Martinas MALUZINAS Koszalin University of Technology ORCID: 0000-0002-2772-9534

# Parliamentary Elections in Latvia in the Year 2022

Abstract: The present article covers parliamentary elections in the Republic of Latvia. An analysis of the conduct and institutional conditions of the 2022 parliamentary elections in Latvia is undertaken. Unlike the previous elections in 2018, there were no radical changes in Latvia. It was only two new parties with radical, populist, conservative, Eurosceptic and anti-systemic profiles with a right-wing orientation that managed to enter the Parliament. The party system remained moderately fragmented with a balance between the parties. A centre-right coalition formed the government and it is this coalition that the future government coalition will be formed around. The present analysis is based on a case study, which made it possible to look at a particular case and to draw conclusions about the conduct and outcome of the Latvian parliamentary elections.

Key words: parliamentary elections, party system, political parties, Latvia

## Introduction

Organised in October 2022, the parliamentary elections in the Republic of Latvia Owere the hottest and most frequently commented on topic in the national politics. The security crisis triggered by the Russian military aggression in Ukraine had a direct impact on the topics covered during the election campaign as well as on the election results. This text constitutes an attempt to analyse the conduct of the elections under emergency circumstances and to provide an answer to the question of the possible impact of the security crisis in the region on the results of these elections and the possibility of fundamental changes in the current distribution of political forces.

In order to achieve the research objective, the analysis was based on a case study, and a method of system analysis was used for the purpose of the analysis. This approach made it possible to look at a particular case, to characterise the Latvian political scene, the electoral system, and to draw conclusions concerning the causes, course and results of the Latvian parliamentary elections.

The starting point of the present reflections is the hypothesis that the security crisis in the region influenced the results of the elections in Latvia while, in contrast to many European and neighbouring democratic states, the Latvian voters did not any introduce any radical changes this time.

## Who ruled? Party fragmentation as a permanent feature of Latvia's political system

In the first decade after regaining independence, three parties: the liberal centrist party (the Latvian Way) and the conservative-agrarian party (the Green Party of Latvia) and the Latvian Farmers' Union were in power. The first free and democratic parliamentary elections in the Republic of Latvia were held in 1993. Eight of the 23 registered political parties, i.e. those which exceeded the 4% electoral threshold, entered the Parliament. The victory of the centrist Latvian Way party (36 out of 100 seats) enabled the formation of a government coalition with the Union of Latvian Farmers (12 seats) headed by Prime Minister Valdis Birkavs (saeima.lv, 1995) who, after more than a year in office, was succeeded by Māris Gailis with an inclusion of the For Fatherland and Freedom party and the National Farmers' Political Association in the coalition.

The parliamentary elections for the sixth term were held in 1995. These led to an even more fragmented composition of the Parliament, which was represented by nine political groupings. This composition in the Parliament was the result of changes introduced to the electoral system and an introduction of a 5% barrier threshold (Millard, 2011). Attempts to form a right-left government coalition failed. Problems forming a coalition resulted in the election of a broad coalition government comprising six parties. The government was headed by Andris Šķēle, a non-party businessman.

In January 1997, as a result of the lack of support from the Parliament, Šķēle's Cabinet resigned. At the request of President Guntis Ulmanis, Šķēle constructed his second right-wing Cabinet, which again consisted of the same six groupings (the Leaders of Latvia). However, after almost six months in office and in the face of a growing conflict over the anti-corruption law within the coalition between, among others, Šķēle and key coalition actors, the Prime Minister was deposed. On 7 August 1997, a new Cabinet was formed by the leader of the Nationalist Party, i.e. Guntaras Krast, who continued the work of the Government with the same composition.

In the 1998 elections, the Latvian party system began to consolidate. Out of 21 party lists submitted, it was only six parties that entered the Parliament. The centre-right People's Party, newly formed by former Prime Minister Andris Šķēle, was victorious with 24 seats. However, it did not form a government due to continuing personal conflicts and scandals involving its leader with the Latvian Way party (21 seats). A minority government was formed by a centre-right coalition: the Latvian Way party, the New Party and the Fatherland and Freedom/National Conservative Party led by Prime Minister Vilisam Krištopans, with a total of 46 seats.

