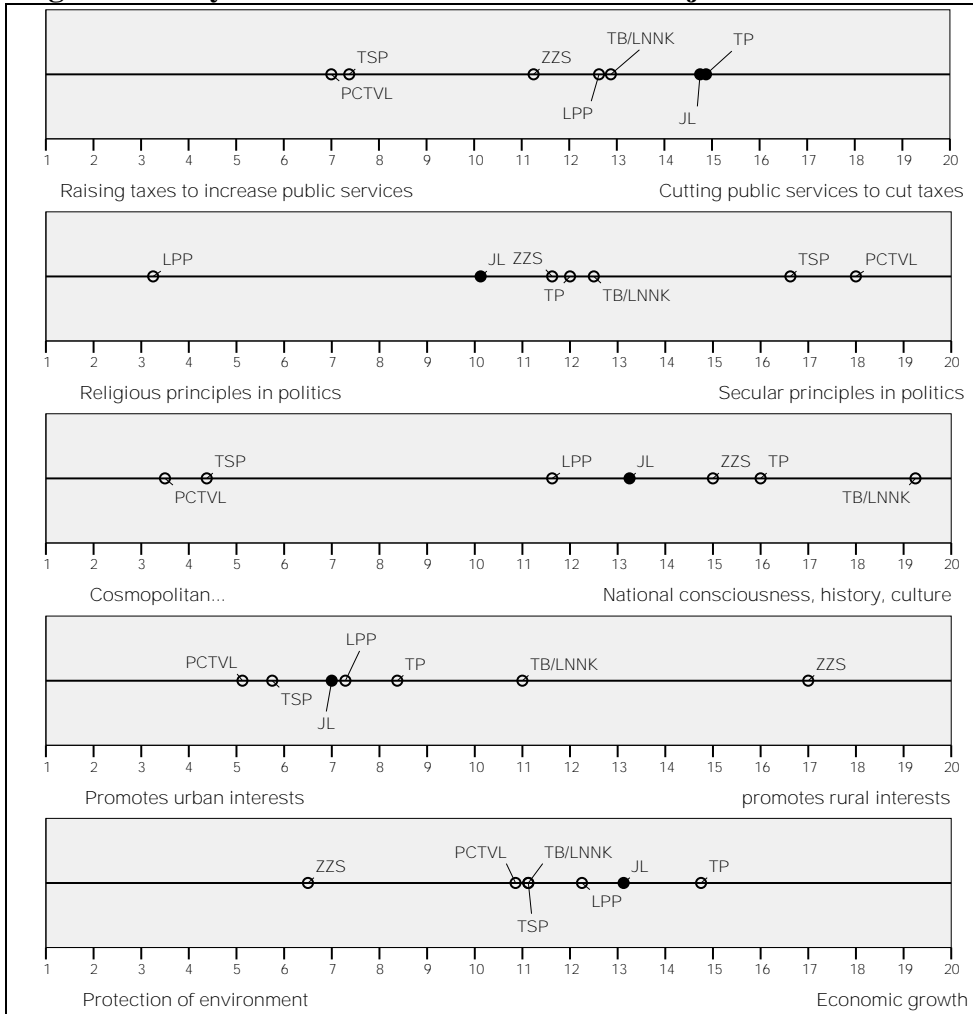
Ref: Reform Party (13)

ResP: Res Publica (23)

RL: People's Union (19)

³ Part of the reason can be that the survey was conducted a few years after the party was formed. It had since lost much of its popularity and due to sharing governmental responsibilities can be argued to have moved closer to Social Democratic Party. However, the finding does not go against impressionistic observation that the party never had a distinguishing view on any social issue, bar perhaps corruption.

Figure 2 Policy Positions of Latvian Parties – Major Social Issues



Note: Filled dot indicates New Era. Source: Benoit & Laver 2005.

JL: New Era (no 23 in Table 5 in Appendix A)

LPP: Latvia's First Party (24)

PCTVL: For Human Rights in a United Latvia (3, was in electoral coalition with TSP)

