

Country: Canada

Years: 1945 - 1947

Head of government: Prime Minister William Lyon Mackenzie King

Ideology: center

Description: HoG identifies ideology as center. CHISOLS identifies party as the Liberal Party (*LP*). Armingeon et al. (2019) identifies the Liberal Party's ideology as centrist. While DPI identifies the LPC's ideology as leftist, Political Handbook of the World (2015) writes "Liberal Party of Canada. Historically dedicated to free trade and gradual social reform... Recently, it has promoted federal-provincial cooperation and an international outlook favoring an effective UN, cooperation with the United States and Western Europe, and a substantial foreign economic aid program." Döring and Manow (2019) identify the Liberal Party of Canada as "Liberal". In the Global Party Survey 2019, 18 experts identify the average left-right (0-10) score of Liberal Party (LP) as 3.6. In V-Party (2020) 3 experts identify head of government party's ideology as "Center" (-.315) in 1972. Gough (2011) writes "From 1921 to 1947, the reins of power were wielded by Liberal Party tactical master William Lyon Mackenzie King... He was succeeded by... Louis St. Laurent. Throughout these years, the Liberals worked the center... they always held the middle ground... Under various Liberal prime ministers, notably Lester Pearson, Canada developed into a social welfare state. Socialism did not come easy to the Liberals, and they would not have been able to introduce aspects of welfare, health unemployment, and pensions legislation had the body politic not demanded these."

Years: 1948 - 1956

Head of government: Prime Minister Louis Saint Laurent

Ideology: center

Description: HoG identifies ideology as center. CHISOLS identifies party as the Liberal Party (*LP*). Armingeon et al. (2019) identifies the Liberal Party's ideology as centrist. While DPI identifies the LPC's ideology as leftist, Political Handbook of the World (2015) writes "Liberal Party of Canada. Historically dedicated to free trade and gradual social reform... Recently, it has promoted federal-provincial cooperation and an international outlook favoring an effective UN, cooperation with the United States and Western Europe, and a substantial foreign economic aid program." Döring and Manow (2019) identify the Liberal Party of Canada as as "Liberal". In the Global Party Survey 2019, 18 experts identify the average left-right (0-10) score of Liberal Party (LP) as 3.6. In V-Party (2020) 3 experts identify head of government party's ideology as "Center" (-.315) in 1972. Gough (2011) writes "From 1921 to 1947, the reins of power were wielded by Liberal Party

tactical master William Lyon Mackenzie King... He was succeeded by... Louis St. Laurent. Throughout these years, the Liberals worked the center... they always held the middle ground... Under various Liberal prime ministers, notably Lester Pearson, Canada developed into a social welfare state. Socialism did not come easy to the Liberals, and they would not have been able to introduce aspects of welfare, health unemployment, and pensions legislation had the body politic not demanded these.”

Years: 1957 - 1962

Head of government: Prime Minister John George Diefenbaker

Ideology: center

Description: HoG identifies ideology as center. CHISOLS identifies party as the Progressive Conservative Party (*PCP*). Armingeon et al. (2019) identifies the Progressive Conservative Party’s ideology as centrist. DPI identifies the PCP’s ideology as rightist. In V-Party (2020) 3 experts identify head of government party’s ideology as “Center-right” (.582) in 1972. In V-Party (2020), 3 experts identify “some visible disagreement” in PCP in 1972. Political Handbook of the World (2015) identifies the PCP’s ideology as rightist, writing “The CPC [modern Conservative Party of Canada] represented an attempt to “unite the Right” around a Conservative platform that advocated... personal tax reduction, retirement savings accounts... Other less traditionally Conservative policy positions included support for a massive infusion of funds into the national health care system,” “[CPC] Party tenets include lowering and simplifying taxes; paying down the national debt; making balanced federal budgets mandatory; increasing defense spending; downsizing government; furthering free and open trade; eliminating public funding of multiculturalism,” and “The PCP... placed greater emphasis [than the CPC] on Canada’s British and Commonwealth attachments while actively promoting programs of social welfare and assistance to farmers.” Döring and Manow (2019) identify the PCP and CPC as “Conservative”. Gough (2011) identifies the PCP’s ideology as rightist, writing “Progressive Conservative Party. This right of center and populist party... The reformulation of the party in the early years of the 21<sup>st</sup> century resulted in the new name Conservative Party of Canada.”

