**Brazil**
Rice

Before its independence, Brazil had been colonized by Portugal from 1500 to 1822, when it declared independence in 1822. After independence, Dom Pedro II ruled from 1831 to 1889, when Deodoro da Fonseca, the marshal of the Army led a coup and established a federal Republic. The period from 1889 to 1930 is known as the Old Republic. The constitution of 1891 established the United States of Brazil, and granted autonomy to the provinces. It recognized rights of the states, and central government could exercise control only through local oligarchies (Roett 1984). During the period of the Old Republic, the national leadership came mostly from the powerful states of Sao Paulo and Minas Gerais, in the basis of the Republican Party, which was the only national political party. The Republican Party was a loose network of provincial organizations that served to deliver patronage into the states. Regional and local leaders competed for the favors from the central government. Political opposition was repressed, and politics were in the hands of a few in the service of the patrimonial state (Roett 1984).

During the period, local oligarchies practiced authoritarian rule through election fraud and unequal distribution of wealth, which was gained through coffee plantation. Economic inequality suppressed political competition and participation, and the presidency alternated between dominant states of Sao Paulo and Minas Gerais (Hagopian 1996). Following our regional export's suggestion, we code an oligarchic regime for the period of 1919-1929. Accordingly, we code no SOLS changes for any leadership transitions during this oligarchic period. In 1919, Epitâcio Lindolfo da Silva Pessoa, PRM, was elected as the president, which is not a SOLS change. Presidents that succeeded Pessoa were also from the Republican Party. Following our oligarchy rule, we code no SOLS change for the leadership changes from Pessoa to Artur da Silva Bernardes, PRM, and Bernardes to Washington Luís Pereira de Sousa, PRP.[1]

The Old Republic fell when Getulio Vargas led a military coup against the Old Republic. In fact, he had led a series of unsuccessful revolts against the government throughout the 1920s. We code a SOLS change for the leadership change from de Sousa to Vargas, because while de Sousa was from PRP, Vargas was not supported by a political party. Vargas brought great change to Brazilian politics; he supported state expansion, political centralization, and promoted economic development (Hagopian 1996).

Based on our country experts' opinions, we code Vargas' regime as personalist hybrid regime. Johnson (1964, 225) also mentions that "The Army helped Vargas in 1930 and forced him out in 1945, but the officers never tried to take power." During Vargas' regime, appointed federal officials replaced local governors, and patronage flowed from the president downward. Vargas tried to absorb rural and commercial elites at the local level; local elites survived by declaring their loyalty and accepting their share of patronage for protection of their interest (US Library of Congress 1997). To eliminate power both from the right and the left, he manipulated and repressed political opponents. He abolished all political parties, and cancelled the election in

[1] Note that WSM uses PRM and PRP to refer to Republican Party Minas and Republican Party Paulista, just indicating that they are the same party from different states. According to our regional expert, the PRM and PRP were allies that traditionally alternated the presidency and vice-presidency and represented the same type of landed interests.

1938. Under the pretext of maintaining law and order, he ignored constitutional ban on his succeeding himself. Extensive nationalization of economic institutions increased the power of the patrimonial state (Roett 1984).

The 1945 election ignited intense political debate as Vargas attempted to cancel the election as he did in 1938. However, the military officers supported presidential election. They issued an ultimatum, and the dictator left to home after his ouster by the military (Roett 1984). Before the election took place, José Linhares took the office (Cahoon 2011). We do not code a SOLS change for this date, because Linhares was a provisional president before the election took place and General Eurico Gaspar Dutra, Vargas's minister of war, was elected in 1946 (Roett 1984).

Dutra was supported by the Social Democratic Party (PSD). However, Cahoon (2011) claims that SOLS is PSD and Military. Although Dutra enlisted in the army, most of his electoral support came from a former dictator Vargas, not military. For instance, he ran for the presidential election as a candidate of the PSD. The PSD was a party that had been organized by Vargas. In addition, as Lentz (1994, 104) indicates, he was a member of Vargas' cabinet and he won the election with the support of Vargas and not the military. Therefore, we code PSD (and not of Mil/PSD) as Dutra SOLS.