Initially, Šķēle's party remained outside the Government, but in July 1999, due to growing conflicts within Krištopans' Cabinet, the Government collapsed and Šķēle once again became Prime Minister. However, Šķēle's shaky government, which consisted of a centre-right bloc (the People's Party, the Latvian Way and Fatherland and Freedom) collapsed in less than a year. In 2000, a compromise candidate to become a prime minister was found in the person of local government leader Andris Bērziņš, the Mayor of Riga from Latvian Way. His centre-right coalition (consisting of the Latvian Way, the People's Party, the Freedom and Fatherland and the New Party: 70 seats in the Parliament), which ran from 5 May 2000 to 7 November 2002, was the longest-serving cabinet in Latvia.

In the 2002 elections, six parties re-entered the Parliament. Twenty-six seats were won by the conservative New Era party, which formed a centre-right cabinet together with the Farmers' Union, the Greens and the Latvian First Party. In March 2004, as a result of internal conflicts within the Government caused by a wave of criticism of Prime Minister Einars Repše for his authoritarian leadership style from the Latvian First Party, the New Era Party moved to the opposition, and the Cabinet lost its majority (Jaunais laiks, 2004). In turn, the People's Party entered the coalition. The new Cabinet, led by Conservative leader Indulis Emsis, failed to obtain a vote of confidence from the Parliament in October 2004 during work on the budget, resulting in its dismissal.

At the end of 2004, New Era returned to the coalition, thus jointly forming the centre-right conservative government of Prime Minister Aigars Kalvītis, whose cabinet was re-elected in the 2006 elections. It comprised the People's Party, the Union of Farmers and the Greens, Fatherland and Freedom, and the Latvian Way and Latvia's First Party coalition – with a total of 59 seats (CVK.lv, 2006). By the beginning of 2007, the role of New Era was weakening significantly. Strained relations with the coalition partners due to assertions that most of its coalition partners were corrupt and controlled by oligarchs led to a coalition reshuffle. As a result, a four-party centrist coalition emerged. Kalvītis' government lasted until December 2007, when the Prime Minister resigned due to rising inflation in the country and several scandals and, in particular, due to the suspension of the head of the State Anti-Corruption Agency, Alexei Loskutsov (Gazeta.pl, 2007). After long negotiations, a centre-right government aimed to "solve the economic and political crisis" was formed with the same parties, led by liberal centrist Ivaras Godmanis (BBC. co.uk, 2007). In 2008, the second Godmanis government faced an economic crisis, resulting in austerity policies and tax increases, which led to widespread public opposition and a decline in the popularity of the LPP/LC liberal ruling party (Martys, 2009). In 2009, the government was dismissed by the Parliament following the break-up of the coalition. From February to March, the Cabinet governed the state while being dismissed. It was not until 12 March 2009 that the Parliament approved the centre-right Valdis Dombrovskis Cabinet. The new coalition was joined by the New Era People's Party, the Union of Farmers and the Greens, the Civic Union and the For Fatherland and Freedom/ Latvian Independence Movement grouping.

In the 2010 parliamentary elections, the centre-right ruling coalition won 63 seats. The left-wing opposition Centre for Consent, supported by Latvia's Russian-speaking minority, won 29 seats. As a result, Dombrovskis' second government was approved by the Parliament. It was replaced in the same line-up by Dombrovskis' third government, which lasted until January 2014, after at least 54 people died following the collapse of a supermarket in Riga (BBC.com, 2013).