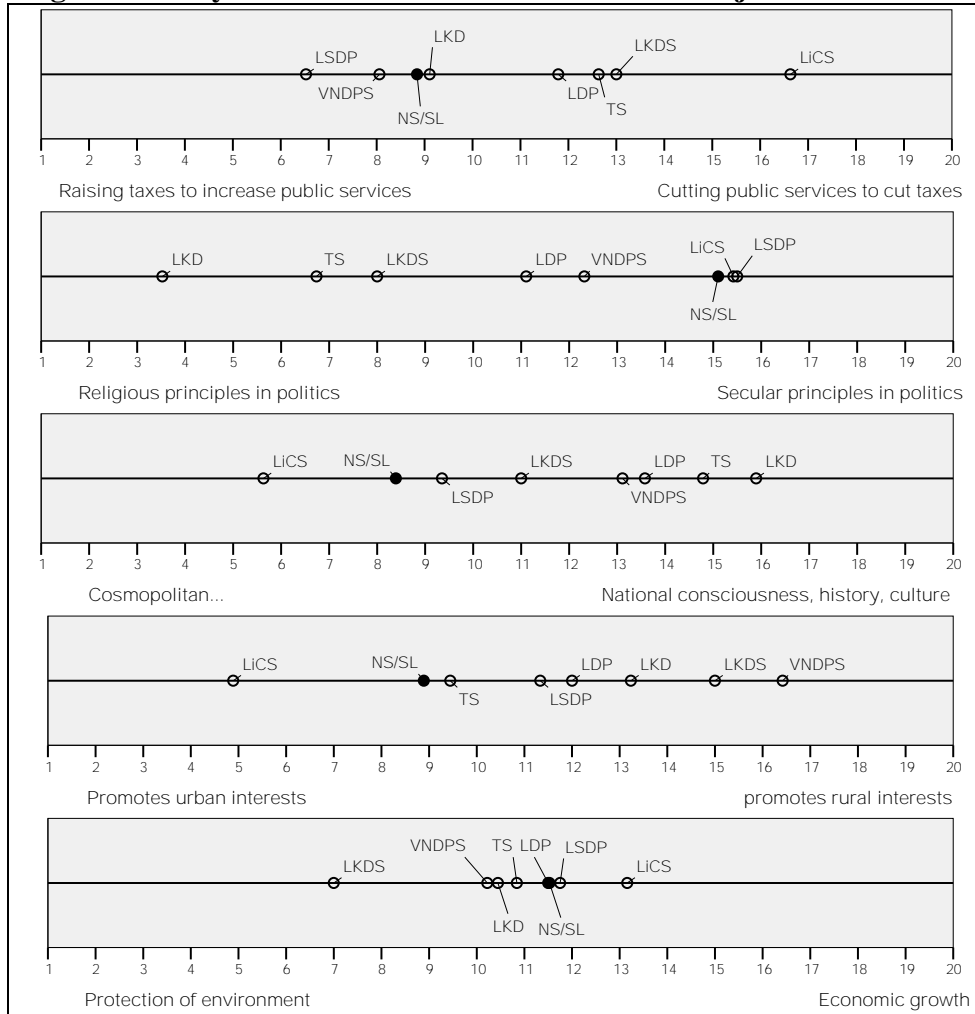
TB/LNNK: For Fatherland and Freedom (6)

TP: People's Party (20)

TSP: Popular Harmony Party (3, was in electoral coalition with PCTVL)

ZZS: Green and Farmers' Union (25)

Figure 3 Policy Positions of Lithuanian Parties – Major Social Issues



Note: Filled dot indicates New Union (Social Liberals). Source: Benoit & Laver 2005.

LDP: Liberal Democratic Party (No 17 in Table 6 in Appendix A, in 2004 in 30)

LiCS: Liberal and Centre Union (28)

LKD: Lithuanian Christian Democrats (part of 3)

LKDS: Union of Lithuanian Christian Democrats (part of 3)

LSDP: Social Democratic Party (major partner in 1)

NS/SL: New Union (Social Liberals) (22)

TS: Homeland Union (2)

VNDPS: Peasants and New Democracy (29)

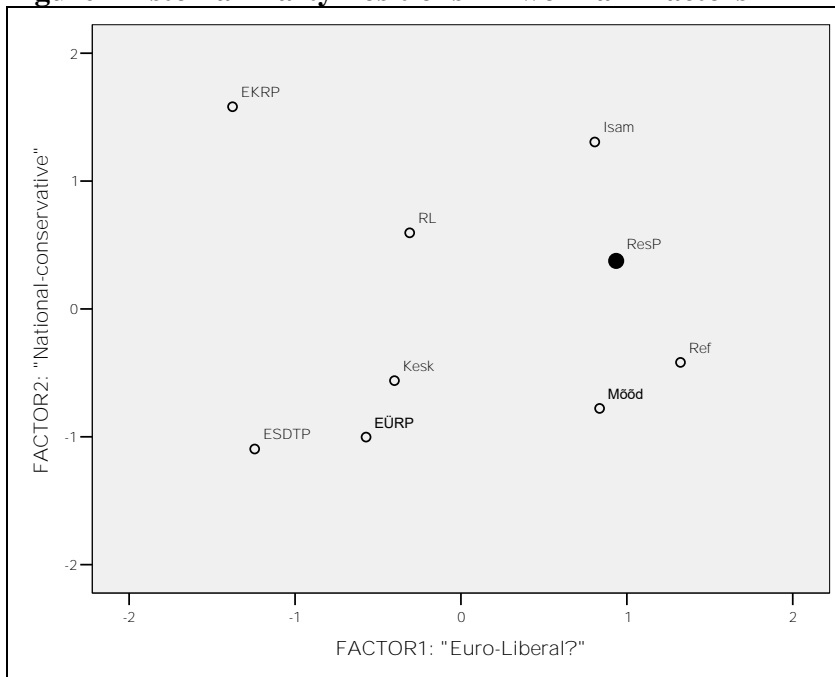
Based on factor analysis of party positions on 16 different issues,⁴ major factors of policy positions were derived. The principal factors combine different issues. In Estonia, Euro-Liberal dimension is complemented by national-conservative one. In Latvia, liberalism is coupled with nationalism on the first dimension, complemented by urban-rural divide on

