



NEW PARTIES IN THE PARTY SYSTEMS OF CENTRAL AND EASTERN EUROPEAN COUNTRIES: THE FACTORS OF ELECTORAL SUCCESS

NOWE PARTIE W SYSTEMACH PARTYJNYCH PAŃSTW EUROPY
ŚRODKOWEJ I WSCHODNIEJ:
CZYNNIKI WYBORCZEGO SUKCESU

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— ABSTRACT —

The aim of the presented analysis is to identify factors correlated with the proportion of seats obtained by new political parties in party systems of Central and Eastern European countries. The study provides an original approach to success of new parties, offering factors divided into in four groups (political, social, institutional and economic factors). The study results confirmed that a higher proportion of seats obtained by new parties in the investigated area correlated with lower trust in the European Union, lower institutional trust (index based on trust in the parliament, government and political parties), poorer evaluations of the future of the country (illustrated with the *prospective voting* variable), lower income inequalities in the society (illustrated with the Gini coefficient value), and a higher effective number of parties. No significant relationships were observed in

— ABSTRAKT —

Prezentowana analiza ma na celu zidentyfikowanie czynników wykazujących związek z odsetkiem mandatów dla nowych partii politycznych w warunkach systemów partyjnych państw Europy Środkowej i Wschodniej. W trakcie badań zaproponowano autorskie zestawienie czynników mogących współwystępować z wyższym wynikiem mandatowym nowych partii, skategoryzowanych w obrębie czterech grup (czynników politycznych, społecznych, instytucjonalnych oraz ekonomicznych). Uzyskane rezultaty potwierdziły, że wyższy odsetek mandatów zdobytych przez nowe ugrupowania na badanym obszarze współwystępował z niższym poziomem zaufania do Unii Europejskiej, niższym zaufaniem instytucjonalnym (wskaźnik stworzony na podstawie zaufania do parlamentu, rządu oraz partii politycznych), gorszymi ocenami co do przyszłości państwa (zobrazowanymi zmienną *prospective voting*), mniejszym

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the case of institutional factors (including the electoral system).

rozwarstwieniem dochodowym społeczeństwa (ukazanym wartością współczynnika Giniego) oraz wyższą efektywną liczbą partii. Brak istotnych statystycznie związków odnotowano natomiast w przypadku czynników instytucjonalnych (w tym systemu wyborczego).

Keywords: new parties; party system; party system change; Central and Eastern Europe

Słowa kluczowe: nowe partie; system partyjny; zmiany w systemie partyjnym; Europa Środkowa i Wschodnia

INTRODUCTION

Within the last decade, support for new political initiatives has been growing, which is reflected in the shape of party systems of European countries, especially in Central and Eastern Europe. Many new parties, representing diverse political potential, have entered the parliaments in this area. In most cases, those formations proved to be “political meteorites”, disappearing from the political scene as quickly as they appeared. Sometimes, however, they went all the phases of party institutionalization and became established entities on the political competition arena (e.g., TOP 09, Movement for a Better Hungary, Freedom and Solidarity, or Most–Híd), or even major political parties in the respective countries (e.g., ANO in the Czech Republic, or Citizens for European Development of Bulgaria). Apart from the fact that obtaining parliamentary seats by new parties has caused a reconfiguration in party systems of CEE countries (the loss of relevance of some parties in favor of others), it has also affected different aspects of political competition (determining the key topics of the election campaigns and the inclusion of new issues, neglected in the political sphere before).

The aim of this article is to indicate the factors of electoral success of new parties in the party systems of 11 CEE countries (Bulgaria, Croatia, the Czech Republic, Estonia, Hungary, Latvia, Lithuania, Poland, Romania, Slovakia, and Slovenia) in the years 2004–2018. The analysis involved the investigation of relationships between the proportion of seats obtained by new parties within this area and variables divided into four groups of factors: political, social, institutional, and economic.

WHAT CONSTITUTES A NEW PARTY IN CENTRAL
AND EASTERN EUROPE?

