



ARGENTINA AFTER 'KIRCHNERISMO'

POLICY CHALLENGES FACING THE MACRI GOVERNMENT

date

Friday
14th October 2016

location

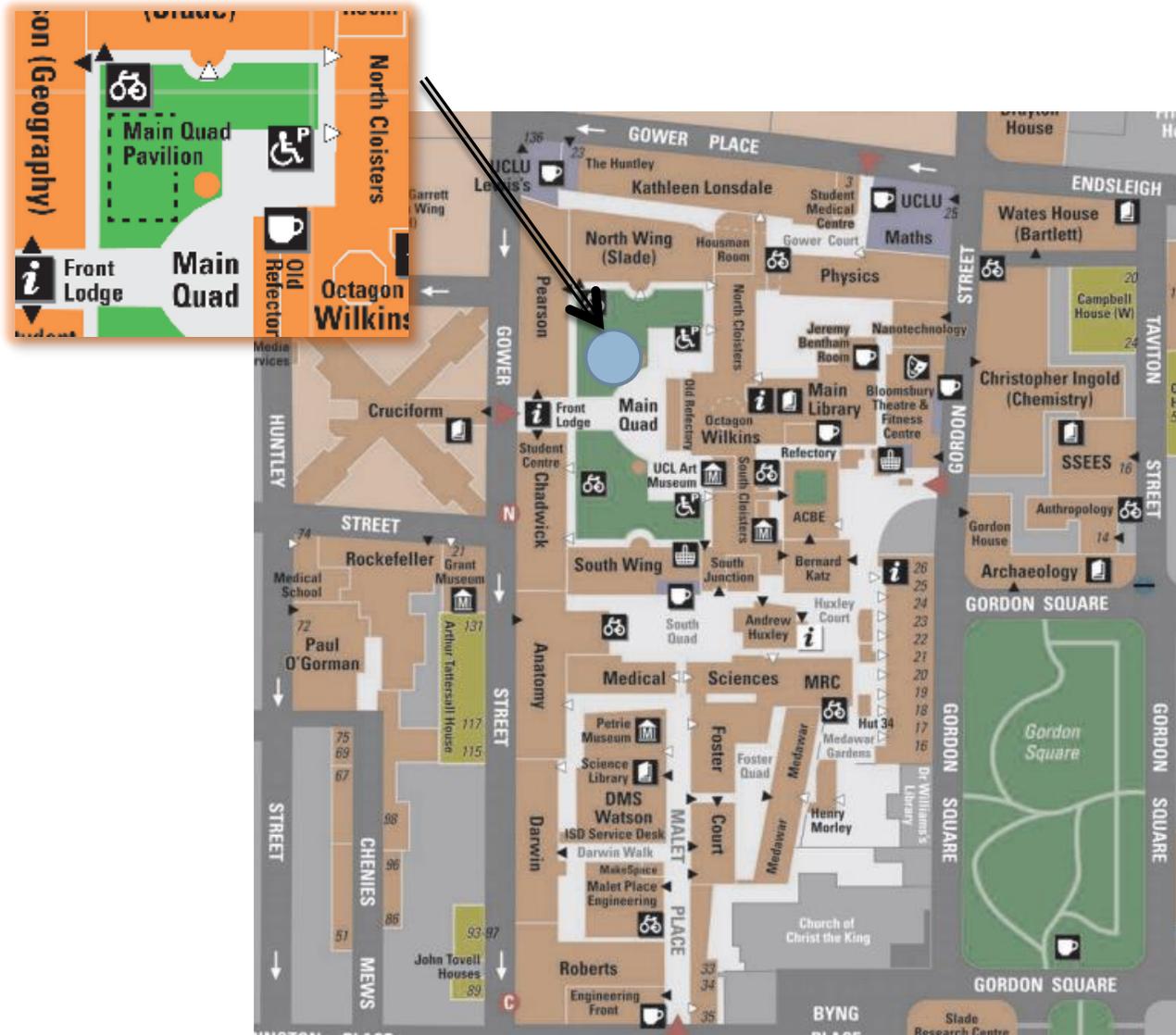
Main Quad
Pavillion,
Gower Street Main
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time

10 AM



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Venue

Main Quad Pavillion
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Argentina after Kirchnerismo

POLICY CHALLENGES FACING THE MACRI GOVERNMENT

Convenors: Maxine Molyneux and Juan Grigera

UCL Institute of Americas

This symposium is set to survey the political and economic context of contemporary Argentina. Mauricio Macri, successor to 12 years of Kirchnerismo, has faced a growing set of problems and points of friction in his first year of office at home and abroad. Among these are a changed regional and international context, a collapse in commodity prices, low rates of economic growth, high inflation and labour and social conflict. Speakers and invited participants will be discussing these issue under three main themes: Economic Policy, Domestic Politics and International Relations.