⁴ The exact wording of the questions and background information about the survey (including data) is available in Benoit & Laver 2005 and at the web page of the survey: <http://www.politics.tcd.ie/ppmd/> (accessed 21.6.2005). For a list of issues and factor loadings see Appendix B.

the second. In Lithuania, the primary dimension is provided by national-religious issue, while the second couples Euroscepticism with peripheral politics.

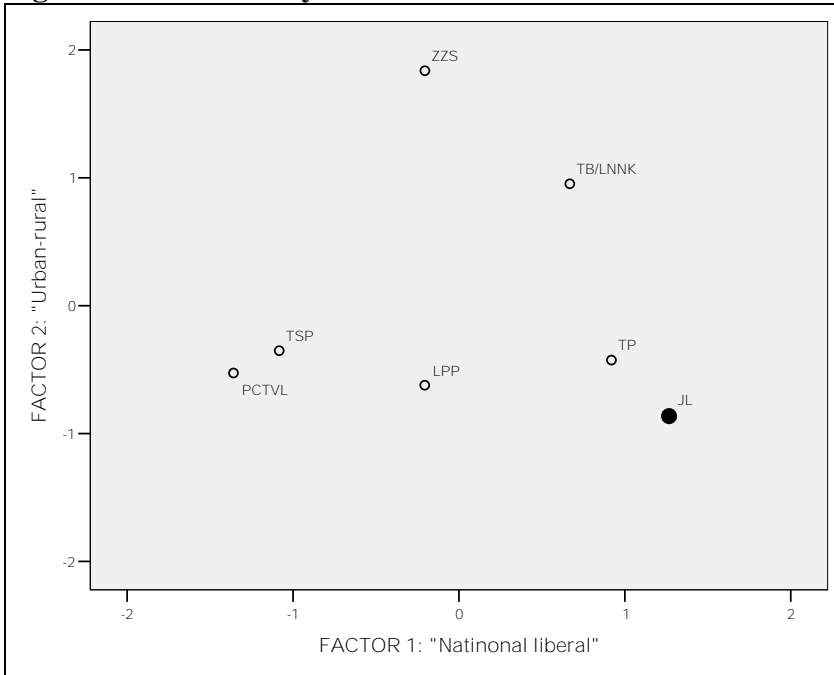
In these compound factors, the new parties still fail to differentiate clearly (see Figure 4 to Figure 6). Only New Era seems to be extreme on both factors, but it is quite close to People's Party (TP in Figure 5). Also, they fail to differentiate on any issue that could be connected to social divides (see Figure 1 to Figure 3). That rejects any claims of social divides or even cleavages giving rise to those new parties. The facts that such an emergence of new parties occurred in *all three* countries and these parties became probably *the most important players* in their respective party systems can be interpreted as a strong word of caution against assuming cleavages to play a strong role in giving rise to new parties in new democracies.

Figure 4 Estonian Party Positions – Two Main Factors



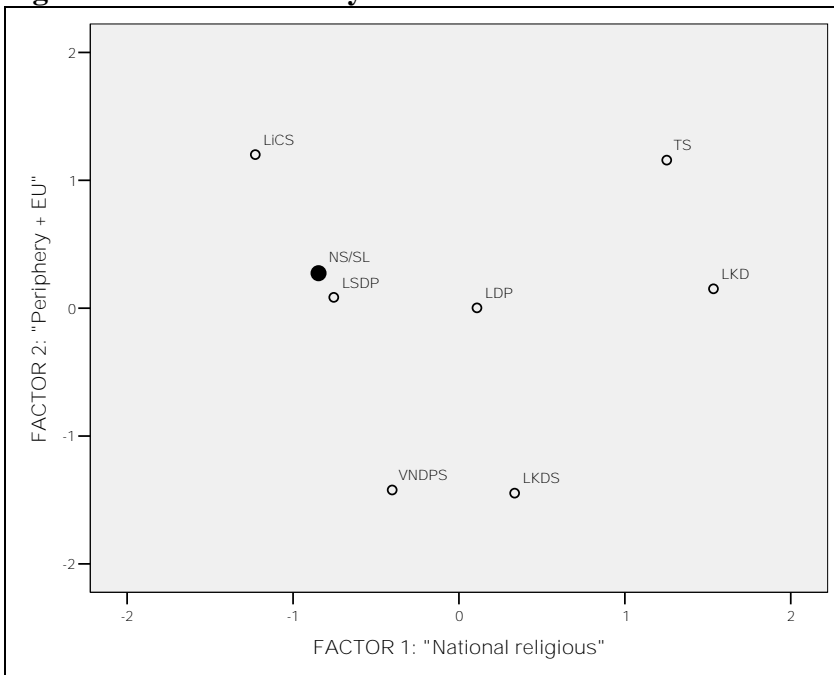
Note: Filled dot indicates Res Publica, abbreviations the same as Figure 1. Source: Author's analysis of data from Benoit & Laver 2005. For rotated component matrices see Appendix B.

