

## **Appendix C: Select Bibliographical References**

This appendix briefly discusses some of the key sources that we use to code variables for particular country-years. We especially highlight those sources that are helpful in resolving problematic issues for a given case. It bears emphasis, however, that this bibliographic note does not reflect the full range of sources that we consulted in making decisions. Mahoney (2001) offers a more complete bibliography of secondary sources, though his listing does not reflect the full range of secondary materials that we use for background information.

### **Costa Rica**

Information about the nature of elections and political competition between 1900 and 1950 stems from Lehoucq (1992: chap. 3) and Lehoucq and Molina (2003). Information about elections and political competition between 1950 and 2000 comes from Oconitrillo García (1982) and Obregón Quesada (2000). Special attention on the elections of the 1950s and civilian-military relations stems from Bowman (2002). These studies cite more specialized work on particular periods, including the Tinoco dictatorship between 1917-1919.

Of particular importance is Obregón Loría (1951), which lists all insurrections against the government between independence and the early 1950s. See Bowman (2002) for information on the last insurrections and civil-military relations during this decade. Bowman (2002), in fact, is the principal source for the claim that Costa Rica was a semi-democracy between 1948 and 1958. During this period, the victors of the 1948 civil war – the group that later became the National Liberation Party (PLN) and the Party of National Unification (PUN) – excluded the vanquished – the National Republican Party led by former President Rafael Angel Calderón Guardia – from running for elected office. After the volatile elections of 1958, which resulted in the presidency of Calderón Guardia ally Mario Echandi, an amnesty was reached and Calderón Guardia and many of his followers returned from exile.

The best and most systematic source of information on elections returns during the first fifty years of the 20<sup>th</sup> century is Molina (2001). Electoral data for subsequent periods is easily available from the Supreme Tribunal of Elections, most of which are discussed in Obregón Quesada (2000).

Suffrage rights became universal after 1949. Prior to this date, there was a vaguely worded property requirement and, contrary to several sources (e.g., Yashar 1997), no literacy requirement. Indeed, Lehoucq and Molina (2002: 41-2) show that the looseness of the property requirement did not prevent universal manhood franchise by the beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup> century. We only code Costa Rica a semi-democracy for much of the period before 1948 because women, as in many other countries of the world, were not allowed to vote. Women received the right to vote in 1949. We could not find an estimate of the size of the electorate after 1953, which is unlikely to be a problem because of the accuracy of the electoral registry. Hernández (1990-91) argues that automatic voter registration means that the number of citizens on the electoral rolls equals the number of adults at least 20 years old (18 after 1974). Lehoucq (1997: 55) cites

sources that claim the registration figure may be 10 percent too high because the names of immigrants have not been removed from the rolls.

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## **El Salvador**

No reliable secondary source covers political competition and elections in El Salvador before the Romero Bosque government (1927-1931). Hence, we used primary sources, especially U.S. diplomatic records, to ascertain the quality of elections during this period. See United States, Dept. of State (various years). We supplemented these data with memoirs (Córdova 1962) and the general discussions in various secondary sources and dissertations (e.g., Lindo-Fuentes 1990; Wilson 1970; White 1973). Though there was a democratic opening in the late 1920s, we still classify these years as non-democratic because Romero Bosque came to power in noncompetitive elections and was overthrown in 1931.

Castro Morán (1984), Ching (1997), and Wilson (1970) provide coverage of the Romero Bosque government. The Martínez government was characterized by more divisions among the military forces than is usually recognized. We drew our information from Elam (1968), Luna (1969), McClincock (1985), and Williams and Walter (1997).

Discussions of the complex military politics of the 1940s and 1950s can be found in Dunkerley (1982), Elam (1968), McClincock (1985), and Turcios (1993). We relied heavily on Williams and Walter (1997) for our interpretation of the 1960s, when more competitive elections were held. Webre (1979) provides good data for the 1970s. Human rights abuses and problems of civilian authority vis-à-vis the military during the 1970s and 1980s are the subject of several

studies, including Baloyra (1982); Dunkerley (1982); Karl (1986); McClintock (1985); Williams and Walter (1997). For the democratic opening of the 1990s, we drew conclusions from Montgomery (1995) and especially the coverage of recent events in the *Latin American Weekly Report* and other periodicals and newspapers.

In the decade before the 1992 peace agreement, at the height of the civil war, political liberties in El Salvador were highly constrained and severe human rights violations were common. As a result, the case is coded authoritarian for this period, even though semi-democratic elections were being held. The period from the peace accords until the elections of March 1994 saw a substantial decline in the suppression of civil and political liberties, bringing the case to the level of semi-democracy. After the 1994 elections, all of the necessary conditions for political democracy were in place.

Suffrage rights were universal for all males (18 years or older) in El Salvador throughout the twentieth century. Women got the right to vote in 1949. For general electoral statistics from 1931-1991, we use Krennerich (1993) and IDEA (2003). For the period before 1927, we used information in the Dept. of State collections.

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## Guatemala

Information of political competition and elections during the first fifty years of the 20<sup>th</sup> century is in short supply. The best sources were Taracena Arriola (1993) and Pitti (1975). The multi volume history of Guatemala (Luján Muñoz, 1993) also complemented these sources. The standard source for the Guatemalan Spring (1944-54) is Gleijeses (1991), which also discusses the Ubico dictatorship (1930-44) (see also the excellent studies by Grieb 1979; Handy 1994). With the exception of the 1926-29 and 1944-54 periods, elections were not competitive. Military officers were clearly in charge of the state. Again, it was during these periods when civilian and military authorities were battling over policy issues, but the armed forces were unable to dominate the agenda and civilians were not totally subservient.

