

# REPAL 2017

**4th ANNUAL CONFERENCE**

**April 27-28 | Lima, Peru**



**UNIVERSIDAD  
DEL PACÍFICO**

**Organized by Universidad Del Pacífico**

**MIT**  
MANAGEMENT  
LATIN AMERICA OFFICE

 **Tulane  
University**



## PROGRAM

THURSDAY, APRIL 27, 2017

8:30

Registration and coffee (Maes Heller, Central Building)

9:00

### Welcome Universidad del Pacífico

**Cynthia Sanborn**, Vicerrectora de Investigación  
*Maes Heller Auditorium (Central Building)*

9:05

### Welcome REPAL

**Paula Muñoz** (Universidad del Pacífico), **Kathryn Hochstetler** (LSE) and **Juan Pablo Luna** (UCC).  
*Maes Heller Auditorium Hall (Central Building)*

9:20

### Opening Keynote

“La economía política de reducción de desigualdades en la década de oro: regímenes, coaliciones, agentes estatales ¿y más que?”. **Maria Hermínia Tavares de Almeida** (Universidade de São Paulo & CEBRAP).  
*Maes Heller Auditorium (Central Building)*

## Panels (Building H)

### Room: H401

Chair: **Matthew Amengual**  
(MIT)

### Room: H402

Chair: **Juan Bogliaccini**  
(UCU)

### Room: H403

Chair: **Eduardo Dargent**  
(PUCP)

10:30

**Tomás Bril-Mascarenhas** (UNSAM) and **Aldo Madariaga** (Diego Portales).  
*The Political Economy of Residual Industrial Policy in Chile*

**Martin Liby Alonso** (MIT).  
*In the Shadow of the Past: Political Learning and Boom-Time Restraint in Evo Morales's Bolivia (2006-2013)*

**Belen Fernández Milmanda** (Harvard).  
*Playing By the Democratic Book: Agrarian Elites and Policymaking in Contemporary Chile*

11:00

**Renato Lima de Oliveira** (MIT).  
*Petrobras: Innovation with Party Rent-Seeking*

**Maria Sol Parrales** (King's College).  
*The Reshape of Business-State Relations in Latin America*

**Giancarlo Visconti** (Columbia).  
*Who Gets the Programs? Distributive Politics in Chile*



11:30

Coffee Break

12:00

**Sebastian Etchemendy** (UTDT).  
*Lost Patrols: Neocorporatism and Wage Coordination in Argentina and Uruguay*

**Silvia Otero-Bahamon** (Universidad de Rosario).  
*When Do States Mind the Gap? Reducing Social Subnational Inequality in Health Outcomes in Colombia and Peru*

**Paula Muñoz** (Universidad del Pacífico) and **Viviana Baraybar** (Universidad del Pacífico).  
*Patronage without Parties?*

12:30

**Carlos Freytes** (UTDT) and **Juan O'Farrell** (UTDT).  
*How the State Disorganize Big Business: Distributive Politics and Political Agency in the Argentine Export Agriculture (2007-2015)*

**María Amparo Cruz-Saco** (Universidad del Pacifico) and **Bruno Seminario** (Universidad del Pacifico).  
*(Des) Igualdad Reconsiderada. Perú, 1997-2015*

**Juan David Gutiérrez** (Oxford).  
*Barrels, Votes, and Guns: How Oil Revenues Affect Distributional Conflicts in Colombia*

13:00

Lunch (F-3ro – Central Building)

**Room: H401**

Chair: Paul Lagunes  
(Columbia)

**Room: H402**

Chair: Isabella Alcañiz  
(University of Maryland)

**Room: H403**

Chair: Alisha Holland  
(Princeton)

14:00

**Juan Bogliaccini** (UCU).  
*Skill regimes and inequality in Latin America: Education, Inequality, and Economic Specialization in Comparative Perspective*

**Candelaria Garay** (Harvard) and **María Marta Maroto** (UCC).  
*Why Some Mayors Provide More Healthcare Services: Service Provision as Territorial Power-Building Strategy in Argentina*

**Maritza Paredes** (PUCP).  
*Politics of Mining*

14:30

**Christina Wagner Faegri** (ITAM).  
*Instruments of Taxation as Compensation Tools: Globalization, Social Cleavages, and Tax Policies in Latin America*

**Alison Post** (Berkeley).  
*Comparative Politics Scholarship on Cities and Latin America and Beyond: The Case for an Urban Lens*

