

Country: Nigeria

Years: 1960-1965

Head of government: Abubakar Tafawa Balewa

Ideology: Right

Description: World Statesmen (2019) and Rulers (2019) identify Yakubu Cinwa Dan-Yumma Gowon instead of Abubakar Tafawa Balewa as head of government on December 31, 1966. HoG does not identify ideology. CHISOLS identifies Balewa's party as NPC. Oquaye (1995) describes "pro-Western rightists like Tafawa Balewa of Nigeria". Falola and Genova (2009) describe the NPC as "the conservative branch of the northern anticolonial movement". Perspective Monde identifies Balewa as a member of the NPC, listed as "moderate right". Sklar (1963) identifies Balewa as a member of the NPC and writes "it does seem fair to infer from this study that the Northern People's Congress is mainly 'rightist' and 'centrist'". World Statesmen (2019) writes that Balewa was a member of the NPC and the NNA after 1964.

Years: 1966-1974

Head of government: Yakubu Cinwa Dan-Yumma Gowon

Ideology: Right

Description: World Statesmen (2019) and Rulers (2019) identify Yakubu Cinwa Dan-Yumma Gowon instead of Abubakar Tafawa Balewa as head of government on December 31, 1966. HoG does not identify ideology. CHISOLS identifies Gowon's party as none. Falola and Genova (2009) state "Gowon... favored a nationalist vision of diversifying Nigeria's economy". Gailey and Gailey (1972) describe "the policies of such right wing Nigerian leaders as Colonel Gowon".

Year: 1975

Head of government: Murtala Ramat Muhammad

Ideology: Right

Description: HoG does not identify ideology. CHISOLS identifies Muhammad's party as none. Metz (1991) identifies Muhammad's ideology as rightist, writing "Murtala Muhammad also announced that his government would encourage the rapid expansion of the private sector into areas dominated by public corporations." Azikiwe (2013) writes "in the words of General Murtala Muhammed... 'the time has come when we should make it clear that we can decide for ourselves, that we know our own interests, that we are capable of resolving African problems, without presumptuous lessons of ideological dangers'. And that was the concept of 'Afro-centrism' on which Nigeria's foreign policy objectives were formulated".

Years: 1976-1978

Head of government: Olusegun Obasanjo

Ideology: Center

Description: HoG does not identify ideology. CHISOLS identifies Obasanjo's party as none. Ottaway (1978) suggests a centrist ideology for Obasanjo, writing "Obasanjo has little time for the ideological disputes over socialism and capitalism sweeping many African countries and sees a standstill prevailing generally in the rivalry between East and West. "I am convinced beyond all doubt that the decision to choose between capitalism and socialism and the energy expended to making this choice becomes diversionary and wasted," he said in a speech at the opening of the new Nigerian Command and Staff College last September." Perspective Monde identifies Obasanjo as a member of the PDP after its founding in 1999, coded as "center" before Goodluck Jonathan took power. Political Handbook of the World (2012) writes "the party [PDP] presented a platform that reflected its broad political base, advocating the "guided" deregulation of the economy". Falola and Genova (2009) write "[the PDP] is considered a centrist party... significant party members include General Olusegun Obasanjo". World Statesmen (2019) identifies Obasanjo as a member of the PDP from 1999 onwards, described as "People's Democratic Party... social conservative". In the Global Party Survey 2019, 11 experts identify the average left-right (0-10) score of People's Democratic Party (PDP) as 5.9.

Years: 1979-1982

Head of government: Alhaji Usman Aliyu Shagari

Ideology: Right

Description: HoG does not identify ideology. CHISOLS identifies Shagari's party as NPN. Othman (1984) identifies the NPN's ideology at this time as rightist, writing "ideologically, the Party was conservative in the sense that it made no pretensions about changing the class nature of Nigerian society. [...] 'In line with the constitutional provision of mixed economy for the country, the NPN will pursue a policy of encouraging the fullest development of private initiative and private enterprise.'" Perspective Monde identifies "Shehu Shagari" (ruled 1979-1983) as a member of the NPN, coded as "center right". Ekwe-Ekwe (1985) describes "the NPN... [as] a centre-right party" of which Shagari was a member. World Statesmen (2019) identifies Shagari as a member of the NPN. In V-Party (2020), 7 experts identify NPN's ideology as "Center" (0.259) in 1979.

