

Spain

Vanderbilt

Spain is considered democratic from 1919 to 1923. “Turno pacifico” describes the alternation of power between the Liberal Party and the Conservative party. It was highly successful prior to 1898, but fractures within the parties led to its decline. “The years 1918 and 1919 saw a period of grave instability, but between 1920 and 1923 a serious attempt was made to reconstruct the *turno*” (Smith 1996, 624). It seems that this is a time where party labels were weak and parties fragmented into factions led by particular strongmen. For consistency, we follow rules for parliamentary democracies, but we do provide information on individual factions and their participation in government.¹

Álvaro Figueroa y Torres Mendieta, conde de Romanones of the Liberal Party (PL) ruled as prime minister (PM) in 1919. In April 1919, the Romanones government fell over clashes with the military over Barcelona and he was succeeded by a conservative cabinet of Antonio Maura y Montaner, which comprised two Conservative factions, the Maura conservatives and Dato’s conservatives. This is a SOLS change. Maura’s cabinet was forced to resign within four months in favor of Sanchez Toca (PC), who headed a cabinet of Dato conservatives. Dato conservatives won the 1919 and 1920 elections and had become the largest parliamentary block, taking part in several cabinets. This is not a SOLS change. In December, Manuel Allendesalazar Muñoz de Salazar, PC, replaced Sanchez Toca as prime minister and a cabinet of Dato Conservatives (D.Con), Liberals and Democrats. This is a minor SOLS change (Annual Register 1921, 260-1).

In 1920 Eduardo Dato y Iradier, PC, became PM, heading an all-Dato Conservative cabinet. This is a minor SOLS change. Dato’s cabinet governed from May 1920 until March 1921 when Dato was assassinated by anarchists. In March 1921 Gabino Bugallial Araujo conde de Bugallal, PC, became (acting) PM. This is not a SOLS change. In March 1921 Manuel Allendesalazar Muñoz de Salazar, PC, became PM, heading a cabinet of Conservatives, Liberals, and Democrats. This is a minor SOLS change. In August 1921 Antonio Maura y Montaner, PC, became PM. This is not a SOLS change. He headed a cabinet of his own choice, comprised of Conservatives, the Lliga, Liberals and Democrats.² It is possible that the liberal parties in the two governments were different, and thus that a minor SOLS change occurred, but without definitive information about the parties in the coalition, we do not code one, relying instead on information about the party families.

¹ Note that we have considerable uncertainty as to the composition of the governments in the 1919-1923 period. This does not affect our SOLS coding, but does affect our minor SOLS coding. “One-party government had been the rule until the crisis of 1917 that opened the way to the first coalition government of Alfonso XIII’s reign. Three further coalition cabinets followed between 1921 and 1923, which included members of such parties as the Partido Liberal Demócrata, Liberal Progresista, Izquierda Liberal – all factions of the Liberals; the Mauristas – which resulted from the division of the Conservatives; as well as the Lliga Regionalista, and the Reformists. In total, 92 percent of the Constitutional Monarchy’s governments, over a period of almost fifty years, were one-party governments (Table 3)” (Linz and Jerez with Corzo 2003, 55).

² Smith (1996, 473) suggests that Maura also formed a coalition government, but again, note that we have considerable uncertainty as to the composition of the coalition governments in the 1919-1923 period.

Maura's government fell over a military crisis in Morocco and he was replaced by Sanchez Guerra (PC) of the largest Conservative faction, heading the same coalition in August of 1922.³ This is not a SOLS change. Sanchez Guerra set out to defuse the crisis, but failed and had to resign to a Liberal bloc in September. This bloc of all liberal factions was headed by Garcia Prieto (PL), which entered into government 5 December 1922. This is a SOLS change. Garcia Prieto headed two government coalitions of all Liberal groups, but unfortunately, we were unable to determine whether this should be coded as a minor SOLS change and when it occurs.

