

Country: Slovakia

Years: 1993-1997

Head of government: Vladimir Meciar

Ideology: center

Description: HoG does not identify ideology. CHISOLS identifies party as HZDS (People's Party—Movement for a Democratic Slovakia/L'udova strana—Hnutie za demokraticke Slovensko). DPI identifies HZDS's ideology as leftist. Political Handbook of the World (2015: 1308) elaborates, writing that "SNS joined *Smer* and the L'S-HZDS in Fico's center-left governing coalition". Armingeon et al. (2019), however, identify HZDS as rightist. Political Handbook writes that "By then, however, a contest between Czech Finance Minister Václav KLAUS and former Slovak prime minister Vladimír MEČIAR had emerged as the major determinant of federal politics, Klaus favoring a right-of-center liberal economic policy with rapid privatization and Mečiar preferring a slower transition to capitalism". Perspective Monde (2019) identifies Meciar's ideology as centrist. Rohrschneider and Whitefield (2009) identify HZDS's oppose-support market score as 3.5 and its support-oppose welfare score as approximately 3 on scales from 1-7. Döring and Manow (2019) identify HZDS's party family as conservative. Kirschbaum (2014: 222) writes that "HZDS's program has stressed the development of a stable parliamentary system economic policies that encourage foreign investment, and Slovakia's entry into the North Atlantic Treaty Organization and the European Union. It also favored the need to maintain social services and a safety net during the transformation of the economy from a command to a market system". Rulers (2019) writes that Meciar "reemerged as a prominent member of Public Against Violence, an anti-Communist opposition group" and that "he pledged to stand up to Prague and its fast-paced program of free-market reforms." Furthermore, Rulers (2019) adds that when Vaclav "Klaus made clear that Slovakia had to choose between partnership in the rapid free-market reform movement or complete independence," "bound by his campaign pledge, Meciar chose the latter". Fitzmaurice (1999: 292) writes that "the position of the SDL was crucial. It could be the king-maker. Would it, as in 1994, side with the centre-right, in a broad anti-Meciar coalition?" Jeffries (2002: 352) writes that "Meciar's campaign platform, however, was entirely predictable, stressing nationalism and promising a slower transition and improved economic conditions (such as more jobs, lower prices and increased pensions). Meciar spoke against the current voucher privatization programme, alleging that control of state assets would go to 'anonymous persons' and that foreign capital might 'buy out' the country. Instead he favoured existing management and workers and giving Slovaks first refusal on sales. (He also wished to prevent the privatization of utilities and

the defense sector”. In V-Party (2020), 5 experts identify head of government party’s ideology as “Center” (0.028) in 1994. Funke et. al (2020) code Meciar as “right-wing populist,” although profile states, “Indeed, economic grievances, poverty, and redistribution play no dominant role in his discourse.” In V-Party (2020), 4 experts identify executive party’s cohesion as “Some visible disagreement” in 1994. Ortiz de Zarate (2018) writes, “Ideologically, [Meciar] claimed to be in the center and his moderate concept of the transition to a market economy excluded shock mechanisms, unlike the conservative elites who held power in the Czech Republic” [“Ideológicamente, decía situarse en el centro y su concepto moderado de la transición a la economía de mercado excluía los mecanismos de choque, a diferencia de las elites conservadoras que ostentaban el poder en la República Checa.”]

Years: 1998-2005

Head of government: Mikuláš Dzurinda

Ideology: right

Description: HoG does not identify ideology. CHISOLS identifies party as SDK (Slovak Democratic Coalition/Slovenska demokraticka koalicia) until 1999, and SDKU (Slovak Democratic and Christian Union—Democratic Party/Slovenska demokraticka a krest’anska unia—Demokraticka strana) starting in 2000. Armingeon et al. (2019) identify SDK as rightist and SDKU as centrist. The Slovak Spectator (2010) identifies Dzurinda’s closer affiliation with SDKU: “The party emerged as a project of Mikuláš Dzurinda, and it’s actually a result of some movements on the centre-right side of the political spectrum which were characterised by Mikuláš Dzurinda in the times of the SDK,” Mesežnikov told The Slovak Spectator, adding that Dzurinda was indeed a leader of the integration of some centre-right parties in the past and SDKU was built in line with his ideas, he played a leading role in choosing its personnel, and it was he who managed to build a strong position for the party.” Perspective Monde (2019) identifies Dzurinda’s ideology as rightist. Rohrschneider and Whitefield (2009) identify SKDU’s oppose-support market score as 6.5 and its support-oppose welfare score as approximately 6.5 on scales from 1-7. Döring and Manow (2019) identify both SDK’s and SDKU’s party family as social democracy. Kirschbaum (2014: 291) identifies SDKU as rightist, writing that “the main reason for the creation of the SDKU was to strengthen the center-right of the divided Slovak political spectrum through a process of integrating smaller political parties into a larger one and thus repeating the success of SDK”. Deegan-Krause & Haughton (2012: 223) identify Dzurinda as rightist, writing that “Meciar’s ousting after the 1998 elections permitted new kinds of competition, the growing neo-liberal emphasis under Prime Minister Mikuláš Dzurinda’s governments between 1998 and 2006 coupled with the emergence of a