Years: 1983-1984

Head of government: Muhammadu Buhari

Ideology: Left

Description: HoG does not identify ideology. CHISOLS identifies Buhari's party as none. Perspective Monde identifies Buhari's party at this time as military.

Referring to the Buhari government's "War Against Indiscipline," Ekwe-Ekwe (1985) states "However it should be stressed that in spite of the obviously simplistic nature of the Buhari government's official view of the reasons for the current [economic] crisis, it is not untypical of regimes of such coloration, namely of a right-wing political orientation, to wage what amounts to a desperate ideological battle to defend the status quo by seemingly appearing to minimise the ever-increasing complexities of social contradictions in a class society", suggesting that Ekwe-Ekwe refers to a socially conservative government. Perspective Monde (2019) later identifies Buhari as a member of the APC, coded as "center left". World Statesmen (2019) later identifies Buhari as a member of the APC, described as "All Progressives Congress... progressive, merger of ACN, ANPP, CPC, and APGA dissidents". In the Global Party Survey 2019, 11 experts identify the average left-right (0-10) score of All Progressives Congress (APC) as 5.0.

Years: 1985-1992

Head of government: Ibrahim Badamasi Babangida

Ideology: Center

Description: HoG does not identify ideology. CHISOLS identifies Babangida's party as none. Agbese (2012) describes Babangida's "grass-roots political concept for the AFRC [Armed Forces Ruling Council]" as "the idea was to simply create two political parties, one with leftist and the other with rightist leanings". Of Babangida's two new parties, Meredith (2005) writes "both were dependent substantially on state funding; both were required to adopt emblems and constitutions designed by the government and to stick to centrist manifestos, one veering 'a little to the left', the other 'a little to the right'".

Years: 1993-1997

Head of government: Sani Abacha

Ideology:

Description: World Statesmen (2019) and Rulers (2019) identify Sani Abacha instead of Ernest Adegunle Oladeinde Shonekan as head of government on December 31, 1993. HoG does not identify ideology. CHISOLS identifies Abacha's party as none. Political Handbook of the World (2015) writes, "... on November 17, Shonekan resigned in favor of a new military administration headed by Defense Minister Sani Abacha, who had been viewed as the 'power behind the throne' of both the Babangida and Shonekan governments. Subsequently, Abacha formally dissolved both the ING [Interim National Government] and the National

