Ecuador
Rice

After gaining independence from Spain in 1822, Ecuador was divided into several republics by 1830. In 19th century, Ecuador politics was marked by political instability and a rapid change of leaders. Since "the conservative Gabriel Garcia Moreno unified the country in 1860s with the support of the Catholic Church" (U.S. Department of State 2012), Ecuador had been dominated by conservatives.

The world cacao boom in the late 19th century led the migration of population to the coastal area, and wealthy coastal growers and exporters financed the liberal revolution led by Eloy Alfaro, an experienced military leader and a businessman in 1895. Liberals dominated Ecuador politics for the next 30 years, until the cacao boom died and Ecuador economy began to experience recession (U.S. Department of State 2012).

Eloy Alfaro reduced the power of the clergy and declared the separation of church and state, and financed infrastructural development with the government revenue raised mainly from the cacao exportation. Public programs during Alfaro administration include his completion of Guayaquil-to- Quito railroad, which contributed greatly to economic progress. Leonidas Plaza, the successor of Alfrado was a military leader who had fought with Alfrado against the conservatives. After Plaza, there were 3 civilian presidents from the Liberal Party who served from 1916-1925: Baquerizo, Tamayo and Cordova (Cueva 1982).

The best description for this period of non-democratic rule is oligarchy. Lauderbaugh (2012, 95) writes: "However, with the exception of Plaza, the presidents of this period did not exercise real power in Ecuador. Instead, power was wielded by a coastal-based plutocracy with interests in banking and export agriculture which became known as la argolla (the ring). . . . This combination of agricultural exporters and bankers, often described as the bancocracia, dominated finances as well as politics and allegedly designated who would be president, cabinet members, and even lesser office holders." Based on our rule, we code no SOLS change during the period of oligarchy. Accordingly, we code no SOLS change between Baquerizo and Tamayo nor between Tamayo and Cordova. Indeed, they shared the same SOLS—La Argolla—an oligarchy.

The collapse of cacao boom frustrated the liberal governments, since the government revenue fell dramatically and they could not finance large government programs. Efforts to increase revenues by developing alternative taxes did not gain political support, and internal debt from domestic banks doubled from 1920 to 1925. The inflation and devaluation of currency, and falling economy discredited the liberal government, and a young military led a bloodless coup in 1925 (Cueva 1982).

The military gained widespread support, even from the coastal elites who once supported liberals. The military first appointed Isidro Ayora as the provisional president, who then was elected president (Cueva 1982), ending the oligarchic period. This is a SOLS change. We could not find enough sources to confirm Ayora's SOLS. While WSM codes it as CL (Contra-Liberal), no other sources confirm this. Therefore, we code unknown for him. Ayora was the rector of the Central University and the minister of social welfare. He pursued a variety of reforms, including the creation of a central bank, initiated welfare programs (such as pensions for state workers), passed a new constitution. "The same constitution, Ecuador's thirteenth in just under a century as

a republic, also provided for a powerful legislative body with authority to censure presidential ministers. This diminution of executive power, the appearance of a wide variety (socialist, communist, and populist) of new groupings in political competition with the traditional parties and with the military, and the devastating effects of the Great Depression combined to make Ecuador's political record especially unstable during subsequent years (US Library of Congress).” We code no specific authoritarian regime type under Ayora and during the subsequent period of instability until 1940.

The years since 1925 mark political instability of Ecuador. Ecuador was governed by 22 presidents, dictators or juntas until the President Galo Plaza was elected in 1952. Some of the leaders gained power through coup, revolutions, or street fights which were either successful or attempted. Average president ruled for 10 months (Cueva 1982).

During the period of political instability, both conservative and liberal party could not retain control over election, and could not gain wide support. Conservatives were still weak and discredited after the Garcia Moreno, the last conservative president before liberal domination, and liberals were discredited from serving only the financial interests of cacao-oriented economy of coastal area. The next period in Ecuadorean politics shows great instability. No leader was able to consolidate power, and thus no particular type of autocratic system is coded for the period of 1925-1930, and we code SOLS change based on pre-designated successor rules.