Figure 5 Latvian Party Positions – Two Main Factors



Note: Filled dot indicates New Era, abbreviations the same as Figure 2. Source: Author's analysis of data from Benoit & Laver 2005. For rotated component matrices see Appendix B

Figure 6 Lithuanian Party Positions – Two Main Factors



Note: Filled dot indicates New Union (Social Liberals), abbreviations the same as Figure 3. Source: Author's analysis of data from Benoit & Laver 2005. For rotated component matrices see Appendix B

Qualitative Evaluation

For all these parties the defining feature is *newness* and some degree of *anti-corruption* and/or mild *anti-establishment* stance. That is clearly not a new ideology, and is even less connected to any – new or ignored – social divide. At most, these parties were addressing a new issue, but especially in case of Res Publica and New Union (Social Liberals) their stance against established parties was not particularly strong. The parties were quite willing to compromise in coalition formation following their initial elections. Following the downfall of Repse government and a spell in opposition, New Era even joined its arch enemy People's Party in government.⁵

Latvian New Era is the most obvious case of fighting in an occupied ideological territory. It is usually characterised as mildly nationalist neo-liberal party, very similar to People's Party in policy positions. In interviews with representatives of Latvian political parties, no attempt was made to distinguish the parties with regard to programs – neither by representatives of New Era or other parties or neutral experts. Despite being perceived as almost identical with regard to party programs, the cooperation between the parties has been very difficult and the merger of ideologically close parties is clearly out of question.

The case of Res Publica has been somewhat more difficult (see Taagepera 2004 for more). Up to its first national elections the party was slightly torn between neo-liberal nationalists who made up the core initiative group of the party in the first place, and the centrists who advocated policies that would give a more human face to the Estonian free market capitalism while not professing any turnaround in economic policies. In either case, the party was contesting elections in an occupied territory – the neo-liberal nationalist niche had been filled by Pro Patria Union for years and free market capitalism with a more human face had been the declared aim of the Moderates (once and now again the Social Democratic party).⁶

⁵ The relationship of the parties remains very hostile despite sharing governmental responsibilities.

⁶ Later, Res Publica moved closer to the Reform Party by sharing government responsibilities and planning the merger that was eventually rejected by the Reform Party as the support ratings of RP plummeted in 2004 (Roonemaa 2004).

Of the two Lithuanian cases, Labour Party can be argued to have run on basically a social democratic ticket without the alleged corruption of Algirdas Brazauskas⁷ Social Democratic Party. New Union (Social Liberals) was in programmatic terms hardly distinguishable from the Social Democrats as well, running the 2004 elections in a coalition together.

Evaluations of programmatic positions of New Era, New Union (Social Liberals) and Labour Party may be criticised, arguing that the essence of these parties has never really been their programs but the personal ambitions of their *leaders*. However, that counterargument would make the argument about importance of either new or old ideologies in party competition only weaker.

Both quantitative and qualitative assessment of the question about the type of these new parties points in the same direction – the parties were not advocating any new ideology, but rather challenging the old parties on their territory and thus emerging as challengers or purifiers, though not attempting to cleanse the ideologies but rather improving the style of politics.

Discussion: Newness as a Project

Newness as a project has some very *advantageous properties* for parties. It promotes the cause of change, but not in any particular direction, thus having the potential to appeal to broad groups of the more or less disaffected/disappointed. As it is fairly vague on concrete policy contents, the information costs of transferring the message to the voters are much lower than with “ideological” or even “issue” projects.

When combined with being ideologically / programmatically in the mainstream, newness does not have much risk of scaring off potential supporters who might be afraid of wholesale or drastic changes in policy directions. It is especially relevant given the time context of emergence of the “new” parties. The people of the Baltic countries had just learned to manage in the newly established market economy, and even those who did not

⁷ Brazauskas was Lithuanian president from 1993 to 1998 and has been the prime minister since 2001.

feel better off, had learned strategies of survival and could have been afraid of too radical political forces. Besides subjective judgement of policy proposals, the element of judging the potential of success is important – parties of the mainstream can make credible claims to have better chances than parties at the fringes.

