

Country: Ecuador

Years: 1945-1946

Head of Government: José María Velasco Ibarra

Ideology: rightist

Description: HoG identifies ideology as leftist. CHISOLS identifies Velasco Ibarra's party as Alianza Democrática Ecuatoriana (AD). Manzano (2017), however, identifies Velasco Ibarra as rightist, referring to him as a "conservative leader" and a member of the Conservative Party, referring to Banks and Overstreet's Political Handbook of the World (1980: 149), which describes his Velasquista Party as a center-right party. Hanratty (1989) identifies that AD's ideology was leftist, but that Velasco broke with them, writing that "In 1945, after a year of growing hostility between the president and the [leftist Democratic Alliance], which was vainly awaiting deeds to substantiate Velasco's rhetorical advocacy of social justice", Velasco dismissed the assembly. The new elected assembly "in 1946 drafted a far more conservative constitution that met with the president's approval". Hanratty adds that "For this brief period, Conservatives replaced the left as Velasco's base of support". Hanratty (1989) indicates Velasco Ibarra remained rightist later on, stating, "Velasco's subsequent party support during the 1950s came from the Conservatives, the conservative Social Christian Movement (Movimiento Social Cristiano—MSC), and the highly nationalistic, anticommunist, quasi-fascist Ecuadorian Nationalist Revolutionary Action (Acción Revolucionaria Nacionalista Ecuatoriana—ARNE)", and "The rapidly deteriorating economic situation soon brought about a split in the *velasquista* coalition, however, with the left, led by Vice President Carlos Julio Arosemena Monroy... openly opposing the government in July 1961", thus Velasco was left leading the conservative faction. Perspective Monde (2019) concurs with Manzano and Hanratty, corroborating party affiliation as AD and identifying the party as rightist. World Statesmen (2019) also corroborates party affiliation as AD and describes the party as a coalition of PLR, PC, VRSE, Socialist Party, Communist Party, and Ecuadorian Democratic Front." Funke et al. (2020: 96) identify Velasco Ibarra as a "right-wing populist." However, Funke et al. also write, "It is not straightforward to classify him on the left vs. right spectrum. Some authors view him as a left-wing populist in the tradition of Peron and Vargas (e.g., Gratius 2007, 12 Demmers et al. 2001b, 4, Hawkins 2010, 78), but others disagree (e.g., Basset & Launey 2013, 155). Economic topics were not in the center of his discourse and he did not attack the economic elites (Sosa 2012, 167, de la Torre 2010, 51)."

Year: 1947

Head of Government: Carlos Julio Arosemena Tola

Ideology: rightist

Description: HoG identifies ideology as rightist. CHISOLS identifies Arosemena Tola's party affiliation as none. Estep (1964: 123) describes Arosemena Tola as "a nonpolitical Guayaquil banker." Lauderbaugh (2012: 117) seems to corroborate Arosemena Tola's lack of political affiliations, writing, "The caretaker government of Carlos Julio Arosemena Tola wanted to oversee free and fair elections and to provide the incoming president with a chance to complete a full four-year term. Arosemena Tola had no long-term political ambitions and did his country a great service by achieving that outcome." Becker (2018) writes, "In August 1947, a military coup removed Velasco Ibarra and led conservatives to regain the presidency for the first time since Eloy Alfaro's Liberal Revolution half a century earlier. Arosemena Tola was a wealthy banker and an aristocrat whose assumption of power embodied the consolidation of the control of propertied interests over the country. Although Arosemena Tola represented the class interests of Ecuador's traditionally conservative oligarchy, leftists welcomed his appointment of Antonio Parra Velasco as foreign minister."

Years: 1948-1951

Head of Government: Galo Lincoln Plaza Lasso de la Vega

Ideology: rightist

Description: HoG identifies ideology as rightist. CHISOLS identifies Plaza Lasso's party as Movimiento Cívico Democrático Nacional (MCDN). Perspective monde (2019) and World Statesmen (2019) corroborate party affiliation as MCDN. Lauderbaugh (2012: 117) describes the MCDN: "An ad hoc party, the National Civic Democratic Movement (MCDN), a largely Liberal group, was created to prevent the Conservatives or the radical left from winning the election." Estep (1964: 124) describes the history of the MCDN, writing, "To forestall a Conservative victory was the goal of a group of independents and younger politicians of all parties. These banded together on May 16, 1947, in a coalition known as the National Civic Democratic Movement (*Movimiento Cívico Democrático Nacional*—MCDN), for the expressed purpose of preventing a Conservative accession to power... It was the June 6, 1948 presidential elections that proved to be the big surprise to the Conservatives, for the winner was MCDN nominee Galo Plaza Lasso, son of a former president, who had sought the support of dissident members of all parties." Estep then describes the ideological composition of the president's cabinet: "Conservative elements in the first months of 1951 combined into an anti-administration coalition, while Socialists took the lead in trying to unite all liberal groups in a Popular Front Coalition. As a first step the Socialists renounced their opposition to the Plaza administration. Taking advantage of this opportunity, Plaza reorganized his cabinet on May 11, 1951 by replacing Conservatives with Radical