1. THE ECONOMY: CURRENT PERFORMANCE AND FUTURE DIRECTIONS

Macri's early promises were to lift capital controls and export restrictions, reduce inflation and tackle the fiscal deficit. He rapidly came to a deal with the holdout hedge funds that have been suing the country in the US courts since they acquired cheap Argentine bonds following Argentina's 2001 debt default. Argentina is now finally set to re-enter the global markets without constraints. Other key challenges include revitalizing the export sector in a new context and attracting foreign direct investment.



- Political economy: economic outlook; short-term and medium-term economic policy. How will inflation, debt and low growth be tackled?
- Economic performance in key sectors (industry, agriculture);
- Trade and financial policy: key trade relations (Brazil, China, EU, US) and new trade partners; trade and investment disputes.
- Employment: Redundancies in the public and private sectors to help pay off the public debt raise the spectre of unemployment. Will job creation prove to be the Aquilles heel of the new policy mix?

2. PRESENT AND FUTURE TRAJECTORIES OF DOMESTIC POLITICS

“The ballotage can be won by one vote, but governability is given by argentines” stated Marcos Peña, the new government Chief of Cabinet early in last December. The new administration came to office in a highly politicized and polarized context alongside the economic challenges already mentioned. Has Macri managed to settle conflicts and yet consolidate consensus? How key is a "politics of morality" in the building of trust (e.g. condemning Kirchneristas for corruption, being challenged by the leaks of Panama Papers)?"

- Winners and losers in the new administration: Does *Kirchnerismo* remain a vital political force? What is the state of the opposition; political activism against and in support of the government; government-trade union relations. How will sectors of the middle class respond politically? Who are the key players or sectors in the new political configuration?
- Key policy areas: healing the rift within Peronism; continuing the project of renovacion? Media Law reforms; citizen security, social protection, social policy, neoextractivism.

3. ARGENTINA IN LATIN AMERICA AND IN THE WORLD

Macri has signalled that Argentina's role in the global economy will change during his watch. During the campaign and after winning the vote, he indicated that his election would mean a closer relationship with the United States and Europe, as well as a reshaping of Mercosur to those ends. With both US presidential candidates rolling back from TPP and TTIP how will Argentina position itself in the ongoing realignment of key emerging economies? and will 'Brexit' open up new opportunities for Anglo-Argentine relations?

- Regional policy and key regional relations: Mercosur; Brazil; Venezuela; UNASUR
- Domestic sources of foreign policy: factors and groups influencing the formulation and implementation of Argentine foreign policy
- Beyond Latin America: relations with the US; foreign policy priorities, significance and engagement beyond the region (e.g. UNSC seat in 2013–2014); relations with China; relations with international financial institutions; Argentina in the G20; UK-Argentine relations and the South Atlantic question.

UCL's Institute of the Americas would like to thank the FCO and the Argentine Embassy for supporting this event, and Daniel Ozarow of the Argentina Research Network (<https://argentinaresearchnetwork.wordpress.com>) for his advice and assistance in bringing it to fruition. Thanks as ever, to Oscar Martinez for his organizational assistance throughout.