The Great Depression led to economic problems for Ecuador and increasing dissatisfaction. In August 1931, protests led Ayora to resign, and his interior minister Luis Alberto Larrea Alba became the acting president (Cueva 1982). We do not code a SOLS change for this leadership change, because Alba was an acting president. He was replaced by another acting leader, former President Alfredo Baquerizo Moreno, who presided over elections. When the president-elect was disqualified by the Congress, Baquerizo was removed and replaced by another interim leader allied with the Liberals, Carlos Eduardo Freile Larrea. This resulted in the four days war in August, 1932, which resulted in yet another interim leader, Alberto Guerrero Martínez, coming to power to run another election (Mora 1990, 694). We did not code SOLS changes for these leadership changes, because those presidents formed provisional governments.

In 1932, the liberals could secure the election and Guayaquil businessman Juan de Dios Martinez Mera was elected as the president. We code a SOLS change for the leadership change from Alberto Guerrero Martinez to Juan de Dios Martinez Mera, because Martinez Mera and the former regular President Ayora had different political support groups. However, he was personally unpopular and faced strong opposition from conservatives. Accusation arose that the election had been fraudulent, and the demonstrations against the president arose. The campaign against Mera was led by Velasco Ibarra. Mera resigned from office three months later, placing his interior minister (Montalvo) in charge as interim leader, and a new election was called in 1933 (Cueva 1982).

After Martinez Mera’s resignation, Velasco Ibarra, a charismatic individual with strong oratory skill, were elected as the president with the support of the Conservative party and the church. His victory is viewed as the emergence of populism in Ecuador; he incorporated support from previously excluded groups, especially the marginal workers in Guayaquil. Velasco defined himself as a liberal, but he assumed dictatorial power (US Library of Congress 1989). He distanced himself from parties, by frequently expressing his distaste for all Ecuadorian political

parties and saying that he was not a representative of any party. His policies were highly individualistic, and sought to dissolve the congress. His personality eventually alienated him from the leftists who supported him. He attracted crowds with strong oral skills, but did not manage to implement significant structural reforms like he promised before. He remained in office only through the support of the military, which received large budgetary appropriations. Nevertheless, he was never fully loyal to the military either, and lack of military support in 1935 caused his downfall in a military coup (Cueva 1982).

Antonio Pons Campuzano became an acting president on August 21, 1935 (Cahoon 2012). We do not code a SOLS change for this date, because he was an acting president. Later the military placed Federico Páez Chiriboga as the next president in September 1935. He was technically an interim president (Cueva 1982), although we do not code him as an interim government since he ruled more than 18 months. We code a SOLS change for the leadership change. Páez did not seek support from a particular party, while the initial trend of the government was to the left, and he was supported by socialists (Cueva 1982). We code Non-Party for his affiliation. While Páez was in office he favored the group who had put him there, for example by increasing military officer's salaries and promoting many of them. He also led economic policies that favored certain groups. In return, middle class who was disbenefited by Páez's economic policies that favored dominant class pressured the president to enforce some radical measures, and the worker's labor unions was increasing due to a significant rise in cost of years. These pressures, led by the Socialist party, eventually broke the relationship between Páez and the party, and led to the decline of the Páez government (Cueva 1982).

The Páez administration was precarious and he was soon overthrown by Gil Alberto Enríquez Gallo who was head of the military on October 23, 1937. This is a SOLS change. Though he ruled less than a year, he achieved some social reforms, such as the Labor Code of 1938 (US Library of Congress 1989). He was the head of the military, refrained from holding plebiscites to support his personal rules, refrained from creating a party, and occupied positions in the cabinet other than those related to armed forces. In fact, although he was a military leader, he abolished the social security law, freed political prisoners, and returned labor unions to freedom of actions and even cooperated with them. He was also progressive in building education and attempted resolve the political impasse by constituting the parliament with equal numbers of representatives of conservatives, liberals, and socialists (Cueva 1982).