Clearly, the approach of claimed newness with actually rather little new in content would *ceteris paribus* have little potential for mobilizing voters. If such a party is to be successful, it would need a strong combination of some *other resources* than an appealing program or project. In case of New Era, New Union (Social Liberals) and Labour Party the success was very much based on the charisma of party leaders. As for Res Publica, one could argue that it was based on a combination of considerable financial resources spent on party promotion and competence and likeability of party leaders (Parts, and the first chairman of the party, Rein Taagepera). In all these cases, the willingness of sponsors to support the party or even the leader of a prospective party leader in case of New Era,⁸ signalled the feasibility and moderateness of the parties to voters.

Why should voters go for such vague options? The above discussion would seem to underestimate the level of sophistication among the Baltic electorates. For one, the voters might not be paying very much attention to programmatic profiles of political parties and rather focussing on personalities. On the other hand, the feasible policy space has been argued to be constricted because of the pressures of globalization and Europeanization anyhow (see Blyth & Katz 2005: 34, 41-44). Thus, it may be quite rational for voters to base their choices on personal appeal, integrity or technocratic ability of leading party politicians. For the most part, the parties previously elected to the office had followed their electoral pledges and had managed in generating economic growth. Thus, there seems to have been little reason to reject them on programmatic grounds. At the same time, the achievements had been paired with a perception of intolerably high levels of corruption and high social costs – unemployment, poverty, inequality. Therefore, promising a new style of politics with only slight policy changes, can be argued to have been more or less in line with even the programmatic expectations of the Baltic electorates.

⁸ Repse declared intentions of forming a new party some time before New Era was actually established. In fact, it was the most popular party in Latvia even before its founding congress and before it had a name. Before establishing the party, in addition to a plea for supporting the party he expected a 720,000 € fee to be paid by sponsors to him personally for leaving the post of president of the Bank of Latvia for party chairman (Sikk 2004: 4).

One may argue that post-communist countries present a special case due to communist legacies. However, looking at Italy – a long-standing democracy yet with a party system predominantly composed of new parties – reveals some striking similarities with Central and Eastern Europe. *Forza Italia* is in some respects very similar to the new Baltic parties, especially regarding the primacy of the leader and use of mass media, compared to the actual programmatic content of the party which is of secondary relevance. Therefore, should one perhaps think of Western Europe as a “special case” due to its strong legacy of long democratic traditions? Especially if our objective is to end up with theories that explain democratic politics anywhere – also in countries yet to become democracies in the future – one has to take the experiences of young democracies seriously. Relaxing the assumptions in models of new party emergence by allowing for projects that are not ideologically novel – even not in a sense of purification – would not go against the experience of long-standing democracies of Western Europe, but it would enable us to explain the newer democracies as well. At the least, this paper strongly demonstrates that when searching for explanations for new party success in Eastern Europe, one clearly has to go beyond social divides.

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Appendix: Electoral Results in the Baltic States, 1992-2004

Source: Rose et al 1998, *Vabariigi valimiskomisjon, Centrālā vēlēšanu komisija, Lietuvos Respublikos Vyriausioji rinkimų komisija*.