Programme

10.15-10:30 Welcoming Remarks by Prof. Maxine Molyneux

10:30-12:15 Session 1 - The Economy: Current Performance and Future Directions

Chair Néstor Castañeda (UCL)

Colin Lewis (London School of Economics) – Making and Dismantling the Kirchner Economy

Alan Cibils (Universidad Nacional de General Sarmiento) – The Argentine Pendulum (again): From the Kirchners’ Populism to Macri’s Neoliberalism Without Anaesthesia

Alejandro Bonvecchi (Universidad Torcuato Di Tella) – Political Challenges of Macroeconomic Management in Comparative Perspective

Discussant Juan Grigera (UCL)

12:15-1:30 Lunch Break

1.30-3.00 Session 2 - Present and Future Trajectories of Domestic Politics

Chair Daniel Ozarow (Middlesex University)

Anibal Pérez-Liñán (University of Pittsburgh) – Presidential Power Cycles and the Turn to the Right in Argentina

Ezequiel Gonzalez (Oxford University) – Between a rock and hard place: Assessing Macri’s governability experiment

Guillermo Mira (Universidad de Salamanca) – Macri’s Administration: between battles about the past and future challenges

Discussant Celia Szusterman (Institute of Statecraft)

3.00-3.30 Coffee break



3.30-5.30 Session 3 - Argentina in Latin America and in the World

Chair James Dunkerley (QMUL)

Andres Malamud (ISS, Lisbon)– Argentina's foreign policy: the long-term costs of short-term pragmatism

Jill Hedges (Oxford Analytica) – Foreign policy: is there scope for an about-face?

Maximiliano Mendez (Overseas Development Institute) – International trade slowdown and Argentina: Integration options and challenges

Jimmy Burns (Journalist and author) – Argentina’s foreign policy: shifts and unresolved challenges

Discussant Dudley Ankerson (Independent consultant and former FCO member)

5.30-6.00 Closing Session

Chair Victor Bulmer-Thomas (UCL,TBC)

Klaus Gallo (Universidad di Tella)

Ken Shadlen (LSE)

Maxine Molyneux (UCL)

6.00 Wine reception

Abstracts

SESSION 1 – THE ECONOMY: CURRENT PERFORMANCE AND FUTURE DIRECTIONS

Making and Dismantling the Kirchner Economy

Colin Lewis

The paper examines the formation and development of economic strategy during the Kirchner presidencies, and its legacy. The main focus is on crisis-response measures implemented around 2002/3, the forging of a distinct neo-Keynesian/neo-populist model after 2005 and efforts from c.2009 to reshape the economy in order to construct and sustain a particular socio-political project, as well as the implication of post-2015 policy changes implemented by the Macri economic team for the Kirchner/Fernández project. Partly inherited from the interim Duhalde presidency, key elements of the initial Kirchner economy were distributionist social expenditure and the ‘twin surpluses’ – delivering a primary fiscal surplus and ensuring a favourable balance of trade, leading to the accumulation of substantial reserves. Such measures underwrote social and political cohesion, and economic recovery and growth, and an emergent Kirchnerismo. Debt default and the recovery of the global economy after the 2008 banking and financial debacle subsequently facilitated an economic boom – and electoral victories for first Néstor Kirchner and later Cristina Fernández de Kirchner. The extent to which that boom was a function of policy success or luck will be assessed by analysing the maturing Kirchner economic programme and the underlying structure of the economy. If the twin surpluses had defined Kirchneromics and underpinned Kirchnerismo, why was the strategy undermined (or abandoned) around 2012: does a shift in ideology, the composition of the regime or events in the real economy account for policy change? An appraisal of economic fundamentals and the economic programme again offers insights. Perhaps, too, an assessment of the stance of the Macri administration also sheds light on the crisis of Kirchneromics.

The Argentine Pendulum (again): From the Kirchners’ Populism to Macri’s Neoliberalism Without Anaesthesia

Alan Cibils

Argentina’s dramatic economic and political collapse in 2001–2002 was the end result of a decade of profound neoliberal transformations and unsustainable debt accumulation. Strong anti-neoliberal popular sentiment fueled massive protests against banks and politicians, setting the ground for Néstor Kirchner’s rise to power. Kirchner, a shrewd politician who read the political sentiment well, moved away from neoliberalism to

policies promoting Argentina's domestic market. However, after twelve years of Kirchner administrations (Néstor for four years, and his wife, Cristina, for eight) and a significant improvement in most social and economic indicators, Argentina is once again being ruled by a president with an explicit neoliberal orientation. The radical policy shift of Macri's first eight months has resulted in a substantial recession with rapidly growing poverty, inequality and unemployment. This presentation will present an overview of the virtues and shortcomings of the Kirchner years, explain Macri's radical policy shift and offer some possible scenarios of what we may expect in coming months and years.