The basic problem faced by the scholars dealing with new parties (both their emergence and electoral success) is the conceptualization of the object of research. The obscurity of the conceptual framework may not only lead to methodological difficulties, but also to distorted research results. The inability to produce a clear definition may cause either rejection or confirmation of the verified hypotheses using the same data. Thus, “concept definitions have a direct impact on the quality of knowledge produced by research studies” (Buttolph Johnson, Reynolds, & Mycoff, 2015, p. 123). As Shlomit Barnea and Gideon Rahat (2010, p. 305) rightly point out, the way of defining new parties also affects diagnoses concerning many political phenomena and processes (i.a., the nature of a specific election, the consolidation of the party system and the patterns of voter-party relationships).

Taking into consideration political determinants, using the origin criterion we can identify four ways of creating new parties: *transformation*, *merger*, *split*, and *birth* (Krouwel & Lucardie, 2008, p. 279)¹. Formations created in the latter way, totally from scratch, do not have any ties to established parties and are also called genuinely new parties (Sikk, 2005)². In the case of transformation, merger or split, the parties are formed by internal emergence and they have personal or organisational ties to the established parties in the party system. Party emergence from scratch may occur in one of the three following ways:

- 1) *branching* – creating a party by an international social movement or an international political organization as its “branch” in a particular country³;

¹ A similar but more metaphoric typology of new parties with consideration of their origin is presented by Peter Mair (1999, pp. 216–217), who identifies parties created by: *marriage* (corresponding to a merger), *divorce* (identical to split), *transformation*, and *birth*.

² Researchers also refer to this group of political entities as *new parties formed ‘naturally’* (Harmel, 1985, p. 408).

³ An example of this way of party formation is so-called Pirate Parties, originating from an international socio-political movement promoting free access to cultural goods and free Internet (*Pirate Party International*). The most successful in Central and Eastern Europe is Czech Pirate Party (*Česká pirátská strana*), which obtained 10.79% votes in the 2017 parliamentary election, which gave it 22 seats in the Chamber of Deputies. Other branches of international political organizations are, e.g., Libertas, created before the European Parliament election in 2009 on the basis of a pan-European association established by Irish businessman Declan Ganley, or the European Federalist Party – Poland, formed in March 1991 as a branch of the pan-European party bearing the same name, po-

- 2) *realignment* – social movements or lobby groups transforming into political parties and putting up their candidates in elections;
- 3) *political entrepreneurship* – forming a party by an individual from out of the world of politics⁴ (Krouwel & Lucardie, 2008, p. 281).

Due to the adaptive character of political parties, which develop, renew, and sometimes even completely change the organizational formula depending on the social, political or electoral reality, there is no universally accepted definition of new parties. Some of political scientists adopt the most restrictive definition, treating entities formed as a result of transformations, splits and mergers as continuations of established parties (Sikk, 2005; Bakke & Sitter, 2005; Marmola, 2014, 2017a). For others, new parties are only the ones created from scratch and those formed as a result of split (Ignazi, 1996; Tavits, 2006; Hug, 2000, 2001). Still others, e.g., Peter Mair (1999), are against classifying in this category the formations that result from transformation of existing political entities. In some studies, the authors analyze in detail the formation of the party, regarding the entity formed through a merger as the continuation of the biggest of the merging parties (Mainwaring & Zoco, 2007).

This problem is much more serious in unstable party systems of Central and Eastern European countries. Due to short democratic tradition, there are frequent changes of party names in these countries, which implicates high volatility of political preferences. In addition, the party systems in CEE followed a specific pattern of emerging of new political parties based on the genetic criteria, different from the typical in consolidated democracies (Wojtasik, 2014, p. 110). It involved, on the one hand, the development of parties being the heirs of

stulating the creation of Europe without borders, with one currency and common political institutions.

