

Country: Ivory Coast

Years: 1960-1989

Head of government: Félix Houphouët-Boigny

Ideology: Right

Description: HoG does not identify ideology. CHISOLS identifies Houphouët-Boigny's affiliation as Democratic Party of Ivory Coast (PDCI). Manzano (2017 : 86) identifies PDCI's ideology as rightist, writing "[...] non-communist countries like in Ivory Coast, where Félix Houphouët-Boigny led a single party regime for more than two decades with the support of the right-wing Democratic Party of Ivory Coast". Handloff and Roberts (1988) write "Houphouët-Boigny...was the cofounder of the... SAA, which was formed in 1944 to fight for the abolition of forced labor and the rights of African planters.(...) PDCI [was] created in 1946 out of the SAA... It soon attracted the radical intellectuals from the wartime Communist Study Groups." Daddieh (2016), however, adds that in 1950 "Houphouët-Boigny announced the abandonment of the communist affiliation, and the next year he managed to affiliate with parties more to the center of the French political spectrum. By the 1950s, the PDCI had shed its radical ideology and adopted a policy orientation focused on economic growth and development." Van Rensburg (1975) clarifies that Boigny "was not himself a Marxist". Encyclopedia Britannica (2019) states that Houphouët-Boigny "pursued liberal free-enterprise policies and developed Côte d'Ivoire's cash-crop agriculture at a time when many other African nations were pursuing costly and abortive attempts at state-run industrialization." Cohen (2015) corroborates that the dissidents Houphouët-Boigny faced "were centered in the University of Côte d'Ivoire, where the faculty constituted a left-wing intellectual opposition to his emphasis on free market capitalism." Perspective Monde codes the PDCI as "center right". Murray (1992) confirms, stating "Ivory Coast government is quite conservative and very pro-French. The Parti Démocratique de la Côte d'Ivoire-RDA (PDCI-RDA) is the sole political party". World Statesmen (2019) identifies Houphouët-Boigny's party as the PDCI, described as "Parti Démocratique de Côte d'Ivoire-Rassemblement Démocratique Africain... Democratic Party of Ivory Coast-African Democratic Rally, authoritarian, pan-African, conservative, 1960-1990 only legal party". Political Handbook of the World (2015) states that the PDCI, RDR, UDPCI, and MFA entered into "a close electoral coalition known as the Rally of Houphouëtists for Democracy and Peace (*Reassemblément des Houphouëtistes pour la Démocratie et la Paix*—RHDP)" in 2005. In the Global Party Survey 2019, 8 experts identify the average left-right (0-10) score of RHDP as 7.5 and the average divided-united (0-10) score of RHDP as 4.9. In V-Party (2020), 6 experts identify

PDCI's ideology as "Right" (2.216) in 1970 and 1975, "Right" (1.884) in 1980, and "Right" (1.885) in 1985.

Years: 1990-1992

Head of government: Alassane Dramane Ouattara

Ideology: Center

Description: HoG does not identify ideology. CHISOLS does not identify head of government. Perspective Monde (2019) initially identifies Ouattara as a rightist, writing "Alassane Dramane Ouattara... 1990 (7 novembre) [to] 1993 (11 décembre)... Parti démocratique de Côte d'Ivoire/Rassemblement démocratique africain", identified as "center right". World Statesmen (2020) identifies Ouattara's party affiliation from 1990 to 1993 as PDCI, describing the party as "conservative." Daddieh (2016: 507) corroborates Ouattara's party affiliation at the time as PDCI-RDA. Manzano (2017 : 86) identifies PDCI's ideology as rightist, writing "[...] non-communist countries like in Ivory Coast, where Félix Houphouët-Boigny led a single party regime for more than two decades with the support of the right-wing Democratic Party of Ivory Coast". Perspective Monde codes the PDCI as "center right". Murray (1992) confirms, stating "Ivory Coast government is quite conservative and very pro-French. The Parti Démocratique de la Côte d'Ivoire-RDA (PDCI-RDA) is the sole political party". Political Handbook of the World (2015) identifies Ouattara's party affiliation as RDR in 2010, writing, "Alassane Ouattara... 2010 (4 décembre)... Rassemblement des républicains de Côte d'Ivoire", identified as "center". Political Handbook of the World (2017) writes, "The essentially centrist RDR was launched... by... ministers from the government of former prime minister Alassane Ouattara who had operated within the PDCI for the previous three years as a "reform" wing loyal to Ouattara," and that after his term as Prime Minister, "Alassane Ouattara... mount[ed] a presidential campaign as the RDR's standard-bearer." Clark (1998) also codes the party founded by Ouattara, the RDR, as centrist, and a member of the Centrist Democrat International and the Liberal International. Political Handbook of the World (2015) states that the PDCI, RDR, UDPCI, and MFA entered into "a close electoral coalition known as the Rally of Houphouëtists for Democracy and Peace (*Rassemblement des Houphouëtistes pour la Démocratie et la Paix*—RHDP)" in 2005. In the Global Party Survey 2019, 8 experts identify the average left-right (0-10) score of RHDP as 7.5 and the average divided-united (0-10) score of RHDP as 4.9. Ortiz de Zárate (2010) identifies the RDR as centrist, writing, "Una trayectoria de funcionario financiero internacional y primer ministro leal al dictador Félix Houphouët-Boigny precedió los 15 años como político opositor de Alassane Dramane Ouattara, líder del partido centrista Reagrupamiento de Republicanos (RDR)" [A career as an international financial official and prime minister loyal to