Until the 2014 parliamentary elections, the leader of the Latvian Unity Party, i.e. Laimdota Straujuma (Ināra, 2014), performed the duties of the Prime Minister. In 2014, the parliamentary elections were again won by the ruling centre-right coalition formed by the Latvian Unity Party, the National Union and the Greens and Farmers Union – with a total of 61 seats in the Parliament. The incumbent Prime Minister was given a vote of confidence by the Parliament, entrusting the continuation of the work to her second cabinet (Kincis, 2014). However, in December 2015, due to conflicts within the coalition, Straujuma resigned, with President Raimonds Vējonis accepting the resignation (Skaties.lv, 2016). In February 2016, a new centre-right cabinet was formed by Maris Kučinskis, with some personnel changes. The new Government was formed by the same groupings that supported Straujuma's cabinet.

The 2018 parliamentary elections saw a further fragmentation of the party system, with seven groupings gaining seats in the Parliament. The parties in the ruling coalition

suffered a defeat. In these elections, the Left failed to break the 13-year rule of the centre-right. Although the Social Democratic Consent Party won the election (23 seats), after protracted talks, President Vējonis designated Arturas Krišjānis Kariņš as the Prime Minister, who again formed a centre-right multi-party cabinet (LSM.lv, 2019). It comprised the anti-systemic liberal coalition, i.e. To Whom the State Belongs, the pro-EU grouping For Development/For!, the populist centre-right New Conservative Party and the other groupings that formed the previous government coalition: the National Association All for Latvia/Fatherland and Freedom/LNNK, the liberal New Unity (a coalition of regional parties and the Unity grouping that had been the backbone of Latvia's governing coalitions for years – with a total of 66 seats (Hyndle-Hussein, 2018, p. 1).

#### Election rules and the Latvian electoral system

The rules of parliamentary elections in Latvia have remained virtually unchanged since 1995.<sup>1</sup> In 1991, the Parliament established a four per cent and, in 1995, five per cent electoral threshold for parties entering the Parliament (thus abolishing lists that are subject to change, allowing voters to delete individual candidates from the list of candidates and enter a name from other candidate lists in their place). It was also established that only registered political parties or associations and not, as before, one hundred voters, may submit lists of candidates for elections. The electoral law also prohibits parties from putting up the same candidates in several districts, including all the five ones (Jundzis, 2019, p. 7).

The 100-member Parliament of the Republic of Latvia is elected for a four-year term, in five historic districts: Riga, Livonia, Latgale, Courland and Semigallia, and the number of seats in each district is based on the number of registered voters in each district. Each political party or coalition proposes its list of candidates to the voters, where the number of candidates included may only exceed the number of MPs elected in a given region designated by the Central Election Commission by three. Voters cast their votes for the names of specific candidates on the party lists using plus and minus signs<sup>2</sup> (Bēr-ziņa, 2019, p. 2).

The distribution of seats is proportional, and this is done in districts using the Sainte-Laguguë method. Therefore, we may describe the Latvian electoral system as proportional. It is worth mentioning that it was used in Latvia before the Soviet occupation and it was reinstated in 1991 after independence, with a few modifications, such as the lowering of the electoral age, the prohibition of candidacy by persons who collaborated with the USSR security services or were members of the Communist Party after

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Parliamentary elections in Latvia are governed by the Constitution, the Electoral Law of the Parliament, the Election Campaign Law and the Law on the Central Election Commission. Elections are also regulated by the Law on the Financing of Political Organisations, the Law on Political Parties, laws regulating administrative and criminal proceedings and the media, as well as decisions and regulations of the Central Election Commission. Latvia is a member of various international agreements that provide grounds for democratic elections.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Voters may express their preference for a candidate by adding a plus sign next to the name or reject a candidate by crossing out the name. Voters may express their preference for or reject any number of candidates on the ballot of the party which they are voting for.

13 January 1991 as well as – already mentioned – the four per cent and later five per cent electoral threshold in order to limit further fragmentation of the Parliament (Bērziņa, 2019, p. 3).

