

Country: France

Year: 1945

Leader: Charles de Gaulle

Ideology: right

Description: HoG identifies ideology as right. CHISOLS identifies party affiliation as non-party.

Year: 1946

Leader: Leon Andre Blum

Ideology: left

Description: HoG identifies ideology as left. CHISOLS identifies party as French Social Party (Parti Social Français - PSF).

Year: 1947

Leader: Robert Schuman

Ideology: center

Description: HoG identifies ideology as right. CHISOLS identifies party as the Republican People's Movement (Mouvement Républicain Populaire – MRP). Armingeon et al. (2019) identifies MRP's ideology as centrist. Raymond (2008) identifies the MRP's ideology as centrist, writing "In party political terms, the MRP saw itself as offering a middle way between the materialistic assumptions of liberalism and communism" and "The attempt to create the kind of mass Christian democratic center party that could reconcile moderate Catholic opinion with republican reformism has not found enduring success in France, in spite of the popularity of the Mouvement Républicain Populaire (MRP)". Döring and Manow (2019) identify the MRP as "Christian democracy". Rulers.org (2020c) writes "Schuman, (Jean Baptiste Nicolas) Robert... A founder of the Mouvement Républicain Populaire (MRP), which superseded the PDP as the principal organ of Christian democracy... Within the MRP, Schuman was from 1958 the chief opponent of the right-wing extremism of Georges Bidault." Perspective Monde (2020) identifies Schuman and Republican People's Movement as centrist, "centre".

Year: 1948

Leader: Henri Queuille

Ideology: center

Description: HoG identifies ideology as center. CHISOLS identifies party as the Radical-Socialist and Radical Republican Party (Parti républicain, radical et radical-socialiste – RRS/RSP).

Year: 1949

Leader: Georges Bidault

Ideology: right

Description: HoG identifies ideology as right. CHISOLS identifies party as the Republican People's Movement (Mouvement Républicain Populaire – MRP). Armingeon et al. (2019) identifies MRP's ideology as centrist. Döring and Manow (2019) identify the MRP as "Christian democracy". Rulers.org (2020a) writes "With the return of de Gaulle to power (1958), Bidault broke with his wartime friend over the issue of Algerian independence and founded a new, right-wing Christian-Democratic Party."

Years: 1950-1951

Leader: Rene Pleven

Ideology: left

Description: HoG identifies ideology as left. CHISOLS identifies party as the Democratic and Socialist Union of the Resistance (Union Démocratique et Socialiste de la Résistance – UDSR/GAUL).

Year: 1952

Leader: Antoine Pinay

Ideology: right

Description: HoG identifies ideology as right. CHISOLS identifies party as the National Centre of Independent and Peasants (Centre National des Indépendants et Paysans – CNIP/IND). Armingeon et al. (2019) identify the Centre National des Indépendants' (IND) ideology as rightist.

Year: 1953

Leader: Joseph Laniel

Ideology: right

Description: HoG identifies ideology as right. CHISOLS identifies party as the National Centre of Independent and Peasants (Centre National des Indépendants et Paysans – CNIP/IND). Armingeon et al. (2019) identify the Centre National des Indépendants' (IND) ideology as rightist.

Year: 1954

Leader: Pierre Mendes-France

Ideology: center

Description: HoG identifies ideology as center. CHISOLS identifies party as the Radical-Socialist and Radical Republican Party (Parti républicain, radical et radical-socialiste – RRS/RSP).

Year: 1955

Leader: Edgar Faure

Ideology: center

Description: HoG identifies ideology as center. CHISOLS identifies party as the Radical-Socialist and Radical Republican Party (Parti républicain, radical et radical-socialiste – RRS/RSP).

Year: 1956

Leader: Guy Mollet

Ideology: left

Description: HoG identifies ideology as left. CHISOLS identifies party as the Radical-Socialist and Radical Republican Party (*Parti républicain, radical et radical-socialiste* – RRS/RSP). World Statesmen (2019) identifies party as the French Section of the International Workers (Section française de l'Internationale ouvrière – SFIO).

Year: 1957

Leader: Felix Gaillard

Ideology: center

Description: HoG does not identify ideology. CHISOLS identifies party as Parti républicain, radical et radical-socialiste (Republican, Radical and Radical-Socialist Party). Mayer (2011) identifies ideology of Parti républicain, radical et radical-socialiste as center: “Studies of political parties often variously refer to the "radical" Left or Right. In France, however, the term is confusing, associated with the oldest French party, the Parti républicain radical et radical-socialiste (1901), which held a centrist and stabilizing position on the French political scene during the Third and Fourth Republics.”