left-leaning rival, Robert Fico's Direction". Jeffries (2002: 358), identifying the parties in the 1998 general election, writes: "Slovak Democratic Coalition. 26.33%; 42. Led by Mikulas Dzurinda. Centre-right." In V-Party (2020), 5 experts identify head of government party's ideology as "Right" (1.815) in 2002.

Years: 2006-2009

Head of government: Robert Fico

Ideology: left

Description: HoG does not identify ideology. CHISOLS identifies party as SMER, or (Direction—Social Democracy/Smer-socialna demokracia). DPI identifies Direction's ideology as leftist. Political Handbook of the World (2015: 1308) elaborates, writing that "SNS joined *Smer* and the L'S-HZDS in Fico's center-left governing coalition". Armingeon et al. (2019) confirms SMER's ideology to be leftist. Political Handbook of the World (2015: 1306) identifies Fico's ideology as leftist, writing that "Robert Fico, previously an SDL' deputy chair, organized *Smer* as a center-left, third-way party supporting EU accession". Perspective Monde (2019) identifies Fico's ideology as leftist. In the Global Party Survey 2019, 12 experts identify the average left-right (0-10) score of the Direction of Social Democracy (SMER) as 3.2. Rohrschneider and Whitefield (2009) identify Smer's oppose-support market score as approximately 3.5 and its support-oppose welfare score as approximately 3.5 on scales from 1-7. Döring and Manow (2019) identify Smer's party family as social democracy. Deegan-Krause & Haughton (2012: 223) identify Fico as leftist, writing that "Meciar's ousting after the 1998 elections permitted new kinds of competition, the growing neo-liberal emphasis under Prime Minister Mikuláš Dzurinda's governments between 1998 and 2006 coupled with the emergence of a left-leaning rival, Robert Fico's Direction". In V-Party (2020), 5 experts identify head of government party's ideology as "Center-left" (-1.019) in 2006.

Years: 2010-2011

Head of government: Iveta Radicova

Ideology: right

Description: HoG does not identify ideology. CHISOLS does not identify head of government. Political Handbook of the World (2015: 1304) identifies Radicova's party as SDKU-DS (Slovak Democratic and Christian Union—Democratic Party/Slovenska demokraticka a krest'anska unia—Demokraticka strana) . Wolchik (2017) identifies SDKU-DS as rightist: "Iveta Radičová became Slovakia's first female prime minister in 2010 and held that post until her government fell in 2011. A longtime civic activist and academic, Radičová became a minister based on her expert credentials in 2002. In 2006 she entered partisan politics when she was elected

to parliament as an independent on a party list and later became a member of the center-right SDKU-DS party.” Political Handbook of the World (2015: 1308) identifies Radicova’s ideology as rightist, writing that “Although, the SDKÚ-DS placed second in legislative balloting in June 2010, Radičová formed a center-right coalition government”. Armingeon et al. (2019) identify SDKU-DS as centrist. Rohrschneider and Whitefield (2009) identify SKDU’s oppose-support market score as 6.5 and its support-oppose welfare score as approximately 6.5 on scales from 1-7. Döring and Manow (2019) identify SDKU-DS’s party family as christian democracy. Iowa State University (2015) identifies SDKU-DS as rightist, writing that “Radicová was elected as a member of the Parliament of Slovakia on the party list of Dzurinda's liberal-conservative Slovak Democratic and Christian Union-Democratic Party (SDKU-DS) in the 2006 parliamentary election”. Reuters (2010) confirms that Radicova is the leader of a rightist party, writing that “Leader Iveta Radicova of the strongest opposition party, the center-right SDKU, told Reuters Saturday her party would also not cut a deal with Fico.”. In V-Party (2020), 5 experts identify head of government party’s ideology as “Center-right” (1.384) in 2010.

