Country: Spain

Years: 1945 - 1972

Head of government: Prime Minister Francisco Franco Bahamonde

Ideology: right

Description: HoG identifies ideology as right. CHISOLS identifies party as the Traditionalist Spanish Phalanx and of the Councils of the National Syndicalist Offensive (Falange Española Tradicionalista y de las Juntas de Ofensiva Nacional Sindicalista – FET). Manzano (2017) identifies ideology as rightist. DPI identifies FET as rightist. In V-Party (2020), 4 experts identify head of government party's ideology as "Far-right" (4.503) in 1970. Political Handbook of the World (2015) identifies the FET's ideology as rightist, writing "The only authorized political formation during most of the Franco era was the Spanish Falange (Falange Española Tradicionalista y de las Juntas de Ofensiva Nacional-Sindicalista—FET y JONS), subsequently referred to as "The National Movement."... Spain has a long history of right-wing formations, many of them descendants of the Franco-era Spanish Falange. Reduced to little more than a shadow of its former significance, the Falange joined with a number of other neo-fascist groups in forming a National Union (Unión Nacional) that secured one legislative seat in 1979."

Years: 1973 - 1975

Head of government: Prime Minister Carlos Arias Navarro

Ideology: right

Description: HoG identifies ideology as right. CHISOLS identifies party as the Traditionalist Spanish Phalanx and of the Councils of the National Syndicalist Offensive (Falange Española Tradicionalista y de las Juntas de Ofensiva Nacional Sindicalista – FET). Manzano (2017) identifies ideology as rightist. DPI identifies FET as rightist. In V-Party (2020), 4 experts identify head of government party's ideology as "Far-right" (4.503) in 1970 and 1975. Political Handbook of the World (2015) identifies the FET's ideology as rightist, writing "The only authorized political formation during most of the Franco era was the Spanish Falange (Falange Española Tradicionalista y de las Juntas de Ofensiva Nacional-Sindicalista—FET y JONS), subsequently referred to as "The National Movement."... Spain has a long history of right-wing formations, many of them descendants of the Franco-era Spanish Falange. Reduced to little more than a shadow of its former significance, the Falange joined with a number of other neofascist groups in forming a National Union (Unión Nacional) that secured one legislative seat in 1979."

Years: 1976 - 1980

Head of government: Prime Minister Adolfo Suárez

Ideology: center

Description: HoG identifies ideology as center. CHISOLS identifies party as the Union of the Democratic Center (*Unión de Centro Democrático - UCD*). Manzano (2017) identifies ideology as rightist. Armingeon et al. (2019) identifies the Union of the Democratic Center (UCD) as centrist. DPI identifies UCD's ideology as centrist. In V-Party (2020), 4 experts identify head of government party's ideology as "Center-right" (.996) in 1977 and 1979. Döring and Manow (2019) identify UCD as rightist, describing the UCD as "Liberal". Rulers.org (2020c) writes of "Despite his Francoist background, he [Adolfo Suárez] pursued moderate policies. In 1977 he challenged Francoist sentiment in the military by legalizing the Socialist and Communist parties, called Spain's first free elections since 1936, and formed the Union of the Democratic Centre (UCD), which won the elections." Smith (2009) identifies the UCD's ideology as centrist, writing "the centrist governing coalition, the Unión del Centro Democrático (UCD).

Year: 1981

Head of government: Prime Minister Leopoldo Calvo Sotelo y Bustelo

Ideology: center

Description: HoG identifies ideology as center. CHISOLS identifies party as the Union of the Democratic Center (*Unión de Centro Democrático - UCD*). Armingeon et al. (2019) identifies the Union of the Democratic Center (UCD) as centrist. DPI identifies UCD's ideology as centrist. In V-Party (2020), 4 experts identify head of government party's ideology as "Center-right" (.996) in 1979. Döring and Manow (2019) identify UCD as rightist, describing the UCD as "Liberal". Smith (2009) identifies the UCD's ideology as centrist, writing "the centrist governing coalition, the Unión del Centro Democrático (UCD).

