

## **Costa Rica**

### **Rice**

Costa Rica is a presidential democracy with four-year terms. At the beginning of 1920, the president of Costa Rica was Rafael Julio Acosta García, a member of the Constitutional Party (PCon). At the end of his term in 1924, elections were held and a victory was declared for Romualdo Ricardo Jiménez Oreamuno, a member of the Republican Party (PR). This is a SOLS change. Jiménez served his full term, and in 1928 handed over power to the victor of the presidential elections, Cleto González Víquez, a member of the Civil Party (Civ). This is another SOLS change. González served his full term, before power was handed back to Jiménez following elections in 1932. Jiménez was a member of the National Republican Party (PRN), which is another SOLS change.

PRN would remain in power up to 1944, with the election of León Luis Cortes Castro in 1936, and the election of Rafael Calderón Guardia in 1940. On May 8, 1944, following presidential elections, Calderón turned over the presidency to Teodoro Picado Michalski, also of the PRN, who remained in office until 1948.

In 1948, presidential elections were held under a new set of electoral laws. The result of the election was disputed, and led to an uprising organized by José María Figueres Ferrer. This resulted in a 44 day civil war in which approximately 2000 Costa Ricans were killed. Picado was forced to flee the country on April 20, 1948, and was briefly replaced by Santos León Herrera, who served as “acting” president until Figueres Ferrer took power. This is not a SOLS change. Here, Archigos (Goemans et al. 2009) seems to have an error, as it shows León Herrera being in office from 1948 until 1949. However, Cahoon (2010) indicates that Figueres Ferrer took power on May 8, 1948, and many sources describe Figueres Ferrer as leading an 18 month interim government, which is not a SOLS change. Figueres Ferrer was a provisional leader considering the fact that his transfer of power to Ulate had been agreed upon by the pact in advance.

One reliable source for this point is Wilson (1998, 44-5): “The civil war was not won on the battlefield but instead was brought to a negotiated conclusion by the signing of the Mexican Embassy Pact in April 1948. The agreement paved the way for a peaceful transfer of power from the government forces of President Teodoro Picado Michalski to the insurgent forces of Jese Figueres Ferrer and Otilio Ulate Balnce....In May 1948, the leader of Army of National Liberation, Lose Figueres Ferrer, and the presumed victor of the 1948 elections, Otilio Ulate Blanco, singed the Ultate-Figures Pact, which granted Figueres an eighteen-month period in which to govern the country by decree through be handed to Ulate. At the end of that period, executed power was to be handed to Ulate. The pact was a necessary instrument to overcome the mutual distrust of the two principal leader if the anti-Calderon alliance....Although the junta came to office with the goal of creating a “Second Republic,” the Ulate-Figueres Pact assigned the task of writing a new constitution to a popular elected Constituent Assembly. Elections for the assembly took place in December 1948.....resulted in a landslide victory for Otilio Ulate’s

Partido Union Nacional, which won thirty-four of the forty-five available seats. The junta's Partido Social Demócrata won just four seats.”

Figueres Ferrer was a member of both the military and the Social Democratic Party (PSD). He drafted a new constitution that granted universal suffrage and free elections and abolished the military. He then stepped down on November 8, 1949, which is a SOLS change. He was replaced by Otilio González Ulate y Blanco, the individual who had won the disputed election of 1948. Ulate was a member of the National Union Party (PUN) and served as President until the first elections under the new constitution was held in 1953.

Regarding the leadership transition from Picado to new leader after the civil war in 1948, we code a SOLS change with Ulate, rather than with Figueres, because we treat Figueres as a provisional leader. However, it also might be appropriate to code a SOLS change with Figueres, instead of coding with Ulate, given that Figueres was the winner of the civil war and he was able to put his ally Ulate in presidency because they won the civil war. However, for now we code the SOLS change with Figueres. Whether to code a SOLS change with Figueres or Ulate hinges on whether Figueres is treated as interim and it seems that this would be legit given that they wrote a constitution and guided elections. Figueres Ferrer, now a member of the National Liberation Party (PLN) was elected in that year. This is a SOLS change.<sup>1</sup>

In the next presidential elections, PUN's candidate Mario José Echandi Jiménez, was elected to office, which is a SOLS change, from 1958 to 1962. In that year, elections resulted in a victory for PLN and its candidate Francisco Orlich Bolmarich, which is another SOLS change. After Orlich served for four years, new elections in 1966 led to a victory for PUN, and its candidate José Trejos Fernández became president. This is a SOLS change, too. In 1970, PLN again captured the presidency, with Figueres Ferrer as their candidate once again, which is also a SOLS change. In 1974, PLN again won the presidential elections, but with Daniel Oduber Quirós as its candidate. This is not a SOLS change. In 1978, PRD, partnered with a coalition of parties known as the United Coalition (UC) again captured the presidency, and its candidate, Rodrigo Carazo Odio, assumed office, which is a SOLS change. The parties switched off once again in 1982, with PLN's candidate Luis Monge Álvarez winning the presidency, which is another SOLS change. In 1986, PLN was again victorious, and its candidate, Oscar Arias Sánchez, became president. This is not a SOLS change. In 1990, a third party, the Christian Social Unity Party (an evolution of the UC) won the presidential elections with its candidate, Rafael Ángel Calderón Fournier. This is a SOLS change. In 1994, PLN's candidate José María Figueres Olsen won the election and assumed the presidency, which suggests another SOLS change.

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<sup>1</sup> Polity IV (Marshall and Jaggers 2002) codes Costa Rica as a democracy throughout this time period, and thus we follow the rule that a SOLS change occurs each time the party of the president changes.

In 1998, PUSC's candidate, Miguel Angel Rodriguez Echeverría won the elections and assumed the presidency, and another SOLS change is coded. He was followed by Abel Pacheco de la Espriella, also the PUSC candidate, in 2002. This is not a SOLS change. De la Espriella was followed by Oscar Arias Sanchez, again the PLN candidate, in 2006. Arias Sanchez remained in office until 2010, which is outside the year range for this study.

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