Garcia Prieto was ousted in a king-supported coup on September 13, 1923, by the Captain General of Catauna, Miguel Primo de Rivera. This is a SOLS change. From 1923 to 1931 Spain is considered authoritarian. It seems that Primo de Rivera's government is best described as a military-personalist hybrid. Because he had the support of the military, the King invited him to form a government. As soon as he came to power, he dissolved the legislature and started to rule by directives. While Primo de Rivera was controversial among some senior military leaders, Primo de Rivera initially relied heavily on the military for support; his first cabinet was composed predominantly of military officers, for example. However, he also (increasingly) relied on the church, the monarchy, and Spain's upper (middle) classes (Esenwein 2005, 12; Magone 2004, 10). Moreover, in the latter half of his regime, he started to include people from his support party: UP (Union Ratriotica founded in 1926) in the directorate and have plebiscites to legitimize his leadership (Rogger and Webe 1965, 187; Magone 2004, 10, Finer and Stanley 2002, 181-2; Rial 1986, 61). Consequently, we find that there is some support for classifying the regime as a military regime initially (1923-1925) and a hybrid military-personalist regime later on (1926-1929). However, we do not code different regime types for the same leader's rule, so we code Primo de Rivera's regime as a military-personalist hybrid throughout.

Primo de Rivera's attempts to broaden his support base beyond the military led to his eventual downfall; by 1925, he was under increasing popular pressure to appoint a civilian cabinet which he did. After this, the army started being concerned about Primo de Rivera's subordination of the army to the government and his intent to reduce the size of the military (Rial 1986, 63). When he tried to reform the promotion system, the army finally withdrew its support from Primo de Rivera and as a result of this loss of military support, in January of 1930, the King forced Primo de Rivera to step down. The King appointed General Dámaso Berenguer y Fusté, conde de Xauen, as interim PM (Tilly 2008, 150; Riley 2010, 93). This is not a SOLS change. The country then returned to democracy. The 2nd Republic lasted from 1931-1939.

Elections were conducted in 1931 but the left abstained from it. As a result, an administration of monarchists under Admiral Juan Bautista Aznar-Cabañas formed a provisional government. This is not a SOLS change. In the municipal elections conducted in 1931, it became clear that there was a very strong republican sentiment in the population, especially in the cities. Because the military was unwilling to intervene to support the monarchy in the face of increasing pressures to abolish it, King Alfonso decided to resign. He preferred to leave the country rather than risk a civil war between republicans and monarchists. A Republican committee formed by a number of small parties took over power on April 14, 1931. Niceto Alcalá-Zamora y Torres of the Conservative Republican Party (PRC—which also seems to be called LRR) became PM as

³ Again, note that we have considerable uncertainty as to the composition of the governments in the 1919-1923 period. This does not affect our SOLS coding, but does affect our minor SOLS coding.

well as President of the Provisional Government (US Library of Congress 1988; Worldstatesmen). Alcala Zamora, at one time a leader of a Liberal faction and a monarchist, was a devout catholic and now leader of the most conservative Republican group. His transition government consisted of the republican right, such as the PRC and the Radical Party (Partido Radical - PRR); as well as the republican left such as the Republican Action Party (RA), the Galician Nationalist ORGA, the Accio Catalana or Catalan Partit Catalnaista Republica (ACR – later merged into Accio Catalana Republicana), and the Radical Socialist Republican Party (Partido Radical Socialista - PRS); and the extreme left, consisting of the Socialist Party (PSOE: Payne 1993, 36-7). Following the June 1931 general elections, which were won by the Republican-Socialist coalition in a landslide victory, the leaders of the largest parties Lerroux of the PRR and Azana of the PSOE agreed to keep the cabinet's composition (Payne 1993; 49-52). Therefore Alcala Zamora remained Prime Minister of a PRC/PSOE/PRR/ACR/ORG/RA/PRS cabinet and we code a SOLS change at the start of the Zamora government on April 14, 1931. On October 14, 1931, Alcala Zamora resigned from the government and took his PRC (or LRR) out of the coalition, following disagreement over the Article 26 of the new constitution that had concluded that Spain was not a Catholic state. Azana of the Republican Action (RA) became the new Prime Minister of the RA/PSOE/PRR/ACR/ORG/PRS coalition; this is a SOLS change (Payne 1993, 49; 62; 64).