Liberals and Socialists. These, together with MCDN and Independent members, gave a definite leftist cast to his administration.” Hanratty (1989) writes, “During the following year, three different men briefly held executive power before Galo Plaza Lasso, running under a coalition of independent Liberals and socialists, narrowly defeated his Conservative opponent in presidential elections.” Huber and Stephens (2016: 14) identify Partido Liberal Radical Ecuatoriano as rightist.

Years: 1952-1955

Head of Government: José María Velasco Ibarra

Ideology: rightist

Description: HoG identifies ideology as leftist. CHISOLS identifies Velasco Ibarra’s party as Federacion Nacional Velasquista (FNV). Manzano (2017), however, identifies Velasco Ibarra as rightist, referring to him as a “conservative leader” and a member of the Conservative Party, referring to Banks and Overstreet’s Political Handbook of the World (1980: 149), which describes his Velasquista Party as a center-right party. Hanratty (1989) corroborates Manzano’s (2017) assessment for this time, stating “Velasco’s subsequent party support during the 1950s came from the Conservatives, the conservative Social Christian Movement (Movimiento Social Cristiano—MSC), and the highly nationalistic, anticommunist, quasi-fascist Ecuadorian Nationalist Revolutionary Action (Acción Revolucionaria Nacionalista Ecuatoriana—ARNE)”. Hanratty (1989) further indicates Velasco Ibarra remained rightist later on, stating “The rapidly deteriorating economic situation soon brought about a split in the *velasquista* coalition, however, with the left, led by Vice President Carlos Julio Arosemena Monroy... openly opposing the government in July 1961”, thus Velasco was left leading the conservative faction. Perspective Monde (2019) and World Statesmen (2019) corroborate party affiliation as FNV. Funke et al. (2020: 96) identify Velasco Ibarra as a “right-wing populist.” However, Funke et al. also write, “It is not straightforward to classify him on the left vs. right spectrum. Some authors view him as a left-wing populist in the tradition of Peron and Vargas (e.g., Gratius 2007, 12 Demmers et al. 2001b, 4, Hawkins 2010, 78), but others disagree (e.g., Basset & Launey 2013, 155). Economic topics were not in the center of his discourse and he did not attack the economic elites (Sosa 2012, 167, de la Torre 2010, 51).”

Years: 1956-1959

Head of Government: Camilo Ponce Enríquez

Ideology: rightist

Description: HoG identifies ideology as rightist. CHISOLS identifies Ponce Enríquez’s party as Movimiento Social Cristiano (MSC). The CHISOLS profile for Ecuador states that Ponce Enriquez “represented the Conservatives and his own

personalistic Movimiento Social Cristiano (MSC).” Political Handbook of the World (2005-2006) identifies Enríquez’s party as the Social Christian Party (*Partido Social Cristiano*—PSC), writing, “Moderately right-of-center, the PSC was launched in 1951 by former president Camilo Ponce Enríquez.” World Statesmen (2019) also identifies party affiliation as PSC and describes the party as Christian democratic. Freidenberg (2001: 242) clarifies that the PSC grew out of the MSC, writing, “En 1967, el MSC se inscribió bajo el nombre de Partido Social Cristiano ante el Tribunal Supremo Electoral.” Perspective monde (2019) corroborates party affiliation as MSC and identifies the party as rightist. Perspective monde (2019) corroborates party affiliation as MSC and identifies the party as rightist. Lentz (1994: 238) corroborates CHISOLS, writing, “Ponce was the Conservative party candidate for president in 1956.” In V-Party (2020), 6 experts identify MSC’s ideology as “Right” (2.206) in 1979.