⁴ The term *entrepreneurial parties* erroneously suggests that such formations are created and led by people from the world of business, which is not only rare in political practice but first of all distorts the original sense of this concept. The constitutive characteristic of such a party is that it is formed on the initiative of an entrepreneurial individual from out of the politics (Sobolewska-Mysłik & Kosowska-Gąstoł, 2017). Vít Hloušek and Lubomír Kopeček try to adapt the concept of *entrepreneurial parties* to the conditions of Central and Eastern European party systems. In their view: (1) the party is a private initiative of its leader, who plays a central role in it; (2) the party is treated by the founder and originator as a *personal vehicle* serving their own interests; (3) the founder has a decisive influence on the *political project* (at least in its initial phase), the party is related to an issue that is the priority for its founder and the message created by that person is important to ensure voters' and supporters' identification with the party; (4) the party is not a "product" of the promoter's/sponsor's organization or a social movement, so it has no social roots; (5) the party's origin is not connected with the parliament (Hloušek & Kopeček, 2017, pp. 87–88).

formation existing in communist system (Old Regime Parties), and on the other hand, formations descending from anti-communist opposition (New Regime Parties) (Marmola, 2017b, p. 332).

Therefore, I propose to use the following definition of new political parties with reference to CEE countries: parties which are not the successors of parties formed as a result of the first fully competitive election (which means that they do not have connections with Old and New Regime parties), have novel name and do not have in their structure any important political actors from the past. In the case of the latter condition, I assume that the lack of important political actors means the absence of presidents, prime ministers and a significant proportion of ministers or members of parliament in the party structure (not more than half of party deputies have ministerial or parliamentary experience). It is a combination of the *genuinely new parties* concept (Sikk, 2005) and the organizational criterion of novelty (Barnea & Rahat, 2010, p. 311). In presented analysis, I also depart from the normative approach to political parties in favor of the functional approach. This allows me to include in the study political entities which are not formally registered as political parties (e.g., Kukiz'15 association) but because of the functions they serve they can be analyzed using the conceptual apparatus and methods applied in research on political parties.

THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

Political success of new parties is usually defined as exceeding the threshold of parliamentary representation and receiving seats in central legislative bodies. According to Robert Harmel and John D. Robertson (1985), the creation of new parties and their success in the first election can be explained by three groups of factors: social (new cleavages or issues); political (behavior of existing parties, attitude of voters toward new party, availability of effective leadership, ideological orientation, nature of competition in party systems, positions of trade unions, salience of new issues); and structural (type of electoral system, centralization of government, freedom to organize). With regard to the latter group of factors, scholars agree that in the electoral systems with high disproportionality voters avoid to vote for smaller and new political parties (Gallagher, Laver, & Mair, 2001, p. 323). This is confirmed by empirical studies showing that a proportional system, low election thresholds and large electoral districts are favorable for new initiatives, both in consolidated (Willey, 1998) and new democracies (Tavits,

2008). The possibility that new parties will appear on the parliamentary arena is also lower in the case of budgetary financing for established parties. On the other hand, new parties' chances grow if a limit of expenditure on election campaign is introduced (Bolin, 2007).

Paul Lucardie (2000, p. 175) presents different mechanism of obtaining attributes of relevance by new parties, pointing to the following factors of their success: 1) *political project*, whose essence is highlighting new issues or previously ignored demands, regarded as significant by a large part of the electorate; 2) broadly understood *party resources* (not only finances and material goods but also the member structure, leadership, management and mass media exposure); 3) *political opportunity structure* (institutional, socio-economic and cultural conditions and ideological distance between established parties).

The chances of new parties' success can also be influenced by the social structure of the country. Ethnic, linguistic, religious or economic diversity determines the number of social divisions, which are subject to politization through the activity of political parties. Thus, heterogeneity of the society should result in higher fragmentation of the party system, in accordance with the principle that the number of existing formations should reflect all the dimensions of political conflict in the society. A positive impact of heterogeneity of the society and many social divisions on the proportion of seats obtained by new parties is confirmed by some studies carried out in Western democracies (Harmel & Robertson, 1985) as well as in CEE countries (Tavits, 2008). However, there are also analyses showing the limited importance of linguistic and religious diversity on the fates of new political parties in Central and Eastern Europe (Hug, 2001, pp. 94–95; Marmola, 2015).