Years: 1963 - 1967

Head of government: Prime Minister Lester Bowles Pearson

Ideology: center

Description: HoG identifies ideology as center. CHISOLS identifies party as the Liberal Party (*LP*). Armingeon et al. (2019) identifies the Liberal Party’s ideology as centrist. In V-Party (2020) 3 experts identify head of government party’s ideology as “Center” (-.315) in 1972. While DPI identifies the LPC’s ideology as

leftist, Political Handbook of the World (2015) writes “Liberal Party of Canada. Historically dedicated to free trade and gradual social reform... Recently, it has promoted federal-provincial cooperation and an international outlook favoring an effective UN, cooperation with the United States and Western Europe, and a substantial foreign economic aid program.” Döring and Manow (2019) identify the Liberal Party of Canada as “Liberal”. In the Global Party Survey 2019, 18 experts identify the average left-right (0-10) score of Liberal Party (LP) as 3.6. Gough (2011) writes “From 1921 to 1947, the reins of power were wielded by Liberal Party tactical master William Lyon Mackenzie King... He was succeeded by... Louis St. Laurent. Throughout these years, the Liberals worked the center... they always held the middle ground... Under various Liberal prime ministers, notably Lester Pearson, Canada developed into a social welfare state. Socialism did not come easy to the Liberals, and they would not have been able to introduce aspects of welfare, health unemployment, and pensions legislation had the body politic not demanded these.”

Years: 1968 - 1978

Head of government: Prime Minister Joseph Philippe Pierre Yves Elliott Trudeau

Ideology: center

Description: HoG identifies ideology as center. CHISOLS identifies party as the Liberal Party (*LP*). Armingeon et al. (2019) identifies the Liberal Party’s ideology as centrist. In V-Party (2020) 3 experts identify head of government party’s ideology as “Center” (-.315) in 1972 and 1974. While DPI identifies the LPC’s ideology as leftist, Political Handbook of the World (2015) writes “Liberal Party of Canada. Historically dedicated to free trade and gradual social reform... Recently, it has promoted federal-provincial cooperation and an international outlook favoring an effective UN, cooperation with the United States and Western Europe, and a substantial foreign economic aid program.” Döring and Manow (2019) identify the Liberal Party of Canada as rightist, describing the LPC as “Liberal”. In the Global Party Survey 2019, 18 experts identify the average left-right (0-10) score of Liberal Party (LP) as 3.6. Gough (2011) writes “From 1921 to 1947, the reins of power were wielded by Liberal Party tactical master William Lyon Mackenzie King... He was succeeded by... Louis St. Laurent. Throughout these years, the Liberals worked the center... they always held the middle ground... Under various Liberal prime ministers, notably Lester Pearson, Canada developed into a social welfare state. Socialism did not come easy to the Liberals, and they would not have been able to introduce aspects of welfare, health unemployment, and pensions legislation had the body politic not demanded these.”