Political Challenges of Macroeconomic Management in Comparative Perspective

Alejandro Bonvecchi

Macroeconomic management under the Macri government faces the unique challenges of stabilizing a moderately high inflation and adjusting relative prices with a minority in Congress and without a full-blown crisis to use as leverage. However, unlike its predecessors in similar contexts, the government has hitherto been able to use the institutional and fiscal tools of the presidency to implement its economic policy and obtain cooperation from societal actors, provincial governments, and the opposition in the policy process. Still, the fiscal costs of this cooperation and the adaptation it required in the sequencing of program implementation risk confronting the Macri administration with a challenge familiar to its predecessors: the tradeoff between inflation stabilization and economic recovery.

SESSION 2 – PRESENT AND FUTURE TRAJECTORIES OF DOMESTIC POLITICS

Presidential Power Cycles and the Turn to the Right in Argentina

Anibal Pérez-Liñán

The arrival of *Cambiamos* to power appears to constitute a break with the past in Argentina. For the first time since the establishment of democracy in 1916, a conservative candidate won a competitive presidential election in 2015. This episode also suggests that Argentina is at the forefront of a “turn to the right” in Latin America. I argue, however, that the Macri administration is consistent with a more recent history of recurrent political cycles in post-1983 Argentina. Following Skowronek's interpretation of “political time” in the United States, this paper provides a novel understanding of presidential power cycles in Argentina.



Between a rock and hard place: Assessing Macri's governability experiment

Ezequiel Gonzalez Ocantos

The 2015 election was a landmark. For the first time since the 1983 transition, the two political parties that dominated democratic competition for most of the 20th century failed to win the presidency. The presence of a new party in office, with limited territorial roots and a minority status in both chambers of Congress, is indeed a novelty, with important governability implications. This presentation will explore how the Macri administration has so far dealt with three main political challenges. First, it will analyze how the president negotiates with Peronist governors and legislators, a process that is crucial in determining the success of the government's legislative agenda. Second, it will look into the nature of Macri's complicated relationship with his coalition partners. Finally, the presentation will assess the institutional legacies of Kirchnerism's 12 years in power, paying special attention to the judicial branch.

Macri's Administration: between battles on the past and future challenges

Guillermo Mira

Among the many challenges faced by the Macri administration one is bequeathed by history. This particular difficulty is to find a way to lead a country that has lived the last seventy years in almost permanent anxiety, deeply divided, amidst cyclical structural crises of profound depth, long-established ideological and cultural confrontations and unspeakable violence.

If, on the one hand the triumph of CAMBIEMOS is the corollary of normal democratic elections – where more often than not they express the rejection of the ruling party more than support for the new project – on the other, it retains some earlier features: for the first time in many years Argentine citizens elected a coalition government whose core is unapologetically defined as of the right. Contributing to this victory was the draining of support for successive Kirchnerista governments amidst increasing numbers of corruption cases, along with the strategic errors made during the electoral campaign. However, the electoral outcome has not resolved the country's divisions. While half the electorate voted for change, the other half remembers where the country was in December 2001. If, for some, the first moments of the Macri administration evoke a *deja vu* of Menem's project, this could stir up the controversies that have surrounded the struggles around, and interpretations of Argentina's history, with potential political consequences. This is the subject explored in this paper.



SESSION 3 – ARGENTINA IN LATIN AMERICA AND IN THE WORLD

Argentina's foreign policy: the long-term costs of short-term pragmatism

Andres Malamud

At least since the Falklands War (1982), Argentina's foreign policy has been considered erratic and contradictory. This is mostly seen as a consequence of domestic ideological turns. However, I contend that short-term pragmatism is a better explanation for foreign policy volatility. The key goals for all Argentine administrations, whether democratic or not, have been to garner mass support at home and to obtain financial assistance abroad. All along, foreign policy has become just another instrument to further these goals. Participation in regional organizations, which is stable as a vocation but variable in intensity and priority, offers a rich vantage point from where to analyze Argentina's foreign rambles.

International trade slowdown and Argentina: Integration options and challenges.

Maximiliano Mendez

In the last 15 years, Argentina's trade expanded primarily as a result of the commodity price bonanza. Very little has been done towards diversify destinations and products using free trade agreements and Mercosur have extinguished its capability to expand intra-region trade. A Mercantilist approach tainted the Argentina's trade policy and contributed to the definition of its general foreign policy.