**Veronica Herrera** (University of Connecticut).  
*Diverse Grievances and Collective Responses to Toxic Exposures in Argentina and Colombia*

# REPAL 2017



15:00 **Peter Kingstone** (King's College).  
*Performance in the Latin American Telecommunications Sector: Assessing the Role of Political Institutions, Market Structures, and Regulation (1991-2008)*

**Eduardo Dargent** (PUCP) and **Madai Urteaga** (PUCP).  
*The Power of the Seed: GMO Regulation in the Andean Countries*

**Mariana Rangel Padilla** (USC).  
*State-Business Interactions for Industrial Upgrading in Latin America: The Case of Mexico's Prosoft*

15:30

## Coffee Break

16:00 **Tatiana Andia** (Universidad de los Andes).  
*Bureaucrats against the State: The Making of Pharmaceutical Policy in Latin America*

**Roger Merino Acuña** (Universidad del Pacifico).  
*¿Acelerar las inversiones o profundizar la participación? Tensiones entre la consulta previa y la política económica de extracción de recursos naturales en el Perú*

**Ben Schneider** (MIT) and **Alejandra Mizala** (Universidad de Chile).  
*The Contentious Politics of Reforming Teacher Careers: Conflict and Negotiation in Chile*

16:30 **Ken Shadlen** (LSE).  
*The Political Economy of Science, Technology, and Innovation Policy in Contemporary Latin America*

**Gonzalo Del La Maza** (Universidad de Los Lagos).  
*Consecuencias políticas de los conflictos socio-territoriales en América Latina. Hacia una conceptualización abarcadora y pertinente*

**German Lodola** (UTDT) and **Lucas Gonzalez** (UNSAM).  
*The Short-Term Impact of Oil Windfalls on Living Standards: Evidence from Argentina*

17:00 **Jose Antonio Junqueira Botelho** (IUPERJ/UCAM), **Yuri Kasahara** (Norwegian Institute of Urban and Regional Research), and **Marcelo Caetano Correa Simas** (IUPERJ/UCAM).  
*Bootstrapping growth in Latin America: O&G local content policy and the emergence of a new corporate production system*

**Ricardo Gutiérrez**, (UNSAM).  
*The confrontation of state-society coalitions: native forest protection policy in Argentina*

**Cesar Zucco** (FGV).  
*Are Conditional Government Transfers a Politically Acceptable Form of Redistribution*



18:30

## RECEPTION

Centro de Investigación de la Universidad del Pacífico (CIUP)  
Jirón Sánchez Cerro 2050 – Building I, Terrace, 7<sup>th</sup> Floor

# REPAL 2017



FRIDAY, APRIL 28, 2017

8:30

Coffee (Maes Heller)

9:00

**Panel discussion about methods in the study of Latin America's political economy**

**M. Victoria Murillo** (Columbia, Chair), **Juan Pablo Luna** (UCC), **Daniela Campello** (FGV), **Noam Lupu** (Vanderbilt)

*Maes Heller Auditorium (Central Building)*

## Panels (Building H)

### Room: H501

Chair: *Maritza Paredes (PUCP)*

### Room: H505

Chair: *Kathryn Hochstetler (LSE)*

### Room: H506

Chair: *Ben Schneider (MIT)*

10:00

**Rebecca Ray** (University of Massachusetts).  
*The Panda's Pawprint: The environmental impact of the China-led re-primarization in Latin America and the Caribbean*

**German Feierherd** (Duke).  
*Labor Standards and Electoral Accountability – Causal Evidence from Brazil*

**Daniela Campello** (FGV) and **Cesar Zucco** (FGV).  
*Commodity Price Shocks and Misattribution of Responsibility for the Economy: Observational and Experimental Evidence*

10:30

**Angelika Rettberg** (Universidad de Los Andes) and **Juan Diego Prieto** (University of California at Santa Cruz).  
*Conflicto Crudo: Petróleo, conflicto armado y criminalidad en Colombia*

**Matias Lopez** (UCC).  
*Authoritarian bureaucracies: inequality, distrust, and insulation among bureaucratic elites in South America*

**Victoria Murillo, Jorge Mangonnet, and Julia Rubio** (Columbia).  
*Economic Interests and Electoral Strategies in the Argentine Countryside.*

11:00

## Coffee Break

11:30

**Grace Jaramillo** (University of Waterloo).  
The political economy of industrial policy in Peru and Ecuador: 1970-2010.