In some cases, the factor that enables a new party to achieve a parliamentary success may be the very fact of “novelty” (no personal and organizational ties to the existing parties), especially in the situation of deep social dissatisfaction with the existing parties, standards of political activity and the nature of political competition (Sikk, 2012). New political formations of this kind are attributed to the category of *'antiparty' parties* or, more broadly, *'anti-establishment' parties*⁵. They are created so as to canalize social dissatisfaction and offer the voters an alternative form of political representation from the outside of the

⁵ The strategy of emphasizing the lack of ties to the existing configuration in the party system is even reflected in the names of new formations. Their originators at all cost avoid the word “party” in the names of the formations, assuming that their potential voters are totally bored with the party logic of competition and therefore feel aversion to political parties themselves.

party system (Lago & Martínez, 2011, p. 7). The increasing importance of such parties in Central and Eastern Europe is observed by Seán Hanley and Allan Sikk (2012, p. 52), who point out that voters from this region more and more often turn to new parties, which combine anti-establishment, populist rhetoric with pro-market attitude, liberal views on social issues and call for political reforms.

In this article, a slight modification of the approach presented by Harmel and Robertson (1985) was proposed. Unlike their concept, four groups of factors influencing the success of new parties were offered. The presented research approach involves the effect of *political factors* (the level of corruption, ideological distance between parliamentary formations, the effective number of parties), *social factors* (voter turnout, trust in the EU, trust in the judiciary and the legal system, institutional trust, propensity to retrospective and prospective voting, satisfaction with national democracy, satisfaction with democracy in the EU, as well as ethnic, linguistic and religious diversity), *institutional factors* (the electoral system and the state of democracy), and *economic factors* (GDP per capita, GDP growth rate, inflation rate, unemployment rate, and income inequalities) on share of parliamentary seats achieved by new political parties.

METHODS

The aim of the presented analysis is to check which of political, social, institutional and economic factors are related to the parliamentary success of new parties within the party systems of CEE countries. This aim was achieved through the analysis of correlations between the number of seats received by new parties and each of the factors. Since not all variables had the distribution close to normal, two tailed Spearman's rank correlation coefficients were calculated. Due to the difficulty with obtaining comparable empirical data for the investigated countries, the analysis was limited to elections carried out after their accession to EU structures. Thus, 45 parliamentary elections from the years 2004–2018 were involved in the research process.

The dependent variable in the analysis was the proportion of seats obtained by the new party in the specific election (the parties that were included in the analysis are listed in the Appendix). In the case of bicameral parliaments, the results concerning seats in the first chamber were taken into consideration. Explanatory variables were divided into four groups of factors: political, social,

Table 1. List of the Analyzed Elections

Country	Analyzed elections
Bulgaria	2005, 2009, 2013, 2014, 2017
Croatia	2007, 2011, 2015, 2016
Czech Republic	2006, 2010, 2013, 2017
Estonia	2007, 2011, 2015
Hungary	2006, 2010, 2014, 2018
Latvia	2006, 2010, 2011, 2014, 2018
Lithuania	2004, 2008, 2012, 2016
Poland	2007, 2011, 2015
Romania	2004, 2008, 2012, 2016
Slovakia	2006, 2010, 2012, 2016
Slovenia	2004, 2008, 2011, 2014, 2018

Source: author's own elaboration.

institutional, and economic. The way of operationalization of independent variables is presented in Table 2.

The main hypothesis formulated in the presented research assumed that the strongest relationship with the share of parliamentary seats for the new parties should have social factors. Presumably, lower trust in political institutions (both at the national and supranational level) and poor evaluation of political performance of existing parties should evoke positive effect on the success of new parties. A lesser importance for new political formations in condition of CEE countries should be economic, political and institutional factors.