The opportunity to engage with the rest of the world using trade agreements seems to have gone. Argentina is facing a much more hostile world towards trade, where protectionism is gaining momentum in the definition of international relationships. The trade slowdown observed in the last two years constitute additional bad news. Current openness efforts by Argentina are failing short to overcome these issues. The challenges are big but some options are available.

Foreign policy: is there scope for an about-face?

Jill Hedges

Foreign relations are one of the areas in which President Mauricio Macri has promised the clearest policy shifts, in part because the executive has greater autonomy vis-a-vis Congress in foreign policy than in other areas. In particular, Macri aims to focus on 'traditional' allies such as the United States and Europe, rather than 'Bolivarian' alternatives such as Venezuela and Bolivia. The visits to Buenos Aires of President Barack Obama and various European leaders, as well as the deal with holdouts, have strengthened this line.



However, while Macri aims to promote an image of greater openness in foreign policy, it is doubtful whether he can deliver on his promises of a rapid uptick in foreign direct investment, given the unstable global climate and investor suspicions over Argentina's history of policy shifts. Nor is it clear that domestic politics will give him the scope to pursue this course easily: 'carnal relations' with the United States are not remembered with universal enthusiasm. And alignment with the new Brazilian government may be insufficient to bolster a regional role, while the focus on supporting Foreign Minister Susana Malcorra's UN bid has thus far blurred Argentina's regional aspirations.

Argentina's foreign policy: shifts and unresolved challenges

Jimmy Burns

In the first year of government the Macri presidency has overseen a significant shift in the tone and focus of Argentina's foreign policy, making it less confrontational and shedding much of the radical ideological baggage of the Kirchner era. It has moved towards gaining greater trust in its relations with the US and western Europe, not least with the UK where it has been exploring a more pragmatic and conciliatory diplomatic approach to the disputed Falklands/Malvinas issue. Within Latin America it has changed direction, forging a closer alliance with the Alliance of the Pacific while reducing its ideological identification with the more anti-US ALBA group. Nevertheless, Argentina faces great unresolved challenges in setting a steady course in its foreign policy: a world scenario characterised by the threat of economic turbulence, and terrorism, as it tries to recalibrate its relations with Russia, China, and Iran while trying to second guess what lies ahead after the US elections.

Participants

Dudley Ankersen is a former member of H.M. Diplomatic Service, which he joined in 1976, serving in Argentina, Mexico, Spain and Hungary before his retirement in 2006. Since 2006 he has been an independent consultant advising commercial and government clients in the UK and in Latin America, notably in Mexico, Argentina, Bolivia, Chile, Venezuela and Colombia, where he has acted since 2011 as an adviser to the government in the peace process with the FARC. He has a Ph.D in history from Cambridge University. In 1985 he published *Agrarian Warlord* (Northern Illinois University Press), a political biography of the Mexican revolutionary leader Saturnino Cedillo. This was republished in Spanish in Mexico as *El Caudillo Agrarista* in 1993 and again in 2011. In 2009 he was a Visiting Fellow at the Latin American Centre in Cambridge University. He was awarded a CMG by the British government in 2014 for his contribution to relations between the UK and Latin America.

Alejandro Bonvecchi holds a BA in Sociology (University of Buenos Aires) and a Ph.D. in Government (University of Essex). He works as an Ordinary Assistant Professor at Torcuato Di Tella University and an Adjunct Researcher at CONICET. His research focuses on the political economy of economic policy, legislative, and presidential politics. He has published four books and his work has appeared in *Legislative Studies Quarterly*, *Publius*, *Latin American Politics and Society*, *Desarrollo Económico* and *Revista de Ciencia Política*.

Jimmy Burns is a journalist, author, and consultant, specialising in Latin America and Spain. He holds a BA Honours degree in Modern Iberian and Latin American Studies (University College, London) and an MA in the Politics & Government of Latin America (Institute of the Americas/LSE). A journalist career spanning four decades has involved several senior positions at the *Financial Times* including Buenos Aires correspondent during the 1980's, a member of the newspaper's prize-winning investigative team, and political and security staff. He has also been commenting for other major media outlets such as the BBC, Sky TV and CNN as well as Spanish and Latin American TV and radio. His books include a prize-winning book on *Argentina –The Land that Lost its Heroes-* and biographies of Diego Maradona and Pope Francis. He has lectured extensively, and offers business intelligence and political scoping on his areas of expertise. He is also the current chair of the BritishSpanishSociety, a cultural and educational charity.