**Gabriel Ondetti** (Missouri State University).  
*Redistributive Conflict and the Magnitude of the Tax Burden in Latin America*

**Sarah Berens** (University of Cologne)  
*The Exit Seekers and the Doomed: Is Informalization a Function of Social Policy Discontent and Lack of Good Governance?*

# REPAL 2017



12:00 **Stephen Kaplan** (George Washington University).  
*The Political Economy of Chinese Finance in Latin America*

**Rosario Queirolo**, (UCU), **María José Álvarez-Rivadulla** (Universidad de Los Andes), **Juan A. Bogliaccini** (UCU), **Cecilia Rossel** (UCU).  
*Social Class and Redistributive Preferences in Latin America: Between "Otherness" and "Self-Interest"*

BOOK PRESENTATION: **Alisha Holland** (Princeton).  
*Forbearance as Redistribution: The Politics of Informal Welfare in Latin America*  
Discussants: **Peter Kingstone** and **Andrew Schrank**

12:30

**Lunch (F-3ro – Central Building)**

**Room: H501**

Chair: **Paula Muñoz**  
(Universidad del Pacífico)

**Room: H505**

Chair: **Victoria Murillo**  
(Columbia)

**Room: H506**

Chair: **Ken Shadlen**  
(LSE)

13:30 **Eva Paus** (Mount Holyoke College) and **Mike Robinson** (Mount Holyoke College).  
*Escaping the Middle Income Trap: Firm Innovation in Latin America*

**Maria Paula Saffon** (Princeton) and **Fabio Sanchez** (Universidad de los Andes).  
*Cycles of Land Dispossession and Forced Displacement: the Case of Colombia*

BOOK PRESENTATION: **Maria José Alvarez-Rivadulla** (Universidad de Los Andes).  
*Squatters and the Politics of Marginality in Uruguay*.  
Discussants: **Alisha Holland** and **Juan Bogliaccini**

14:00 **Ana Farías Antognini** (UTDT).  
*Informalidad e inequidad en la distribución del bienestar social*

**Hernan Flom** (University of Notre Dame).  
Title: *Controlling Bureaucracies in Weak Institutional Contexts: The Political Economy of Police Autonomy in Latin America*

BOOK PRESENTATION: **Eduardo Dargent**, **José Carlos Orihuela**, **Maritza Paredes**, **María Eugenia Ulfe** (PUCP).  
*Resource Booms and Institutional Pathways: The Case of the Extractive Industry in Peru*.  
Discussants: **Daniela Campello** and **Eduardo Silva**

14:30 **José Carlos Orihuela** (PUCP).  
*An Institutional Economic Geography Perspective of the Resource Curse with Illustrations from Latin America*

**Antoine Maillet** (Universidad de Chile).  
*Transformative change through hybridization. The case of neoliberal policies in Chile*.

BOOK PRESENTATION: **Juliana Martínez Franzoni** (University of Costa Rica) and **Diego Sánchez-Ancochea** (Oxford).  
*The Quest for Universal Social Policy in the South: Actors, Ideas and Architectures*  
Discussants: **Ben Schneider** and **Blanca Heredia**

# REPAL 2017



15:00 **Viviana Baraybar** (Universidad del Pacífico) and **Eduardo Dargent** (PUCP). *Not One Gold Rush But Many*

**Jacqueline Behrend** (UNSAM) and **Matías F. Bianchi** (University of Arizona). *Unpacking Relations between Economic Elites and the State at the Subnational Level in Argentina*

BOOK PRESENTATION: **Matthew Amengual** (MIT). *Politicized Enforcement in Argentina: Labor and Environmental Regulation*  
Discussants: **Isabella Alcañiz** and **Sebastian Etchemendy**

15:30

Coffee Break

16:00 **Final Plenary Panel on the Political Economy of Peru: Beyond Extractivism? What to do after the Economic Boom?**

*Maes Heller Auditorium (Central Building)*

**Paula Muñoz**, Universidad del Pacífico (Chair)

**Piero Ghezzi**, Economist, Founder and CEO GPD Partners, Former Minister of Production. Is Peru economically viable without further productive diversification?

**Iván Lanegra**, Lawyer, Environmental Expert, Former Vice-Minister of Interculturality. Professor of Universidad del Pacífico and PUCP. Overview of Environmental Policies and the regulation of Extractive Industries in Peru

**Norma Correa**, Anthropologist and MA in of Social Policy and Development (London School of Economics). Professor and Researcher at the Pontificia Universidad Católica del Perú. Social Policy and Inclusion after the Economic Boom.