Table 2. Independent Variables, Ways of Operationalization and Data Sources

	Variable	Way of operationalization	Data source
political factors	level of corruption	rank in the <i>Corruption Perceptions Index</i> prepared by the Transparency International (it was chosen due to the change in the methodology of calculating the index in 2012 and the impossibility to compare the index values for the years 2004–2011)	Transparency International
	ideological distance between established parties	polarization index developed by Russell J. Dalton (2008, p. 906)	ParlGov database
	effective number of parties	effective number of parties (parliamentary level)	Gallagher (2018)

	Variable	Way of operationalization	Data source
social factors	voter turnout	proportion of people with voting rights taking part in the election	official election results
	trust in the European Union	proportion of people declaring trust in the European Union	Eurobarometer
	institutional trust	Institutional trust index is the sum of values of three factors: trust in the national parliament, trust in the government, and trust in political parties. I decided to combine these factors, because they displayed a strong positive correlation (Spearman's $\rho > .70$; $p < .001$). The index was calculated on the basis of the last Eurobarometer survey carried out before each parliamentary election.	Eurobarometer
	retrospective voting	The index is the sum of three factors: evaluation of the current economic situation of the country, evaluation of the current situation of the household, and evaluation of the current situation on the labor market. Just like in the case of institutional trust, these factors were highly correlated.	Eurobarometer*
	prospective voting	The index was calculated in the same way as the propensity to retrospective voting. In this case, I took into consideration the last Eurobarometer survey carried out before the election, referring to voters' prognoses connected with: future evaluation of the country's economic situation, future evaluation of the household's situation, and future evaluation of the situation on the labor market. The good construction of the index is proved by the high fit of above mentioned factors (Spearman's $\rho > .85$; $p < .001$).	Eurobarometer*
	satisfaction with national democracy	proportion of people declaring satisfaction with the national democracy	Eurobarometer**
	satisfaction with EU democracy	proportion of people declaring satisfaction with democracy in the EU	Eurobarometer**
	ethnic diversity	ethnic fractionalization index	Alesina et al. (2003)
	linguistic diversity	linguistic fractionalization index	Alesina et al. (2003)
	religious diversity	religious fractionalization index	Alesina et al. (2003)

	Variable	Way of operationalization	Data source
institutional factors	electoral system	disproportionality index (Gallagher index)	Gallagher (2018)
	state of democracy	Democracy Index value (the weighted arithmetic mean of 60 indicators grouped in five different categories: electoral process and pluralism, functioning of government, political participation, political culture, and civil liberties)	The Economist Intelligence Unit
economic factors	GDP per capita	gross domestic product per capita, constant prices	World Economic Outlook (WEO)
	GDP growth rate	annual percentages of constant price gross domestic product are year-on-year changes	World Economic Outlook (WEO)
	inflation	inflation rate	World Economic Outlook (WEO)
	unemployment	unemployment rate	World Economic Outlook (WEO)
	income distribution	Gini coefficient	World Bank

* In Eurobarometer surveys the respondents can evaluate the current economic situation, current situation of their household and current situation on the labor market using a Likert scale with the following response variants: very bad, rather bad, I don't know, rather good, very good. In order to produce the index, these values were attributed weights from 1 to 5 (1 referring to very bad, and 5 to very good). Then, percentage values obtained by each response in the particular survey were referred to these weights. The index was obtained by summing up the values of indices calculated for the economic situation of the country, economic situation of the household, and situation on the labor market.

** In this case, the responses on the Likert scale were attributed the following weights: not at all satisfied (1), not very satisfied (2), I don't know (3), fairly satisfied (4), very satisfied (5).

Source: author's own elaboration.

RESULTS

The analysis showed that a higher proportion of seats obtained by new parties in CEE countries correlated with a lower level of trust in the European Union, lower institutional trust, poorer evaluations of the future of the country (illustrated by the *prospective voting* variable), lower income stratification of the society (illustrated by the Gini coefficient value) and higher effective number of

parties at the parliament level. The relationships between these variables were moderate (Spearman's rho approx. 0.3). The other variables (including all the institutional factors) did not display any statistically significant correlations with the proportion of seats obtained by new parties.