Constituent Assembly, banned the SDP [Social Democratic Party] and NRC [National Republican Convention], and, on November 24, announced the formation of a Provisional Ruling Council (PRC) comprising senior military figures and several members of a new cabinet-level Federal Executive Council (FEC)." Political Handbook of the World (2011) writes, "The SDP and the NRC were dismantled when all party activity was banned by the Abacha regime on November 18, 1993." Rulers (2020) states, "Elections in 1993 were apparently won by the Social Democratic candidate, Moshood Abiola, but the military government soon annulled the results." Falola and Genova (2009: xl) write, "Abacha's reign has been characterized as the worst in Nigeria's history because of his predatory style of governing. He ran an oppressive state, not tolerating dissension. To implement his development plan and show sensitivity to the poor, he launched Vision 2010. He focused on privatization and trade liberalization, while draining the state's coffers for his personal use." Encyclopedia Britannica (2020) states, "Perhaps Abacha's most brutal act was the imprisonment, trial, and subsequent execution for treason of writer Ken Saro-Wiwa and other Ogoni activists who were concerned with the environmental exploitation of their region by multinational petroleum companies." Egwaikhide and Isumonah (2001: 226) write, "Labour faced brutal repression and suppression under the Abacha administration... The executives of these oil unions and that of the central labour organization, the Nigerian Labour Congress (NLC), were dissolved and sole administrators appointed to supervise them. This action was obviously intended to weaken labour unionism... Oppression and repression were not limited to labour. The Abacha government terrorised and brutalized all strata of Nigerian society." Egwaikhide and Isumonah (2001: 237) also write, "... revelations after his death indicate that he loved not only power for its own sake, but also used it to amass wealth for himself and cronies. Thus macroeconomic policy was not geared toward economic growth, not to say development. Nor was there fiscal discipline. Hence increased public expenditure was a mere conduit pup for personal enrichment and corruption, a major government project." Onadipe (1997: 74) writes, "Abacha also pursued the dictator's classic agenda: conquering the opposition by dividing them with carrot and stick tactics... Many 'progressive' politicians who joined the first Abacha cabinet for 'patriotic reasons', were rudely and crudely dumped by the dictator after a few months and are now fighting for their political lives, having been tainted by their time in 'military service'. Abacha has maintained a sustained attack on pro-democracy groups, giving them no breathing space to regroup their forces." Onadipe (1997: 78) also writes, "The Nigerian dictator has been staging dress rehearsals in neighbouring west African countries, ultimately helping to install friendly former military types as civilian presidents. His finger prints were to be found on plans that returned General Mattieu Kerekou to power in the

Republic of Benin in April 1996... Abacha was also said to have had a hand in the transformation of Colonel Ibrahim Mainassara, who took power in Niger in a coup in January 1996.... And there is little doubt that he bank-rolled and supported last September's morphing of Captain Yayha Jammeh into civilian president in the Gambia." Kerekou is coded as leftist, and Jammeh is coded as rightist. Thorsen (2021: 238, 240,) states, "[Abacha] promised fiscal discipline and to fight corruption... Aligned with his proclaimed ideological aims, Abacha conducted tight economic policies during the first six months of his rule. However, this was also aligned with pleasing his winning coalition because his cabinet strongly advised him to do this... Abacha did not personally seem to favor either left- or right-wing economic policies."

Year: 1998

Head of government: Abdulsalam Abubakar

Ideology:

Description: HoG does not identify ideology. CHISOLS identifies Abubakar's party as none. Political Handbook of the World (2011) writes, "Abacha's successor, Gen. Abdulsalam Abubakar, moved quickly in 1998 to mend relations with the World Bank and the IMF, pledging to speed up the privatization of state-run industries and combat corruption. Falola and Genova (2009: 7) write, "Abubakar's first speech lauded the leadership of Abacha, which worried those who desired change." Human Rights Watch (2000) writes, "The interim government of Gen. Abdulsalami Abubakar that took office following the death of Gen. Sani Abacha in June 1998 departed to a large extent from the pattern of repression of the former government and oversaw a transition to the first civilian government for sixteen years... All remaining high-profile political prisoners were released by General Abubakar before the handover to civilian rule, including military and civilian detainees convicted by military tribunals in unfair tribunals in unfair trials of involvement in alleged coup plots in 1990, 1995, and 1997... Several close associates of General Abacha arrested after his death remained in detention, facing charges linked to serious human rights violations and massive theft of government funds." Babarinsa (2019) writes, "Abubakar was known among his colleagues as a rigorously apolitical soldier... Abubakar played a significant role in installing General Sani Abacha in power in November 1993... But Abubakar was not a favourite member of the Abacha court. He always kept a straight face and would rarely volunteer any comment."