Table 4 Estonia: Riigikogu Elections 1992-2003

		20 Sept 1992			5 March 1995			7 March 1999			7 March 2003		
		67.8			68.9			57.4			58.2		
Turnout		V%	S	S%	V%	S	S%	V%	S	S%	V%	S	S%
1	National Independence Party	8.8	10	9.9	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
2	Pro Patria	22.0	29	28.7	7.9	8	7.9	16.1	18	17.8	7.3	7	6.9
3	Coalition Party	13.6	17	16.8	32.2	41	40.6	7.6	7	6.9	-	-	-
4	Centre Party	12.2	15	14.9	14.2	16	15.8	23.4	28	27.7	25.4	28	27.7
5	Moderates	9.7	12	11.9	6.0	6	5.9	15.2	17	16.8	7.0	6	5.9
6	Independent Royalists	7.1	8	7.9	0.8	0	0.0	-	-	-	-	-	-
7	Better Estonia/Estonian Citizen	6.9	8	7.9	3.6	0	0.0	-	-	-	-	-	-
8	Pensioners' and Families' League	3.7	0	0.0	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
9	Farmers' Assembly	2.9	0	0.0	w 3	w 3	w 3	0.5	0	0.0	-	-	-
10	Greens	2.6	1	1.0	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
11	Entrepreneurs' Party	2.4	1	1.0	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
12	Left Alternative	1.6	0	0.0	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
13	Reform Party	-	-	-	16.2	19	18.8	15.9	18	17.8	17.7	19	18.8
14	United People's Party *	-	-	-	5.9	6	5.9	6.1	6	5.9	2.2	0	0.0
15	Right Wingers' Party	-	-	-	5.0	5	5.0	-	-	-	-	-	-
16	The Future's Estonia Party	-	-	-	2.6	0	0.0	-	-	-	-	-	-
17	Justice	-	-	-	2.3	0	0.0	-	-	-	-	-	-
18	Farmers' Party	-	-	-	1.5	0	0.0	-	-	-	-	-	-
19	Country People's Party/People's Union	-	-	-	w 3	w 3	w 3	7.3	7	6.9	13.0	13	12.9
20	Christian People's Party	-	-	-	-	-	-	2.4	0	0.0	1.1	0	0.0
21	Russian Party in Estonia	-	-	-	w 14	w 14	w 14	2.0	0	0.0	0.2	0	0.0
22	Blue Party	-	-	-	0.4	0	0.0	1.6	0	0.0	-	-	-
23	Res Publica	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	24.6	28	27.7
24	Independence Party	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	0.5	0	0.0
25	Social Democratic Labour Party	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	0.4	0	0.0
	Others	2.1	0	-	1.3	0	0.0	0.4	0	0.0	-	-	-
	Independent candidates	4.3	0	0.0	0.3	0	0.0	1.5	0	0.0	0.4	0	0.0
Total		100.0	101	100.0	100.0	101	100.0	100.0	101	100.0	100.0	101	100.0

* – in 1995 electoral coalition with 21 under name “Our Home is Estonia”

Table 5 Latvia: Saeima Elections 1992-2002

		5-6 June 1993			30 Sept 1995			3 October 1998			5 October 2002		
Turnout		89.9			72.6			71.9			71.5		
		V%	S	S%	V%	S	S%	V%	S	S%	V%	S	S%
1	Alliance Latvia's Way	32.4	36	36.0	14.7	17	17.0	18.1	21	21.0	4.9	0	0.0
2	National Conservative Party	13.4	15	15.0	6.3	8	8.0	w 6	w 6	w 6	-	-	-
3	Popular Harmony Party / PCTVL	12.0	13	13.0	5.6	6	6.0	14.2	16	16.0	19.1	25	25.0
4	Farmers' Union	10.7	12	12.0	-	-	-	2.5	0	0.0	w25	w25	w25
5	Equal Rights Movement	5.8	7	7.0	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
6	For Fatherland and Freedom	5.4	6	6.0	12.0	14	14.0	14.7	17	17.0	5.4	7	7.0
7	Christian Democratic Union	5.0	6	6.0	-	-	-	2.3	0	0.0	-	-	-
8	Authentic Democratic Party	4.8	5	5.0	15.2	18	18.0	1.6	0	0.0	-	-	-
9	Popular Front	2.6	0	0.0	1.2	0	0.0	-	-	-	-	-	-
10	Green List	1.2	0	0.0	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
11	Russian Citizens of Latvia Party	1.2	0	0.0	1.3	0	0.0	-	-	-	-	-	-
12	Popular Movement for Latvia - Siegerists	-	-	-	15.0	16	16.0	1.7	0	0.0	-	-	-
13	Latvian Unity Party	-	-	-	7.2	8	8.0	0.5	0	0.0	-	-	-
14	United List - Farmers, Christian Democrats	-	-	-	6.4	8	8.0	-	-	-	-	-	-
15	Labour and Justice	-	-	-	4.6	0	0.0	-	-	-	-	-	-
16	Socialist Party	-	-	-	5.6	5	5.0	w 3	w 3	w 3	-	-	-
17	Political Union of Economists	-	-	-	1.5	0	0.0	-	-	-	-	-	-
18	Union of Latvian Farmers	-	0	0.0	1.4	0	0.0	-	-	-	-	-	-
19	Association of Underprivileged & Independence Party	-	0	0.0	1.0	0	0.0	-	-	-	-	-	-
20	People's Party	-	-	-	-	-	-	21.3	24	24.0	16.7	20	20.0
21	Social Democratic Alliance / SD Workers' Party	-	-	-	-	-	-	12.9	14	14.0	4.0	0	0.0
22	New Party	-	-	-	-	-	-	7.3	8	8.0	-	-	-
23	New Era	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	24.0	26	26.0
24	Latvia's First Party	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	9.6	10	10.0
25	Green and Farmers Union	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	9.5	12	12.0
26	Latgale Light	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1.6	0	0.0
27	Social Democratic Union	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1.5	0	0.0
28	Social Democratic Welfare Party	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1.3	0	0.0
	Others	5.7	0	0.0	1.1	0	0.0	2.8	0	0.0	2.4	0	0.0
	Total	100.2	100	100.0	100.1	100	100.0	100.0	100	100.0	100.0	0	0.0

