

## Costa Rica

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Costa Rica has been a stable democracy, except the civil war period. Key parties that vie for governmental control in the pre-1945 period are the Constitutional Party (Partido Constitucional: CP) the Republican Party (Partido Republicano: RP, also PRN), and the Civil Party (Partido Civil: Civ) (Cahoon 2010; Cruz 2005).

In 1920 Costa Rica is considered newly democratic following two years of military rule. Consequently, the first government is a provisional government to oversee the elections. Following elections, Rafael Julio Acosta García of the CP (or PCon) becomes president in May 1920. This is not a SOLS change.<sup>1</sup> He is in turn succeeded in 1924 by Ricardo Romualdo Jiménez, or Don Ricardo, of the Republican Party (PR), which is a SOLS change. In 1928 Don Ricardo loses to Cleto Gonzales Víquez of the Civil Party (Civ), but he reclaims the presidency in the 1932 elections, however. Both transitions, Jimenez-Gonzales and Gonzales-Jimenez, are SOLS changes. After Jiménez, the RP remained in office under the presidencies of his successors Cortés, Calderón, and Picado Michalski until the exit date of the study (Cahoon 2010; Cruz 2005).

Teodoro Picado Michalski assumed office constitutionally in 1944 until 1948 when a new election was held. In this election Ulate won the majority of votes. However Calderon, Picado's candidate, refused to recognize Ulate's victory. After that the Congress nullified the elections because Picado-Calderon held a majority of seats in the Parliament. On March of that year a civil war broke out in the country. Picado did not resign, he took a "terminal" leave. After him, León Herrera assumed power as an interim president (Cahoon 2010). This is not a SOLS change given that Leon Herrera was interim. In May 1948, Jose Figueres who led the revolt in support of Ulate, took power and installed a Junta Fundadora de la Segunda Republica (Founding Junta of the Second Republic). The change from León Herrera to Figueres is not a SOLS change because 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, 44-45): "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

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<sup>1</sup> While Archigos (Goemans et al. 2009) describes that Francisco Ramón de Jesús Aguilar Barquero was in office as a provisional leader from September 2, 1919 to May 8, 1920, the data lists him in power for only one day on September 6, 1919. Given what Archigos (Goemans et al. 2009) lists, we have Acosta as the only leader in 1920, and there should be no SOLS change.

Blanco, signed the Ulate-Figueres 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 Democrata won just four seats.”

One of the first actions of the Junta was the recognition of Ulate’s victory in last elections. However, the junta called for a Constituency Assembly. As explained by Ullrich (2009, 4<sup>th</sup> paragraph), “When Figueres came to power on May 8, 1948, however, he broke the agreements. He outlawed the Communist Party and ejected Calderón's adherents from public institutions. Thousands of communists, unionists, and calderonistas went into exile. Instead of promoting the anti-reform politics of Ulate, Figueres implemented a progressive institutional transformation. He nationalized the banks and abolished the rest of the national army to annihilate them as a political force. In Costa Rica's Second Republic Constitution, written by a national convention, women's right to vote was set up, as well as full rights of citizenship for the Afrocaribbean population. The new Supreme Election Tribunal was founded as an independent institution to guarantee the convocation of the new legislative Congress and the handing over of executive power to Ulate, who became the first president of the Second Republic in 1949.”

On November 8, 1949, the Junta handed over power to the President-elect Ulate. This is a SOLS change since Ulate is supported by PUN (National Union Party). 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 was a provisional leader. However, it also might be appropriate to code a SOLS with Figueres, instead of coding with Ulate, given that Figures 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 with Figueres. Whether to code the 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.

Since 1949, Costa Rica has been a stable presidential democracy. Therefore, we code SOLS changes whenever Presidents with different party affiliations than their predecessors take power.

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