#### Voting procedures and legal framework for the 2022 elections

In 2022 – inter alia due to the COVID-19 pandemic – a number of alternative voting procedures were provided for in Latvian legislation. Any Latvian citizen could vote in any electoral district and at any polling station in Latvia and abroad. Voters with health conditions, disabilities, those over 70 years of age, as well as those caring for the disabled at home, could vote at home using a mobile ballot box.<sup>3</sup> Voters abroad could vote by correspondence at diplomatic and consular posts of the Republic of Latvia set up by the Central Election Commission at the request of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. Polling stations were set up for soldiers and national guardsmen serving in international operations. Similar polling stations were set up in prisons and on Latvian-flagged ships registered in the Republic of Latvia (OSCE, 2022).

Since the 2018 general elections, there have been several substantive changes to the electoral legal framework,<sup>4</sup> including an introduction of a central electronic voter register<sup>5</sup> as previously recommended by ODIHR and changes to the funding systems for political parties<sup>6</sup> and election campaigns.<sup>7</sup>

As post-election reports indicate, no potential attempts to discredit the electoral process or competition were identified. For this purpose, the Government established a multi-institutional working group to monitor any potential risk of foreign interference in the election campaign, including online media and social networks, which also developed

<sup>6</sup> The funding framework for political parties has fundamentally been changed since the previous general elections. The 2020 amendments to the November 2019 law on the financing of political organisations lowered the limit on individual private donations, raised annual state subsidies to parties to  $\notin$ 4.50 per vote in parliamentary elections (from  $\notin$ 0.71) and revised the eligibility requirements for subsidies (e.g. funding based on the results of local and European Parliament elections).

<sup>7</sup> The Latvian Parliament once again omitted regulations/legal requirements regarding gender representation in the composition or order of candidate lists. The electoral system does not provide for the possibility of ensuring equal representation of women on candidate lists or in party leadership positions, and there are no specific plans to support women's participation in electoral campaigns including women as candidates.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> Voters in pre-trial detention could also benefit from the procedure mentioned above.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> The new legal regulations focused on the funding frameworks for political parties, which had been extensively revised since the previous parliamentary elections, including by significantly increasing state funding for political parties, revising eligibility requirements and lowering limits on private donations. Additional legal changes transposed the new regional administrative divisions in terms of the number and organisation of territorial electoral commissions, they clarified the status of applicants for candidate lists and introduced a minor revision of constituency boundaries.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> For the first time, an online electronic voter register was used to register voters at polling stations. A smart device was used at polling stations to use the voter register to verify a person's right to vote, making it easier for voters who hold identity cards (eIDs) only to take part in the election. In the previous parliamentary elections, those voters who possessed eIDs only had to obtain a voter card from one of the territorial units of the Citizenship and Migration Office before the elections.

guidelines for political parties on measures to enhance cyber security and related capabilities (OSCE, 2022).

#### Winners and losers in the 2022 parliamentary elections

The fourteenth parliamentary elections were held on 1 October 2022. Nineteen parties competed for seats in the Parliament – three more than during the 2018 parliamentary elections. Representatives of five centre-right and three centre-left parties will sit in the Parliament.

According to the data from the Central Election Commission, the centre-right New Unity, led so far by Prime Minister Arturs Krišjānis Kariņš, won the elections. The party was supported by 18.97% of voters. According to the results published by the Central Election Commission, there will be seven groupings in the Parliament.

The second place went to the oligarchic Greens and Farmers Union, with 12.44% support, and the third place – with 11.01% support – to the United List, which is a coalition of several regional parties that had left the ranks of the Union of Greens and Farmers. The fourth place (9.29%) was won by a party featuring nationalists from the National Unity All for Latvia! One of the three groupings of the Russian-speaking electorate running this year: For Stability, also made it into the Parliament. Contrary to polls indicating that it would not cross the five per cent electoral threshold, it received as much as 6.8 per cent of the votes. Among the smaller parties that will enter the Parliament, are the populist Latvia First Place party of oligarch Ainārs Šlesers and the left-liberal Progressive party with 6.16% support.

None of the groups representing the country's ethnic Russian minority, which accounts for more than 25% of Latvia's 1.9 million population, managed to enter the Parliament. The Harmony party, which has ties with the Kremlin, gained 4.8 per cent support compared to the 2018 elections, when it won 20 per cent support.