**Julio Cotler**, Sociologist, Principal Researcher at Instituto de Estudios Peruanos. Peru's political-institutional context and conflicts during and after the Economic Boom.



## ABOUT THE CONFERENCE

### PROGRAM CHAIRS

Juan Pablo Luna (Universidad Católica de Chile) and Kathy Hochstetler (LSE)

### LOCAL PROGRAM COMMITTEE

Paula Muñoz (Universidad del Pacífico), Eduardo Dargent (Pontificia Universidad Católica del Perú), Maritza Paredes (Pontificia Universidad Católica del Perú).

### OUR SPONSORS

**Facultad de Economía at Universidad del Pacífico.** La Facultad de Economía en la Universidad del Pacífico es una de las más importantes en América Latina y ha sido clave en el desarrollo del Perú de los últimos 50 años. Sus egresados han sido y son protagonistas del fortalecimiento del sector público y privado, desde donde impulsan e implementan una serie de iniciativas de desarrollo para el país.

**Departamento de Ciencias Sociales y Políticas (DACSP) de Universidad del Pacífico.** El DACSP tiene como principal propósito contribuir con la formación de ciudadanos responsables y de alta calidad profesional. Para lograr esto, nuestros profesores estimulan entre los estudiantes una perspectiva de análisis crítico sobre los fenómenos sociales, culturales y políticos contemporáneos del Perú y el mundo, y organizan seminarios, conferencias y debates sobre asuntos de relevancia nacional e internacional.

**Center for Inter-American Policy and Research (CIPR) at Tulane.** CIPR is devoted to inter-hemispheric exchanges that will advance the production and dissemination of knowledge about critical policy issues facing the Americas as well as the deepening of academic research in these areas. Its aim is to stimulate contact between scholars and decision-makers working on the region at different locations and in different languages, enriching their production by enabling the confluence of multiple perspectives.

**The Millennium Nucleus for the Study of Stateness and Democracy in Latin America.** Founded in 2011, the Nucleus is one of nine social science Nuclei sponsored by the Chilean Ministry of Economy, Development, and Tourism. It seeks to analyze the degree, type, and subnational distribution of state institutional quality in Latin America. The project aims to identify what conditions foment weak states and the effects of weak and unequally distributed stateness on political regime quality and the provision of public goods.

**MIT Sloan Latin America Office.** Located in Santiago, Chile, the mission of the MIT Sloan Latin America office is to develop and nurture meaningful activities throughout Latin America that benefits the region, the School and the Institute, and supports the advancement of management education and practice. This will be accomplished by enhancing admissions activities, providing new opportunities for Action Learning for MIT students, support increased research for faculty and students, and prompt the activities of MIT throughout the region.



## INDEX

Name	Institution	Day	Time	Room
Alvarez-Rivadulla, Maria Jose	Universidad de Los Andes	Friday	13:30	506
Amengual, Matthew	MIT	Friday	15:00	506
Andia, Tatiana	Universidad de Los Andes	Thursday	16:00	401
Antognini, Ana Farias	Universidad Torcuato Di Tella	Friday	14:00	501
Baraybar, Viviana	Universidad del Pacifico	Friday	15:00	501
Behrend, Jacqueline	UNSAM	Friday	15:00	505
Berens, Sarah	University of Cologne	Friday	11:30	506
Bianchi, Matias	University of Arizona	Thursday	17:30	403
Bogliaccini, Juan	Universidad Católica de Uruguay	Thursday	14:00	401
Boschi, Renato	IESP-UERJ, INCT-PPED	Thursday	10:30	401
Botelho, Jose Junqueira	IUPERJ/UCAM	Thursday	17:00	401
Bril Mascarenhas, Tomas	UNSAM	Thursday	10:30	401
Campello, Daniela	FGV	Friday	10:00	506
Correa Simas, Marcelo	IUPERJ/UCAM	Thursday	17:00	401
Cruz-Saco, María Amparo	Universidad del Pacifico	Thursday	12:30	402
Dargent, Eduardo	Pontificia Universidad Católica del Perú	Thursday	15:00	402
Delamaza, Gonzalo	Universidad de Los Lagos	Thursday	16:30	402
Etchemendy, Sebastian	Universidad Torcuato Di Tella	Thursday	12:00	401
Feierherd, German	Duke University	Friday	10:00	505
Fernández Milmanda, Belen	Harvard University	Thursday	10:30	403
Flom, Hernan	University of Notre Dame	Friday	14:00	505
Freytes, Carlos	Universidad Torcuato di Tella	Thursday	12:30	401
Gaitán, Flavio	UNILA, INCT-PPED	Thursday	10:30	401
Garay, Candelaria	Harvard University	Thursday	14:00	402
Gonzalez, Lucas	UNSAM	Thursday	16:00	403
Gutiérrez, Juan David	Oxford University	Thursday	12:30	403
Gutiérrez, Ricardo	UNSAM	Thursday	17:00	402
Herrera, Veronica	University of Connecticut	Thursday	14:30	403
Hochstetler, Kathryn	LSE	Thursday	10:30	403
Holland, Alisha	Princeton University	Friday	12:00	506