The obtained results may suggest that social factors are decisive for obtaining the attributes of relevance by new parties. It is worth noting that the social variables correlated with a higher proportion of seats for new parties are largely connected with the sphere of politics. Two of them refer to the level of trust in political institutions, both at the national level (the *institutional trust* variable, made up of the level of trust in the parliament, government and political parties) and the supranational level (trust in the European Union). The third one refers to the country's policy connected with the sphere of economy and negative prognoses related to future events in this regard. This may mean that the future of new parties is mostly determined by the evaluation of the performance of established parties and political institutions.

With regard to political factors, the only variable correlated with a higher proportion of seats obtained by new formations was the effective number of parties. This relationship shows that the emergence of a new formation usually causes the increase in the number of entities which have a real influence on the decision-making process in the parliament. This may suggest that new parties gaining relevance does not automatically mean a considerable decrease in the political position of the established parties.

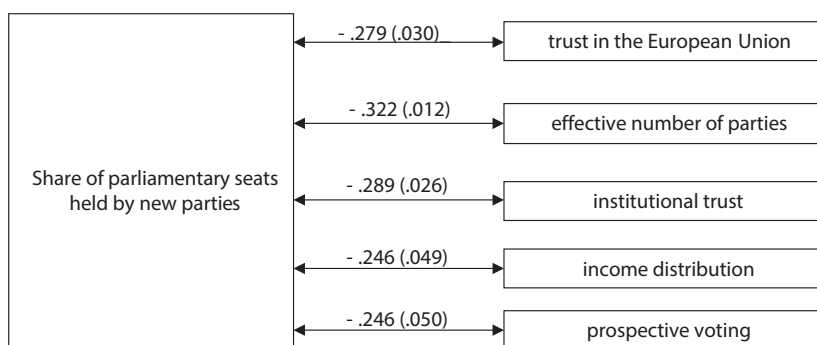


Diagram 1. Significance of Correlations between Seats Obtained by New Parties and the Independent Variables

Source: author's own elaboration based on conducted research. Only correlations significant at the level of $p \leq .05$ are presented. The level of statistical significance is presented in brackets.

The analysis also shows that in the studied period macroeconomic indices had a limited effect on the situation of new parties in CEE parliaments. Insignificant associations were diagnosed for variables based on GDP, inflation rate and unemployment rate. The only statistically significant relationship with seats obtained by new parties was the Gini coefficient, illustrating inequalities in income distribution. Interestingly, lower levels of social inequalities correlated with higher seat proportions for new political initiatives.

Finally, no significant correlations were identified between the proportion of seats for new parties and institutional factors (including the electoral system). New political parties were successful both in the case of elections with high and low disproportionality levels.

DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSIONS

The aim of the presented analysis was to identify factors correlated with the proportion of seats obtained by new party formations in 11 CEE countries. Conclusions from the study are compatible with the findings of other researchers, showing that social factors have the greatest impact on new parties' potential success (e.g., Tavits, 2008, pp. 126–128; Marmola, 2017b, pp. 341–342). Contrary to the common opinion shared by citizens, the proportion of seats in the parliament taken by new parties was not related to the level of disproportionality of the electoral system, which confirms that even restrictive legal regulations do not make it impossible for new parties to enter the parliament, and extremely proportional systems do not guarantee their automatic success (Krouwel & Lucardie, 2008).

The conducted study has a number of limitations, which should be mentioned in the context of interpretation of the obtained relationships. First of all, the correlations revealed in the article only mean the significant associations of the variables; they cannot be interpreted to imply causation. In addition, weak and moderate relationships between variables were identified in the analysis.

Spearman's rank correlation used in the analysis also requires some comment. This non-parametric method allows to evaluate the monotonic (not only linear) relationship between two variables without normal distribution. Hence, it is more resistant to the effects of outliers than Pearson correlation. On the other hand, these attributes can substantially affect the strength of identified associations between variables.