Table 1

Party	Votes	%	Seats
1	2	3	4
New Unity (JV)	173,425	18.97	26
Union of Greens and Farmers (ZZS)	113,676	12.44	16
United List (AS)	100,631	11.01	15
National Alliance (NA)	84,939	9.29	13
For Stability! (S!)	62,168	6.80	11
The Progressives (PRO)	56,327	6.16	10
Latvia First (LPV)	57,033	6.24	9
Development/For! (AP!)	45,452	4.97	0
Harmony (S)	43,943	4.81	0
For Each and Every One (KuK)	33,578	3.67	0
Latvian Russian Union (LKS)	33,203	3.63	0
Sovereign Power (SV)	29,603	3.24	0
The Conservatives (K)	28,270	3.09	0
Republic (R)	16,088	1.76	0

**Results of the 2022 elections to the Parliament of the Republic of Latvia** 

1	2	3	4
Force of People's Power (TVS)	10,350	1.13	0
People's Servants for Latvia (TKL)	9,176	1.00	0
Union for Latvia (AL)	2,985	0.33	0
United for Latvia (VL)	1,413	0.15	0
Progressive Christian Party (KPP)	1,379	0.15	0
Blank votes	10,383	1.14	-
Total	914,022	100.00	-

Source: CVK, 2022.

## Electoral campaigning: political advertising, funding

The election campaign commenced on 4 June 2022. It was only political parties and associations of legally registered political parties with no less than 500 members that could register for the elections.<sup>8</sup> A deposit of  $\notin$ 1,400 had to be paid to the Central Election Commission before submitting candidate lists (Pre-Election Campaign Act of 2013).

Those political parties were allowed to receive financial support from the state budget which more than 2% of the electorate voted for in the last parliamentary elections. Any financing (donations) for the election campaign that exceeded one minimum monthly salary could only be transferred from bank accounts to the relevant political organisation registered for the 2022 Parliament campaign (Shaboha, Inta, 2012).<sup>9</sup>

According to the Pre-election Campaign Act, political parties could benefit from free airtime in the public media.<sup>10</sup> The law also stipulated that, during the campaign, each parliamentary candidate was entitled to participate at least once in radio broadcasts and television programmes as part of the public mission (Pre-Election Campaign Law of 2013).

Any political advertisement had to clearly and unambiguously indicate that it was a political advertisement and which activist had paid for this campaign (Nodaļa 16. likuma redakcijā, kas stājas spēkā, 2016). In addition, any political advertising during the campaign period had to comply with the constitution and the law. According to the Law on Pre-Election Campaigns, the dissemination of political advertising, both covert and free, was prohibited. The Law on the Financing of Political Organisations places restrictions on the amount of election expenditure<sup>11</sup> (Politisko organizāciju (partiju) finansēšanas likums 1995).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>8</sup> The electoral law does not provide for any possibility for candidates to self-nominate or for lists of candidates to be proposed upon an initiative of voters.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>9</sup> Such political parties received funding from the state budget during the calendar year: 1) of  $\notin$ 4.50 for each vote obtained in the last parliamentary elections; 2) of  $\notin$ 0.50 for each vote obtained in the last municipal council elections; 3) of  $\notin$ 0.50 for each vote obtained in the last European Parliament elections; 4) of  $\notin$ 100,000 which more than 5% of voters voted for in the last parliamentary elections.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>10</sup> Under the 2013 Election Campaign Act, parliamentary candidates are entitled to free airtime on prime-time television and radio programmes four times five minutes each between the 25th day and the day preceding the election day and twice five minutes each between the seventh day and the penultimate day before the election day.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>11</sup> According to the 1995 Law on the Financing of Political Organisations, election related expenses are calculated on the basis of the previous year's average gross monthly labour remuneration as published by the Central Statistical Office, which is approximated in euros; a factor of 0.0004 for the

Political campaigns could be financed from party funds, money from party members, donations from private individuals,<sup>12</sup> income received from the party's business activities and from the state budget. However, funding from legal entities, as well as from anonymous and foreign sources was restricted. Political parties are also prohibited from taking out bank loans. A person not affiliated with a political party, a natural person, a legal person or a registered association of such persons that is conducting an election campaign on their own behalf could donate an amount equal up to 15 minimum monthly salaries, not exceeding  $\notin$ 7,500 (the Corruption Prevention and Combating Bureau 2021).