Néstor Castañeda is an Assistant Professor of Latin American Political Economy at the Institute of the Americas, University College London. He earned his PhD in Political Science at the University of Pittsburgh, an MA in Latin American Studies at the University of Texas at Austin, and a BA in Economics at the Universidad Nacional de Colombia. He was previously an Assistant Professor in Governance and Public Policy at the University of Southampton. He is strongly trained in statistical methods, microeconomics, and game theory. He is also one of the founders and first convenors of the UK Political Studies Association - Specialist Group in Latin American Politics.



Alan Cibils is Professor of Economics and Chair of the Political Economy Department at the Universidad Nacional de General Sarmiento in Buenos Aires, Argentina. His research interests include monetary theory and policy; financial systems and economic development; Argentina's economic history; and Latin American critical theories of development. He is the author of numerous publications on those subjects.

James Dunkerley is Professor of Politics at Queen Mary, University of London, and the former Director of the Institute for the Study of the Americas. at the School of Advanced Study between 1998 and 2008. He has written widely on Latin American studies and he has served as an editor to several journals and series, including *Cambridge History of Latin America*, *Journal of Latin American Studies* and *British Documents on Foreign Affairs, Latin America*. His books include *The Long War: Dictatorship and Revolution in El Salvador* (1982); *Rebellion in the Veins: Political Struggle in Bolivia, 1952-1982* (1984); *Power in the Isthmus: A Political History of Modern Central America* (1988); *Political Suicide in Latin America* (1992); *The United States and Latin America: The New Agenda* (1999); *Americana: The Americans in the World, 1845-55* (2000); and *Bolivia: Revolution and the Power of History in the Present* (2007).

Klaus Gallo was born in Buenos Aires in 1961, and is at present Associate Professor of the History Faculty at the Universidad Torcuato Di Tella in Argentina. His current research interests focuses on politics, ideas and culture in Buenos Aires during the first half of the nineteenth century. He is author of *De la Invasión al Reconocimiento. Gran Bretaña y el Río de la Plata 1806-1826*, Buenos Aires, A-Z Editores, 1994, which was translated to English as *Great Britain and Argentina. From Invasión to Recognition 1806-1826*, Basingstoke, Palgrave, 2001; co-editor with Nancy Calvo and Roberto Di Stefano of *Los Curas de la Revolución*, Buenos Aires, Emecé, 2002; editor of *Las Invasiones Inglesas*, Buenos Aires, Eudeba, 2004; co-editor with Graciela Batticuore and Jorge Myers of *Resonancias Románticas*, Buenos Aires, Eudeba, 2005; author of *The Struggle for an Enlightened Republic. Buenos Aires and Rivadavia*, Institute for the Studies of the Americas, University of London, 2006; and author of *Bernardino Rivadavia. El primer presidente argentino*, Buenos Aires, Edhasa, 2012.

Ezequiel Gonzalez Ocantos (Ph.D. Notre Dame, 2012) is Associate Professor in the Department of Politics and International Relations and Professorial Fellow of Nuffield College at the University of Oxford. His current research focuses on the impact of the Inter-American Court of Human Rights in the behaviour of Latin American high courts. He is the author of *Shifting Legal Visions: Judicial Change and Human Rights Trials in Latin America* (Cambridge University Press, 2016), and of several articles published in the *American Journal of Political Science*, *Comparative Politics*, *Comparative Political Studies* and the *International Journal of Human Rights*. Gonzalez Ocantos' doctoral dissertation won the American Political Science Association's 2013 Edward S. Corwin Award for the best thesis in the field of Public Law.

Juan Grigera is a British Academy Postdoctoral Fellow based at the UCL Institute of Americas. He completed a PhD from the University of Buenos Aires with support from CONICET (Argentina), after being awarded an MSc in Development Studies from the London School of Economics He is undertaking research on the long term economic performance of Brazil and Argentina from the 1950s. His latest publications include articles in *International Political Science Review*, *Viewpoint*, and a forthcoming book entitled *El mito de la desindustrialización* He is also an active member of the editorial board of *Historical Materialism and Cuadernos de Economía Crítica*.