the dictator Félix Houphouët-Boigny preceded the 15 years as opposition politician of Alassane Dramane Ouattara, leader of the centrist Rassemblement des Républicains (RDR).] In V-Party (2020), 6 experts identify PDCI's ideology as "Right" (1.876) in 1990. In V-Party (2020), 6 experts identify "negligible visible disagreement" in PDCI in 1990.

Years: 1993-1999

Head of government: Daniel Kablan Duncan

Ideology: Right

Description: HoG does not identify ideology. CHISOLS does not identify head of government. Lansford (2017) identifies Duncan as a member of the PDCI, referring to him as "Daniel Kablan DUNCAN (Democratic Party of Côte d'Ivoire)." Manzano (2017 : 86) identifies PDCI's ideology as rightist, writing "[...] non-communist countries like in Ivory Coast, where Félix Houphouët-Boigny led a single party regime for more than two decades with the support of the right-wing Democratic Party of Ivory Coast". Perspective Monde codes the PDCI as "center right". Murray (1992) confirms, stating "Ivory Coast government is quite conservative and very pro-French. The Parti Démocratique de la Côte d'Ivoire-RDA (PDCI-RDA) is the sole political party". World Statesmen (2019) identifies Duncan's party as the PDCI, described as "Parti Démocratique de Côte d'Ivoire-Rassemblement Démocratique Africain... Democratic Party of Ivory Coast-African Democratic Rally, authoritarian, pan-African, conservative, 1960-1990 only legal party". Political Handbook of the World (2015) states that the PDCI, RDR, UDPCI, and MFA entered into "a close electoral coalition known as the Rally of Houphouëtists for Democracy and Peace (*Reassemblément des Houphouëtistes pour la Démocratie et la Paix*—RHDP)" in 2005. In the Global Party Survey 2019, 8 experts identify the average left-right (0-10) score of RHDP as 7.5 and the average divided-united (0-10) score of RHDP as 4.9. In V-Party (2020), 6 experts identify PDCI's ideology as "Right" (1.876) in 1990 and "Right" (2.161) in 1995.

Years: 2000-2002

Head of government: Pascal Affi N'Guessan

Ideology: Left

Description: HoG does not identify ideology. CHISOLS does not identify head of government. Lansford (2017) identifies N'Guessan as a member of the FPI, writing that "Gbagbo named Pascal Affi N'GUESSAN of the FPI to head a new cabinet that was dominated by the FPI." According to Dodman (2019), Gbagbo "would be among the first to defy Houphouët-Boigny, first as a trade union activist and then as a left-wing politician... Gbagbo sought exile in Paris in 1982, cultivating ties

with prominent socialist figures in... he founded the Ivorian Popular Front (FPI) in exile.” Perspective Monde codes the FPI as “center left.” World Statesmen (2019) identifies N’Guessan’s party as FPI, described as “Front Populaire Ivoirien... Ivorian Popular Front, social-democratic”. DPI identifies FPI’s ideology as leftist. Political Handbook of the World (2015) elaborates, writing “at its founding congress in November 1989, the FPI adopted a platform calling for a mixed economy with a private sector emphasis”. In the Global Party Survey 2019, 8 experts identify the average left-right (0-10) score of Ivorian Popular Front (FPI) as 2.8. In V-Party (2020), 6 experts identify FPI’s ideology as “Left” (-1.891) in 2000 and “Center-left” (-1.607) in 2001.