Years: 1960

Head of Government: José María Velasco Ibarra

Ideology: rightist

Description: HoG identifies ideology as leftist. CHISOLS identifies Velasco Ibarra’s party as Federacion Nacional Velasquista (FNV). Manzano (2017), however, identifies Velasco Ibarra as rightist, referring to him as a “conservative leader” and a member of the Conservative Party, referring to Banks and Overstreet’s Political Handbook of the World (1980: 149), which describes his Velasquista Party as a center-right party. Hanratty (1989) corroborates Manzano (2017) assessment at that time, stating, “The rapidly deteriorating economic situation soon brought about a split in the *velasquista* coalition, however, with the left, led by Vice President Carlos Julio Arosemena Monroy... openly opposing the government in July 1961”, thus Velasco was left leading the conservative faction. Hanratty further indicates that Velasco’s affiliation earlier on was rightist, stating “Velasco’s subsequent party support during the 1950s came from the Conservatives, the conservative Social Christian Movement (Movimiento Social Cristiano—MSC), and the highly nationalistic, anticommunist, quasi-fascist Ecuadorian Nationalist Revolutionary Action (Acción Revolucionaria Nacionalista Ecuatoriana—ARNE).” Perspective Monde (2019) and World Statesmen (2019) corroborate party affiliation as FNV. Funke et al. (2020: 96) identify Velasco Ibarra as a “right-wing populist.” However, Funke et al. also write, “It is not straightforward to classify him on the left vs. right spectrum. Some authors view him as a left-wing populist in the tradition of Peron and Vargas (e.g., Gratius 2007, 12 Demmers et al. 2001b, 4, Hawkins 2010, 78), but others disagree (e.g., Basset & Launey 2013, 155). Economic topics were not in the center of his discourse and he did not attack the economic elites (Sosa 2012, 167, de la Torre 2010, 51).”

Years: 1961-1962

Head of Government: Carlos Julio Arosemena Monroy

Ideology: leftist

Description: HoG does not identify ideology. CHISOLS identifies Arosemena Monroy's party as Partido Nacionalista Revolucionario (PNR). DPI does not identify party ideology. Encyclopedia Britannica (2019) indicates that Arosemena Monroy was a leftist, writing that "he promoted reformist causes, such as low-cost housing, progressive income taxes, and yearly bonuses for workers. His support of Fidel Castro's revolution in Cuba caused an ongoing conflict with Congress and the military." However, Perspective monde (2019) identifies party affiliation as Partido Liberal Radical Ecuatoriano (PLRE) and identifies the party as centrist. Lentz (1994: 238) writes, "Arosemena served as vice president under José Velasco Ibarra from September of 1960. Arosemena and Velasco clashed over the government's economic policies and relationship with the United States." Lentz continues, "Arosemena's decision to maintain diplomatic relations with Fidel Castro's Cuba resulted in anti-Communist demonstrations against the government in 1962." After he was ousted from power, "In the mid-1960s he returned to Ecuador and was reelected to the Chamber of Deputies. Arosemena remained active in politics and formed the Nationalist Revolutionary Party (PNR)." Hanratty (1989) describes Arosemena as Velasco's "leading opponent," writing, "In an attempt to allay concerns about his being a dangerous leftist (as Velasco's vice president he had expressed warm sympathy for Cuban leader Fidel Castro Ruz and made a much-criticized trip to the Soviet Union), Arosemena named a cabinet that included Liberals and even Conservatives." Hanratty continues, "Arosemena's insistence on maintaining relations with Cuba, however, became a major domestic political issue in Ecuador. Political opponents labeled Arosemena a dangerous communist, and part of the military went into open rebellion in March 1962." Arosemena faced "accusations of being either unable or unwilling to stop communist subversion." World Statesmen (2019) identifies party affiliation as FNV in 1961-1963. The CHISOLS profile states that during Velasco Ibarra's preceding term, "The *velasquismo* broke into different factions, and the vice-president became the leader of the opposition faction in July 1961," referring to Arosemena. Hanratty corroborates this, writing, "The rapidly deteriorating economic situation soon brought about a split in the *velasquista* coalition, however, with the left, led by Vice President Carlos Julio Arosemena Monroy... openly opposing the government in July 1961."

Years: 1963-1965

Head of Government: Ramón Castro Jijón

Ideology: rightist

Description: HoG identifies ideology as rightist. CHISOLS identifies Castro's party affiliation as none. Manzano (2017) codes Jijón as right. Lentz (1994: 238) writes, "He was the leader of the ruling military junta that ousted President Carlos Julio Arosemena Monroy on July 11, 1963."

Years: 1966-1967

Head of Government: Otto Arosemena Gómez

Ideology: rightist

Description: HoG identifies ideology as rightist. CHISOLS identifies Arosemena Gómez's party as Coalición Institucionalista Democrática (CID). Manzano (2017) codes Arosemena as right. Perspective monde (2019) and World Statesmen (2019) corroborate party affiliation as CID. Lentz (1994: 239) writes, "[Arosemena] was a critic of United States economic policies in Latin America." Huber and Stephens (2016: 14) identify CID as center-right. In V-Party (2020), 5 experts identify CID's ideology as "Center-right" (0.569) in 1979.