Years: 1982 - 1995

Head of government: Prime Minister Felipe González Marquez

Ideology: left

Description: HoG identifies ideology as left. CHISOLS identifies party as the Spanish Socialist Workers' Party (*Partido Socialista Obrero Español—PSOE*). Armingeon et al. (2019) identifies the Socialist Party's (Partido Socialista Obrero Español, PSOE) ideology as leftist. DPI identifies PSOE's ideology as leftist. In V-Party (2020), 4 experts identify head of government party's ideology as "Centerleft" (-1.158) in 1982, 1986 and "Center-left" (-.923) in 1989 and 1993. The Political Handbook of the World (2015) identifies the PSOE's ideology as leftist, writing "Spanish Socialist Workers' Party (Partido Socialista Obrero Español—PSOE). Founded in 1879 and a member of the Socialist International... At a

centennial congress in May 1979, González unexpectedly stepped down as party leader after a majority of delegates refused to abandon a doctrinal commitment to Marxism".

Years: 1996 - 2003

Head of government: Prime Minister José María Aznar Lopez

Ideology: right

Description: HoG identifies ideology as right. CHISOLS identifies party as the Popular Party (Partido Popular—PP). Armingeon et al. (2019) identifies the Popular Party (Partido Popular, PP) as centrist. . In V-Party (2020), 4 experts identify head of government party's ideology as "Center-right" (1.438) in 1996 and "Center-right" (1.682) in 2000. However, Political Handbook of the World (2015) identifies the PP as rightist, writing "Popular Party (Partido Popular—PP). The PP was known until January 1989 as the Popular Alliance (Alianza Popular—AP), which emerged in 1976 as a right-wing challenger to the Union of the Democratic Center (UCD)... At a party congress held January 20–22, 1989, the formation undertook a number of moves, including the change of name, to reorient itself toward the center as a moderate conservative alternative to the PSOE." DPI identifies the PP's ideology as rightist. Döring and Manow (2019) identify PP as "Conservative". In the Global Party Survey 2019, 93 experts identify the average left-right (0-10) score of Popular Party (PP) as 7.8. Rulers.org (2020a) identifies the PP as rightist, writing "Aznar (López), José María (Alfredo)... he became an active member of the right-wing Popular Alliance, which later became the Popular Party (PP). He was instrumental in leading the party toward the political centre". Smith (2009) identifies the PP's ideology as rightist, writing "Partido Popular (PP)/Popular Party... Under Aznar's leadership, the party presented a more centrist image... and promised to protect pensions and unemployment benefits. However, it was strongly influenced by the legacy of Margaret Thatcher and took up the baton of neoliberalism... the PP won an overall majority in the March 2000 elections. It was henceforth to move to the right".

Years: 2004 - 2010

Head of government: Prime Minister José Luis Rodríguez Zapatero

Ideology: left

Description: HoG identifies ideology as left. CHISOLS identifies party as the Spanish Socialist Workers' Party (*Partido Socialista Obrero Español—PSOE*). Armingeon et al. (2019) identifies the Socialist Party's (Partido Socialista Obrero Español, PSOE) ideology as leftist. DPI identifies PSOE's ideology as leftist. In V-Party (2020), 4 experts identify head of government party's ideology as "Centerleft" (-.923) in 2004 and 2008. The Political Handbook of the World (2015)

identifies the PSOE's ideology as leftist, writing "Spanish Socialist Workers' Party (Partido Socialista Obrero Español—PSOE). Founded in 1879 and a member of the Socialist International... At a centennial congress in May 1979, González unexpectedly stepped down as party leader after a majority of delegates refused to abandon a doctrinal commitment to Marxism".