Years: 2003-2004

Head of government: Seydou Elimane Diarra

Ideology:

Description: HoG does not identify ideology. CHISOLS does not identify head of government. Lansford (2017) identifies Diarra as non-party, writing “President Gbagbo subsequently appointed Seydou DIARRA, a well-respected independent, as prime minister.” World Statesman (2019) identifies Diarra as non-party. Daddieh (2016: 199) writes, “A professional diplomat, successful businessman, and two-time prime minister... In January 2000, following the overthrow of Henri Konan Bédié by General Robert Guéï, he was appointed minister of state for planning and development, with responsibility for coordinating government programs. He was subsequently appointed prime minister from 18 May to 18 October 2000... He took over as prime minister on 10 February 2003, expecting to be given much greater executive power than Laurent Gbagbo was willing to concede. He struggled valiantly to hold together a shaky coalition of rebels (representatives of the Forces Nouvelles) and ruling and opposition party ministers, run the country, and nudge the parties toward reconciliation and, ultimately, free, transparent, and fair elections.” Azikiwe (2009: 210) writes, “The appointment of a consensus candidate in the person of Seydou Elimane Diarra, a non-controversial and apolitical businessman as the prime minister, gave renewed hopes that things would move in the right direction.” IRIN News (2004) reports, “Diarra, a politically independent former civil servant, said in a televised speech on Friday night that he would stay on as prime minister to struggle for the full implementation of a January 2003 peace agreement, so long as he continued to enjoy the support of the president, the parliamentary opposition and the rebel movement occupying the north of the country.” Konan (2020) writes, “La vie politique de Seydou Elimane Diarra, mort à Abidjan le 19 juillet 2020 à l’âge de 86 ans, se résume en trois mots : homme de consensus.” [The political life of Seydou Elimane Diarra, who died in Abidjan on July 19, 2020 at the age of 86, can be

summed up in three words: man of consensus.] Presse Cote D'Ivoire (2020) writes, "Le président Alassane Ouattara a salué la mémoire d'un 'grand serviteur de l'Etat, un humaniste accompli, un homme de devoir et de consensus'... Ally Coulibaly a salué la mémoire d'un 'homme libre, de consensus, sans attache politique, mais qui pouvait se prévaloir de l'amitié, du respect et de la consideration de tous les leaders politiques de l'époque.'" [President Alassane Ouattara praised the memory of a 'great servant of the State, an accomplished humanist, a man of duty and of consensus'... Ally Coulibaly praised the memory of a 'free man, of consensus, without political attachment, but who could take advantage of the friendship, respect and consideration of all the political leaders of the time.]

Years: 2005-2006

Head of government: Charles Konan Banny

Ideology: Right

Description: HoG does not identify ideology. CHISOLS does not identify head of government. World Statesman (2019) identifies Banny as non-party. Political Handbook of the World (2015) identifies Banny's party affiliation as the Democratic Party of Côte d'Ivoire (*Parti Démocratique de la Côte d'Ivoire*—PDCI). Daddieh (2016: 507) identifies Banny's party affiliation as PDCI-RDA. Manzano (2017 : 86) identifies PDCI's ideology as rightist, writing "[...] non-communist countries like in Ivory Coast, where Félix Houphouët-Boigny led a single party regime for more than two decades with the support of the right-wing Democratic Party of Ivory Coast". Perspective Monde codes the PDCI as "center right". Murray (1992) confirms, stating "Ivory Coast government is quite conservative and very pro-French. The Parti Démocratique de la Côte d'Ivoire-RDA (PDCI-RDA) is the sole political party". World Statesmen (2019) identifies PDCI as "conservative." Political Handbook of the World (2015) states that the PDCI, RDR, UDPCI, and MFA entered into "a close electoral coalition known as the Rally of Houphouëtists for Democracy and Peace (*Reassemblément des Houphouëtistes pour la Démocratie et la Paix*—RHDP)" in 2005. In the Global Party Survey 2019, 8 experts identify the average left-right (0-10) score of RHDP as 7.5 and the average divided-united (0-10) score of RHDP as 4.9.