Azana and his RA would govern for two years, but there were shake-ups in the coalition. On 15 December of 1931 Azana government shifted to the left as the PRR dropped out of the coalition and Nicolau d'Oliver of the ACR left in favor of Jaime Carner Romeu the Catalan Esquerra Republicana (ER) joined. This is a minor SOLS change. (RA/PSOE/ER/ORG/PRS: Payne 1993, 49; 62; 71). Azana's position weakened and following the prolonged illness of a minister, President Alcala Zamora forced a cabinet reshuffle. The small Federal Republican Party (FR) entered the new coalition on June 13, 1933, which is a minor SOLS change (Payne 1993, 137).⁴ The "Pact of San Sebastian" coalition started to suffer from internal dissent and in the summer of 1933, the Radical Socialists split into a center faction – which retained the Radical Socialist Republican Party name – and the left-center Partido Radical Socialista Independiente (RSI). Again, President Alcala Zamora tried to establish another coalition and on September 12, Lerroux (PRR) of the Radical Party announced a coalition composed of PRR, AR, ISR, PRS, ER, and ORGA. Lerroux' coalition was voted down in parliament on October 3. A caretaker government (Phillips and Phillips 2010, 249) of the Diego Martinez Barrio of PRR, AR, IRS, PRS, ER, and PRP was formed on 9 October to oversee new elections. This is not a SOLS change (Blanco Freijeiro 1986, 1024-5).⁵

The political landscape at the time of the November 1933 elections was quite different from the election in 1931: the right had reorganized into the Spanish Confederation of Autonomous Rightist Groups (Confederacion Espanola de Derechas Autonomas – CEDA) and was now a serious contender. The Socialist-Republican alliance had shattered, weakening the Republican and Socialist electoral position in an electoral system that favored large parties (Payne 1993; 178-81). The elections were won by the rightwing CEDA, but because President

⁴ Note that Payne (1993, 137) also lists the entry of ER, which should already be part of the coalition according to Payne (1993, 36-7). There is no reason to assume that ER was anything but supportive of the government.

However, it is unclear if it has been part of the cabinet throughout the entire Alcala Zamora and Azana period.

⁵ Here we follow Blanco Freijeiro (1986) as the primary source to determine coalition composition. See also Payne (1993, 146).

Zamora doubted CEDA's commitment to the Republic, he instead had a minority-Radical government form under Lerroux consisting of the PRR, PRR, PLD, PRP, and Ag (Blanco Freijeiro 1986, 1024-5; see also Payne 1993, 183-5).⁶ However, because these parties made up a third of the seats in parliament, Lerroux' coalition required CEDA's support to survive (Payne 1993, 183-5).

In April 1934 the Lerroux government resigned in light of a crisis and rumors of a coup. Ricardo Samper Ibanez, Lerroux' one of lieutenants was asked to become prime minister of a new (PRR, PR, PLD, and Ag) Cabinet (Payne 1993, 187-8; Alvarez Junco and Schubert 2000, 231). According to Alvarez Junco and Schubert (2000, 231), Samper was not the choice of Lerroux, but as Samper and Lerroux originated from the same party and led a similar coalition, we do not code a SOLS change here.⁷ The CEDA put pressure on the beleaguered Samper Ibanez cabinet and demanded entry into the minority government at the end of September. The entry of the CEDA was widely expected to trigger a Socialist revolt, nevertheless the Samper Ibanez government resigned when parliament returned from recess on October 1. Lerroux negotiated a new majority cabinet, which now included three CEDA ministers (PRR, CEDA, PLD, and Ag) and entered into government on October 10, 1934 (Blanco Freijeiro 1986, 1024-5; Alvarez Junco and Schubert 2000, 232-3; Payne 1993, 212-3; 231-2, Archigos (Goemans et al. 2009)). This is a minor SOLS change. A revolution did break out; the unsuccessful insurrection and the subsequent reaction set Spain on the road to civil war.