Years: 1968-1971

Head of Government: José María Velasco Ibarra

Ideology: rightist

Description: HoG identifies ideology as leftist. CHISOLS identifies Velasco Ibarra's party as Federacion Nacional Velasquista (FNV). Manzano (2017), however, identifies Velasco Ibarra as rightist, referring to him as a "conservative leader" and a member of the Conservative Party, referring to Banks and Overstreet's Political Handbook of the World (1980: 149), which describes his Velasquista Party as a center-right party. Even though Keesing's Record of World Events (1972) states that Velasco "had not only received the Marxist President Allende of Chile but also had a meeting with Dr. Castro, the Cuban Premier" and that there were also "fears of a left ward trend" among Conservatives at the time, Hanratty in earlier decades indicates he was rightist, writing that "Velasco's subsequent party support during the 1950s came from the Conservatives, the conservative Social Christian Movement (Movimiento Social Cristiano—MSC), and the highly nationalistic, anticommunist, quasi-fascist Ecuadorian Nationalist Revolutionary Action (Acción Revolucionaria Nacionalista Ecuatoriana—ARNE)", and "The rapidly deteriorating economic situation soon brought about a split in the *velasquista* coalition, however, with the left, led by Vice President Carlos Julio Arosemena Monroy... openly opposing the government in July 1961", thus Velasco was left leading the conservative faction. Perspective Monde (2019) and World Statesmen (2019) corroborate party affiliation as FNV. Funke et al. (2020: 96) identify Velasco Ibarra as a "right-wing populist." However, Funke et al. also write, "It is not

straightforward to classify him on the left vs. right spectrum. Some authors view him as a left-wing populist in the tradition of Peron and Vargas (e.g., Gratius 2007, 12 Demmers et al. 2001b, 4, Hawkins 2010, 78), but others disagree (e.g., Basset & Launey 2013, 155). Economic topics were not in the center of his discourse and he did not attack the economic elites (Sosa 2012, 167, de la Torre 2010, 51)."

Years: 1972-1975

Head of Government: Guillermo Antonio Rodríguez Lara

Ideology: leftist

Description: HoG does not identify ideology. CHISOLS identifies Rodríguez's party affiliation as none. Encyclopedia of Latin American History and Culture (2008) states that at the outset of Rodríguez Lara's regime, "an explicit program for socioeconomic reform...was outlined" and that "traditionalists fought [against the reform plan] to block agrarian and tax reforms while opposing a nationalistic policy toward the new petroleum industry". It further states that Lara later goes on to suppress an uprising by "rightist officers". Mauro Marini (1976) states that Lara balanced between the "*militar de izquierda nacionalista y un ala militar tecnocrática*" (a military wing of nationalist left and a technocratic military wing). Conaghan and Malloy (1994: 76) state that the "Ecuadorian Chambers of Production battled the Rodríguez Lara administration on virtually every piece of its reform program. They strenuously opposed (1) the proposals for moderate agrarian reform, (2) controls over foreign investors...and (3) increased regulation over domestic firms" (76). Hanratty (1989) states, after Lara disappointed "those who anticipated that he would head a progressive military regime... It shortly became apparent that, ideologically, the Rodríguez Lara regime was a hybrid, reflecting a tenuous equilibrium among the widely divergent political tendencies within the Ecuadorian armed forces." These individuals expected the Lara regime to be more progressive because, Hanratty states, "The military regime called itself 'nationalist and revolutionary'". Later on, Hanratty states, "Rodríguez Lara's regime gave early emphasis to a campaign designed in part to exert firm control over the nation's petroleum resources and in part to consolidate the government's political authority". Political Handbook of the World (2005-2006) elaborates on his program, writing, "The military leadership, under Gen. Guillermo Rodriguez Lara, canceled the election, nominally restored the Liberal constitution of 1945, and advanced a 'nationalist, military, and revolutionary' program emphasizing the objectives of social justice and popular welfare."

Years: 1976-1978

Head of Government: Alfredo Ernesto Poveda Burbano

Ideology: rightist

Description: HoG does not identify ideology. CHISOLS identifies Poveda Burbano's party affiliation as none. Conaghan and Malloy (1994: 79) label Poveda's military junta as "conservative" and "in line with the anti-reformist postures struck by the private sector". Hanratty (1989) writes, "Virtually the only item on the agenda of the new military triumvirate was to preside over a return of the government to constitutional, civilian rule." However, there was a significant delay prior to the inauguration of a civilian president, because, "Like the Rodríguez Lara government, the Council was particularly interested in seeing a poor electoral performance by the CFP and, especially, preventing Bucaram from winning the presidency." Lentz (1994: 239-240) identifies both the CFP and Bucaram as leftist.