When Enriquez resigned in 1938, the Assembly placed Manuel Maria Borrero as the provisional president (Cueva 1982). Because he was a provisional president, we do not code a SOLS change for this leadership change. It took a long time for the Assembly to decide the next president, because three political parties never came to an agreement. Later the Assembly put Mosquera Narvaez as the president, which is a SOLS change. This reflects the fatigue of different parties, but ended the period of supreme military juntas, and liberal bourgeoisie reconquered power. He set up a liberal cabinet with the consultation of Arroyo del Rio (Cueva 1982). He vetoed the promotion of Colonel Luis Larrea Alba who assembly had approved the promotion of and tried to dissolve the force that supports Larrea Alba. He dismissed progressive faculty and replaced them with his own supporters (Cueva 1982).

In 1940, Carlos Arroyo del Rio, the head of the Liberal Party, won the election after the sudden death of Narvaez. He was a wealthy company-lawyer from Guayaquil, and was

considered as another representative of the coastal area, but people desired peace after the World War ll started, and was willing to give him an opportunity (Cueva 1982). We code a SOLS change because the Arroyo government was a newpersonalist regime. Arroyo had only won the election by fraud, which was believed to have been won by Velasco. To maintain his power, Arroyo relied on repression to control those people who supported Velasco. The leader personally controlled the security apparatus (Lauderbaugh 2012, 107). The corps of carabineers became increasingly important. He managed to remain in office despite his repressive ruling, because of the economic support by the US and the increased exportation due to the World War ll.

Yet the economy was based on this exportation and was not focused on increasing production. When the economic benefit from the war died down, rising cost of living and high inflation struck Ecuador. The economic downturn and president's misleading response to Peruvian attack that led to loss of Ecuadorian territory discredited Arroyo del Rio. In 1944 Arroyo del Río resigned after a disastrous war with Peru (US Library of Congress 1989). He was followed first by Navarro Allende (non-party) for one day and then Larrea Alba for one day. It is very difficult to find information on these two, but given the short time in office it seems they would have been provisional.[1] These are not SOLS changes.

Finally, in 1944, José María Velasco Ibarra, AD, became president for the second time. This is a SOLS change since Ibarra was not Arroyo's pre-designated successor, but had been Arroyo's competitor in the previous election. Velasco Ibarra ruled through 1945. Velasco's regime is coded by Geddes, Wright and Frantz (2013) as personalist.

In 1947, as a result of conflict with the assembly and increasing popular discontent, Velasco was ousted from office by the military. Carlos Mancheno Cajas, a member of the military, took office briefly (from August 23 to September 2). We code a leadership transition from Velasco Ibarra to Mancheno as a SOLS change that lasted less than 30 days, because Mancheno does not seem to be an interim leader. According to Lauderbaugh (2012, 112), although Mancheno was a loyalist to Velassco before he resigned his position of minister of defense when Velasco began excluding him from high- level cabinet meetings, by the time he was called upon to be minster of defense once again in Velasco' government, he had no loyalty to Verasco, rather he sought an opportunity for revenge against Velasco.

Following Mancheno's time in office, Mariano Suarez Veintimilla, Velasco's former vice-president and a member of the Ecuadorian Conservative Party (PCE) took office from September 2-15. He "promised to serve only until Congress would appoint a new presented (Lauderbaugh 2012, 112)" and can thus be seen as a caretaker.[2] Congress chose Carlos Julio Arosemena Tola, who did not have a party affiliation. Arosemena was president for one year; until elections were

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[1] It seems that Navarro Allende was the vice president of the Senate and Arroyo handed him power (U.S. Department of State 1967, 1037).

[2] See also a news article in The Evening Independent from September 3, 1947. Available at http://news.google.com/newspapers?nid=950&dat=19470903&id=mKcLAAAAIBAJ&sjid=IlUDAAAAIBAJ&pg=3644,14 51729

held in 1948. We consider both Suarez Veintimilla and Arosemena Tola to be interim leaders, and thus code no SOLS changes.[3]

In 1948, elections were held and Galo Plaza Lasso, a candidate of the Movimiento Civico Ecuatoriano (MCDN), was elected President. This is a SOLS change. According to Lentz (1994, 237) and Bethell (1991, 704-5), Plaza Lasso was the candidate of MCDN for the presidency. Therefore, his main SOLS should be MCDN, rather than PL. Plaza Lasso was supported by a number of Liberal Party (PL) voters, and Plaza Lasso was the son of an important Liberal president, but there was a different official Liberal candidate. Therefore, Plaza Lasso's SOLS should be "MCDN."