While Dutra and Vargas were close, we code a SOLS change here. The country becomes democratic in 1946, and thus the Dutra's SOLS is expanded beyond Vargas personalist clique. Furthermore, the labor wing of the Vargas support base was largely excluded from Dutra's SOLS, but the traditional elite wing was maintained.

(After Brazil became democratic and before 1960, Brazilian politics was contested by two parties, the Social Democratic Party (PSD) and the Brazilian Labor Party (PTB), both of which had been created by Vargas. PSD had a more rural bend, while PTB was labor-oriented. The two parties also had an alliance during this period. Thus, leader transitions that brought to power leaders from these different parties might be considered minor SOLS changes. Yet, one of our regional experts suggested that they should be treated as separate supporting groups. Thus, we code regular SOLS changes here.)

In elections in 1951, former dictator Vargas successfully got himself elected to the presidency as a member of the Brazilian Labour Party (PTB), which is a SOLS change. Vargas ended up shooting himself in 1954, before his term was up, when his administration was tainted with allegations of corruption and he was told a military coup was underway. Café Filho, Vargas's vice president, took control of the government. Café Filho was from neither of Vargas' two parties, but, because he can be considered a provisional leader (De Mattei 1998, 100; Geddes, 164), we code no SOLS change here.

Café Filho was succeeded by Carlos Coimbra da Luz, the Speaker of the Chamber of Deputies from the PSD beginning a series of PSD rulers. Since Luz (and Ramos as well) is an acting president, we cannot code a SOLS change until a transition to next regular leadership comes. And there was no regular leadership transition in 1955. Coimbra was ousted by military forces, and he was replaced by Senate President Nereu Ramos. Ramos, also of the PSD, held the position until the elected leader, Juscelino Kubitschek, could take office in 1956. They belonged to same party (PSD). However, Ramos was an interim leader and a SOLS change came when

Kubitschek (PSD) became a regular president in January 31, 1956. He stayed in office until 1961.

In 1961, there are three leadership changes Kubitschek (PSD), Quadros (PDC: the Christian Democratic Party), Mazzilli (PSD), and Goulart (PTB). When Kubitschek's term ended, populist Jânio da Silva Quadros was elected, which is a SOLS change. As a member of the PDC, he served until resigning in August. His Vice President João Goulart, who was from the leftist PTB, did not take office immediately on account of the fact that he was lacking the approval of the military, business leaders, and large parts of the political elite. The Speaker of the Chamber of Deputies, Ranieri Mazzilli, was chosen as an interim leader. This is not a SOLS change because he was temporary. In September, Goulart took office after a minimal constitutional adjustment. This was another SOLS change. His regime lasted until 1964.

A military coup in 1964 significantly altered Brazil's political history. There were three leaders including one acting president in 1964: Goulart, Mazzilli (acting), and Castello Branco(Mil). The military regime headed by Castelo Branco lasted until 1985. Mazzilli is installed as an interim leader beholden to the military very briefly until the military agrees that Castello Branco will be the President. Thus, the SOLS change occurs with the transition from Goulart to Mazzilli, which is when the military takes over.[2] Geddes (2003) codes the country from 1964-1985 as a pure-Military regime. In October 15, 1965 the military dissolved Brazil's 13 existing parties and created a new, two-party system to replace them. As a result, National Renovating Alliance (ARENA) was created as the party of the military government and the Brazilian Democratic Movement (MDB) was invented as the party of the opposition (Schlager et al. 2006, 170). Two-party system imposed by the military simplified voter choices: Brazilians voted either in favor or against the regime (Schlager et al. 2006, 170).