Years: 2011 - 2017

Head of government: Prime Minister Mariano Rajoy

Ideology: right

Description: HoG identifies ideology as right. CHISOLS identifies party as the Popular Party (Partido Popular—PP). Political Handbook (2015: 1355) identifies party as the Popular Party (Partido Popular—PP), writing that "PP leader Mariano Rajoy Brey was sworn in as prime minister of a PP government". Armingeon et al. (2019) identifies the Popular Party (Partido Popular, PP) as centrist. However, Political Handbook of the World (2015) identifies the PP as rightist, writing "Popular Party (Partido Popular—PP). . In V-Party (2020), 5 experts identify head of government party's ideology as "Right" (1.687) in 2011 and "Center-right" (1.676) in 2015 and 2016. The PP was known until January 1989 as the Popular Alliance (Alianza Popular—AP), which emerged in 1976 as a right-wing challenger to the Union of the Democratic Center (UCD)... At a party congress held January 20–22, 1989, the formation undertook a number of moves, including the change of name, to reorient itself toward the center as a moderate conservative alternative to the PSOE." DPI identifies the PP's ideology as rightist. Döring and Manow (2019) identify PP as "Conservative". In the Global Party Survey 2019, 93 experts identify the average left-right (0-10) score of Popular Party (PP) as 7.8. Rulers.org (2020a) identifies the PP as rightist, writing "Aznar (López), José María (Alfredo)... he became an active member of the right-wing Popular Alliance, which later became the Popular Party (PP). He was instrumental in leading the party toward the political centre". Rulers.org (2020b) identifies the PP as rightist, writing "Rajoy, a social conservative, was especially outspoken about curbing abortion rights and in his opposition to same-sex marriages. Nevertheless, he helped lead the party from the hard right to centre-right." Smith (2009) identifies the PP's ideology as rightist, writing "Partido Popular (PP)/Popular Party... Under Aznar's leadership, the party presented a more centrist image... and promised to protect pensions and unemployment benefits. However, it was strongly influenced by the legacy of Margaret Thatcher and took up the baton of neoliberalism... the PP won an overall majority in the March 2000 elections. It was henceforth to move to the right".

Years: 2018-2020

Head of government: Prime Minister Pedro Sanchez Perez-Castejon Ideology: leftist

Description: HoG identifies ideology as leftist. Varieties of Democracy identifies party affiliation as Spanish Socialist Workers Party. Political Handbook of the World (2018-2019) identifies party affiliation as Spanish Socialist Workers' Party (Partido Socialista Obrero Español—PSOE). DPI identifies PSOE's ideology as leftist. In V-Party (2020), 5 experts identify head of government party's ideology as "Center-left" (-.918) in 2016 and "Center-left" (-1.169) in 2019. The Political Handbook of the World (2015) identifies the PSOE's ideology as leftist, writing, "Spanish Socialist Workers' Party (Partido Socialista Obrero Español—PSOE). Founded in 1879 and a member of the Socialist International... At a centennial congress in May 1979, González unexpectedly stepped down as party leader after a majority of delegates refused to abandon a doctrinal commitment to Marxism". Armingeon et al. (2019) identifies the Socialist Party's (Partido Socialista Obrero Español, PSOE) ideology as leftist. Perspective Monde (2021) corroborates party affiliation as PSOE and identifies the party as leftist. World Statesmen (2021) corroborates party affiliation as PSOE. In the Global Party Survey 2019, 93 experts identify the average left-right (0-10) score of PSOE as 4.0.

## References:

Armingeon, Klaus, Virigina Wenger, Fiona Wiedemeier, Christian Isler, Laura Knöpfel, David Weisstanner and Sarah Engler. 2019. Supplement to the Comparative Political Data Set – Government Composition 1960-2017. Bern: Institute of Political Science, University of Berne.

Döring, Holger, and Philip Manow. 2019. Parliaments and governments database (ParlGov): Information on parties, elections and cabinets in modern democracies. Development version.

Manzano, Dulce. 2017. Bringing Down the Educational Wall: Political Regimes, Ideology, and the Expansion of Education. Cambridge.

Norris, Pippa. 2020. Global Party Survey dataset.

https://dataverse.harvard.edu/dataverse/GlobalPartySurvey

Perspective Monde. 2020. Spain.

https://perspective.usherbrooke.ca/bilan/servlet/BMGvt?codePays=ESP&ani=1977&moi=1&anf=2019&mof=7

Political Handbook of the World. 2018-2019. "Spain". CQ Press.

Political Handbook of the World. 2015. "Spain". CQ Press.

Rulers.org. "Index At-Az." Accessed May 14, 2020a.

http://rulers.org/indexa5.html#aznar.

Rulers.org. "Index Ra." Accessed May 14, 2020b.

http://rulers.org/indexr1.html#rajoy.

Rulers.org. "Index St-Sz." Accessed May 14, 2020c. http://rulers.org/indexs5.html#suare.

Smith, Angel. *Historical Dictionary of Spain*. 2nd ed. Lanham, Md.: Scarecrow Press, 2009.