Years: 2012-2017

Head of government: Robert Fico

Ideology: left

Description: HoG does not identify ideology. CHISOLS does not identify head of government. Political Handbook of the World (2015: 1301) identifies Fico’s party as Direction-Social Democracy (Smer-SD) (Direction—Social Democracy/Smer-socialna demokracia). DPI identifies Smer-SD’s ideology as leftist. Political Handbook of the World (2015: 1308) elaborates, writing that “SNS joined *Smer* and the L’S-HZDS in Fico's center-left governing coalition”. Armingeon et al. (2019) confirm Smer-SD as leftist. Cunningham of Politico (2016) confirms Direction-Social Democracy as leftist: “Although Slovak Prime Minister Robert Fico's center-left Direction-Social Democracy (Smer-SD) party technically won with 28.3 percent, according to results posted after 99 percent of the votes were counted, a severely divided electorate sent eight very different parties to parliament, including two far-right ones.” Perspective Monde (2019) identifies Fico’s ideology as leftist. In the Global Party Survey 2019, 12 experts identify the average left-right (0-10) score of the Direction of Social Democracy (SMER) as 3.2. Rohrschneider and Whitefield (2009) identify Smer’s oppose-support market score as approximately 3.5 and its support-oppose welfare score as approximately 3.5 on scales from 1-7. Döring and Manow (2019) identify Smer-SD’s party family as social democracy. In V-Party (2020), 5 experts identify head of government party’s ideology as “Center-left” (-1.223) in 2012 and “Center-left” (-1.223) in 2016. DPI identifies Smer-SD as leftist.

Years: 2018-2019

Head of government: Peter Pellegrini

Ideology: left

Description: HoG does not identify ideology. CHISOLS does not identify head of government. Political Handbook of the World (2019: 1420) identifies Pellegrini's party as Direction-Social Democracy (Smer-SD), writing "Prime Minister: Peter Pellegrini (Direction-Social Democracy)." DPI identifies Smer-SD's ideology as leftist. Political Handbook of the World (2015: 1308) elaborates, writing that "SNS joined *Smer* and the L'S-HZDS in Fico's center-left governing coalition". Armingeon et al. (2019) confirm Smer-SD as leftist. Cunningham of Politico (2016) confirms Direction-Social Democracy as leftist: "Although Slovak Prime Minister Robert Fico's center-left Direction-Social Democracy (Smer-SD) party technically won with 28.3 percent, according to results posted after 99 percent of the votes were counted, a severely divided electorate sent eight very different parties to parliament, including two far-right ones." Perspective Monde (2019) identifies Pellegrini's ideology as leftist. In the Global Party Survey 2019, 12 experts identify the average left-right (0-10) score of the Direction of Social Democracy (SMER) as 3.2. Rohrschneider and Whitefield (2009) identify Smer's oppose-support market score as approximately 3.5 and its support-oppose welfare score as approximately 3.5 on scales from 1-7. Döring and Manow (2019) identify Smer-SD's party family as social democracy. In V-Party (2020), 5 experts identify head of government party's ideology as "Center-left" (-1.223) in 2016. DPI identifies Smer-SD as leftist.

Years: 2020

Head of government: Igor Matovic

Ideology: right

Description: Varieties of Democracy identifies party affiliation as "Ordinary People". World Statesmen identifies executive's party affiliation as OLANO, "Obycajni Ludia a Nezavisle Osobnosti (Ordinary People and Independent Personalities, conservative, Christian-democratic, populist, pro-EU, est. 28 Oct 2011). In V-Party (2020), 5 experts identify head of government party's ideology as "Center-right" (0.951) in 2016. Perspective Monde (2021) codes Matovic and his party as "far right." DPI has no information on Ordinary People (OLANO).

Notes:

HZDS was renamed the L'S-HZDS or *L'udová Strana–Hnutie za Demokratické Slovensko*. SDKU and SKDU are the same party. SDKU renamed itself as SDKU-DS in 2006.

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