Year: 1979

Head of government: Prime Minister Joseph Clark

Ideology: center

Description: HoG identifies ideology as center. CHISOLS identifies party as the Progressive Conservative Party (*PCP*). Armingeon et al. (2019) identifies the Progressive Conservative Party's ideology as centrist. DPI identifies the PCP's ideology as rightist. In V-Party (2020) 3 experts identify head of government party's ideology as "Center-right" (.582) in 1979. In V-Party (2020), 3 experts identify "some visible disagreement" in PCP in 1979. Political Handbook of the World (2015) identifies the PCP's ideology as rightist, writing "The CPC [modern Conservative Party of Canada] represented an attempt to "unite the Right" around a Conservative platform that advocated... personal tax reduction, retirement savings accounts... Other less traditionally Conservative policy positions included support for a massive infusion of funds into the national health care system," "[CPC] Party tenets include lowering and simplifying taxes; paying down the national debt; making balanced federal budgets mandatory; increasing defense spending; downsizing government; furthering free and open trade; eliminating public funding of multiculturalism," and "The PCP... placed greater emphasis [than the CPC] on Canada's British and Commonwealth attachments while actively promoting programs of social welfare and assistance to farmers." Döring and Manow (2019) identify the PCP and CPC as "Conservative". Gough (2011) identifies the PCP's ideology as rightist, writing "Progressive Conservative Party. This right of center and populist party... The reformulation of the party in the early years of the 21<sup>st</sup> century resulted in the new name Conservative Party of Canada."

Years: 1980 - 1983

Head of government: Prime Minister Joseph Philippe Pierre Yves Elliott Trudeau

Ideology: center

Description: HoG identifies ideology as center. CHISOLS identifies party as the Liberal Party (*LP*). Armingeon et al. (2019) identifies the Liberal Party's ideology as centrist. In V-Party (2020) 3 experts identify head of government party's ideology as "Center-left" (-.577) in 1980. In V-Party (2020), 3 experts identify "negligible visible disagreement" in LP in 1980. While DPI identifies the LPC's ideology as leftist, Political Handbook of the World (2015) writes "Liberal Party of Canada. Historically dedicated to free trade and gradual social reform... Recently, it has promoted federal-provincial cooperation and an international outlook favoring an effective UN, cooperation with the United States and Western Europe, and a substantial foreign economic aid program." Döring and Manow (2019) identify the Liberal Party of Canada as "Liberal". In the Global Party Survey 2019, 18 experts identify the average left-right (0-10) score of Liberal Party (LP) as 3.6.

Gough (2011) writes “From 1921 to 1947, the reins of power were wielded by Liberal Party tactical master William Lyon Mackenzie King... He was succeeded by... Louis St. Laurent. Throughout these years, the Liberals worked the center... they always held the middle ground... Under various Liberal prime ministers, notably Lester Pearson, Canada developed into a social welfare state. Socialism did not come easy to the Liberals, and they would not have been able to introduce aspects of welfare, health unemployment, and pensions legislation had the body politic not demanded these.”

Years: 1984 - 1992

Head of government: Prime Minister Martin Brian Mulroney

Ideology: right

Description: HoG identifies ideology as right. CHISOLS identifies party as the Progressive Conservative Party (*PCP*). Armingeon et al. (2019) identifies the Progressive Conservative Party's ideology as rightist. DPI identifies the PCP's ideology as rightist. In V-Party (2020) 3 experts identify head of government party's ideology as “Center-right” (.582) in 1984 and 1988. Political Handbook of the World (2015) identifies the PCP's ideology as rightist, writing “The CPC [modern Conservative Party of Canada] represented an attempt to “unite the Right” around a Conservative platform that advocated... personal tax reduction, retirement savings accounts... Other less traditionally Conservative policy positions included support for a massive infusion of funds into the national health care system,” “[CPC] Party tenets include lowering and simplifying taxes; paying down the national debt; making balanced federal budgets mandatory; increasing defense spending; downsizing government; furthering free and open trade; eliminating public funding of multiculturalism,” and “The PCP... placed greater emphasis [than the CPC] on Canada's British and Commonwealth attachments while actively promoting programs of social welfare and assistance to farmers.” Döring and Manow (2019) identify the PCP as “Conservative”. Rulers.org (2020b) identifies Mulroney as centrist, writing “In the general election of Sept. 4, 1984, the Conservatives won a parliamentary majority by one of the largest margins of victory in Canadian history, 211 of 282 seats. In the election campaign he put the Conservatives in the centre of the political spectrum.” Gough (2011) identifies the PCP's ideology as rightist, writing “Progressive Conservative Party. This right of center and populist party... The reformulation of the party in the early years of the 21<sup>st</sup> century resulted in the new name Conservative Party of Canada.”