Jill Hedges is Deputy Director of Analysis and Senior Latin America Analyst at Oxford Analytica, a frequent contributor to the Daily Brief and a panellist at the Oxford Analytica International Conference since 2002. Her book *Argentina: A Modern History* was published by I B Tauris in July 2011. I B Tauris will publish her latest book *Evita: The Life of Eva Perón* in October 2016. Jill holds a PhD and an MA (Distinction) in Latin American Studies from RILAS at the University of Liverpool, specialising in Argentine politics, federal relations and provincial economies.

Colin M. Lewis is Professor Emeritus of Latin American Economic History at the London School of Economics and Political Science, an Honorary Professorial Fellow of the Institute for the Americas, University College London, and an overseas member of the Argentinian Academy of History. He has been a visiting professor, and taught short courses, at several universities in the Americas, Asia and Europe, including the Faculty of Economics & Management, University of São Paulo (Brazil), the Department of Economics, Jawaharlal Nehru University (India), the Department of History, University of California at Irvine (USA), the Faculty of Economics, University of Buenos Aires (the Argentine), the Department of Economics and Institute of Iberian & Latin American Studies, University of Augsburg (Germany), the Faculty of Business & Management, Federal University of Minas Gerais (Brazil) and the Programme of Economics & Sociology, Federal University of Pernambuco (Brazil) and the Latin America Centre, St Antony's College, Oxford, and has lectured in Colombia and Mexico, as well as visiting most South American countries. He has written various books and articles about aspects of development, the history of social protection and welfare, economic imperialism and the political economy of state formation, and is currently finishing a book about British businesses in the Argentine and articles about the labour market in Latin America.

Andrés Malamud (PhD European University Institute, 2003) is a senior research fellow at the Institute of Social Sciences of the University of Lisbon, where he chairs the PhD program in Comparative Politics. He is a recurring visiting professor at universities in Buenos Aires, Milan, Salamanca and São Paulo, and has been visiting researcher at the Max Planck Institute of International Law (Heidelberg) and the University of Maryland, College Park. His research interests include comparative regional integration, foreign policy, democracy and political institutions, EU Studies and Latin American politics. His work has been published in such journals as *Latin American Research Review*, *Cambridge Review of International Affairs*, *Journal of European Integration*, *Latin American Politics and Society*, and *European Political Science*. He served in the executive committee of the Latin American Political Science Association (ALACIP) and is the current secretary-general of the Portuguese Political Science Association (APCP).

Maximiliano Mendez-Parra is a Research Fellow at the International Economic Development Group, Overseas Development Institute. Max is a trade economist and former agriculture trade official in Argentina. He specialises in the analysis of multilateral and regional trade policies in agriculture and NAMA. He has worked in the analysis of regional trade agreements and unilateral preferences. He worked in the evaluation of the WTO negotiation proposals in agriculture trade and in their effects on food security. He studied the poverty and income distribution effects of the Doha Round in agriculture in Argentina, Costa Rica, Peru and Colombia. He has worked in the assessment of regional trade agreements, including ECOWAS-EPA, EU India, EU-Mercosur and the TTIP among others. He is experienced in the analysis of the effects of preferential regimes and free trade areas on excluded countries and participated in the mid-term evaluation



of the EU GSP regime for the European Commission. In particular, he specialises in the analysis of the effects of megaregional agreements on excluded countries. Recently, he has been analysing the implications of Brexit on trade with developing countries. He holds a PhD in Economics from the University of Sussex.

Guillermo Mira is professor of History of Latin America at Instituto de Iberoamérica de la Universidad de Salamanca. His research revolves around the cycle of violence, the national security dictatorships and the transitions to democracy in the Southern Cone. Since 2009 he is convening a project “Las Huellas del Cambio”, a digital archive of the Comisiones de la Verdad, Justicia y Democracia in Latin America. His latest edited book is *Nuevas agendas en historia reciente* (with Fernando Pedrosa), (Eudeba-Universidad de Salamanca).