Ecuador is not coded as a democracy by Polity IV (Marshall and Jaggers 2002) at this time, nor is it coded as a particular type of authoritarian regime by Geddes (2003). As a result, we use a pre- designated successor rule to determine SOLS changes. Galo Plaza Lasso served his full four-year term in office. Elections were again held in 1952, and Velasco Ibarra, now a member of the National Velasquista Federation (FNV), was again elected to office. This is a SOLS change to MCDN and FNV. He also served his full term, and left office after elections were held in 1956. In these elections, Camilo Ponce Enríquez, a member of the Conservative Party (PC, which would later become PCE), was elected to the presidency. This is another SOLS change. Although Ponce Eriquez was a minister in Velasco's government, he ran for the election as a candidate of the Conservatives which was different from Velasco's sols: Federación Nacional Velasquista (National Velasquista Federation (FNV) (Janda 1980; Martz 1980). According to Martz (1980), "Three candidates entered the competition with Guevara More-no. Camilo Ponce Enriquez, Velasco's Minister of Government during much of his term, represented the Conservatives and his own personalistic Movimiento Social Cristiano (MSC); the Liberals nominated Raul Clemente Huerta Rendon, a prominent guayaquileno; and the 1952 Liberal standard bearer, former Quito mayor Jose Ricardo Chiriboga Villagomez, ran on his own." In addition, US Library of Congress (1989) lists Ponce's own party: MSC, as one of the major personalist movements. Thus, Ponce Enriquez was not Velasco's pre-designated successor.

In 1960, Velasco Ibarra was elected once again, still as the leader of FVN. This is a SOLS change. Velasco Ibarra's government engaged in serious conflict with the legislative branch, and Velasco Ibarra was ousted from office in 1961. His Vice President, Carlos Julio Arosemana Monroy, a member of the National Revolutionary Party (PNR) and prime opponent to Velasco Ibarra's policies, assumed office. This is a SOLS change. Arosemana Monroy remained in office until 1963, when he too was ousted in a military coup.

Ramón Castro Jijón became the leader of the new ruling military junta. This is a SOLS change. This government is classified as military by Geddes (2003), and remained in power until 1966. That year, following violent protests, leadership of Ecuador was handed over to civilian administration. First, the non-partisan Clemente Yerovi Indaburu served as interim president from March 29 until November 16, 1966. This is not a SOLS change. Then, the newly elected constituent assembly chose Otto Arosemana Gómez, a member of the Democratic Institutional

[3] However, it should be noted that we could code a SOLS change with Suarez. This is because in Ecuador, vice presidents need not be from the same party as presidents and the vice president may not be seen as the pre-designated successor. However, since we do not have a clear coding rule on this issue, we code no SOLS change for the transition from Mancheno to Suarez Veintimilla for now.

Coalition (CID), to lead the country, which is a SOLS change. Arosemana Gómez remained in office until 1 September 1968, and oversaw the implementation of a new constitution in 1967.

In the first elections held under this constitution, Velasco Ibarra, still of the FNV, was again elected to office in 1968. This is a SOLS change. While Polity IV (Marshall and Jaggers 2002) codes Ecuador as democratic in 1968 and 1969 Cheibub et al. (2010) does not. Given this difference we choose to code these years as a presidential democracy following Schlager et al. (2006). Beginning in 1970, Geddes (2003) classifies Velasco Ibarra's rule as "personalist". In February 1972, Velasco Ibarra was again overthrown by a military coup led by General Guillermo Rodriguez Lara, which is another SOLS change. Lara remained in power (in a government classified as military by Geddes 2003) until he was removed by the military in 1976. He was replaced by Alfredo Ernesto Poveda Burbano, also a member of the military. This is not a SOLS change. Poveda Burbano remained in office until 1979, when elections were held under a new, democratic constitution.