Years: 1993 - 2002

Head of government: Prime Minister Joseph Jacques Jean Chrétien

Ideology: center

Description: HoG identifies ideology as center. CHISOLS identifies party as the Liberal Party (*LP*). Armingeon et al. (2019) identifies the Liberal Party's ideology as centrist. In V-Party (2020) 3 experts identify head of government party's ideology as "Center" (.145) in 1993 and "Center" (.379) in 1997 and 2000. While DPI identifies the LPC's ideology as leftist, Political Handbook of the World (2015) writes "Liberal Party of Canada. Historically dedicated to free trade and gradual social reform... Recently, it has promoted federal-provincial cooperation and an international outlook favoring an effective UN, cooperation with the United States and Western Europe, and a substantial foreign economic aid program." Döring and Manow (2019) identify the Liberal Party of Canada as "Liberal". In the Global Party Survey 2019, 18 experts identify the average left-right (0-10) score of Liberal Party (LP) as 3.6. Gough (2011) writes "From 1921 to 1947, the reins of power were wielded by Liberal Party tactical master William Lyon Mackenzie King... He was succeeded by... Louis St. Laurent. Throughout these years, the Liberals worked the center... they always held the middle ground... Under various Liberal prime ministers, notably Lester Pearson, Canada developed into a social welfare state. Socialism did not come easy to the Liberals, and they would not have been able to introduce aspects of welfare, health unemployment, and pensions legislation had the body politic not demanded these." Gough (2011) also identifies Chrétien's ideology as rightist, writing "Chrétien... his government witnessed the erosion of the welfare state. His government advocated neo-conservative policies and cut transfer payments to the provinces."

Years: 2003 - 2005

Head of government: Prime Minister Paul Martin Jr.

Ideology: center

Description: HoG identifies ideology as center. CHISOLS identifies party as the Liberal Party (*LP*). Armingeon et al. (2019) identifies the Liberal Party's ideology as centrist. In V-Party (2020) 3 experts identify head of government party's ideology as "Center" (.379) in 2000 and "Center" (-.304) in 2004. While DPI identifies the LPC's ideology as leftist, Political Handbook of the World (2015) writes "Liberal Party of Canada. Historically dedicated to free trade and gradual social reform... Recently, it has promoted federal-provincial cooperation and an international outlook favoring an effective UN, cooperation with the United States and Western Europe, and a substantial foreign economic aid program." Döring and Manow (2019) identify the Liberal Party of Canada as "Liberal". In the Global Party Survey 2019, 18 experts identify the average left-right (0-10) score of Liberal Party (LP) as 3.6. Gough (2011) writes "From 1921 to 1947, the reins of power were wielded by Liberal Party tactical master William Lyon Mackenzie King... He

was succeeded by... Louis St. Laurent. Throughout these years, the Liberals worked the center... they always held the middle ground... Under various Liberal prime ministers, notably Lester Pearson, Canada developed into a social welfare state. Socialism did not come easy to the Liberals, and they would not have been able to introduce aspects of welfare, health unemployment, and pensions legislation had the body politic not demanded these.”