Years: 1979-1980

Head of Government: Jaime Roldós Aguilera

Ideology: centrist

Description: HoG identifies ideology as centrist. CHISOLS identifies Roldós' party as Concentración de Fuerzas Populares (CFP). Political Handbook of the World (2008) writes "At a runoff on April 29, 1979, the center-left candidate, Jaime Roldós Aguilera, defeated his conservative opponent, Sixto Duran-Ballen Córdovez, by a more than two-to-one majority and was inaugurated, without incident, on August 10." Political Handbook also writes, "The ID (Democratic Left- *Partido Izquierda Democrática*), a moderate social democratic party... endorsed Roldós Aguilera in the 1979 runoff, and offered partial support to the Hurtado Larrea government after Roldós's death." Perspective monde (2019) corroborates party affiliation as CFP and identifies the party as center-left. Lentz (1994: 240) writes, "Roldós was chosen to serve as the presidential candidate of the leftist Concentration of Popular Forces (CFP) in the elections in 1979." When his administration ended up being "more moderate than critics had expected," Roldós "broke with [leftist Assad] Bucaram's party to form the moderate People, Change, and Democracy party in 1980." World Statesmen (2019) corroborates party affiliation as CFP. In V-Party (2020), 6 experts identify CFP's ideology as "Center-left" (-0.921) in 1979. In V-Party (2020), 6 experts identify "some visible disagreement" in CFP in 1979.

Years: 1981-1983

Head of Government: Luis Osvaldo Hurtado Larrea

Ideology: leftist

Description: HoG identifies ideology as leftist. CHISOLS identifies Hurtado Larrea's party as Democracia Popular-Unión Demócrata Cristiana (DP-UDC). Perspective monde (2019) and World Statesmen (2019) corroborate party affiliation as DP-UDC but identify the party as center-right. However, Lentz (1994: 240) writes that Hurtado "joined the leftist Popular Democracy coalition in the 1978 elections



and was chosen as the vice presidential nominee to Jaime Roldos Aguilera.” He “remained active in the Popular Democracy party” after his term. Huber and Stephens (2016: 14) identify DP-UDC as center-left. In V-Party (2020), 6 experts identify DP-UDC’s ideology as “Center” (-0.382) in 1984. In V-Party (2020), 6 experts identify “virtually no visible disagreement” in DP-UDC in 1984.

Years: 1984-1987

Head of Government: León Esteban Febres-Cordero Ribadeneyra

Ideology: rightist

Description: HoG identifies ideology as rightist. CHISOLS identifies Febres Cordero’s party as Partido Social Cristiano (PSC). Political Handbook of the World (2005-2006) describes the PSC as “moderately right-of-center.” Perspective monde (2019) corroborates party affiliation as PSC and identifies the party as center-right. Lentz (1994: 240) writes that Febres Cordero “joined the Social Christian party in the 1970s” and later, as a candidate in the presidential election in 1984, “formed the National Reconstruction Front, a coalition of conservative parties that carried him to a victory in a runoff against Rodrigo Borja Cevallos.” World Statesmen (2019) corroborates party affiliation as PSC. Huber and Stephens (2016: 14) identify PSC as rightist. In V-Party (2020), 6 experts identify PSC’s ideology as “Right” (2.206) in 1984 and 1986.

Years: 1988-1991

Head of Government: Rodrigo Xavier Borja Cevallos

Ideology: leftist

Description: HoG identifies ideology as leftist. CHISOLS identifies Borja Cevallos’ party as Izquierda Democrática (ID). Political Handbook of the World (2008) identifies the ID as a “moderate social democratic party.” Perspective monde (2019) and World Statesmen (2019) corroborate party affiliation as ID and identify the party as center-left. Lentz (1994: 241) corroborates party affiliation as ID and writes, “Borja was defeated in the first round of balloting [in the presidential election of 1978] and endorsed Jaime Roldos Aguilera in the runoff.” Huber and Stephens (2016: 14) identify ID as center-left. In V-Party (2020), 6 experts identify ID’s ideology as “Center-left” (-0.904) in 1988 and 1990.

Years: 1992-1995

Head of Government: Sixto Alfonso Durán-Ballén Cordovez

Ideology: rightist

Description: HoG identifies ideology as rightist. CHISOLS identifies Durán Ballén’s party as Partido Unión Republicana (PUR). Political Handbook of the world (2008) identifies Durán-Ballén as conservative. Perspective monde (2019)

corroborates party affiliation as Partido Unión Republicana/Partido Conservador (PUR/PC) and identifies the parties as rightist. Lentz (1994: 241) writes, “Duran was the conservative party’s candidate for president in elections in 1978. He was defeated by Jaime Roldos Aguilera and was again unsuccessful in presidential elections in 1988. Duran formed the Republican United party (PUD) in 1991 and was again a candidate for president in elections in 1992.” World Statesmen (2019) corroborates party affiliation as PUR and identifies the party as center-right. World Statesmen also states that PUR existed in the years 1991-1995, then merging into PCE. Huber and Stephens (2016: 14) identify PUR as rightist. In V-Party (2020), 6 experts identify PUR’s ideology as “Right” (1.812) in 1992 and 1994, and 6 experts identify PC’s ideology as “Right” (2.199) in 1994.