From 1979 through 2006, Polity IV (Marshall and Jaggers 2002) codes Ecuador as a democracy. On August 10, 1979, Jaime Roldos Aguilera, a member of the Concert of the Popular Forces party (CFP), assumed the presidency. This is a SOLS change. He remained in office until his sudden death in a plane crash in 1981. His Vice President, Osvaldo Hurtado Larrea, a member of the People's Democracy-Christian Democratic Union party (DP-UDC), ascended to the presidency to complete Roldos Aguilera's term. This is a SOLS change. Elections were held in 1984, and León Febres Cordero Ribadeneyra, the leader of the Social-Christian Party (PSC) became President, which is another SOLS change. He served his full term, and in 1988 Rodrigo Borja Cevallos, a member of the Democratic Left party (ID) won the elections and became president. It suggests a SOLS change. Borja Cevallos was also in office for his full term, and in 1992, Sixto Alfonso Durán-Ballén Cordovez, a member of the Republican Union Party (PUR) was elected president, and it represents another SOLS change. After serving his full term, elections in 1996 resulted in a victory for Abdalá Jaime Bucaram Ortiz, a member of the Ecuadorian Roldosist Party (PRE). This is a SOLS change, too.

Less than one year after assuming office, Bucaram Ortiz was deposed by the Congress on the grounds of alleged mental incompetence. The head of Congress, Fabián Alarcon Rivera, a member of the Alfarista Radical Front (FRA), became interim president for three days, between February 6 to 9. This is not a SOLS change. For two days after that, from February 9 to 11, Rosalía Arteaga Serrano, Bucaram Ortiz's vice-president, assumed the presidency, which is not a SOLS change either, due to the short duration and her being labeled as "interim." Alarcon Rivera, however, had the support of Congress and the military, and was officially sworn in as president on February 11, leading Arteaga Serrano to resign. Alarcon Rivera was in office until new elections were held in 1998. This is not a SOLS change; the Europa World Yearbook (2004, 1497) lists him as an interim president, and he was in power for exactly 18 months, which is the maximum time allowed to be "interim" in our coding rule.

In August 1998, after elections, Jorge Jamil Mahuad Witt, a member of the DP-UDC, became president. This is a SOLS change. On January 21, 2000, following severe economic difficulties in Ecuador, protests by indigenous groups in the capital grew violent, and the police and military refused to enforce order. This led to Mahuad Witt being overthrown and a civilian/ military Council of State taking over. This Council was only in power for one day, and was led

by Carlos Mendoza Poveda, a member of the military. Mendoza Poveda is not listed on the spreadsheet (again, perhaps due to his short time as leader), so therefore we do not code a SOLS change for him. On the night of January 21, Mahuad Witt fled the presidential palace, and on the next day, endorsed his Vice President Gustavo Noboa Bejarano to assume the presidency. Noboa Bejarano, also a member of the DP-UDC, was confirmed by the Congress that day and assumed office. This is not a SOLS change. After elections held in late 2002, Noboa Bejarano handed over power to Lucio Gutierrez Borbua, a member of the Party Patriotic Society in January 2003. This is a SOLS change.

Gutierrez Borbua's administration lasted until 2005. During his time in office, he enacted conservative fiscal policies, replaced the Supreme Court, and declared a state of emergency to combat opposition (U.S. Department of State 2012). This led to his being stripped of powers by Congress in April 2005 (on charges of "abandoning his post"). His Vice President Luis Palacio Gonzalez of the Popular Democracy party (DP), assumed the presidency for the remainder of Gutierrez Borbua's term. We code this as a SOLS change. In January 2007, following elections, Rafael Correa Delgado, a member of the Country Alliance (AP), assumed the presidency. This is a SOLS change.

From 2007 to 2012, Ecuador's POLITY IV score is 5, which is considered a non-democracy in the coding rules. Ecuador is not coded as autocracy by Geddes, Wright, and Frantz (2014) or Cheibub, Gandhi, and Vreeland (2010) during these years, therefore there is no other dataset to use as a source to describe the type of autocracy. We code Ecuador as other during this period.[4] There were no leadership transitions during this time, so this decision does not impact our coding of SOLS changes.

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[4] We suggest that Ecuador from 2009-2012 be coded as other. It was not a monarchy, oligarchy, military regime, or subject to warlords. It also does not appear that the party nor Correa himself had enough control, especially over the security apparatus of the country, in order to be considered a single party system, a personalist system, or a hybrid of the two. As a result, the other classification seems the most appropriate.

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