Therefore, we code Mil/ARENA as the SOLS from 1966 to 1984. As mentioned above, the first leader backed by the military was the Army Chief of Staff Marshal Humberto Castelo Branco, who served until 1967. Marshal Artur da Costa e Silva was the next to be appointed, who ruled until his death in 1969. Archigos (Goemans et al. 2009) briefly codes a military junta government before General Emílio Garrastazú Médici served in the presidency until 1974, when he chose to step down and be replaced by General Ernesto Geisel. Geisel led the country in the direction of democracy, a direction continued by his chosen successor João Figueiredo, who took office in 1979.

Power swung back towards the National Assembly as people took to the streets protesting military rule, and in 1985, Brazil achieved democracy. The electoral college's selection for president, Tancredo Neves, passed away before he could assume office, so the Vice President-elect José Sarney took office. Sarney was a member of the PFL (Liberal Front Party). He was a cofounder of the PFL when the PFL was established in 1984 for the purpose of opposing the presidential candidacy of Paulo Maluf, the candidate of the military support party, in 1985

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[2] While Mazzilli served as acting president, consistent with the provisions of the constitution, the onset of his status as acting president was determined by the military's decision to declare the presidency vacant. Further, the military made it clear to Mazzilli that the military would retain control of decision-making power. Mazzilli's second term thus coincides with the beginning of a military regime, which is a SOLS change, and we do not code him as an interim leader since the military was already determining the course of Brazilian politics (See Arceneaux 2001, 144- 145; Skidmore 1990, 18-19).

elections (Encyclopedia Britannica n.d.). His political party as well as lack of backing from the military enables us to code his regime as a SOLS change.

Brazil finally had a direct election in 1989, which resulted in Fernando Collor de Mello taking office in 1990. As a member of the Party for National Reconstruction (PRN), his election was a SOLS change as well. In 1992, he resigned amidst a major corruption scandal, and the National Assembly chose his Vice President Itamar Augusto Cautiero Franco to succeed him. Although Franco temporally belonged to the PRN, he left PRN before he became President on December 29, 1992. According to Archontology.org (2009), "In the runoff election Collor and Franco emerged victorious and took their offices on Mar 15, 1990. Franco frequently disagreed with the president over a general course of the administration and ultimately quit PRN on May 5, 1992." Therefore, we code a transition from Collor de Mello to Franco as a SOLS change. Although Cahoon (2011) lists Franco as non-party, he was later a member of the Brazilian Democratic Movement Party (Partido do Movimento Democrático Brasileiro: PMDB). Since 1985, the country is coded as presidential democracy.

In 1995, Franco's term was up, and elections were held again. Fernando Henrique Cardoso was elected as a member of the Party of the Brazilian Social Democracy (PSDB), signaling a SOLS change. Cardoso's successful economic reform went on to earn him another term in office. Luiz Inácio Lula da Silva's election in 2003 was coded as a SOLS change because he represents the Labour Party (PT). He was followed by Dilma Rousseff.

On May 12, 2016, the Brazil's Senate vote to impeach Dilma Rousseff, the country's first female president (Shoichet et al. 2016). Michel Temer was named as the interim president (Shoichet et al. 2016; CNN 2018). On August 31, Rousseff is removed from office and Temer took office as president (CNN 2018). Brazil is coded as a democracy, so we use the democratic coding rules. The transition from Rousseff to Temer is considered as SOLS change as their party affiliation is different. In accordance with the coding rules, we code May 12, 2016, the day Temer took over as interim, as the date of the SOLS change because Temer eventually became the regular leader

Temer's affiliation when he became president in 2016 was PMDB (Party of the Brazil Democratic Movement). The name was changed in December of 2017 back to the original name of the party, MDB (Brazilian Democratic Movement) (Philips 2018; PMDB 2017) . Temer's affiliation in 2017 and 2018 are thus coded as MDB. There is no SOLS change because the new party included the same members and the old party ceased to exist.

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