Years: 1996

Head of Government: Abdala Jaime Bucaram Ortiz

Ideology: leftist

Description: HoG does not identify ideology. CHISOLS identifies Bucaram Ortiz’s party as Partido Roldosista Ecuatoriano (PRE). DPI does not identify party ideology. Huber and Stephens (2016) identify PRE as a personalist party. Encyclopedia Britannica (2019) identifies PRE as leftist, writing “In 1982 Bucaram founded the leftist Ecuadoran Roldosist Party (Partido Roldosista Ecuatoriano; PRE)” that he “proved popular with the country’s poor majority, who also welcomed his campaign promises of social welfare programs and housing constructions.” Perspective monde (2019) corroborates party affiliation as PRE but identifies the party as centrist. World Statesmen (2019) corroborates party affiliation as PRE. Lentz (1994) writes that President Roldos Aguilera “broke with [leftist Assad] Bucaram’s party to form the moderate People, Change, and Democracy party in 1980.” In V-Party (2020), 6 experts identify PRE’s ideology as “Center” (-0.15) in 1996. In V-Party (2020), 6 experts identify “virtually no visible disagreement” in PRE in 1996. Funke et al. (2020: 98) identify Bucaram as a “right-wing populist.” The authors write, “With a view to the economy, he shifted from a rhetoric of redistribution during his electoral campaign to a strictly liberal and business-friendly reform agenda once in power... once in office, his ‘aim was to deepen neoliberal economic reforms’ (de la Torre 2010, 98f).”

Years: 1997

Head of Government: Fabián Ernesto Alarcón Rivera

Ideology: centrist

Description: HoG identifies ideology as leftist. CHISOLS identifies Alarcón’s party as Frente Radical Alfarista (FRA). Perspective monde (2019) corroborates party affiliation as FRA but identifies the party as centrist. World Statesmen (2019)

corroborates party affiliation as FRA and identifies the party as “center liberal”. Huber and Stephens (2016: 14) identify FRA as center-right. The Barcelona Center for International Affairs identifies him as center-left, writing, “Considerado un responsable político sin ideología nítida, oscilando entre el populismo y un centrismo desdibujado que él gustaba definir como escorado a la izquierda, Alarcón ganó empero un crédito como negociador hábil y creador de consensus en el fluido panorama político ecuatoriano, rico en partidos y líderes de personalidad fuerte basados sobre la dicotomía tradicional de la Sierra y la Costa; en este sentido, Alarcón pertenecía a las élites políticas serranas, como Durán-Ballén, Borja o el demócrata popular Jamil Mahuad Witt.” [Considered a political leader without a defined ideology, oscillating between populism and a blurred centrism that he liked to define as heeled to the left, Alarcón earned credit anyway as a skilled negotiator and consensus-maker in the fluid Ecuadorian political landscape, rich in parties and leaders with personalities strongly based in the traditional dichotomy of the Sierra and the Coast; in this sense, Alarcón belonged to the political elites of the mountains, like Durán-Ballén, Borja or the popular democrat Jamil Mahuad Witt.] In V-Party (2020), 6 experts identify FRA’s ideology as “Center” (0.18) in 1994. In V-Party (2020), 6 experts identify “virtually no visible disagreement” in FRA in 1994.

Years: 1998-1999

Head of Government: Jorge Jamil Mahuad Witt

Ideology: centrist

Description: HoG identifies ideology as leftist. CHISOLS identifies Mahuad’s party as Democracia Popular-Unión Demócrata Cristiana (DP-UDC). Perspective monde (2019) and World Statesmen (2019) corroborate party affiliation as DP-UDC but identify the party as center-right. Huber and Stephens (2016: 14) identify DP-UDC as center-left. In V-Party (2020), 6 experts identify DP-UDC’s ideology as “Center” (0.385) in 1998. In V-Party (2020), 6 experts identify “negligible visible disagreement” in DP-UDC in 1998. Ortiz de Zárate (2016) writes, “Miembro desde 1981 de la Democracia Popular-Unión Demócrata Cristiana (DP-UDC), partido centrista originado en 1964 a partir de una disidencia del más conservador Partido Social Cristiano (PSC)... De cara a las elecciones presidenciales del 31 de mayo de 1998 Mahaud invirtió la cooperación mantenida con ID en los años ochenta y acudió aliado con el PSC, adalid de la derecha liberal.” [Member since 1981 of the Popular Democracy-Christian Democratic Union (DP-UDC), a centrist party that originated in 1964 from a dissent from the more conservative Christian Social Party (PSC)... Facing the presidential elections of May 31, 1998, Mahaud inverted the cooperation maintained with ID in the eighties and allied with the PSC, a champion of the liberal right.]