On March 29, 1935, the coalition broke over the prosecution of two key political figures for their involvement in the insurrection. President Alcala Zamora thereupon suspended parliament for 30 days. On April 3, he appointed an interim administration under Lerroux consisting of Lerroux's PRR and the PLD (Blanco Freijeiro 1986, 1024-5; Robinson 1971, 199). We do not code minor SOLS change here. On May 6, the parties that had been in the previous coalition (i.e. PRR, CEDA, PLD, and Ag) agreed on a new government under Lerroux (Blanco Freijeiro 1986, 1024-5; Payne 1993, 231-2).⁸ This is not a minor SOLS change either, since it was the same coalition as the last regular government led by Lerroux.

Following an administrative reorganization, the two Agrarian ministers resigned on September 19, after which the cabinet responded with its resignation. A stalemate developed as President Zamora refused to let CEDA form a government and CEDA refused to participate as a junior coalition partner in any government. President Alcala Zamora thus bypassed the leaders of the PRR and the CEDA and nominated the non-party Chapaprieta to attempt to form a coalition that was expanded to include a member of the Lliga Catalana (Lliga: before 1933 this was the Lliga Regionalista). The new coalition (non-party, CEDA, PRR, Lliga, and Ag) entered into government on October 25, 1935 (Blanco Freijeiro 1986, 1024-5; Payne 1993, 242-3; 248; Archigos (Goemans et al. 2009)). This is a SOLS change because power moved away from the

⁶ Again, Blanco Freijeiro (1986) is our primary source to determine coalition composition.

⁷ In March of 1934, CEDA forced the expulsion of two Radical Party critics of collaboration with the CEDA, including cabinet minister and deputy Radical leader Diego Martinez Barrio. By May, Barrio left the Radical Party altogether, taking the most liberal section - representing a quarter of the party - with him. Barrio formed the Democratic Radical Party (Partido Radical Democrata - PRD), which later that year merged with the remainder of the RSR into the Partido de Union Republicana (UR - Alvarez Junco and Schubert 2000, 231; Payne 1993, 208).

⁸ Note that the new government also included an independent. It is not clear whether the previous government included independents.

Radicals. To further illustrate the differences between the cabinets: the leader of the largest party, the CEDA, had a special position in this cabinet with a non-partisan PM (Payne 1993, 245).

By the end of the year 1935, two scandals had discredited Lerroux and his Radical Party. When it became clear that Chapaprieta could not get his austerity budgeted reforms through parliament, his cabinet resigned. President Alcala Zamora blocked the Premiership of the CEDA leader Gil Robles, and on December 14, 1935, appointed Portela (non-party) to form an interim government (Peirats 2011, 83; Bookchin 1996, 162). The government consisted of Chapaprieta as independent, two Radicals (disavowed by Lerroux), two military members, one Ag, one LD, and one member of the Lliga (PC, Ag, LD, and Lliga). Parliament was kept out of session and before the official entry date of the Portela interim government on 31 December 1935 it had changed composition into PLD and PRR with two dissident Radicals (Rad. Dis: Blanco Freijeiro 1986, 1024-5). The Portela entry is not a SOLS change (Blanco Freijeiro 1986, 1024-5; Payne 1993, 253; 258; Archigos (Goemans et al. 2009)).⁹