Another limitation may be connected with the selection of factors or even indices that illustrate them. The proposed social, economic, political or institutional factors presented in the article obviously do not exhaust the list of variables that could affect new parties' chances of gaining parliamentary representation. Their selection was largely determined by the existence of comparable empirical data (developed within the same methodology for all the countries), especially as regards social factors. An interesting direction of analysis would be to include other variables (mainly concerning internal party resources), which can have an effect on the parliamentary success of new parties, especially in the conditions of party systems of the whole Central and Eastern Europe. One of such factors could be the "leader effect" understood as social demand for a specific kind of party leadership. Undoubtedly, in the case of many analyzed formations, the central role in the process of creating and functioning of the party was played by the political leader⁶. However, it is hard to produce a comparable index that would allow to unquestionably quantify the impact of the leader (their popularity, psychological traits, etc.) on the chances of electoral success of a new political formation. The possibility of new parties emerging on the political scene is also influenced by representing issues not previously highlighted by established parties. But also in this case, it is very difficult to present such issues in a measurable, quantitative way, especially that they are often characteristic of a particular country or even specific for a particular election.

These limitations mean that it is worth continuing research on new parties, including some new variables in the analysis or testing the variables presented here with regard to future elections, also in other countries of the former Eastern Bloc.

⁶ The significant role of the leader in the process of new parties gaining relevance can be proved by stressing the names of party leaders in the names of new formations which obtained parliamentary seats in the last few electoral cycles. This strategy is typical, e.g., for political initiatives developed in Poland (Palikot Movement, Kukiz'15, and Modern of Ryszard Petru), the Czech Republic (Tomio Okamura's Dawn of Direct Democracy), Slovakia (Kotleba – People's Party Our Slovakia, We Are Family – Boris Kollár), or Slovenia (Zoran Jankovič's List – Positive Slovenia, Gregor Virant's Civic List, Party of Miro Cerar, List of Marjan Šarec). In many cases, the party leader was the main motivation for voting for the specific party.

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Appendix

Table 3. New Parties in Conducted Research

Country	New parties
Bulgaria	ATAKA (2005), Bulgarian People's Union (2005), Citizens for European Development of Bulgaria, GERB (2009), Order, Law and Justice (2009), Bulgaria without Censorship (2014), Alternative for Bulgarian Revival (2014), Volya (2017)
Croatia	Croatian Democratic Alliance of Slavonia and Baranja (2007), Croatian Labourists – Labour Party (2011), Bridge of Independent Lists (2015), Bandić Milan 365 – Labour and Solidarity Party (2015), Human Shield (2015), Successful Croatia (2015)
Czech Republic	TOP 09 (2010), Public Affairs (2010), Tomio Okamura's Dawn of Direct Democracy (2013), ANO 2011 (2013), Czech Pirate Party (2017)
Estonia	Estonian Greens (2007), Estonian Free Party (2015)
Hungary	Movement for a Better Hungary (2010), Politics Can Be Different (2010)
Latvia	Zatlers' Reform Party (2011), For Latvia from the Heart (2014), Latvian Association of Regions (2014), Who Owns the State? (2018), New Conservative Party (2018), Development/For! (2018)
Lithuania	Labour Party (2004), Order and Justice (2004), National Resurrection Party (2008), Liberal Movement (2008), The Way of Courage (2012)
Poland	Palikot Movement (2011), Modern (2015), Kukiz'15 (2015)
Romania	People's Party – Dan Diaconescu (2012), Save Romania Union (2016), People's Movement Party (2016)
Slovakia	Freedom and Solidarity (2010), Most–Híd (2010), Ordinary People and Independent Personalities (2012), Kotleba – People's Party Our Slovakia (2016), We Are Family – Boris Kollár (2016), Network (2016)
Slovenia	Zares – New Politics (2008), Zoran Jankovič's List – Positive Slovenia (2011), Gregor Virant's Civic List (2011), Party of Miro Cerar (2014), United Left (2014), List of Marjan Šarec (2018)

Source: author's own elaboration.