Years: 2000-2002

Head of Government: Gustavo José Joaquín Noboa Bejarano

Ideology: centrist

Description: HoG identifies ideology as leftist. CHISOLS identifies Noboa Bejarano's party as Democracia Popular-Unión Demócrata Cristiana (DP-UDC). Perspective monde (2019) and World Statesmen (2019) corroborate party affiliation as DP-UDC but identify the party as center-right. Huber and Stephens (2016: 14) identify DP-UDC as center-left. In V-Party (2020), 6 experts identify DP-UDC's ideology as "Center" (0.385) in 1998. In V-Party (2020), 6 experts identify "negligible visible disagreement" in DP-UDC in 1998. Ortiz de Zárate (2021) states, "Personaje fundamentalmente apolítico y descrito como un académico de carácter bonancible y moderado convertido en honesto servidor público... Noboa aceptó formar parte de la fórmula presidencial de Jamil Mahuad Witt, dirigente del partido de centro Democracia Popular-Unión Demócrata Cristiana (DP-UDC), en las elecciones del 31 de mayo de 1998... Noboa realizó vagas promesas de justicia social y de prosecución de la lucha contra la corrupción, y llamó a formar una conciencia nacional que, al margen de "partidismos y ambiciones de grupos", regenerase la función pública... Pero, muy significativamente, anunció que la dolarización total de la economía, emprendida por Mahuad (y detonante principal de su caída) con el objeto de devolver la confianza de los mercados financieros y los inversores privados al sistema económico ecuatoriano, así como la campaña de privatizaciones, seguirían su curso invariable, de manera que el fundamento de ulteriores protestas sociales permanecía inalterable." [A fundamentally apolitical character and described as a mild-mannered and moderate academic turned into an honest public servant... Noboa agreed to the part of the presidential formula of Jamil Mahuad Witt, leader of the center party Popular Democracy-Christian Democratic Union (DP-UDC), in the elections of May 31, 1998... Noboa made vague promises of social justice and to continue the fight against corruption, and called for the formation of a national conscience that, apart from 'partisanship and group ambitions', would regenerate the public function... But, very significantly, he announced the total dollarization of the economy, undertaken by Mahuad (but the main trigger for his fall) in order to restore the confidence of financial markets and private investors to the Ecuadorian economic system, as well as the campaign of privatizations, would continue their invariable course, so that the foundation of subsequent social protests would remain unchanged.]

Years: 2003-2004

Head of Government: Lucio Edwin Gutiérrez Borbúa

Ideology: leftist

Description: HoG does not identify ideology. CHISOLS identifies Gutiérrez's party as Partido Sociedad Patriótica (PSP). DPI does not identify party ideology. Huber and Stephens identify PSP's ideology as personalist (2016: 14). Conniff (2012: 175f) states that Gutiérrez himself "declared that he did not believe in any ideology". and that he "had an amorphous ideology with no clear political or economic state vision". Perspective monde (2019) corroborates party affiliation as PSP but identifies the party as leftist. World Statesmen (2019) also corroborates party affiliation as PSP but identifies the party as extreme rightist. In V-Party (2020), 6 experts identify PSP's ideology as "Center-left" (-0.435) in 2002. In V-Party (2020), 6 experts identify "virtually no visible disagreement" in PSP. Ortiz de Zárate (2016) states, "Palacio aceptó ser el candidato al puesto de vicepresidente de la República en la fórmula presidencial de Gutierrez, que se presentaba a las elecciones del 20 de octubre de 2002 al frente de su propia fuerza política, el Partido Sociedad Patriótica 21 de enero (PSP), en alianza con el indigenista Movimiento Unidad Plurinacional Pachakutik-Nuevo País (MUPP-NP, a su vez el brazo político de la CONAIE) y el marxista Movimiento Popular Democrático (MPD), y con un programa intencionadamente silencioso en cuanto a etiquetas ideológicas tradicionales- aunque la plataforma era inequívocamente izquierdista- y que hacia hincapié en la dignificación 'ética' del Estado, la lucha sin cuartel contra la corrupción y los delitos económicos que campaban por sus respetos, y una política económica de fuerte acento social." [Palacio agreed to be the candidate for the post of Vice President of the Republic in the presidential formula of Gutiérrez, who was standing in the elections of October 20, 2002 at the head of his own political force, the Patriotic Society Party January 21 (PSP), in alliance with the indigenist Movimiento Unidad Plurinacional Pachakutik-Nuevo País (MUPP-NP, itself the political arm of CONAIE) and the Marxist Movimiento Popular Democrático (MPD), and with an intentionally silent program in terms of traditional ideological labels - although the platform was unequivocally leftist - and which emphasized the "ethical" dignity of the State, the relentless fight against corruption and economic crimes that raged for their respect, and an economic policy with a strong social accent.] However, as Ortiz de Zárate (2016) states, "la frustración afloró en los partidos de la izquierdas, los sindicatos y los colectivos indígenas al ver cómo el ex coronel, a las primeras de cambio, se desdecía de las promesas electorales de contenido social y se sometía a las directrices liberales." [frustration surfaced in the parties of the left, the unions and the indigenous groups when they saw how the former colonel, at the first turn, disregarded the electoral promises of social content and submitted to the liberal guidelines.]