The candidates were free to campaign, and they were guaranteed their freedoms of speech and association. The fragmented political scene, especially among parties that described themselves as liberal-centric, led to a highly competitive and diverse campaign, where all the main candidates competed against each other for the same voters.

The campaign for the parliamentary elections was dynamic, with candidates reaching out to voters in a variety of ways, using both traditional communication methods (e.g. local meetings with voters, outdoor advertising including large format advertising, concerts, distribution of leaflets in public places, canvassing i.e. "door-to-door") and alternative communication channels (including widespread access to the internet and the importance of social media platforms, especially Facebook and, on a smaller scale, Twitter, as well as podcasts). In terms of public relations, further progress was made in the election campaign. Political parties and individual candidates made more effective use of such tools as: Facebook, Instagram or TikTok to create and maintain blogs on their own servers or podcasts and soundbites, the so-called short media statements, as well as media events, i.e. organising campaign events.

The main issues of the campaign<sup>13</sup> focused primarily on the issue of state security, in the light of the Russian aggression against Ukraine, as well as combating inflation and internal political conflicts that affect the political participation of the ethnic-Russian minority.<sup>14</sup>

## **Electoral indicators**

Between the two last general elections in 2018 and 2022, the voter turnout increased from 54.6% to 59.43%. An analysis of the number of effective electoral parties, ac-

Parliament (in the case of dismissal, the factor is 0.0003); and the number of voters in the previous Parliamentary elections (Law on the Financing of Political Organisations (Parties) 1995). According to the law, each of the 19 lists of parliamentary candidates put forward for elections could spend a maximum of  $\notin$ 708,000 on campaign costs.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>12</sup> Donations from private individuals to a party per year may not exceed €21,500.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>13</sup> As the post-election reports indicate, most political parties did not address either outreach strategies or political issues concerning the political or socio-economic empowerment of national minorities, women, persons with disabilities or other underrepresented groups when describing their projected electoral platforms.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>14</sup> The impetus for increased political polarisation in the country was linked to the participation of ethnic and linguistic minorities, including a significant Russian-speaking population, associated with a draft act to ban the use of non-state languages by state-funded political parties in election campaigns, as well as a ban on the teaching of Russian in public schools, the demolition of Soviet-era monuments and temporary restrictions on gatherings near these monuments.

cording to the Laakso and Taagepery formula (Laakso, Taagepery, 1979), demonstrates that the number of effective parliamentary parties increased significantly from 7.6 to 9.8, while the number of effective parliamentary parties decreased slightly from 6.4 to 6.1. The share of invalid votes decreased from 0.7% to 0.3%. Electoral volatility decreased/increased from 32.8 to (Casal Bértoa, 2022).

Latvia's party system undoubtedly belongs to a multiparty system. Taking into account the criteria proposed by Sartori (Sartori, 1976), one may speak of its fragmentation, which corresponds to the category of moderate pluralism with centripetal competition.

## Conclusions

The 2022 parliamentary elections did not result in any change of the government, which is significant, as no government has yet been re-elected since 1990. The parliamentary elections will not bring about any significant changes in Latvian politics.

During the negotiations, a centre-right government will emerge with New Unity as its main force. It remains an open question who will enter the future government coalition to ensure a parliamentary majority for Kariņš's party. Approved coalition partners for this party include the United List, the National Alliance and the left-wing Progressives. Taking into account the number of seats obtained by these parties, it may be inferred that the optimal option would be an alliance of the centre-right, the Nationalists and the United List. This coalition structure would provide them with more than a half (54) of the seats in the Parliament. It would also guarantee a continuation of the foreign policy and of the security policy.