In an atmosphere of clashes between the president and the interim government, the president closed parliament and new elections were called for February. In those elections, the Popular Front alliance was formed by moderate middle class leftist parties and the various Socialist and Communist parties (*Socialists, Izquierda Republicana, Union Republicana, Esquerra Catalana, Communists, Accio Catalana, Leftist Independents, Unio Socialista de Catalunya, Galicianists, Federal Republicans, Unio de Rabassaires, POUM, Partit Catala Proletari, Estat Catala, Revolutionary Catalan nationalist, Partido Syndicalist, Esquerra Valenciana*). The generally free and fair February 1936 elections were won by the Popular Front of the left. Amongst unrest following the elections, Portela and his full cabinet almost immediately stepped down, leaving the Spanish government in disarray (Payne 1993, 277-80). By February 19, 1936 a new left Republican government under Azana was assembled, consisting of the Izquierda Republicana (IR - Republican Left; a merger of Azana's RA, RSI, and a left Galicianist party) and the Union Republicana (UR). This is a SOLS change (Blanco Freijeiro 1986, 1024-5; Payne 1993, 281). On May 12, 1936 Azana ascended to the presidency, leaving the premiership to a personal ally Casares Quiroga (IR, UR, and ER). The coalition remained largely the same, but was broadened with a member of the ER (Blanco Freijeiro 1986, 1024-5; Payne 1993, 281). This is a minor SOLS change.

The spring and early summer of 1936 saw increasing violence on the street. There were revolts of elite units of the Spanish army in Morocco against the Left Republican government of Azaña and Casares Quiroga. On July 17, 1936 generals under the leadership of Mola and Franco rose up against the Republic and the Spanish Civil War began. The Generals took control of roughly a third of the country: unrest and violence turned into Civil War (Payne 1993, 364-7). The leadership realized the need to cooperate with the non-leftist forces and the Quiroga cabinet was replaced with one by Martinez Barrio, one of the more moderate leaders of the Popular Front alliance. As a last effort in the midst of violence Martinez Barrio (UR) attempted to construct a broad republican government of the center on July 19, 1936, but it was too little, too late; the government coalition (UR, IR, and ER) was completed at 5:00 A.M. and resigned at 8:00 A.M. This is a SOLS change that lasts less than 30 (Blanco Freijeiro 1986, 1024-25; Payne 1993, 369-70).

⁹ Again, Blanco Freijeiro (1986) is our primary source to determine coalition composition.

The Civil War lasted for three years, but we continue to code a democracy until 1939 when Franco takes power. After the Barrio government resigned, a new all-left Republican cabinet under José Giral (IR, UR, and ER) was put in place (Blanco Freijeiro 1986, 1024-5). This means that this is an ABA scenario from the codebook: Quiroga (IR), Barrio (UR), Giral (IR). After Giral, Largo Caballero, a Socialist, came to power. This is a SOLS change. “Largo Caballero, who became prime minister in September 1936, had the support of the Socialists and of the communists, who were becoming the most important political factor in the republican government (US Library of Congress 1988).” His coalition was comprised of the PSOE, IR, UR, PC, ER, and PNV (Blanco Freijeiro 1986, 1024-5). Blanco Freijeiro (1986, 1068-9) list a change in the composition of Caballero’s cabinet on November 4, 1936 (PSOE, IR, UR, PC, ER, CNT, and CNT-FAT), which we code as a minor SOLS change. Largo Caballero’s government did not last long: he wanted to make a compromise to end the civil war and was then removed. He was succeeded by another socialist, Negrin, who headed a broad cabinet of PSOE, IR, UR, PC, ER, and PNV (Blanco Freijeiro 1986, 1024-5). This is a minor SOLS change. On April 6, 1938, however, the CNT rejoined and the new coalition began, which consisted of PSOE, IR, PC, ER, and CNT. This is coded as a minor SOLS change (Blanco Freijeiro 1986, 1068-9). The Republican government, with a strong Communist influence, remained in power until 1939.