Table 6 Lithuania: Seimas Elections 1992-2004 (votes % in PR part)

	25 October 1992				20 October 1996				8 Oct 2000				10 Oct 2004								
Turnout in the first round	75.2				52.9				58.6				46.1								
	V%	PL	SM	S	S%	V%	PL	SM	Total	S%	V%	PL	SM	Total	S%	V%	PL	SM	Total	S%	
Democratic Labour Party/Brazauskas																					
1 / "Working for Lithuania"	44.0	36	37	73	51.8	10.0	10	2	12	8.8	31.1	28	14	42	29.8	20.7	16	15	31	22.0	
2 Homeland Union ("Sąjūdis")	21.2	17	13	30	21.3	31.3	33	37	70	51.1	8.6	8	1	9	6.4	14.6	11	14	25	17.7	
3 Christian Democratic Party	12.6	10	8	18	12.8	10.4	11	5	16	11.7	3.1	0	2	2	1.4	1.4	0	0	0	-	
4 Social Democratic Party	6.0	5	3	8	5.7	6.9	7	5	12	8.8	w 1	w 1	7	7	5.0	-	-	-	-	-	
5 Coalition for a United Lithuania	3.6	0	0	0	0.0	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
6 Centre Movement	2.5	0	2	2	1.4	8.7	9	4	13	9.5	2.9	0	2	2	1.4	-	-	-	-	-	
7 Electoral Action for Lithuania's Poles	2.1	2	2	4	2.8	3.1	0	1	1	0.7	1.9	0	2	2	1.4	3.8	0	2	2	1.4	
8 National Union	2.0	0	4	4	2.8	2.2	0	3	3	2.2	0.9	0	0	0	0.0	0.2	0	0	0	-	
9 Freedom League	1.2	0	0	0	0.0	1.0	0	0	0	0.0	w 8	w 8	0	0	0.0	-	-	-	-	-	
10 National Progress Movement	1.1	0	0	0	0.0	0.3	0	0	0	0.0	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
11 Freedom Union	0.4	0	0	0	0.0	1.6	0	0	0	0.0	1.3	0	1	1	0.7	0.3	0	0	0	-	
12 Chernobyl Movement	0.3	0	0	0	0.0	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
13 Christian Democratic Union	w 5	w 5	1	1	0.7	3.2	0	1	1	0.7	4.2	0	1	1	0.7	-	-	-	-	-	
14 National Party Young Lithuania***	-	-	-	-	-	4.0	0	1	1	0.7	1.2	0	1	1	0.7	-	-	-	-	-	
15 Women's Party / New Democracy Party	-	-	-	-	-	3.9	0	1	1	0.7	w 1	w 1	2	2	1.4	w 29	0	0	0	-	
16 Alliance of National Minorities	-	-	-	-	-	2.6	0	0	0	0.0	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
17 Liberal Union	1.5	0	0	0	0.0	1.9	0	1	1	0.7	17.3	16	18	34	24.1	w 1	-	-	-	-	
18 Peasants' Party	-	-	-	-	-	1.7	0	1	1	0.7	4.1	0	4	4	2.8	w 29	-	-	-	-	
19 Russian Union	-	-	-	-	-	1.7	0	0	0	0.0	w 1	w 1	0	0	0.0	-	-	-	-	-	
20 Political Prisoners & Deportees	w 3	w 3	1	1	0.7	1.6	0	1	1	0.7	w 2	w 2	2	w 2	w 2	w 2	w 2	w 2	w 2	w 2	
21 Economy Party	-	-	-	-	-	1.3	0	0	0	0.0	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
22 New Union (Social Liberals)	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	19.6	18	11	29	20.6	w 1	-	-(11)****	(7.8)	-	
23 Moderate Conservative Union	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	2.0	0	1	1	0.7	2.0	0	0	0	-	
24 People's Union „For the Fair Lithuania”	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1.5	0	1	1	0.7	w 30	-	-	-	-	
25 „Social Democracy 2000”	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	0.5	0	0	0	0.0	0.3	0	0	0	-	
26 Modern Christian Democratic Union*	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	1	0.7	-	-	-	-	-	
27 Labour Party	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	28.6	22	17	39	27.7	
28 Liberal & Centre Union	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	9.1	7	11	18	12.8	
29 Peasants & New Democracy	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	6.6	5	5	10	7.1	
30 Paksas Coalition "For Order & Justice"	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	11.4	9	2	11	7.8	
Others	1.6	0	0	0	0.0	2.6	0	0	0	0.0	0.0	0	0	0	0.0	1.0	0	0	0	0.0	
Independent candidates*	-	0	0	0	0.0	-	0	4	4	2.9	-	0	2	2	1.4	-	0	5	5	3.5	
	100.1	70	71	141	100.0	100.0	70	67**	137**	100.0	100.2	70	71	141	100.0	100.0	70	71	141	100.0	

PL - party list seats, SM - single member seats

* Only in SM ** Excludes 4 vacant seats

*** 2000: „YL”, New Nationalists & Political Prisoners

**** Part of coalition in elections.

1992: Sąjūdis: 2 SM by Charter of Lithuanian Citizens, National Union: 1 SM by Independence Party

Appendix B: Factors of Issue Positions in Expert Surveys

Data from Benoit & Laver (2005), analysed by author.