The Prime Minister candidate proposed by President Egils Levits is likely to be incumbent Karinš. In his pre-election statements, the President indicated that the Republic of Latvia now needs a government that is pragmatic and capable of leading the country through the impending crisis. The existing Kariņš's cabinet, despite its stumbles and mistakes, managed to lead Latvia through the pandemic and the border crisis with Belarus. The ruling coalition is also supporting Kiev in the ongoing war in Ukraine. The name of current foreign minister Edgars Rinkēvičs is also appearing in the speculations about candidates for the head of the Cabinet. What is a significant development is the defeat of the grouping traditionally representing Latvia's Russian-speaking population. Social-Democratic Consent, which for more than a decade has systematically been winning parliamentary elections (yet, due to its isolation on the political scene, it did not hold power), did not cross the electoral threshold this year. The party's defeat is due to the electorate's frustration with its inability to implement its programme and its critical stance towards Russia in the context of the war in Ukraine. In south-eastern Latvia (Latgale), where Russian-speaking citizens predominate, the only populist grouping: For Stability, won this year. Until now, this region has been an electoral bastion of Consent. This means that some of the votes from this electorate are now migrating to a wider political spectrum.

The election campaign in Latvia was dominated by the issue of security in the circumstances of the Russian aggression against Ukraine. The outcome of the elections means that Latvia will continue to be among those demanding stronger action from the EU against the Kremlin. The elections further deepen the division between Latvians and the Russian-speaking minority living in the country.

#### **Bibliography**

- BBC.com (2013), Latvian government falls over Riga supermarket disaster, https://www.bbc.com/ news/world-europe-25120936.
- BBC.co.uk (2007), Latvian MPs elect a new government, http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/europe/7154351. stm.
- Bērziņa I. (2019), Latvia, in: Thirty Years of Political Campaigning in Central and Eastern Europe. Political Campaigning and Communication, eds. O. Eibl, M. Gregor, Palgrave Macmillan, Cham, https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-030-27693-5\_4.
- Casal Bértoa F. (2022), *Database on WHO GOVERNS in Europe and beyond*, PSGo, https://whogoverns.eu/party-systems/electoral-volatility/.
- CVK (2022), 14. SAEIMAS VELESANU REZULTATI, Riga, https://sv2022.cvk.lv/pub/velesanu-rezultati.
- CVK (2018), 13. SAEIMAS VELESANU REZULTATI, Riga, https://www.cvk.lv/upload\_file/2018/ 13%20Saeimas%20velesanu%20rezultati%20A4%20\_ML.pdf.
- CVK.lv (2006), 9 Saeimas vēlēšanas, https://web.archive.org/web/20100802165711/http://www.cvk. lv/cgi-bin/wdbcgiw/base/saeima9.GalRezS9.vis.
- Gazeta.pl (2007), *Premier Lotwy ogłosił dymisję rządu*, https://web.archive.org/web/20071206100518/ http://wiadomosci.gazeta.pl/Wiadomosci/1,80277,4734690.html.
- Hyndle-Hussein J. (2018), *Wybory parlamentarne na Łotwie: fragmentacja sceny politycznej*, Centre for Eastern Studies, https://www.osw.waw.pl/pl/publikacje/analizy/2018-10-10/wybory-parlamentarne-na-lotwie-fragmentacja-sceny-politycznej.
- Ināra E. (2014), *Straujuma izveido ministru komandu, uz kuru paļaujas*, Diena.lv, https://www.diena.lv/ sodien-laikraksta/straujuma-izveido-ministru-komandu-uz-kuru-palaujas-14040743.
- Jaunais laiks (2004), *Einara Repšes vadītās valdības paveiktai*, https://web.archive.org/web/20060111213730/http://www.jaunaislaiks.lv/page.php?id=1553.
- Jundzis T. (2012), Vēlēšanu sistēma Latvijā un Taivānā: salīdzinošā analī, "Latvijas Zinatnu Akademijas", no. 4, http://archive.lza.lv/LZA\_VestisA/66\_4/1\_%20Talavs%20Jundzis%20VELESA-NAS%20SISTEMA.pdf.
- Kincis J. (2014), Apstiprina jauno valdību Laimdotas Straujumas vadībā, Diena.lv, https://web.archive. org/web/20141108011105/http://www.diena.lv/latvija/politika/apstiprina-jauno-valdibu-laimdotas-straujumas-vadiba-14076109.
- Laakso M., Taagepera R. (1979), *Effective Number of Parties: A Measure with Application to West Europe*, "Comparative Political Studies" 12(1), pp. 3–27, DOI: 10.1177/001041407901200101.
- Leaders of Latvia, http://www.zarate.eu/latvia.htm.
- LSM.lv (2019), Vējonis nominē Kariņu premjerministra amata, https://www.lsm.lv/raksts/zinas/latvija/vejonis-nomine-karinu-premjerministra-amatam.a305260/.
- Martys Sz. (2009), Kryzys nad Baltykiem, https://psz.pl/127-unia-europejska/szymon-martys-kryzys-nad-baltykiem.
- Millard F. (2011), Zmiana systemu wyborczego na Łotwie i wybory 2010, "Studia komunistyczne i postkomunistyczne", 44(4), pp. 309–318, https://doi.org/10.1016/j.postcomstud.2011.10.002.
- Nodaļa 16.06.2016. likuma redakcijā, kas stājas spēkā 15.07.2016.
- Politisko organizāciju (partiju) finansēšanas likums 1995 (1995), opublikowano: Latvijas Vēstnesis, 114, 02.08.1995; Reporter Saeimy i Gabinetu Ministrów Republiki Łotewskiej.