Maxine Molyneux is Professor of Sociology and was the founding Director of the Institute of the Americas at University College London in 2012, serving in that capacity until 2014. Prior to that she was, from 2008-2012, Director and Professor of the Institute for the Study of the Americas, at the University of London’s School of Advanced Study. She has written widely in the fields of political sociology, gender studies and development policy, and has authored books on Latin America, Ethiopia and South Yemen. She has served as senior consultant to UN agencies (UNRISD, ILO, UNFPA, UN Women) and NGOs (Oxfam, Care International), the Canadian IDRC, and UK’s DFID. She recently served as research director of multi-country investigations into social protection including most recently, the DFID-funded ODI project *Transforming Cash Transfers*. She is the Editor of the Palgrave book Series *Studies of the Americas*.

Daniel Ozarow is a Senior Lecturer at Middlesex University, London where he received his PhD in middle-class impoverishment and citizens’ responses to economic and political crises in Argentina since 2001. He is co-editor of *Argentina Since the 2001 Crisis: Recovering the Past, Reclaiming the Future* (with C. Levey and C. Wylde, Palgrave Macmillan, 2014) and also of *De la Crisis del 2001 al Kirchnerismo: Cambios y Continuidades* (Prometeo, 2016). A Founder and Convenor of the Argentina Research Network, he has recently published articles on citizen responses to economic crises, the impacts of free trade agreements on labour and workers’ self-management and the illegitimacy of external debt in journals including *Sociology*, *Latin American Research Review*, *Economy and Society* and *Labor History*.

Aníbal Pérez-Liñán is Professor of Political Science and a member of the Center for Latin American Studies at the University of Pittsburgh. He is editor of the *Latin American Research Review*, the journal of the Latin American Studies Association (LASA), and a Distinguished Research Affiliate of the Kellogg Institute for International Studies at the University of Notre Dame. He is the author of *Presidential Impeachment and the New Political Instability in Latin America* (Cambridge University Press, 2007) and of *Democracies and Dictatorships in Latin America: Emergence, Survival, and Fall* (co-authored with Scott Mainwaring, Cambridge, 2013).

Ken Shadlen is a political scientist in the Department of International Development, at the London School of Economics and Political Science (LSE). He is also one of the Managing Editors of the *Journal of Development Studies*. Ken received his Ph.D. from the University of California, Berkeley. Prior to his arrival at LSE in 2002, Ken was a Visiting Assistant Professor of Political Science and Latin American Studies at Brown University (1997-2000) and an Assistant Professor of Political Science at the University of Miami (2000-2002). Ken works on the comparative and international political economy of development. Currently,



his main area of research addresses the global and cross-national politics of intellectual property (IP). In his forthcoming book, *Coalitions and Compliance: The Political Economy of Pharmaceutical Patents in Latin America*, he examines the different ways that countries introduced pharmaceutical patents in the 1990s, and then subsequently revised their new pharmaceutical patent systems in the 2000s. In another project, “TRIPS Implementation and Secondary Pharmaceutical Patenting: An Empirical Analysis” (with Bhaven Sampat), he considers how pharmaceutical patent systems function, analysing the extent to which differences in national pharmaceutical patent systems, particularly different approaches toward applications for secondary patents, affect overall patenting patterns, and seeks to understand the factors that account for differential effectiveness of national policies toward secondary patents. His earlier work on changing patterns of government-business relations included *Democratization Without Representation: The Politics of Small Industry in Mexico* (Penn State University Press, 2004). He has also written extensively on the political economy of North-South trade agreements.

Celia Szusterman is the director of the Latin America Programme at the Institute for Statecraft. She was principal lecturer in Spanish and Latin American studies at the University of Westminster; is a senior member of St Antony's College, Oxford; associate fellow of the UCL Institute of the Americas; and a trustee of the UK board of Pro-Mujer. From 1999-2001 Celia was Director of the Argentine Studies Programme at St Antony's College and she is also a Trustee of APARU, the Association of Argentine Professionals in the UK. Her publications include *Frondizi and the Politics of Developmentalism in Argentina, 1955-62* (Macmillan/University of Pittsburgh Press, 1993), revised as *Frondizi o la política del desconcierto* (Emecé Argentina, 1996); and “Que se Vayan Todos! The Struggle for Democratic Party Politics in Contemporary Argentina”, in Paul Webb & Stephen White, eds., *Party Politics in New Democracies* [Oxford University Press, 2007].