Years: 1999-2006

Head of government: Olusegun Obasanjo

Ideology: Center

Description: HoG does not identify ideology. CHISOLS Obasanjo's party as PDP. DPI identifies PDP's ideology as right. Ottaway (1978) identifies Obasanjo's ideology as none, writing "Obasanjo has little time for the ideological disputes over socialism and capitalism sweeping many African countries and sees a standstill prevailing generally in the rivalry between East and West. "I am convinced beyond all doubt that the decision to choose between capitalism and socialism and the energy expended to making this choice becomes diversionary and wasted," he said in a speech at the opening of the new Nigerian Command and Staff College last September." Perspective Monde identifies Obasanjo as a member of the PDP, coded as "center" before Goodluck Jonathan took power. Political Handbook of the World (2012) writes "the party [PDP] presented a platform that reflected its broad political base, advocating the "guided" deregulation of the economy". Falola and Genova (2009) write "[the PDP] is considered a centrist party... significant party members include General Olusegun Obasanjo". World Statesmen (2019) identifies Obasanjo as a member of the PDP from 1999 onwards, described as "People's Democratic Party... social conservative". In the Global Party Survey 2019, 11 experts identify the average left-right (0-10) score of People's Democratic Party (PDP) as 5.9. In V-Party (2020), 7 experts identify PDP's ideology as "Center" (0.118) in 1999 and "Center-right" (1.187) in 2003.

Years: 2007-2009

Head of government: Umaru Musa Yar'Adua

Ideology: Left

Description: HoG does not identify ideology. CHISOLS identifies Yar'Adua's party as PDP. DPI identifies PDP's ideology as right. The BBC News (2007) writes that Yar'Adua is "taciturn with some leftist leanings". Ogunmupe (2011) states "As a politician, Yar Adua was a member of Aminu Kano's leftist People's Redemption Party" in the late 1970s and early 1980s. Obotetukudu (2011) add that "during the Second Republic, 1979-1983, he [Yar'Adua] was a member of the radical and leftist-minded People's Redemption Party". Despite these identifications of personal ideology, Perspective Monde identifies Yar'Adua as a member of the PDP, coded as "center" before Goodluck Jonathan took power. Political Handbook of the World (2012) writes "the party [PDP] presented a platform that reflected its broad political base, advocating the "guided" deregulation of the economy". World Statesmen (2019) identifies Yar'Adua as a member of the PDP, described as "People's Democratic Party... social conservative". In the Global Party Survey 2019, 11 experts identify the average left-right (0-10) score of People's Democratic Party (PDP) as 5.9. In V-Party (2020), 7 experts identify PDP's ideology as "Center-right" (1.193) in 2007. In V-

Party (2020), 7 experts identify “a high level of visible disagreement” in PDP in 2007.

Years: 2010-2014

Head of government: Goodluck Jonathan

Ideology: Right

Description: HoG does not identify ideology. CHISOLS Jonathan’s party as PDP. DPI identifies PDP’s ideology as right. Perspective Monde identifies Goodluck Jonathan as a member of the PDP, coded as “center right” after Jonathan took power. Political Handbook of the World (2012) writes “the party [PDP] presented a platform that reflected its broad political base, advocating the “guided” deregulation of the economy”. World Statesmen (2019) identifies Jonathan as a member of the PDP, described as “People's Democratic Party... social conservative”. In the Global Party Survey 2019, 11 experts identify the average left-right (0-10) score of People’s Democratic Party (PDP) as 5.9. In V-Party (2020), 7 experts identify PDP’s ideology as “Center-right” (1.193) in 2007 and “Center-right” (1.053) in 2011.

Years: 2015-2020

Head of government: Muhammadu Buhari

Ideology: Left

Description: HoG does not identify ideology. CHISOLS identifies Buhari’s affiliation as APC. DPI identifies APC’s ideology as left. Political Handbook of the World (2015) elaborates, writing “the APC grouping described itself as a progressive socialist party”. Perspective Monde (2021) identifies Buhari as a member of the APC, coded as “center left”. World Statesmen (2021) identifies Buhari as a member of the APC from 2015 onwards, described as “All Progressives Congress... progressive, merger of ACN, ANPP, CPC, and APGA dissidents”. In the Global Party Survey 2019, 11 experts identify the average left-right (0-10) score of All Progressives Congress (APC) as 5.0. In V-Party (2020), 7 experts identify APC’s ideology as “Center-left” (-1.233) in 2015, and 6 experts identify APC’s ideology as “Center-left” (-1.36) in 2019.

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