In January 1939 the Nationalists captured Barcelona, the temporary capital, and in March the Republican army commander seized Madrid, ending the civil war. In March 1939 José Miaja Menant, Mil, became the president of the National Council of Defense. This is a SOLS change, but only a SOLS change that lasts less than 30 since he was in power for less than a month (and ABC scenario). In April 1939, Francisco Franco Bahamonde¹⁰ of the Spanish Falange Traditionalists (Mil/FET, only legal party for the 1939-1975 period) became El Caudillo (the state leader). According to Geddes, he establishes a personalist regime lasting from 1939-1976 and so we code a SOLS change here. He ruled the country until he died in 1975.

After his death, Prince Juan Carlos de Borbón was crowned king and ruled as the head of state. This is not a SOLS change because Juan Carlos was Franco’s pre-designated successor (Preston 2004, 220). Fellow FET party member Carlos Arias Navarro had been appointed PM by Franco in 1973. Juan Carlos did not care for Arias, but felt that he had to keep him in office in order to ensure support from powerful conservative Francoists (Preston 2004, 331). Accordingly, Juan Carlos reappointed Arias to the role of PM. This is not a SOLS change because his rule represented a continuation of Franco’s regime. Arias ruled as PM until he resigned in 1976 (Associated Press 1989). After Arias’ resignation, Juan Carlos appointed Adolfo Suárez González, UCD, to replace him. “The Union of the Democratic Center (Union de Centro Democrático--UCD), [was] a centrist coalition of several groups, including Francoist reformists and moderate opposition democrats (US Library of Congress 1988).”

In 1977 Spain became a parliamentary democracy. Suárez González won the general elections to continue as PM. The leadership transition to Suárez González is tricky to code. On the one hand, because Suárez González was appointed by Juan Carlos and was part of the Francoists (US Library of Congress 1988b), there should be no SOLS change here. On the other

¹⁰ According to Spanish naming rules, people have one or two first names and two surnames. The first surname is often the father’s first surname, and the second surname is the mother’s first surname although the order is not the same in every case. In reference, it is customary to use the first given name and first surname, e.g. Francisco Franco.

hand, for the majority of his tenure, he was responsible to the constituents of his party rather than to Franco's clique. We code a SOLS change here since Suárez González does constitute a major break with the Francoist system. Geddes also codes Franco's personalist system as ending with Suárez González. In 1981 Leopoldo Calvo Sotelo y Bustelo of UCD became PM. This is not a SOLS change. In 1982 Felipe González Márquez of the Partido Socialista Obrero Español (PSOE) became PM. This is a SOLS change. In 1996 José María Aznar López of the Partido Popular (PP) became PM. This is a SOLS change. In 2004 José Luis Rodríguez Zapatero, PSOE, became PM. This is a SOLS change. Zapatero ruled through 2008.

References

- Alvarez Junco, José, and Adrian Shubert. 2000. *Spanish History since 1808*. London: Arnold.
- Annual Register. 1921. *The Annual Register – Vol 162: A Review of Public Events at Home and Abroad for the Year 1920*. London: Longmans, Green, and Co.
- Associated Press. 1989. "Obituaries: Carlos Arias Navarro, Spanish Official, 80." *The New York Times*. November 29, 1989. <http://www.nytimes.com/1989/11/29/obituaries/carlos-arias-navarro-spanish-official-80.html> (August 19, 2013).
- Ben-Ami, Shlomo. 1978. *The Origins of the Second Republic in Spain*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Blanco Freijeiro, Antonio. 1986. *Historia De España*. 1a ed. Madrid: Historia 16.
- Bookchin, Murray. 1996. *The Third Revolution: Popular Movements in the Revolutionary Era*. New York: Cassell.
- Cahoon, Ben. 2012. "Spain." *World Statesmen.org*. <http://www.worldstatesmen.org/Spain.html> (August 14, 2013).
- Da Graça, John V. 2000. *Heads of State and Government*. New York: St. Martin's Press.
- Esenwein, George Richard. 2005. *The Spanish Civil War: A Modern Tragedy*. London: Taylor & Francis.
- Finer, S. E. and Jay Stanley. 2002. *The Man on Horseback: The Role of the Military in Politics*. Transaction Publishers.
- Goemans, Henk E., Kristian Skrede Gleditsch, and Giacomo Chiozza. 2009. "Introducing Archigos: A Dataset of Political Leaders." *Journal of Peace Research* 46(2): 269-283.
- Linz, Juan J., Miguel Jerez, and Susana Corzo. 2003. "Ministers and Regimes in Spain: From the First to the Second Restoration, 1874-2002." In Pedro Tavares de Almeida, Antonio Costa Pinto, and Nancy Bermeo, eds. *Who Governs Southern Europe?* Portland, OR: Frank Cass: 41-116.