Years: 2005-2006

Head of Government: Luis Alfredo Palacio González

#### Ideology:

Description: HoG does not identify ideology. CHISOLS identifies Palacio González's affiliation as Democracia Popular (DP). Rulers (2021) and World Statesmen (2019) identify Palacio González's party affiliation as none. DPI does not identify party ideology. Huber and Stephens (2016: 14) identify party ideology as leftist. In V-Party (2020), 6 experts identify DP's ideology as "Center" (0.385) in 1998 and "Center" (0.377) in 2006. In V-Party (2020), 6 experts identify "negligible visible disagreement" in DP in 1998 and 2006. World Statesmen (2021) identifies Palacio González as non-party and identifies DP as center-left. Perspective monde (2021) corroborates Palacio González as independent. Ortiz de Zárate (2016) states, "...en todo momento desvinculado de cualquier filiación o militancia partidista... Palacio aceptó ser el candidato al puesto de vicepresidente de la República en la fórmula presidencial de Gutiérrez, que se presentaba a las elecciones del 20 de octubre de 2002 al frente de su propia fuerza política, el Partido Sociedad Patriótica 21 de enero (PSP)... La elección por Gutiérrez de Palacio, un sexagenario 18 años mayor que él, desideologizado y a todas luces moderado y sobrio en talante y pensamiento... fue vista como una tímida fórmula de compensación por el regusto socialista [de Gutiérrez]... Palacio dejó muy claro a todo el mundo que no se iba a afiliarse al PSP ni a partido alguno, salvo que le surgiera 'desde el fondo del alma' un deseo en tal sentido. Afirmó que, de llegar a la Vicepresidencia, seguiría siendo independiente y que su único interés era el de servir a la nación desde las instituciones del Estado." [... at all times detached from any affiliation or party militancy... Palacio agreed to be the candidate for the post of Vice President of the Republic in the presidential formula of Gutiérrez, who was standing in the elections of October 20, 2002 at the head of his own political force, the Patriotic Society Party January 21 (PSP)... Gutiérrez's election of Palacio, a sixty-year-old 18 years older than him, de-ideologized and clearly moderate and sober in mood and thought... was seen as a timid formula of compensation for [Gutiérrez's] socialist aftertaste... Palacio made it very clear to everyone that he was not going to join the PSP or any party, unless a desire to that effect arose 'from the bottom of his soul'. He affirmed that, if he became Vice President, he would continue to be independent and that his only interest was to serve the nation from the institutions of the State.]

Years: 2007-2016

Head of Government: Rafael Vicente Correa Delgado

#### Ideology: leftist

Description: HoG identifies ideology as leftist. CHISOLS identifies Correa Delgado's party as Alianza País (AP). Political Handbook of the World (2010) elaborates, writing, "The PAÍS (Alianza País) is a loose collection of socialist organizations, civil-society groups, indigenous leaders, and left-of-center

personalities organized in 2006 largely by Rafael Correa, its presidential candidate.” Perspective monde (2019) corroborates party affiliation as AP and identifies the party as leftist. World Statesmen (2019) also corroborates party affiliation as PAIS and identifies the party as left-wing and democratic socialist. Huber and Stephens (2016: 13) identify AP as leftist. In V-Party (2020), 6 experts identify AP’s ideology as “Left” (-1.767) in 2007 and 2009 and “Center-left” (-1.605) in 2013. Funke et al. (2020: 100) identify Correa as a “left-wing populist.”

Years: 2017-2020

Head of Government: Lenín Boltaire Moreno Garcés

Ideology: leftist

Description: HoG identifies ideology as leftist. CHISOLS does not identify head of government. Xinhua (2018) identifies Moreno Garcés’ party as Alianza País (AP). Huber and Stephens identify AP’s ideology as leftist (2016: 13). Perspective monde (2021) corroborates party affiliation as AP and identifies the party as leftist. World Statesmen (2021) also corroborates party affiliation as PAIS and identifies the party as left-wing and democratic socialist. In V-Party (2020), 7 experts identify AP’s ideology as “Center-left” (-1.545) in 2017. DPI identifies PAIS’s ideology as leftist.

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