- OSCE (2020), Latvia, Parliamentary Elections, 1 October 2022: Needs Assessment Mission Report, Warsaw, https://www.osce.org/files/f/documents/3/7/523473.pdf.
- Ustawa o kampanii wyborczej (2013), Akty prawne Republiki Łotewskiej, https://likumi.lv/ta/en/en/ id/253543, 20 czerwca 2019.

Saeima.lv (1995), 6. Saeimas deputātu saraksts – Valdis Birkavs.

- Sartori G. (1976), Parties and Party Systems: A Framework for Analysis, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge.
- Skaties.lv (2016), *Straujuma izsaka pateicību visiem par sadarbību un svin vārda dienu*, https://zinas. tv3.lv/latvija/politika/straujuma-izsaka-pateicibu-visiem-par-sadarbibu-un-svin-varda-dienu/.

Szaboha Inta (2012), Partiju finansēšana no valsts budžeta līdzekļiem, "Latvijas Vēstnesi".

The Corruption Prevention and Combating Bureau (2021), https://www.knab.gov.lv/lv/agitacijaslimiti.

#### Wybory parlamentarne na Łotwie w 2022 roku

#### Streszczenie

Przedmiotem niniejszego artykułu są wybory parlamentarne w Republice Łotewskiej. Podjęto się analizy przebiegu i uwarunkowań instytucjonalnych wyborów parlamentarnych na Łotwie w 2022 r. W odróżnieniu do poprzednich wyborów w 2018 r. na Łotwie nie doszło do radykalnych zmian. Tylko dwóm nowym partiom o profilu radykalnym, populistycznym, konserwatywnym, eurosceptycznym i antysystemowym o identyfikacji prawicowej udało się wejść do parlamentu. System partyjny pozostał umiarkowanie rozdrobniony z równowagą pomiędzy partiami. Rząd utworzyła centroprawicowa koalicja i to wokół niej zostanie stworzona przyszła koalicja rządowa. Niniejszą analizę oparto na case study, co umożliwiło przyjrzeć się konkretnemu przypadkowi i wyciągnąć wnioski co do przebiegu i wyników wyborów parlamentarnych na Łotwie.

Slowa kluczowe: wybory parlamentarne, system partyjny, partie polityczne, Łotwa