Table 7 Estonia: Factors of Issue Positions in Expert Surveys

	Component		
	1	2	3
Media Freedom	-.976	-.025	-.082
Privatization	.938	.150	.266
EU joining	.937	-.031	-.224
Foreign Land Ownership	-.866	.225	-.368
Taxes v. Spending	.695	.368	.393
Nationalism	.036	.861	-.311
Former Communists	.344	.803	.041
Religion	.104	-.791	-.121
Social	-.621	.708	.165
Decentralization	-.078	.243	.901
Urban-Rural	-.363	.332	-.775
Environment	.685	-.120	.668
<i>Initial eigenvalues</i>	<i>5.596</i>	<i>2.889</i>	<i>1.904</i>

Notes: Extraction method: principal component analysis. Rotated component matrix; rotation method: varimax with Kaiser normalization. Component scores with absolute value over 0.6 in bold.

Table 8 Latvia: Rotated Component Matrix

	Component		
	1	2	3
Decentralization	.962	-.192	-.055
Taxes v. Spending	.958	-.014	.258
Privatization	.920	-.017	.342
Former Communists	.894	.193	.364
EU joining	.876	-.106	.332
Nationalism	.828	.480	.217
Urban-Rural	.233	.930	.123
Foreign Land Ownership	.271	.861	-.176
Environment	.452	-.802	.009
Social	.164	-.026	.937
Religion	-.463	.072	-.847
Media Freedom	.346	-.456	.073
<i>Initial eigenvalues</i>	<i>6.444</i>	<i>2.779</i>	<i>1.315</i>

Notes: Extraction method: principal component analysis. Rotated component matrix; rotation method: varimax with Kaiser normalization. Component scores with absolute value over 0.6 in bold.

Table 9 Lithuania: Rotated Component Matrix

	Component		
	1	2	3
Religion	-.973	.102	.127
Nationalism	.885	-.211	.309
Social	.875	-.397	-.188
Media Freedom	.869	-.024	.484
EU joining	-.004	.902	-.221
Urban-Rural	.381	-.888	.230
Environment	-.454	.753	.380
Foreign Land Ownership	.262	-.702	.605
Decentralization	.078	.205	.968
Taxes v. Spending	-.027	.377	-.854
Privatization	-.036	.521	-.812
<i>Initial eigenvalues</i>	<i>5.650</i>	<i>2.866</i>	<i>1.814</i>

Notes: Extraction method: principal component analysis. Rotated component matrix; rotation method: varimax with Kaiser normalization. Component scores with absolute value over 0.6 in bold.

Dimensions

Spending v. Taxes

Promotes raising taxes to increase public services. (1)

Promotes cutting public services to cut taxes. (20)

Social

Favours liberal policies on matters such as abortion, homosexuality, and euthanasia. (1)

Opposes liberal policies on matters such as abortion, homosexuality, and euthanasia. (20)

Privatization

Promotes maximum state ownership of business and industry. (1)

Opposes all state ownership of business and industry. (20)

EU joining

Opposes joining the European Union. (1)

Favours joining the European Union. (20)

Environment

Supports protection of the environment, even at the cost of economic growth. (1)

Supports economic growth, even at the cost of damage to the environment. (20)

Former communists (except in Lithuania)

Former communist party officials should have the same rights and opportunities as other citizens to participate in public life. (1)

Former communist party officials should be kept out of public life as far as possible. (20)

Foreign Ownership of Land

Supports unrestricted rights of foreigners to purchase and own _____ land. (1)

Opposes any rights of foreigners to purchase and own _____ land. (20)

Media Freedom

The mass media should be completely free to publish any material they see fit. (1)

The content of mass media should be regulated by the state in the public interest. (20)

Nationalism

Strongly promotes a cosmopolitan rather than a _____ national consciousness, history, and culture. (1)

Strongly promotes a _____ national rather than a cosmopolitan consciousness, history, and culture. (20)

Religion

Supports Christian principles in politics. (1)

Supports secular principles in politics. (20)

Urban versus Rural Interests

Promotes interests of urban voters above others. (1)

Promotes interests of rural voters above others. (20)

Decentralization

Promotes decentralization of all administration and decision-making. (1)

Opposes any decentralization of administration and decision-making. (20)