- Magone, José María. 2004. *Contemporary Spanish Politics*. Psychology Press.
- Payne, Stanley G. 1973. *A History of Spain and Portugal, vol. 2: Eighteenth Century to Franco*. Madison: University of Wisconsin Press.
- Payne, Stanley G. 1980. *Fascism. Comparison and Definition*. Madison, Wisconsin: University of Wisconsin Press.
- Payne, Stanley G. 1993. *Spain's First Democracy: The Second Republic, 1931-1936*. Madison, Wisconsin: University of Wisconsin Press.
- Payne, Stanley G. 1995. *A History of Fascism, 1914-1945*. Madison, Wisconsin: University of Wisconsin Press.
- Peirats, Jose. 2011. *The CNT in the Spanish Revolution*. PM press.
- Phillips, William D., and Carla Rahn Phillips. 2010. *A Concise History of Spain*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Preston, Paul. 2004. *Juan Carlos: Steering Spain from Dictatorship to Democracy*. London: W. W. Norton & Company.
- Rial, James H. 1986. *Revolution from Above. The Primo de Rivera Dictatorship in Spain, 1923-1930*. Fairfax: George Mason University Press.
- Riley, Dylan J. 2010. *The Civic Foundations of Fascism in Europe: Italy, Spain, and Romania, 1870-1945*. Baltimore, MD: The Johns Hopkins University Press.
- Robinson, Richard Alan Hodgson. 1971. *The Origins of Franco's Spain: the Right, the Republic and Revolution, 1931-1936*. Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press.
- Rogger, Hans and Eugen Webe. 1965. *The European Right: A Historical Profile*. Berkeley: University of California Press.
- Smith, Angel. 1996. *Historical Dictionary of Spain*. Lanham, MD: Scarecrow Press.
- Tilly, Charles. 2008. *Democracy*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- US Library of Congress. 1988. "A Country Study: Spain." <http://memory.loc.gov/frd/cs/estoc.html>
- Woldendorp, Jaap, Hans Keman, and Ian Budge. 2000. *Party Government in 48 Democracies (1945-1998): Composition, Duration, Personnel*. Boston, MA: Kluwer Academic Publishers.

Pre-1945 coded by Anna Carella in May 2011

Post-1945 coded by Anna Carella (Vanderbilt) in November 2010

Pre-1945 revised by Eelco van der Maat on February 20, 2012
Pre-1945 revised by Michaela Mattes on June 10, 2012
Pre-1945 revised by Eelco van der Maat on September 11, 2012
Pre-1945 revised by Ashley Leeds on May 28, 2013
Pre-1945 revised by Naoko Matsumura on June 26, 2013

Post-1945 checked by Michaela Mattes on June 19, 2011
Post-1945 updated by Naoko Matsumura on June 13, 2012

Combined by Ahra Wu (Rice) on August 21, 2013
Revised by Michaela Mattes on August 29, 2013
Revised by Andrew Wood on March 4, 2014
Edited by Andrew Wood (Rice) 05/24/2014