Years: 2007-2009

Head of government: Guillaume Kigbafori Soro

Ideology: Center

Description: HoG does not identify ideology. CHISOLS does not identify head of government. Lansford (2017) identifies Soro as a member of the FN, referring to him as "Guillaume SORO, the leader of the FN." World Statesman (2019) identifies Soro's party affiliation as FNCI, described as "FNCI = Forces Nouvelles

de Côte d'Ivoire... New Forces of Côte d'Ivoire, alliance of MPJ, MPCl, and MPIGO [regionalist parties]." Daddieh (2016: 145) writes, "The MPIGO and MJP joined forces with Soro's MPCl to form the Forces Nouvelles de Côte d'Ivoire (FNCl) or Forces Nouvelles (FN) for short." Political Handbook of the World (2015) writes, "Soro, who was reappointed prime minister in June 2011, ran successfully on the RDR ticket for the assembly in December, the FN having opted not to present its own candidates... Soro in 2014 was described as retaining interest in an eventual run for the national presidency, possibly as an RDR or RHDP candidate in 2020." Political Handbook also writes that the RHDP, which included the RDR and "subsequently became commonly known as the G7 after the FN agreed to work with the coalition," supported the proposed appointment of the FN's Guillaume Soro as prime minister in December 2005." Political Handbook describes the RDR, referring to it as, "The essentially centrist RDR." Clark (1998) codes the RDR as centrist. World Statesmen (2020) describes the RDR as "liberal, centrist." The RDR is a member of Centrist Democrat International and Liberal International. In the Global Party Survey 2019, 8 experts identify the average left-right (0-10) score of RHDP as 7.5 and the average divided-united (0-10) score of RHDP as 4.9. Ortiz de Zárate (2010) identifies the RDR as centrist, writing, "... del partido centrista Reagrupamiento de Republicanos (RDR)" [... of the centrist Rassemblement des Républicains (RDR).]

Year: 2010

Head of government: Gilbert Marie N'gbo Ake

Ideology: Left

Description: HoG does not identify ideology. CHISOLS does not identify head of government. While World Statesman (2019) identifies Ake as non-party, Perspective Monde considers Ake a member of the FPI and codes the FPI as "center left". DPI identifies FPI's ideology as leftist. Political Handbook of the World (2015) elaborates, writing "at its founding congress in November 1989, the FPI adopted a platform calling for a mixed economy with a private sector emphasis". In the Global Party Survey 2019, 8 experts identify the average left-right (0-10) score of Ivorian Popular Front (FPI) as 2.8. In V-Party (2020), 6 experts identify FPI's ideology as "Center-left" (-1.607) in 2001.

Year: 2011

Head of government: Guillaume Kigbafori Soro

Ideology: Center

Description: HoG does not identify ideology. CHISOLS does not identify head of government. Lansford (2017) identifies Soro as a member of the FN, referring to him as "Guillaume SORO, the leader of the FN." World Statesman (2019)

identifies Soro's party affiliation as FNCI, described as "FNCI = Forces Nouvelles de Côte d'Ivoire... New Forces of Côte d'Ivoire, alliance of MPJ, MPCJ, and MPIGO [regionalist parties]." Daddieh (2016: 145) writes, "The MPIGO and MJP joined forces with Soro's MPCJ to form the Forces Nouvelles de Côte d'Ivoire (FNCI) or Forces Nouvelles (FN) for short." Political Handbook of the World (2015) writes, "Soro, who was reappointed prime minister in June 2011, ran successfully on the RDR ticket for the assembly in December, the FN having opted not to present its own candidates... Soro in 2014 was described as retaining interest in an eventual run for the national presidency, possibly as an RDR or RHDP candidate in 2020." Political Handbook also writes that the RHDP, which included the RDR and "subsequently became commonly known as the G7 after the FN agreed to work with the coalition," supported the proposed appointment of the FN's Guillaume Soro as prime minister in December 2005." Political Handbook describes the RDR, referring to it as, "The essentially centrist RDR." Clark (1998) codes the RDR as centrist. World Statesmen (2020) describes the RDR as "liberal, centrist." The RDR is a member of Centrist Democrat International and Liberal International. In the Global Party Survey 2019, 8 experts identify the average left-right (0-10) score of RHDP as 7.5 and the average divided-united (0-10) score of RHDP as 4.9. Ortiz de Zárate (2010) identifies the RDR as centrist, writing, "... del partido centrista Reagrupamiento de Republicanos (RDR)" [... of the centrist Rassemblement des Républicains (RDR).]