Years: 2006 - 2014

Head of government: Prime Minister Stephen Harper

Ideology: right

Description: HoG identifies ideology as right. CHISOLS identifies party as the Conservative Party of Canada (CPC). Armingeon et al. (2019) continue to identify the Conservative Party by the name of its predecessor, the Progressive Conservative Party, and identify its ideology as rightist. In V-Party (2020) 3 experts identify head of government party’s ideology as “Center-right” (1.4) in 2006, 2008 and 2011. DPI identifies the CPC’s ideology as rightist. Political Handbook of the World (2015) identifies the CPC’s ideology as rightist, writing “The CPC [modern Conservative Party of Canada] represented an attempt to “unite the Right” around a Conservative platform that advocated... personal tax reduction, retirement savings accounts... Other less traditionally Conservative policy positions included support for a massive infusion of funds into the national health care system,” “[CPC] Party tenets include lowering and simplifying taxes; paying down the national debt; making balanced federal budgets mandatory; increasing defense spending; downsizing government; furthering free and open trade; eliminating public funding of multiculturalism.” Döring and Manow (2019) identify the CPC as “Conservative”. In the Global Party Survey 2019, 18 experts identify the average left-right (0-10) score of Conservative Party (CPC) as 7.1. Rulers.org (2020a) identifies the CPC’s ideology as rightist, writing Harper “next turned his attention to reunifying the fractured Canadian right, resulting, in December 2003, in the merger of the Canadian Alliance with the Progressive Conservatives to form the Conservative Party of Canada.” Gough (2011) identifies the PCP’s ideology as rightist, writing “Progressive Conservative Party. This right of center and populist party... The reformulation of the party in the early years of the 21<sup>st</sup> century resulted in the new name Conservative Party of Canada.” Gough (2011) also identifies Harper’s ideology as rightist, writing “Harper... was part of a cluster of western Canada neo-conservative voices calling for the rethinking of Canadian government and methods of power.”

Years: 2015 - 2020

Head of government: Prime Minister Justin Trudeau

Ideology: left

Description: HoG identifies ideology as center. Varieties of Democracy identifies party affiliation as Liberal Party of Canada. Encyclopedia Britannica (2018) identifies party as Liberal Party (*LP*). Armingeon et al. (2019) identifies the Liberal Party's ideology as centrist. In V-Party (2020) 3 experts identify head of government party's ideology as "Center-left" (-1.357) in 2015 and "Center-left" (-1.079) in 2019. In V-Party (2020), 3 experts identify "virtually no visible disagreement" in LP in 2015 and 2019. While DPI identifies the LPC's ideology as leftist, Political Handbook of the World (2015) writes "Liberal Party of Canada. Historically dedicated to free trade and gradual social reform... Recently, it has promoted federal-provincial cooperation and an international outlook favoring an effective UN, cooperation with the United States and Western Europe, and a substantial foreign economic aid program." Döring and Manow (2019) identify the Liberal Party of Canada as "Liberal". In the Global Party Survey 2019, 18 experts identify the average left-right (0-10) score of Liberal Party (LP) as 3.6. Gough (2011) writes "From 1921 to 1947, the reins of power were wielded by Liberal Party tactical master William Lyon Mackenzie King... He was succeeded by... Louis St. Laurent. Throughout these years, the Liberals worked the center... they always held the middle ground... Under various Liberal prime ministers, notably Lester Pearson, Canada developed into a social welfare state. Socialism did not come easy to the Liberals, and they would not have been able to introduce aspects of welfare, health unemployment, and pensions legislation had the body politic not demanded these." World Statesmen (2021) corroborates party affiliation as the Liberal Party and identifies the party as center-left. Perspective Monde (2021) also corroborates party affiliation as the Liberal Party and identifies the party as centrist. McCullough (2021) writes, "Tories are fond of grumbling that Canada's Liberal Party – from former prime minister Pierre Elliott Trudeau to his son Justin – has successfully rebuilt much of the Canadian identity in its own image, making patriotism and citizenship synonymous with allegiance to their progressive political agenda. Liberals respond that they merely understand the center-left leanings of the Canadian people better..." Fischer (2021) writes, "Canada, where the center-left has faced a battle to hold onto power in Monday's election, may best encapsulate the trend. The forces boosting center-lefts globally have nudged the Liberals' poll numbers there from poor to middling – a fitting metaphor for the movement's prospects."

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