# REPAL 2017



Ibarra, Eduardo	LSE	Thursday	16:30	403
Jaramillo, Grace	University of Waterloo	Friday	11:30	501
Kaplan, Stephen	George Washington University	Friday	12:00	501
Kasahara, Yuri	Norwegian Institute of Urban and Regional Research	Thursday	17:00	401
Kingstone, Peter	King's College	Thursday	15:00	401
Ley, Sandra	CIDE	Thursday	16:30	403
Liby Alonso, Martin	MIT	Thursday	10:30	402
Lima de Oliveira, Renato	MIT	Thursday	11:00	401
Lodola, German	Universidad Torcuato Di Tella	Thursday	16:30	403
López , Matías	PUC Chile / NIED Brazil	Friday	10:30	505
Madariaga, Aldo	Diego Portales	Thursday	10:30	401
Maillet, Antoine	Universidad de Chile	Friday	14:30	505
Mangonnet, Jorge	Columbia University	Friday	10:30	506
Maroto, Maria Marta	Universidad Católica de Chile	Thursday	14:00	402
Martinez Franzoni, Juliana	University of Costa Rica	Friday	14:00	506
Merino Acuña, Roger	Universidad del Pacifico	Thursday	16:00	402
Meseguer, Covadonga	LSE	Thursday	16:30	403
Mizala, Alejandra	Universidad de Chile	Thursday	16:00	403
Muñoz, Paula	Universidad del Pacifico	Thursday	12:00	403
Murillo, Victoria	Columbia University	Friday	10:30	506
O'Farrell, Juan	Universidad Torcuato Di Tella	Thursday	12:30	401
Ondetti, Gabriel	Missouri State University	Friday	11:30	505
Otero-Bahamon, Silvia	Universidad de Rosario	Thursday	12:00	402
Orihuela, Jose Carlos	Universidad Católica del Perú	Friday	14:30	501
Parrales, Maria Sol	King's College	Thursday	10:30	402
Paredes, Maritza	Pontificia Universidad Católica del Perú	Thursday	14:00	403
Paus, Eva	Mount Holyoke College	Friday	13:30	501
Post, Alison	UC Berkeley	Thursday	14:30	402
Prieto, Juan Diego	University of California at Santa Cruz	Thursday	10:30	501
Queirolo, Rosario	Universidad Católica de Uruguay	Friday	12:00	505
Rangel Padilla, Mariana	University of Southern California	Thursday	15:00	403
Ray, Rebecca	University of Massachusetts	Friday	10:00	501
Rettberg, Angelika	Universidad de los Andes	Friday	10:30	501
Robinson, Mike	Mount Holyoke College	Friday	13:30	501
Rossel, Cecilia	Universidad Catolica de Uruguay	Friday	12:00	505

# REPAL 2017



Rubio, Julia	Columbia University	Friday	10:30	506
Saffon, Maria Paula	Princeton University	Friday	13:30	505
Sanchez, Fabio	Universidad de Los Andes	Friday	13:30	505
Sánchez-Ancochea, Diego	Oxford University	Friday	14:30	506
Schneider, Ben	MIT	Thursday	16:00	403
Seminario, Bruno	Universidad del Pacífico	Thursday	12:30	402
Shadlen, Ken	LSE	Thursday	16:30	401
Smith, Heidi Jane	Universidad Iberoamericana	Friday	15:00	505
Toro, Sergio	PUC Chile	Friday	15:00	501
Uffe, Maria Eugenia	Pontificia Universidad Católica del Perú	Friday	14:00	506
Urteaga, Madai	Pontificia Universidad Católica del Perú	Thursday	15:00	402
Visconti, Giancarlo	Columbia University	Thursday	11:00	403
Wagner Faegri, Christina	ITAM	Thursday	14:30	401
Zucco, Cesar	FGV	Thursday	17:00	403