Years: 2012-2016

Head of government: Daniel Kablan Duncan

Ideology: Right

Description: HoG does not identify ideology. CHISOLS does not identify head of government. Lansford (2017) identifies Duncan as a member of the PDCI, referring to him as "Daniel Kablan DUNCAN (Democratic Party of Côte d'Ivoire)." Manzano (2017 : 86) identifies PDCI's ideology as rightist, writing "[...] non-communist countries like in Ivory Coast, where Félix Houphouët-Boigny led a single party regime for more than two decades with the support of the right-wing Democratic Party of Ivory Coast". Perspective Monde codes the PDCI as "center right". Murray (1992) confirms, stating "Ivory Coast government is quite conservative and very pro-French. The Parti Démocratique de la Côte d'Ivoire-RDA (PDCI-RDA) is the sole political party". World Statesmen (2019) identifies Duncan's party as the PDCI, described as "Parti Démocratique de Côte d'Ivoire-Rassemblement Démocratique Africain... Democratic Party of Ivory Coast-African Democratic Rally, authoritarian, pan-African, conservative, 1960-1990 only legal party". Political Handbook of the World (2015) states that the PDCI, RDR, UDPCI, and MFA entered into "a close electoral coalition known as

the Rally of Houphouëtists for Democracy and Peace (*Reassemblément des Houphouëtistes pour la Démocratie et la Paix*—RHDP)” in 2005. In the Global Party Survey 2019, 8 experts identify the average left-right (0-10) score of RHDP as 7.5 and the average divided-united (0-10) score of RHDP as 4.9. In V-Party (2020), 6 experts identify PDCI’s ideology as “Right” (1.717) in 2011.

Years: 2017-2019

Head of government: Amadou Gon Coulibaly

Ideology: Center

Description: HoG does not identify ideology. CHISOLS does not identify head of government. Perspective Monde describes Coulibaly as a member of the Rassemblement des républicains de Côte d'Ivoire, coded as “center.” World Statesmen (2019) identifies Coulibaly’s party as the RDR + RHDP, described as “Rassemblement des Républicains... Rally of the Republicans, liberal, centrist, split from PDCI” and “Rassemblement des Houphouëtistes pour la Démocratie et la Paix (Rally of Houphouëtists for Democracy and Peace, centrist, liberal... alliance of RDR, PDCI, est. 1994.” Political Handbook of the World (2015) states that the PDCI, RDR, UDPCI, and MFA entered into “a close electoral coalition known as the Rally of Houphouëtists for Democracy and Peace (*Reassemblément des Houphouëtistes pour la Démocratie et la Paix*—RHDP)” in 2005. Political Handbook describes the RDR, referring to it as, “The essentially centrist RDR.” Clark (1998) codes the RDR as centrist. In the Global Party Survey 2019, 8 experts identify the average left-right (0-10) score of RHDP as 7.5 and the average divided-united (0-10) score of RHDP as 4.9. The RDR is a member of Centrist Democrat International and Liberal International. Ortiz de Zárate (2010) identifies the RDR as centrist, writing, “... del partido centrista Reagrupamiento de Republicanos (RDR)” [... of the centrist Rassemblement des Républicains (RDR).] In V-Party (2020), 6 experts identify RDR’s ideology as “Right” (1.738) in 2011. In V-Party (2020), 6 experts identify “virtually no visible disagreement” in RDR in 2011.

Years: 2020

Head of government: Hamed Bakayoko

Ideology: Center

Description: Varieties of Democracy identifies party affiliation as Rally of the Republicans (RDR). World Statesmen (2021) corroborates party affiliation as RDR, described as “Rassemblement des Républicains... Rally of the Republicans, liberal, centrist, split from PDCI, est.1994.” Perspective monde (2021) corroborates party affiliation as RDR and identifies the party as centrist. Political Handbook of the World (2015) states that the PDCI, RDR, UDPCI, and MFA

entered into “a close electoral coalition known as the Rally of Houphouëtists for Democracy and Peace (*Reassemblément des Houphouëtistes pour la Démocratie et la Paix*—RHDP)” in 2005. Political Handbook describes the RDR, referring to it as, “The essentially centrist RDR.” Clark (1998) codes the RDR as centrist. In the Global Party Survey 2019, 8 experts identify the average left-right (0-10) score of RHDP as 7.5 and the average divided-undivided (0-10) score of RHDP as 4.9. The RDR is a member of Centrist Democrat International and Liberal International. Ortiz de Zárate (2010) identifies the RDR as centrist, writing, “... del partido centrista Reagrupamiento de Republicanos (RDR)” [... of the centrist Rassemblement des Républicains (RDR).] In V-Party (2020), 6 experts identify RDR’s ideology as “Right” (1.738) in 2011. In V-Party (2020), 6 experts identify “virtually no visible disagreement” in RDR in 2011.

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