Years: 1958-1968

Leader: Charles de Gaulle

Ideology: right

Description: HoG identifies ideology as right. CHISOLS identifies party as the Union for the New Republic (Union pour la Nouvelle République – UNR).

Armingeon et al. (2019) identifies the former Union pour la Nouvelle République's (UNR) ideology as rightist.

Years: 1969-1973

Leader: Georges Pompidou

Ideology: right

Description: HoG identifies ideology earlier as right. CHISOLS does not identify party. World Statesmen (2019) identifies party as the Union for the New Republic (Union pour la Nouvelle République – UNR). Armingeon et al. (2019) identifies the former Union pour la Nouvelle République's (UNR) ideology as rightist. In V-Party (2020) 3 experts identify leader party's ideology as "Right" (1.687) in 1973.

Years: 1974-1980

Leader: Giscard D'Estaing

Ideology: right

Description: CHISOLS identifies D'Estaing's party as the Independent Republicans (Républicains Indépendants – RI). World Statesmen (2019) clarifies his party affiliation as RI until 1977, and Union for the French Democracy (*Union pour la Démocratie Française – UDF*) afterwards. In V-Party (2020) 3 experts identify leader party's ideology as "Center-right" (1.285) in 1973 and "Center-right" (1.267) in 1978. DPI identifies RI's ideology as rightist. Political Handbook of the World (2015) identifies the Independent Republicans' ideology as rightist, writing "resident Pompidou's death in April 1974 led to what was essentially a three-way presidential race [including]... Giscard d'Estaing for the center-right Independent Republicans". Armingeon et al. (2019) identifies the Union for the French Democracy's ideology as centrist. DPI identifies UDF as rightist. Political Handbook of the World (2005-2006) identifies the UDF's ideology as rightist, writing "Union for French Democracy (Union pour la Démocratie Française—UDF). The UDF was founded in February 1978 by a number of right-centrist parties". Döring and Manow (2019) identify the UDF as "Conservative".

Years: 1981-1994

Leader: Mitterand

Ideology: left

Description: CHISOLS identifies Mitterand's party as the Socialist Party (Parti socialiste – PS). DPI identifies PS' ideology as leftist. Armingeon et al. (2019) identifies the Socialist Party's ideology as leftist. In V-Party (2020) 3 experts identify leader party's ideology as "Left" (-2.269) in 1981 and "Center-left" (-.789) in 1986, 1988 and 1993. Political Handbook of the World (2015) identifies the PS' ideology as leftist, writing "Socialist Party (Parti Socialiste—PS)... After further false starts and bickering between the factions, in 1971 a "congress of socialist unity" elected Mitterrand as leader of the new Socialist Party, which embarked

upon a strategy of left-wing union... in November 2005... the party agreed to unite behind a platform that called for an increase in the minimum wage, opposition to the controversial new youth labor legislation, and reversal of the government's decision to sell a minority stake in the principal state-owned electrical utility company.”

Years: 1995-2006

Leader: Jacques Chirac

Ideology: right

Description: HoG identifies ideology earlier as right. CHISOLS identifies Chirac's party as the Rally for the Republic (Rassemblement pour la République – RPR) before 2002 and Union for Popular Movement (Union pour un mouvement populaire – UMP) afterwards. World Statesmen (2019) identifies party as the Rally for the Republic (Rassemblement pour la République - RPR). DPI identifies RPR's ideology as rightist. In V-Party (2020) 3 experts identify leader party's ideology as “Right” (1.757) in 1997 and “Right” (2.187) in 2002. Armingeon et al. (2019) identifies the Rally for the Republic's ideology as rightist. Political Handbook of the World (2015) identifies the RPR's ideology as rightist, writing “De Gaulle's political heirs, campaigning from 1976 until 2002 as the Rally for the Republic (RPR) and now as the Union for a Popular Movement (UMP), are the main force on the conservative right”.