Handy (1984), Luján Muñoz (1993), and Trudeau (1993) provide overviews of elections and politics in the post-1954 period. Politics and elections during the 1990s are discussed in Jonas (2000) and McCleary (1999). Human rights abuses after 1954 are the subject of many works, including Jonas (1991). After 1954, left and reformist forces could not participate in elections. This began to change with the 1984 Constituent Assembly. Military domination of politics also began to wane during this period, but it was not until the 1990s that the armed forces relinquished control over the policy agenda. Lehoucq (2002) and Lehoucq and Wall (forthcoming) analyze elections during the 1980s and 1990s.

Suffrage rights in Guatemala were the least open in Central America. Property restrictions on the franchise existed until 1921. And, until 1945, illiterate men could only vote in public. Only literate women could start voting in secret in 1945. In 1956, the secret franchise became universal for all adult men and women at least 18 or older could vote.

The longest and most complete run of data on elections stems from Bendel and Krennerich (1993). Ochoa (1987) provided data for the 1920 elections. Though Luján Muñoz (1993) was not helpful with election results (especially before the 1950s), this source did have the most complete run of election data for this period. As there are differences between figures (based in part on doctored population censuses), we used the figures reported here for the 1950s. For the last fifty years, we used the estimates that INE-CLADE produced, which is the standard source for demographic information. We also used Bendel and Krennerich (1993) and IDEA (1997) as sources of election data between 1950 and 2000.

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## Honduras

Two of the most difficult periods for measuring Honduran democracy are those that involve the beginning and end of the political career of Tiburcio Carías. This is because Carías won the presidency through relatively free and fair elections and over time became a repressive dictator, and then turned over power to man with democratic tendencies in 1948. Information about the nature of political competition, political rights, and national sovereignty in the 1924-1934 period

comes from Argueta (1988, 1990), Argueta and Quiñones (1983), Barahona (1989), and an excellent and often overlooked book from Munro (1974). In addition to these secondary sources, we consulted U.S. diplomatic cables from the 1924-1934 period. Information about the 1948-1963 period comes from general Honduran histories listed below with special attention given to Becerra (1983, 1994), an excellent insider account from Cruz (1982), Euraque (1986, 1996), Funes (1995), Martz (1959), Natalini de Castro et al. (1985), and Stokes (1950). We also spent months in the Honduran National Archives in Tegucigalpa, consulting newspapers from the period. We read *El Cronista* 1953-1963.

After initially coding the 1900-1963 period, Bowman visited Honduras and met separately with research librarian and historian Mario Argueta and historian Mario Posas to discuss issues of competition and rights for difficult years.

The major question for coding the 1982-1999 period revolves around questions of civilian control of the military (or military control of civilians in the Honduran case). There is a considerable existing secondary literature, which includes Bowman (2002), various works and personal interviews with Ramón Oqueli, various works and personal interviews with Leticia Salomón, and Shulz and Shulz (1994). In addition, we spent three years in Honduras during the 1980-1999 period and consulted many local sources, including the wealth of information and monthly publications of the Centro de Documentación de Honduras (CEDOH).

Suffrage rights were broad throughout the twentieth century in Honduras. Men at least 21 years old (and 18 if married or literate) without regard for property and literacy until 1957. Women obtain the right to vote in 1955. Since 1957, all adults 18 years or older can vote. Sources for election data are Honduran National Archives, Argueta (1988), Argueta and Quiñones (1983), Otero (1987), and IDEA.

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## Nicaragua

Nicaraguan political history in the 20<sup>th</sup> century can be neatly broken down into a few major periods: the Zelaya government (to 1909), the U.S. occupation years (1909-1937), the Somoza governments (1937-1979), the Sandinista government (1979-1990), and the first two post-Sandinista governments (1990-1999).

For the Zelaya period, we draw data on insurrections, political liberties, and civilian-military relations from Matus (1962); Stansifer (1977), and Teplitz (1973). Mahoney (2001) discusses the use of fraudulent elections by Zelaya, drawing on Nicaragua's *Gaceta Oficial*. To code variables during the period of U.S. intervention, we consulted Bermann (1986), Denny (1929), Dodd (1992), Hill (1933), and Kamman (1968). As noted in the paper text, Munro's (1964; 1974) diplomatic reports were especially helpful.

For the Somoza regime, we draw upon Booth (1985), Millet (1977), and Walter (1993) to form our conclusions about political liberties, political competition, and the quality of elections. For the Sandinista period, Gilbert's (1988) and Spalding's (1994) balanced accounts were helpful, though we consulted a large number of other works. The elections of 1984 and 1990 are the subject of several works, many of which are summarized in Bayer Richard and Booth (1995). We code the 1984 election as semi-democratic because of restrictions on the media (since this election occurred after July 1, the coding appears in 1985). Our most recent information on human rights comes from travel in the country, local newspapers (especially *Barricada International*), and periodic sources such as the *Latin American Weekly Report*.

Suffrage rights for men were universal throughout the twentieth century. Illiterate males could begin voting at age 21 until 1984. Women got the right to vote in 1957. In 1984, a new constitution lowered to voting age to 16 years old for both genders.

Information on suffrage rights, electoral returns, and national population are from Krennerich (1993), which covers most elections between 1924 and 1990. More complete information about the 1936 elections comes from Walter (1993: 61), whose vote total we use. Krennerich (1993: 459) reports 80,096 votes, which seems to be the valid vote and does not include the blank and null votes that Walter reports. We also relied upon IDEA (1997: 75) data for the total vote, registration, voting age population, and population size. Both Krennerich and IDEA offered highly consistent figures and filled in each other's gaps. Data on elections and population between 1900 and 1920 stems from IDEA. Data for elections during the 1990s comes from David Close (1999).

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