Years: 2007-2011

Leader: Sarkozy

Ideology: right

Description: CHISOLS identifies Mitterand's party as the Union for Popular Movement (Union pour un mouvement populaire – UMP). DPI identifies UMP's ideology as rightist. In V-Party (2020) 4 experts identify leader party's ideology as “Center-right” (1.549) in 2007. Armingeon et al. (2019) identifies the former Union for a Popular Movement's (UMP) ideology as rightist. Political Handbook of the World (2015) identifies the RPR's ideology as rightist, writing “De Gaulle's political heirs, campaigning from 1976 until 2002 as the Rally for the Republic (RPR) and now as the Union for a Popular Movement (UMP), are the main force on the conservative right”.

Years: 2012-2016

Leader: Hollande

Ideology: left

Description: CHISOLS identifies party as the Socialist Party (Parti Socialiste—PS). World Statesmen (2019) identifies Hollande's party as PS, writing “François

Gérard Hollande... PS". DPI identifies PS' ideology as leftist. Armingeon et al. (2019) identifies the Socialist Party's ideology as leftist. In V-Party (2020) 4 experts identify leader party's ideology as "Center-left" (-.854) in 2012. Political Handbook of the World (2015) identifies the PS' ideology as leftist, writing "Socialist Party (Parti Socialiste—PS)... After further false starts and bickering between the factions, in 1971 a "congress of socialist unity" elected Mitterrand as leader of the new Socialist Party, which embarked upon a strategy of left-wing union... in November 2005... the party agreed to unite behind a platform that called for an increase in the minimum wage, opposition to the controversial new youth labor legislation, and reversal of the government's decision to sell a minority stake in the principal state-owned electrical utility company."

Years: 2017-2020

Leader: Macron

Ideology: rightist

Description: CHISOLS identifies party as The Republic Onward! (La République en Marche!—REM). World Statesmen (2021) identifies party as The Republic Onward! (La République en Marche!) and party as "centrist, social liberal."

Perspective Monde (2021) identifies ideology as centrist, "centre." In the Global Party Survey 2019, 18 experts identify the average left-right (0-10) score of La République En Marche as 6.7, the left-right (0-10) salience as 8.7, and the divided-united party (0-10) score as 6.0. In V-Party (2021), 4 experts identify REM's ideology as "Center-right" (0.751) in 2017. DPI identifies REM's ideology as centrist. Rulers.org (2021) states, "[Macron] was minister of economy, industry, and information technology (2014-16). In this role he promoted a package of deregulating reforms, the *loi Macron*, which triggered a revolt by the left wing of the ruling Socialist Party and had to be passed by way of a confidence vote in parliament. Having formed the political movement *En Marche!* in 2016, he became a presidential candidate in 2017, taking a centrist, pro-European position." Ortiz de Zárate (2017) states, "El centrista Emmanuel Macron, ex ministro de Economía de 39 años, se postula al Elíseo como abanderado de un movimiento independiente de corte liberal progresista, *En Marche!*... Durante cuatro años, este ministro inquieto fue el ingeniero de las reformas para la liberalización y la competitividad de una economía voluminosa pero urgida de dinamismo. La orientación liberal de las mismas desagradó al ala izquierda del Partido Socialista, formación de la que Macron fue miembro por corto tiempo, entre 2006 y 2009... Su plataforma, concebida para 'liberar' las fuerzas creativas y las energías laborales de los franceses, es ampliamente descrita como social-liberal, si bien él prefiere eludir ese tipo de etiquetas y, como Le Pen, insiste en que su Proyecto no es 'ni de derechos ni de izquierdas'... El programa del aspirante presidencial que ambicionaba

asentar en las instituciones de la República una suerte de tercera vía, más sintetizadora que rupturista, a caballo entre los tradicionales bloques del centro-izquierda y el centro-derecha, ofrecía varios puntos llamativos.” [The centrist Emmanuel Macron, a 39-year-old former Minister of Economy, is running for the Elysee as the standard bearer of an independent movement with a progressive liberal court, *En Marche!*... For four years, this restless minister was the engineer of the reforms for the liberalization and competitiveness of a large economy in need of dynamism. Their liberal orientation displeased the left wing of the Socialist Party, a formation of which Macron was a member for a short time, between 2006 and 2009... [Macron’s] platform, conceived to ‘liberate’ the creative forces and labor energies of the French, is widely described as social-liberal, although he prefers to avoid such labels and, like Le Pen, insists that his project is not ‘either of the right nor of the left’... The program of the presidential candidate that he aspired to establish in the institutions of the Republic, a kind of third way, more synthesizing than disruptive, straddling the traditional blocks of the center-left and the center-right, offered several striking points.”

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